

The History and Martyrdom of Watchman Nee and the Christian Assembly in Shanghai

A Response to the Untruthful Narratives

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Preface

On July 30, 2009, U.S. Congressman Chris Smith filed a Congressional Record with the U.S. House of Representatives, publicly honoring Watchman Nee as a great pioneer of Christianity in China with vast spiritual achievements. The Christianity Today magazine also named Watchman Nee as one of the 100 most influential Christians of the 20th century. It is estimated that China has more than one hundred million Christians today, and millions of them consider themselves spiritual heirs of Watchman Nee. He was the first Chinese Christian to exercise an influence on Western Christians. His book *Normal Christian Life* has sold more than one million copies world-wide and became a twentieth-century Christian classic.

Watchman Nee was an astonishingly devoted man. From the time he believed in the Lord in 1922 until he was secretly detained in 1952, during this thirty years of ministry he worked diligently for the Lord through speaking, writing, and holding trainings. As a result of his ministry directly and indirectly many local churches were raised up throughout China as well as in Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia. As of 1949, there were approximately four to five hundred local churches that were raised up in China. In early 1950, the Korean War broke out, and China launched activities to resist the U.S. and aid Korea. In order to prevent religion from becoming a hidden threat, the government required all groups to join the Three-Self Patriotic Movement and completely cut off relations with foreign countries. Watchman Nee and many other Christian leaders were arrested and imprisoned by the government on counter-revolutionary charges. Watchman Nee was never released. He was first placed in Tilanqiao Prison in Shanghai and then sent to Baimaoling labor farm in Anhui Province. He eventually died in the labor camp in 1972 at the age of seventy-one. The note left before his death showed that during the 20 long years of imprisonment and labor camp, he never denied the Lord who loved him and died for him. Watchman Nee maintained his faith and remained faithful to God until the end. His final testimony reads: "Christ is the Son of God who died for the redemption of sinners and was resurrected after three days. This is the greatest truth in the universe. I die because of my belief in Christ. Watchman Nee."

During this time there were also many others who were under similar circumstances and who loved the Lord truthfully, endured afflictions for the Lord's sake, and shed their blood as martyrs for Him. These faithful ones obtained wonderful testimonies through their faith and became the cloud of witnesses for us (Hebrews 11:2-40). However, in recent years, some people who abandoned their faith and betrayed their brothers and sisters, leading to the arrest and even martyrdom of many co-workers and elders overnight during that time, have publicized second-hand and third-hand rumors which they obtained from others but pretended to be what they witnessed with their own eyes. Using political propaganda and accusations from the 1950s as evidence, these ones maliciously speculate on some baseless stories. Their writings ignore the published information and the testimonies of the parties involved, biasedly quote the materials of a few opponents, and then share quotes amongst each other to distort reality in the name of restoring history.

The comments and attacks from these venomous people are not worthy of our defense. When the Lord comes, He will bring to light the hidden things of darkness and make manifest the counsels of the

hearts (1 Corinthians 4:3-5). However, we cannot bear to see Christians who have been helped by Watchman Nee's ministry suffer loss and even spiritual death due to these false lies. Therefore, we endeavor to put into a book all the first-hand materials we have collected, including Watchman Nee's own testimony, testimonies of co-workers, letters from family and friends, and testimonies of those who were present at the time. Our intention is to leave a first-hand record concerning Watchman Nee to future generations. In addition, we also provide several research-based articles to help readers understand the historical background and political environment of the 1950s, thereby providing an analysis of the insufficient evidence and the shockingly lack of research standard behind these false statements. The history of Watchman Nee should be written by the family members and relatives who knew him, and by those who worked with him for decades. The history of the church in Shanghai should be written by those and their descendants, who faithfully bear witness to the Lord, and should not be done with malicious slander by those who join themselves with outsiders to seek self-glory and betray the Lord.

Abraham Ho

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Section One:

The Life and Ministry of Watchman Nee and His Martyrdom

Taken and Edited from
“Watchman Nee, A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age”

SAVED AND CALLED

Beginning in the sixteenth century, Protestant missionaries went to China for the gospel.¹ These missionaries brought with them three treasures: the Lord's name, which is the Lord Himself, the gospel, and the Bible. In the opening years of the 1900s, many missionaries and a great number of Chinese believers were martyred during the Boxer Rebellion. This persecution aroused a great burden among the believers in the Western world to pray desperately for the Lord's move in China. It was through those prayers, some prevailing evangelists among the Chinese believers were raised up, and their preaching reached the new generation of students in China. Around the year 1920, the gospel penetrated into many schools, and throughout the country from the far north to the far south many high school and college students were captured by the Lord. From among these students, a good number of brilliant ones were called and equipped by the Lord to do His work.

One of these outstanding students was Nee Shu-tsu, whose English name was Henry Nee. His paternal grandfather, Nee Yu-cheng, studied in the American Congregational College in Foochow and became the first Chinese pastor in northern Fukien among the Congregationalists. Nee Shu-tsu's paternal grandmother was a student in the American Congregational Girls' College in Foochow. His father, Nee Wen-shiu, a second-generation Christian, studied in the American Methodist College in Foochow. Nee Wen-shiu was well trained in classical Chinese and became an officer in the Chinese customs. Nee Shu-tsu's mother, Lin Ho-ping, also a second generation Christian, studied in the Chinese Western Girls' School in Shanghai. Nee Shu-tsu was consecrated to the Lord before his birth. In a meeting in 1936, he gave a testimony concerning his salvation²:

I was born into a Christian family. I was the third child, preceded by two sisters. Because I had an aunt who had borne six daughters in succession, my paternal aunt was displeased when my mother bore two girls. According to Chinese custom, males are preferred over females. When my mother gave birth to two girls, people said she would probably be like my aunt, bearing half a dozen girls before bringing forth a boy. Though at that time my mother was not clearly saved, she knew how to pray. So she spoke to the Lord, saying, "If I have a boy, I will present him to You." The Lord heard her prayer and I was born. My father told me, "Before you were born, your mother promised to present you to the Lord."

¹ For further information, see <https://www.watchmannee.org/life-ministry.html>

² *Watchman Nee, A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, pp. 12-13.

I was saved in 1920 at the age of seventeen. Before being saved I experienced some mental conflict concerning whether or not to accept the Lord Jesus as my Savior and whether or not to become the Lord's servant. For most people, the problem at the time of salvation is how to be delivered from sin. But for me, being saved from sin and my life career were linked together. If I were to accept the Lord Jesus as my Savior, I would simultaneously accept Him as my Lord. He would deliver me not only from sin but also from the world. At that time I was afraid of being saved, for I knew that once I was saved I must serve the Lord. Of necessity, therefore, my salvation would be a dual salvation. It was impossible for me to set aside the Lord's calling and to desire only salvation. I had to choose either to believe in the Lord and have a dual salvation or forfeit both. For me to accept the Lord would mean that both events would take place simultaneously.

On the evening of April 29, 1920, I was alone in my room. I had no peace of mind. Whether I sat or reclined, I could find no rest, for within was this problem of whether or not I should believe in the Lord. My first inclination was not to believe in the Lord Jesus and not to be a Christian. However, that made me inwardly uneasy. There was a real struggle within me. Then I knelt down to pray. At first I had no words with which to pray. But eventually many sins came before me, and I realized that I was a sinner. I had never had such an experience in my life before that time. I saw myself as a sinner and I also saw the Savior. I saw the filthiness of sin and I also saw the efficacy of the Lord's precious blood cleansing me and making me white as snow. I saw the Lord's hands nailed to the cross, and at the same time I saw Him stretching forth His arms to welcome me, saying, "I am here waiting to receive you." Overwhelmed by such love, I could not possibly reject it, and I decided to accept Him as my Savior. Previously, I had laughed at those who believed in the Lord, but that evening I could not laugh. Instead, I wept and confessed my sins, seeking the Lord's forgiveness. After making my confession, the burden of sins was discharged, and I felt buoyant and full of inward joy and peace. This was the first time in my life that I knew I was a sinner. I prayed for the first time and had my first experience of joy and peace. There might have been some joy and peace before, but the experience after my salvation was very real. Alone in my room that evening, I saw the light and lost all consciousness of my surroundings. I said to the Lord, "Lord, You have really been gracious to me."

Being subdued by the love of God at the age of seventeen, Nee Shu-tsu not only received Jesus Christ as his Savior but also entirely abandoned all his plans for his future to serve God. At that time, he was studying in the Anglican Trinity College in Foochow. This school maintained a high standard both in Chinese and English. After being raised up by the Lord to carry out His commission, he adopted the new English name Watchman Nee and the new Chinese name To-sheng, which means the sound of a watchman's rattle. He considered himself a watchman, raised up to give the sound of a rattle to people in the dark night.

In this audience there are at least three schoolmates of mine. Among them is Brother Weigh Kwang-hsi, who can testify concerning what an ill-behaved student I was, as well as what a wonderful student I was in school. On the evil side, I often violated the school rules. On the good side, I was always first in every examination, because God had bestowed intelligence on me. My essays were frequently posted on the bulletin board for exhibition. At that time I was a youth with

many grand dreams and many plans for the future. I considered my judgments sound. I can humbly say that had I worked hard in the world, it would have been quite possible for me to have had great success. My schoolmates can also testify to this. But following my salvation many new things happened to me. All my previous planning became void and was brought to nothing. My future career was entirely abandoned. For some this step might be easy, but for me, with many ideals, dreams, and plans, it was exceedingly difficult. From the evening I was saved, I began to live a new life, for the life of the eternal God had entered into me.

My salvation and calling to serve the Lord took place simultaneously. Since that evening, I have never once had any doubts about being called. During that hour I decided on my future career once and for all. I realized that, on the one hand, the Lord had saved me for my sake, and at the same time, He did so for His own sake. He wanted me to obtain His eternal life, and He also wanted me to serve Him and be His co-worker. As a boy I did not understand the nature of preaching. When I was older, I considered it the most trifling and base of occupations. In those days most preachers were employed by European or American missionaries. They were servile subordinates to the missionaries and earned merely eight or nine dollars per month. I had no intention of becoming a preacher nor even a Christian. I could never have imagined that I would choose the profession of a preacher, a profession which I despised and considered trifling and base. (3 testimonies) ³

Shortly after Watchman Nee was saved, he was intensely burdened to preach the gospel to his schoolmates and countrymen. For a period of time, he fasted every Saturday so that he might have power to preach the gospel in the Sunday morning preaching meeting. Through his preaching nearly all his schoolmates were led to the Lord, and a revival was brought into his school. Below is his testimony:

After I was saved, I spontaneously loved the souls of sinners and hoped that they would be saved. To this end, I began to preach the gospel and to bear testimony among my schoolmates. After nearly a year's work, however, no one was saved. I thought the more words I could speak and the more reasons I could present, the more effective I would be in saving people. But though I had much to speak concerning the Lord, my words lacked power to move the listeners.

About this time I met a Western missionary, Miss Groves (Margaret Barber's co-worker), who asked me how many persons I had brought to the Lord in the year following my salvation. I bowed my head, hoping to forestall further questioning, and shamefully admitted in a low voice that, although I had preached the gospel to my schoolmates, they did not like to listen, and when they did listen, they would not believe. My attitude was that, since they would not heed the gospel, they would have to bear the consequences. She spoke to me frankly, "You are unable to lead people to the Lord because there is something between God and you. It may be some hidden sins not yet completely dealt with, or something for which you are indebted to someone." I admitted that such things existed, and she asked if I were willing to settle them immediately. I answered that I was willing.

³ *Watchman Nee, A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, pp. 13-14.

She also asked how I went about bearing testimony. I replied that I pulled people in at random and began to speak, regardless of whether they were listening or not. She said, "This is not right. You must speak to God first, before you speak to people. You should pray to God, make a list of your schoolmates' names, and ask God which of them you should pray for. Pray for them daily, mentioning them by name. Then when God affords the opportunity, you should bear testimony to them."

After that conversation, I immediately began to deal with my sins by making restitution, paying debts, being reconciled with my schoolmates, and confessing offenses to others. I also entered in my notebook the names of about seventy schoolmates and began praying for them daily, mentioning their names individually before God. Sometimes I prayed for them once every hour, praying silently, even in class. When opportunity arose, I would bear testimony to them and try to persuade them to believe in the Lord Jesus. My schoolmates often said jokingly, "Mr. Preacher is coming. Let us listen to his preaching." The fact was that they had no intention to listen.

I called on Miss Groves again and said to her, "I have fully carried out your instructions. Why is it not effective?" She replied, "Do not be disappointed. Keep praying until some are saved." By the Lord's grace, I continued to pray daily. When opportunity arose, I bore testimony and preached the gospel. Thank the Lord, after several months, all but one of the seventy persons whose names were in my notebook were saved.⁴

One day while seeking a theme from the Bible before delivering a message, I randomly opened the Bible and Psalm 73:25 appeared before my eyes: "Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee." After reading these words I said to myself, "The writer of this psalm can say that, but I cannot." I discovered then that there was something between me and God.

Since my wife is not present today, I will relate the story to you. About ten years before our marriage, I was in love with her. She was not then saved, and when I spoke with her about the Lord Jesus and tried to persuade her to believe, she laughed at me. I must admit that I did love her, but at the same time I suffered her laughter at the Lord I believed in. I also questioned at that time whether she or the Lord would have first place in my heart. I must say that once young people have fallen in love, they find it very difficult to give up their beloved. I told God of my willingness to give her up, but deep in my heart I was not willing. After reading Psalm 73 again, I said to God, "I cannot say that there is none upon earth that I desire besides Thee, because there is one on earth whom I love." At that instant, the Holy Spirit indicated clearly that there was something between God and me.

On that day I delivered a message, but I did not know what I was talking about. I was actually speaking to God, asking Him to be patient and impart strength to me until I could give

⁴ *Watchman Nee, A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, pp. 45-46.

her up. I asked God to postpone dealing with this matter. But God never reasons with people. I considered going to the frontier of desolate Tibet to evangelize and suggested many other enterprises to God, hoping that He might be moved not to raise again the question of my giving up the one I loved. But once God's finger has pointed to something, He will not withdraw it. No matter how hard I prayed, I could not get through. I had no enthusiasm for my studies in school, and at the same time I failed to acquire the power of the Holy Spirit, which I was earnestly seeking. I was in great distress. I prayed constantly, hoping that my earnest supplication might change God's mind. Thank the Lord that all along He wanted me to learn to deny myself, to lay aside human love, and love Him with a single heart. Otherwise, I would be a useless Christian in His hand. He cut down my natural life with a sharp knife so that I might learn a lesson which I had never learned before.

On one occasion I delivered a message and returned to my room with a heavy heart. I told God that I would return to school the following Monday and seek for the filling of the Holy Spirit and the love of Christ. During the following two weeks, I found that I still could not say with conviction the words of Psalm 73:25. But thank the Lord, soon afterwards I was filled with His love, and I was willing to lay my loved one down and loudly declare, "I will lay her aside! Never will she be mine!" After this declaration I was at long last able to utter the words of Psalm 73:25. On that day I was in the second heaven, if not the third. The world appeared smaller to me, and it was as if I were mounting the clouds and riding the mists. On the evening of my salvation, the burden of my sins rolled away, but on that day, February 13, 1922, when I laid aside my beloved, my heart was emptied of everything that previously occupied me.

In the following week, people began to be saved. Brother Weigh, who was my classmate, can testify to the fact that up to this time I had been very particular about my dress. I used to wear a long silk gown with red dots. But on that day, I removed my refined clothing and shoes. I went to the kitchen, made some paste, and with a bundle of gospel posters in my arms, went to the street to post them on the walls and to distribute gospel tracts. In those days in Foochow, Fukien, this was a pioneer act.

From my second school term in 1922, I began the gospel work, and many of my schoolmates were saved. I prayed daily for those whose names were in my notebook. From 1923, we began to borrow or rent places for meetings to expand the work of evangelization. Several hundred people were saved at the same time. All but one of those whose names were in my notebook were saved. This is evident proof that God listens to such prayers. It is His way that we must first pray for sinners before they can be saved. In those few years there were many instances to confirm this fact.⁵

⁵ *Watchman Nee, A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, pp. 48-52.

EDIFIED AND PERFECTED

From the beginning of his Christian life, Watchman Nee diligently studied the Bible. The methods he used for Bible study were as follows: 1) A general study of all the books of the Bible consecutively to acquire an overall view. 2) The study of a particular book, such as Genesis, Daniel, Matthew, Romans, or Revelation, to probe the depths contained in that part of the Word. 3) The studies according to particular subjects, specific words, types, allegories, parables, numbers, prophecies, lives of certain biblical characters, history, psalms and songs. He instructed others to study the whole Bible once a year, reading three chapters of the Old Testament and one chapter of the New Testament daily for this purpose. Around the age of twenty, he read through the New Testament weekly for approximately one year. By studying the Bible in so many different ways, Watchman Nee became fully familiar with the Word and enlightened concerning the purpose of God, Christ, the church, and the things relating to salvation and life. He said, "If God wants to speak something to others through us, He will also do it on the basis of what He has spoken in the past. If we do not know what God has said in the past, He cannot speak through us to others, and we are useless in the eyes of God"; "Everyone who wants to know God must study His Word in a serious way, and every believer should realize the importance of reading God's Word from the very beginning of his Christian life".⁶

Watchman Nee was not only an excellent student of the Bible; he was also a studious reader of spiritual books. He was brilliantly gifted in being able to select, comprehend, discern, and memorize appropriate material. He could easily grasp the points of a book at a glance. Through reading Christian publications, he was not only helped to receive spiritual light and life; he also became knowledgeable regarding church history and Christianity in the Western world. Through Margaret Barber he became familiar with the books of D.M. Panton, Robert Govett, G.H. Pember, Jessie Penn-Lewis, T. Austin-Sparks, and others. He also collected the writings of the Brethren teachers, such as John Nelson Darby, William Kelly, and C.H. Mackintosh. In addition to these he also collected the writings of many others. In the early days of his ministry, he spent one-third of his income for personal needs, one-third for helping others, and the remaining third to buy books. He had an arrangement with some used bookstores in London that whenever they acquired a book for which he had placed an order, it was to be sent automatically. In this way he collected nearly all the classical Christian writings from the first century on. He acquired a collection of more than three thousand of the best Christian books, which included books on church history, biographies and autobiographies of outstanding Christians, and the central messages and commentaries of spiritual writers. When he was twenty-three years of age, his bedroom was nearly filled with books. There were books on the floor and a row of books on either side of his bed, with only a narrow space in the middle to lie down. It was often said that he was buried in books. By reading these books, along with diligently studying the Bible, he not only acquired much learning concerning the content of the Bible; he also became balanced in his views. By such study he was also helped to realize more truths than all his predecessors. This greatly strengthened and enriched his ministry for the Lord's recovery. He picked up all the good, scriptural points from the church fathers' writings through the writings of all the prominent writers of all the centuries down to the present and put them together into his practice of the Christian life and of the church life.

⁶ *CWWN, Set 3, Vol. 48, Messages for Building up New Believers (1), chapter 9, Reading the Bible, pp. 131-147*

Besides the Bible and many Christian writings, early in his Christian life, Watchman Nee also received much spiritual edification and perfection from Margaret E. Barber, an Anglican missionary in China. Miss Barber had come to know the Lord in a living way. She had deeply experienced the cross and practiced continually the lessons of the cross. She settled in a suburb of Foochow, Watchman Nee's home city, praying much for the Lord's move in China and helping those who sought her counsel in seeking after the Lord. Being deep in the Lord and exceedingly strict, she frequently rebuked the young people concerning many things. Whenever Nee had a problem or needed spiritual instruction or strengthening, he would go to her. When he visited her, she rebuked and reproved him. Frequently she pointed out that as a young man he could not serve the Lord in this way or that way. However, the more she rebuked him, the more he returned to be rebuked. By deliberately putting himself before her to be rebuked, he received untold help. Through her perfecting, Nee understood and experienced what is the bearing of the cross and learned to accept its breaking for the accomplishment of God's will.

In 1923 seven of us worked together as co-workers. Two of us took the lead, a co-worker who was five years my senior and myself. We had a co-workers' meeting every Friday in which the other five were often forced to listen to the arguing between the leading two. We were all young then, and each had his own way of thinking. I often charged the elder co-worker with being wrong, and vice versa. Since my temperament had not been dealt with, I frequently lost my temper. Today in 1936 I do sometimes laugh, but I seldom laughed at that time. In our controversies I admit that many times I was wrong, but he was also at times in the wrong. It was easy for me to forgive my own faults, but not easy to forgive others. After having a dispute on Friday, I would go to Sister Barber on Saturday and accuse the other co-worker. I would say, "I told that co-worker that he should act in a certain way, but he would not listen. You should speak to him." Sister Barber replied, "He is five years older than you; you should listen to him and obey him." I answered, "Am I to listen to him whether he is reasonable or not?" She said, "Yes! The Scriptures say that the younger should obey the elder." I replied, "I cannot possibly do this. A Christian should act according to reason." She answered, "Whether there is reason or not, you need not care. The Scriptures say that the younger should obey the elder." I was angry at heart that the Bible would say such a thing. I wanted to give vent to my indignation, but I could not.

Each time following the controversy on Friday, I would go to her to state my grievances, but she would again quote the Scriptures, demanding that I obey the elder. Sometimes I wept Friday evening after the dispute on Friday afternoon. Then I would go to Sister Barber the next day to state my grievances, hoping that she would vindicate me. But I would weep again after coming home Saturday evening. I wished I had been born a few years earlier. In one controversy I had very good arguments. I felt that when I pointed them out, she would see how my co-worker was wrong and would support me. But she said, "Whether that co-worker is wrong or not is another matter. While you are accusing your brother before me, are you like one who is bearing the cross? Are you like a lamb?" When she questioned me in this way, I felt very ashamed and I could never forget it. My speech and my attitude that day revealed that I was indeed not like one bearing the cross, nor like a lamb.

In such circumstances I learned to obey an elder co-worker. In that year and a half, I learned the most precious lesson in my life. My head was filled with ideas, but God wanted to see me enter into spiritual reality. In that year and a half, I came to realize what it is to bear the cross. Today in 1936 we have some fifty co-workers. Had it not been for the lesson of obedience which I learned in that year and a half, I fear that I could not work together with anyone. God put me in those circumstances that I might learn to be under the restraint of the Holy Spirit. In those eighteen months I had no opportunity to put forward my proposals. I could only weep and painfully suffer. But had it not been for this, I would never have realized how difficult it was for me to be dealt with. God wanted to polish me and to remove all my sharp, projecting edges. This has been a difficult thing to accomplish. How I thank and praise God, whose grace has brought me through!

Now I must speak a word to the young co-workers. If you cannot stand the trials of the cross, you cannot become a useful instrument. It is only the spirit of a lamb that God takes delight in: the gentleness, the humility, and the peace. Your ambition, lofty purpose, and ability are all useless in the sight of God. I have been down this path and must often confess my shortcomings. All that pertains to me is in the hand of God. It is not a question of right or wrong; it is a question of whether or not one is like the bearer of the cross. In the church, right and wrong have no place; all that counts is bearing the cross and accepting its breaking. This produces the overflowing of God's life and accomplishes His will. (Personal Testimony Given at Kulangsu, Fukien, October 18, 1936)⁷

Through his fellowship with Miss Barber, Watchman Nee realized that being a Christian is altogether a matter of knowing and experiencing God's divine life in Christ. Through her shepherding, he learned to pay more attention to the operation of the divine life within him than to mere outward work (Phil. 2:13). From time to time, he and Miss Barber would go together to listen to a Christian speaker. He always admired either the speaker's eloquence, knowledge, zeal, ability, or natural power of persuasion. Then Miss Barber would point out to him that what he admired was neither of life nor of the Spirit. What he admired might be able to stir people up and motivate them to perform certain works, but it could never minister life to people. Through such spiritual diagnosis, he was educated to discern and distinguish the difference between life and work.

Many who know Miss Barber can testify that she was very different from others. Whenever someone went to her and sat in front of her, spontaneously he would realize how much he was off. He would realize that he did not have what she had and would aspire for what she had. Fifteen years ago (1921) when I first became a Christian, I was very proud. I thought highly of myself because I was able to read one or two chapters of the Bible a day with some understanding. (Very few people are proud outwardly; most people are proud inwardly.) I went to her to tell her about this. After I prayed a few words with her, I saw my pride before she even opened her mouth to rebuke me...⁸

⁷ Watchman Nee, *A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, pp. 19-23.

⁸ CWWN, vol. 42, ch. 31, Food-Washing, pp. 229-240.

Soon after I was saved, I became very interested in Bible exposition. I studied the different ways to outline the Scriptures. I studied the different ways to quote Scriptures and use parables. When I listened to others' messages, I would criticize them and label them good or bad, right or wrong. I tried to collect more material from others so that I could be as good as they were. Even in listening to Miss Barber, I held the same attitude. Many times I did not appreciate the messages of others. At that time I could not tell the difference between life and death. I thought that the most important thing was logic and teaching. After listening to Miss Barber for two years, I was invited once by her to speak. She wanted to see how well I spoke. I did my best to prepare for it; I felt good about my own speaking. The ideas were clear, the logic lucid, the explanations thorough, and the examples appropriate. After I delivered my message, I thought she would surely commend me a little. But she did not say a word and acted as if nothing had happened. I said in my heart, "Even if the message was not good, you should say something about it." But she simply did not mention it at all. One day, as I was walking with her in the courtyard, she turned to me and said, "If you realize someday that ideas alone are not good enough, it will be a wonderful day." I was puzzled by what she said, and I did not appreciate it. I said in my heart, "Didn't you use illustrations and quote Scriptures in your sermons? What is the difference?" At that time I did not understand what she meant, but today I do. There was life in her messages, but there were only ideas without life in my messages. Her words caused others to touch life, while my words only caused others to touch knowledge.⁹

In 1925 I was in the midst of publishing the second issue of *The Christian*, covering Daniel, 2 Thessalonians, and Revelation. At that time I was not very knowledgeable concerning the prophecies, and I wrote about them in a very brief way. I attached to it a preface and sent it to the printer. I felt very good about it and did not have much regret about printing it. Moreover, I received over three hundred responses from readers telling me that they had liked it and received help, encouragement, and admonition from it. I felt quite proud of myself. One day, as I was with Miss Barber, I asked, "Have you received a copy of *The Christian* that I edited? What do you think of its content?" She was not interested in this at all, talking only about her tea and cakes. I tried a few more times to draw her attention to my magazine, but she kept on talking about tea, cakes, and candies. When I was about to leave, she said one word to me, "Brother, one day you will discover that good things are not necessarily good." I asked if she was referring to the second issue of *The Christian*, and she said yes. She continued, saying, "If I had to put out ten issues of *The Christian*, I would not put those things in one of them. I would write on something else." At that time I did not appreciate what she said. But day after day, I began to realize that it is not how much we can produce and achieve, but how much God has done. Everything that issues from man is futile, whether it is human wisdom or human power.¹⁰

I once asked Miss M. E. Barber if there were any books on the cross that I could read. She answered, "Yes. But at your present stage, you cannot read them, and it would be unprofitable for you to read them." I could not hold back my curiosity, and a few days later I

⁹ *CWWN*, vol. 44, ch. 114, *The Attack on the Church*, pp. 881-885.

¹⁰ *CWWN*, vol. 45, ch. 156, *Spiritual Discernment of Good and Evil*, pp. 1101-1108.

learned the names of the books in the course of our conversation. Later, someone gave me copies of those books, and I read right through them. On the one hand, I got some help, but on the other hand, I was greatly disappointed because the books did not answer my questions concerning the cross. I wished that the books had been written in a systematic way, but they were not written this way. My mind tried to sort out the theology and the doctrines, but God was trying to give me life. The books by Madam Guyon, which Brother Yu translated, do not contain much Bible exposition. But after one reads them, he receives the help. When one reads these books, he gets nourishment in life. But when he reads books on knowledge, he receives no nourishment in life. As servants of the Lord we should supply others with life and should not merely teach others doctrines.¹¹

Margaret Barber went to be with the Lord in 1930. In her will she left her old Bible with all the precious notes to Watchman Nee. Through Margaret Barber he became familiar with the books of D.M. Panton, Robert Govett, G.H. Pember, Jessie Penn-Lewis, and others. He picked up all the good, scriptural points from the church fathers' writings through the writings of all the prominent writers of all the centuries down to the present and put them together into his practice of the Christian life and of the church life.

REVELATIONS RECEIVED

Watchman Nee was very familiar with the Bible, and with the help of famous works that expounded the Bible over the past two thousand years, he not only understood the words in the Bible, but also understood the principles of truth, spiritual meaning, life, and the spirit of the Bible. Therefore, his expositions and preaching, whether orally or through writing, were all based on the divine vision and spiritual revelation he saw in the Bible. In 1927, in an editorial note on *The Christian* (Issue Nos. 13 & 14), Watchman Nee wrote, "The Bible is our only standard. We are not afraid to preach the pure Word of the Bible, even if men oppose; but if it is not the Word of the Bible, we could never agree even if everyone approved."¹²

Watchman Nee fully believed in the scriptural, fundamental faith held by all true Christians. He believed in the verbal inspiration of the Bible and that the Bible is God's holy Word. He believed that God is triune—Father, Son, and Spirit—distinctly three, yet fully one, co-existing and coinhering each other from eternity to eternity. He believed that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, even God Himself, incarnated as a man with both the human and the divine life, that He died on the cross to accomplish redemption, that He rose bodily from the dead on the third day, that He ascended into heaven and was enthroned, crowned with glory, and made the Lord of all, and that He will return the second time to receive His followers, to save Israel, and to establish His millennial kingdom on the earth. He believed that every person who believes in Jesus Christ will be forgiven by God, washed by His redeeming blood, justified by faith, regenerated by the Holy Spirit, and saved by grace. Such a believer is a child of God and a member of the Body of Christ. He also believed that the destiny of every believer is to be an integral part of the church, which is the Body of Christ and the house of God.

¹¹ *CWWN*, vol 45, ch. 141, The Lord's Word Being Spirit and Life, pp. 1011-1018.

¹² *CWWN*, vol. 7, p. 1245.

In addition to these five basic aspects of the Christian faith, Watchman Nee was further enlightened to receive clear revelation from the Lord concerning fifty-three other scriptural teachings, which are crucial for fully understanding and practicing the Christian faith. Below is a record of 53 items of truth recovered by Watchman Nee which his co-worker Witness Lee compiled.¹³

FROM 1920 TO 1932

1. The Assurance of Salvation

One of the first basic items which the Lord revealed to Watchman Nee was the believers' assurance of salvation. Throughout all of China in those days, the scriptural teaching of the assurance of salvation was seldom taught by any Christian group. Watchman Nee, however, became exceedingly clear concerning this matter and preached the gospel to Christians to help them realize that they were saved. He was able to show from the written Word that the believer can be absolutely assured of his salvation. He would help the doubtful to take a Bible verse like John 3:16 and digest it until it became a definite word to them that they could never perish. He also pointed out to them that the Spirit of God dwells in them and witnesses with their spirit that they are God's children (Rom. 8:16). A further evidence of the assurance of salvation was given by Watchman Nee from 1 John 3:14: "We know that we have passed out of death into life because we love the brothers."

2. The Distinction between Grace and Law

Most Christians in those days did not have the assurance of salvation, because they did not know the distinction between grace and law. Watchman Nee received the Lord's clear revelation that salvation is by grace alone, not by works of law. If salvation were a matter of law, it would depend upon our own works. But salvation is of the Lord's grace, depending only upon what He is and what He has done for us.

3. The Difference between Salvation and Victory

Some Christians did not know the difference between salvation and victory. This was another cause of uncertainty regarding their salvation. At the moment we believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, our salvation is secured. Victory, however, is a matter of overcoming sin, the world, the flesh, the self, and all other negative things in our daily living. Our eternal destiny as children of God is forever secured by simple faith in Jesus Christ for our salvation. But victory is a matter of our daily life and is related to dispensational reward.

4. The Difference between Salvation and Reward

Any Christian who is not clear about the difference between salvation and reward will have difficulty being assured of his salvation. This distinction was fully revealed to Watchman Nee. Salvation is by grace through faith (Eph. 2:8), whereas reward is the result of working according to the Lord's will (Matt. 16:27; 1 Cor. 3:14).

5. The Difference between the Kingdom of the Heavens and Eternal Life

¹³ *Watchman Nee, A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, pp. 151-167.

Some Christians hesitated to say that they were saved, because the difference between having eternal life and entering into the kingdom of the heavens was not clear to them. When a person believes in the Lord Jesus for his salvation, he receives eternal life. But to enter into the kingdom of the heavens, one must live his daily life under heaven's rule. Such a living is an exercise in this church age and qualifies us to participate in the Lord's millennial rule in the kingdom age. Such participation is a reward for living a life under the heavenly rule and is not a matter of eternal salvation. Watchman Nee received a thorough and clear revelation concerning this matter.

6. The Kingdom Truths

Watchman Nee also saw the New Testament truth of the kingdom in its full scope. He saw that the New Testament distinguishes between the kingdom of the heavens and the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God includes the entire reign of God from eternity in the past to eternity in the future. But the kingdom of the heavens is a smaller sphere within the kingdom of God; it is the heavenly ruling among the believers in the present church age (Matt. 5:3, 10) and a reward in the coming kingdom age (Matt. 5:20; 7:21). All regenerated believers are in the kingdom of God (John 3:5), but only those who live a life under the heavenly rule will inherit the kingdom age as a reward. The kingdom of God is related to salvation, whereas the kingdom of the heavens is related to reward.

7. Rapture

Along with the revelation of the kingdom, the Lord also gave Watchman Nee revelation concerning rapture. According to current fundamental theology, Christians are told that as long as they are saved, at the Lord's return they will all participate together in a general rapture with the whole church before the tribulation. But Watchman Nee came to see that not all believers will be raptured at the same time. Some believers will become matured overcomers before the tribulation; therefore, they will be raptured first. The majority of the believers, however, will mature later, so they will be raptured later. The kingdom is a matter of reward, and rapture is a matter of maturity. The rapture can be compared to a harvest. A crop is not harvested and taken into the barn when it is still green. It must first ripen into maturity. All Christians must ripen in life. When they are ripe, the Lord will harvest them and bring them into the heavenly barn. These two points must be kept clearly in mind: 1) the kingdom is a reward to the overcoming believers, and 2) rapture requires the maturity of the overcomers.

8. The Deviation of Christianity

Not long after they were saved, Watchman Nee and some other young believers who were still students began to realize, by studying the Bible, how abnormal Christianity is today. The Lord showed them that Christianity as it is practiced today has deviated in almost every point from the way God ordained in His holy Word.

9. The Church, the Ecclesia, the Body of Christ

The Lord gave Watchman Nee a clear revelation of His church. Brother Nee preached and taught that the church is not a building, an organization, or a Christian mission. The church,

rather, is an organism. It is a living body. In another sense, it is the ecclesia, the gathering together of the called-out ones.

10. The Two Aspects of the Church

Watchman Nee saw that the church is both universal and local. In the entire universe there is only one church, the church of God (1 Cor. 10:32). This unique church is expressed in many localities on earth, and in each locality it is a local church. The universal church is composed of all the local churches, and the local churches are the practical expression of the universal church. In Matthew 16:18, the universal church is revealed, whereas in Matthew 18:17, we see the local church. Without the local churches, there is no way to participate in the universal church, and there is no way to have a practical church life. In the book of Acts, in the Epistles, and in Revelation, the church is expressed as local churches, i.e., the church in Jerusalem, the church in Antioch, the church in Ephesus, etc. The government of the church is not universal but local.

11. Denominationalism

At the same time he received revelation concerning the church, Watchman Nee also saw the evil of denominationalism. Denominations divide the Body of Christ into many organizations. This is condemned in the Scriptures (1 Cor. 1:11-13).

12. The Clergy System and the Hierarchy

Watchman Nee also received light concerning the clergy-laity system. This system includes hierarchy, rank, and position in a form of Christianity which is reduced to human organization. The Roman Catholic Church has priests, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and the pope. The Church of England has priests, bishops, archbishops, with the headship vested in the reigning sovereign. The Protestant churches have their pastors. This kind of clergy system is clearly contrary to the revelation of the New Testament and annuls the function of the members of the Body of Christ. Denominationalism cuts the Body of Christ into pieces, and the clergy destroys the function of all its members.

13. The Universal Priesthood

The universal priesthood was another truth revealed to Watchman Nee. He saw that the priesthood in the New Testament is different from that in the Old Testament. The priesthood in the Old Testament was eventually vested in the children of Aaron, resulting in a clerical class different from that of laymen. But the New Testament priesthood is granted to all believers (Rev. 1:6; 1 Pet. 2:5, 9). In the New Testament there are no clergy and no laymen; all are priests.

14. The Presbytery, the Proper Eldership

Watchman Nee received the clear revelation from the Scriptures that the church should be governed by a presbytery of elders. Every local church needs a group of experienced brothers to take the lead and to exercise oversight over the church's activities. In the Bible this group of men is called the presbyters, the elders, the bishops, the overseers.

15. The Difference between Office and Gift

From the Bible, Watchman Nee saw that the offices of the church are different from gifts. The church offices include elders and deacons, who are local (Phil. 1:1); whereas gifts include prophets, evangelists, and shepherds and teachers, who are universal (Eph. 4:11).

16. Baptism and the Lord's Table

The Lord revealed to Watchman Nee that the proper mode of water baptism is by immersion. The Lord also showed him the scriptural way to practice the Lord's table. Baptism is the believer's testimony that his old life has been terminated and that he has been separated from the world to the Lord and His Body. The Lord's table is a remembrance of the Lord and a testimony concerning the oneness and the fellowship of His Body.

17. Head Covering and the Laying On of Hands

Watchman Nee also saw the scriptural meaning of head covering and the real practice of the laying on of hands. Head covering is an expression of submission and obedience to the headship of Christ in the church. The laying on of hands is an act of identification, indicating that what is being done is an impartation of something which is within the Body to other members of the Body. By the laying on of hands, spiritual gifts are imparted to the members, and fellowship is realized between the members of the Body of Christ.

18. Living by Faith in God

Watchman Nee saw that the real servant of God must live by faith in God and not be hired as the employee of a religious organization. The practice of living by faith was practically unknown in China in the early years of Watchman Nee's ministry. The Brethren assemblies do not hire the Lord's servants among them, but when the Brethren went to China, they thought it was impossible to teach the Chinese believers to live by faith in God. To live by faith was simply not in the Chinese Christian's concept; however, Watchman Nee both taught this way and practiced it himself.

19. Divine Healing

Watchman Nee not only believed in divine healing from the Scriptures; he experienced it himself. To him it was not merely an outward, miraculous gift, but an inward experience, producing the building up in life.

20. The Death and Resurrection of Christ

The Lord gave Watchman Nee specific revelation concerning the death and resurrection of Christ. He saw that Christ's death has two aspects: the objective aspect, which dealt with our sin, sins, the world, Satan, and the powers of darkness; and the subjective aspect, which dealt with our flesh, our self, and our old man. He also saw that in the death of Christ the old creation was terminated. This was the negative side of the cross. On the positive side, the divine life of Christ was released to germinate the new creation. In our Lord's resurrection, His divine life was released to regenerate the believers and make them members of the Body of Christ. From His resurrection the church came into existence, and also in His resurrection the Body of Christ is being built up. It is also in the power of His resurrection that believers are able to bear the cross and, in the fellowship of His sufferings, be conformed to His death (Phil. 3:10). While enjoying

the resurrection life of Christ, the Lord's people are empowered to live a holy and heavenly life while they are walking on this earth. This resurrection is just the resurrected Christ Himself, and the Spirit of Christ is its reality.

21. The Ascension of Christ

Watchman Nee saw that Christ has ascended into the heavens far above all. Neither the gravity of the earth, the demons, the prince of the power of the air, nor all the powers of darkness could either frustrate or detain Him. These are all now under His feet. By His ascension He has been made Lord of all (Acts 2:36), and also by His ascension all His followers have been brought into the heavenly places (Eph. 2:6). His position, His ministry, and His life are now all heavenly. He is now engaged in the work of ministering the heavenly life and the very heavens themselves into His people to make them the heavenly people, living a heavenly life on earth.

22. The Coming of Christ

Watchman Nee acquired a clear and thorough view concerning the coming of Christ. He saw that the Lord's coming (Gk., *parousia*) has a secret aspect and an open aspect. To the watchful ones, who have been seeking Him and awaiting His return, He will come secretly as a thief (Matt. 24:43; Rev. 3:3) from the heavens to the air before the great tribulation. But to those engrossed in the world, He will come as a flash of lightning (Matt. 24:27, 30) from the air to the earth after the great tribulation. In His secret coming, believers will be raptured to the air; whereas, His open coming will bring judgment to the world on the earth.

23. The Indwelling of the Holy Spirit

The crucified, resurrected, and ascended Christ is now indwelling the spirits of His people as the Spirit of life, making Christ real to them. This indwelling Spirit of Christ is both the Holy Spirit and the Spirit of God. The main function of the divine Spirit is to impart the divine life into God's people, regenerating them, anointing them, sanctifying and transforming them by saturating them with the very element of God. Watchman Nee ministered on this matter extensively.

24. The Teaching of the Anointing

Along with the revelation he received concerning the Holy Spirit, Watchman Nee also received light concerning the teaching of the anointing. The anointing is the moving and working of the Holy Spirit within our spirit. The anointing teaches us everything from within (1 John 2:27). The law of life replaces the Old Testament law, and the teaching of the anointing replaces the Old Testament prophets. It is by the teaching of the anointing that we abide in the Lord.

25. The Outpouring of the Holy Spirit

Watchman Nee saw two aspects regarding the Holy Spirit: the indwelling of the Holy Spirit for life and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit for power. On the day the Lord rose from the dead, He breathed into the disciples the Holy Spirit (John 20:22). At that time the Holy Spirit entered into the disciples and indwelt them for the purpose of imparting life. But on the day of Pentecost, the Holy Spirit was poured out upon the disciples (Acts 2:4, 33). This pouring out of the Spirit was for the purpose of distributing power to the disciples. This second experience of the

Spirit is what the Bible calls the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Most Christians do not see the difference between these two aspects of the Spirit. Watchman Nee, however, received a clear revelation concerning this distinction. Although he never spoke in tongues, he received repeated experiences of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

26. The Tripartite Man

In the early years of his Christian life, Watchman Nee came to see that man is composed of three parts: spirit, soul, and body (1 Thes. 5:23). He came to see that the soul is the personality of man; the body is the outward part of man for contacting the physical world; and the spirit is the inmost part of man for contacting the spiritual world. Since God is Spirit, we must worship and serve Him in our spirit (Rom. 1:9; John 4:24). Believers are regenerated by the Spirit of God in their spirit, the Spirit of God witnesses with their spirit (Rom. 8:16), the Lord Jesus is with their spirit (2 Tim. 4:22), and they are one spirit with the Lord (1 Cor. 6:17). The spirit must be divided from the soul (Heb. 4:12) so that believers can walk, live, and work in their spirit (Gal. 5:16, 25) and be spiritual men (1 Cor. 2:14-15).

27. Sanctification by Faith

Some time prior to 1925, Watchman Nee came to see the matter of sanctification by faith. He received light concerning the holiness teaching of John Wesley and said that what Wesley taught was not really holiness but sinless perfection. Through his study he came to realize that the Brethren surpassed Wesley in their vision of holiness. Yet while their teaching on holiness was accurate, it was too objective and consisted merely of a sort of positional change. The Brethren taught that gold in the world was common, while gold built into the temple was sanctified. As a further example, the Brethren taught that sheep and cattle in flocks and herds were common, but when offered upon the altar, they were sanctified (Matt. 23:17, 19). In addition, the Brethren illustrated sanctification by pointing out that food in the market is common, but food on the table of Christians becomes sanctified with prayer. Watchman Nee pointed out that all these examples refer to an outward change of position, but none involves an inward dispositional change. He taught that sanctification is not merely a positional change, but that it must also be dispositional (Rom. 6:19, 22).

28. Christ as Life

To His believing ones Christ is life (Col. 3:4), and this life is the Spirit of life (Rom. 8:2) in their spirit. Whatever the believer does must be done out of this inner life. Every believer should live by this divine life within (Gal. 2:20).

29. The Law of the Spirit of Life

The divine life that believers receive from the Lord is in the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of life (Rom. 8:2). This divine life has its own law and characteristics, and its function is to regulate and supply us with God's divine element. This is not the mere outward letter of the law but the law of life (Heb. 8:10) enforced by the Spirit of God within us. Watchman Nee received a full revelation concerning this inner law. It is by this inner law, called the law of life, that we are freed from the law of sin and death and are able to live a righteous and holy life.

30. The Law of Sin and Death

Watchman Nee saw from the Scriptures that to sin and die is a law (Rom. 8:2). This law is in the members of our body (Rom. 7:23) and is derived from the evil life of Satan. Every fallen man is under its power. But the law of the Spirit of life is more powerful than the law of sin and death and is able to free us from it.

31. A Better Covenant

The new covenant which the Lord Jesus enacted for us with His blood is better than the old covenant (Heb. 7:22; 8:6). The old covenant is according to the Old Testament law, with a priesthood according to the law of a fleshy commandment; whereas, the new covenant is according to the law of life, with a priesthood according to the power of an indestructible life (Heb. 8:10; 7:16).

32. The Overcoming Life of Christ

Because Christ has overcome Satan and every negative thing in the universe, His life is an overcoming life. If we live by Christ, His life overcomes every negative thing for us.

33. The Calling of the Overcomers

Watchman Nee received revelation concerning the calling of the overcomers. Because the whole church has become defeated, failing to meet the Lord's purpose, the Lord has come in to call some of His believers to be overcomers. This is clearly revealed in the seven epistles in Revelation 2 and 3. Because the whole church has missed the mark, the Lord has sounded His call to those who love Him to overcome the degraded church.

34. Spiritual Warfare

By 1925 Watchman Nee had seen the matter of spiritual warfare. He saw that for the accomplishment of God's divine purpose in this universe, there is a consummate battle shaping up between God and His enemy, Satan. This battle involves all of God's children. If they take sides with Satan, they are rebelling against God; if they take sides with God, they are fighting against Satan. All the overcoming believers must realize that they are on the battlefield; they are fighting for God's divine purpose. To fight in this spiritual warfare requires the believer to see his heavenly position. Ephesians 2 makes it clear that we are seated in the heavenly places, and Ephesians 6 indicates that we are fighting against the powers in the heavenlies. The believers must keep their heavenly position so that they can defeat God's enemies in the heavenly places. If the believers' position is on the earth, they are under the enemy, and they lose the position to overcome.

FROM 1933 TO 1937

35. The Boundary of the Local Church

In the years 1933 and 1934, Watchman Nee saw that the boundary of the local church is the boundary of the city where the church is. He pointed out that within the boundary of a city there should not be more than one church. This spontaneously eliminates division.

36. The Centrality and Universality of Christ

In 1933 and 1934, Watchman Nee also saw the centrality and universality of Christ in God's eternal purpose. He saw that both in the universe and in the Christian life Christ should have the preeminence (Col. 1:18); he also saw that Christ is all and in all in the new man, which is the church (Col. 3:10-11).

37. The Ground of the Local Church

In 1937 Watchman Nee began to see the ground of the local church. This is a further step beyond the boundary of locality and indicates that believers should not be divided by anything. The ground of the church is the ground of oneness. Wherever we go and wherever we are, we should be one with the believers in that place. A city should have only one church. The church is not the church in a home, the church in a factory, the church on a campus, the church on a certain street, or the church with any other kind of designation. The local church is a church in the city. If there is more than one church in a locality, the believers in that locality will be divided.

38. Migration

Watchman Nee saw clearly from the book of Acts that there were two ways to spread the gospel: one by the sending out of the apostles, and the other by the migration of the believers (Acts 8:4). Under his ministry both methods were employed to spread the gospel.

FROM 1938 TO 1942

39. The Practicality of the Church Life

In 1939 Watchman Nee received further light regarding the church, this time concerning the practicality of the church life. He received clear light from the New Testament about how elders should carry out their eldership practically and how deacons and deaconesses should serve the saints and the church. He also helped all the members of the church to participate in the affairs of the church.

40. The Reality of the Church

Along with the practical aspect of the church, Watchman Nee saw the reality of the church. He stressed that the content of the church must be Christ living in and being lived out through all the members. Anything that is not Christ is not the church. Practically speaking, the church is Christ. Christ, therefore, is the reality of the church, and the church should be the expression of Christ.

41. The Oneness of the Church

The genuine oneness of the church is the oneness of the Spirit (Eph. 4:3). Real oneness is not the oneness of doctrines, opinions, or certain practices; real oneness is the Spirit Himself. Even though we may be one in doctrine and in the way we do things, if we are not in the Spirit, we do not have genuine oneness.

42. Seeing the Body

In the years 1939 to 1942, Watchman Nee was consistently burdened concerning the revelation of the Body of Christ. He was burdened to help Christians see the Body, not in a

doctrinal way but in a practical way. He continually stressed that seeing the Body makes it impossible to be individualistic. Once one sees the Body, he behaves and acts in a corporate way.

43. The Authority of the Holy Spirit in the Body

Watchman Nee saw that since the Body of Christ is an organism, the Holy Spirit must have authority over everything in every part. All the activity of the Body must be under the authority and direction of the Holy Spirit.

44. The Reality of the Holy Spirit

The Holy Spirit is the reality of all spiritual things. The term spiritual things is vain and empty unless the Holy Spirit Himself is the content and reality of every spiritual thing. The Holy Spirit is the reality of the Christians' life and also the reality of their living. Whatever they are and do must have the Holy Spirit as the reality.

45. The Authority of the Church

For the practice of the practical church life, Watchman Nee saw the necessity of authority. The authority that Christ as the Head imparts to certain members of His Body is called deputy authority. The local churches must be under this kind of deputy authority in a marvelous order. This authority is crucial for the building up of the local church. By this means the church becomes a vertical vessel. For this, submission is necessary.

46. The Building of the Church

The Lord has revealed through Watchman Nee that believers must be practically built up with others in the local churches under the authority of the church. This kind of building is a test to genuine spirituality. If one cannot be built up with others in a local church, his spirituality is questionable.

47. Coordination in the Church Life

Another revelation received by Watchman Nee, which is closely related to authority and building, was the revelation concerning coordination in the church. All the members in the local church need not only to be built up with others but also to coordinate with others. The service of the church cannot be carried out individually. All the members must serve in a coordinated way.

48. The Body and the Spiritual Warfare

In the early years of his ministry, Watchman Nee saw the spiritual warfare as a personal matter. However, from 1939 on, he saw that it was not just a personal matter, but a matter of the Body. The warrior in Ephesians 6 is not an individual believer but the Body. Watchman Nee stressed strongly that if believers are individualistic, it will be difficult for them to fight against the powers in the heavenlies. To fight the enemy we need the Body. We need to be not only in the heavenlies but also in the Body.

FROM 1942 TO 1948

49. The Discipline of the Holy Spirit

The period from 1942 to 1948 was a period of long suffering for Watchman Nee. During this time he learned to see the need of the Holy Spirit's discipline for the reconstitution of our being and for the breaking of the outer man. He saw that God sovereignly arranges our environment to work good for us through the discipline of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit arranges our environment and disciplines us through our environment in order to reconstitute us within with the divine element.

50. The Breaking of the Outer Man and the Release of the Spirit

While he was undergoing his long suffering from 1942 to 1948, Watchman Nee saw the breaking of the outer man and the release of the human spirit. The Spirit of Christ dwells in our spirit. If our outer man is not broken, our spirit with the Spirit of Christ is confined in the shell of our outer man. For this reason, there is a crucial need for our outer man to be broken in order that our spirit with the Spirit of Christ may be released to impart life to others. The discipline of the Holy Spirit is both to tear down some aspects of our natural life and to break our outer man.

51. Using the Spirit

Along with the light he received concerning the release of the spirit, Watchman Nee also saw that the believer must learn how to use his human spirit. In ministering the Word, in preaching the gospel, in contacting people, and even in matters of daily living, believers must use their spirit first, not their mind, emotion, or knowledge. The spirit must always be ahead of these. By our spirit we can touch another's spirit. Only by his spirit can the believer convey the Spirit of life and impart life into others.

FROM 1948 TO 1950

52. The Region of the Work

In 1948 Watchman Nee received revelation that while the church is local, the work is regional. The church is a matter of locality, but the work is a matter of region or district. The churches under Peter's work were in respective localities, but Peter's work was in a district which comprised all these localities. It was the same with Paul's work and the churches raised up through his work.

53. Handing Over All Things

In order for the work to accomplish its purpose and for the local churches to be built up practically, Watchman Nee saw the necessity for all the believers in the Lord's recovery to hand over not only themselves but all their possessions to the work. By this means the believers are delivered from being selfish and individualistic. This also helps believers to submit to the Lord's authority. It even affords the Lord an opportunity to use their possessions for His purpose and to grant them more physical blessings.

HIS LIVING

Watchman Nee not only saw the divine revelations from the Bible, but was also willing to obey the Bible and drop the traditions so that he might live to the truth he had seen and learn to live in the Lord's presence. He discovered that anything between him and God was a hindrance to receiving answers to prayer. It was also a frustration to trusting God for his needs and it kept him out of God's presence. At the same time he saw that he must make a thorough confession of sins to God and fully rectify any wrongs regarding people. He was very strict in these two matters in order to maintain a good conscience without offense (1 Tim. 1:5; Acts 24:16). Whenever he was having a transaction with God regarding a certain matter, God would deal with him regarding the elimination of certain things to maintain his fellowship with God. He went on with God in this way through his entire life.

LIVING IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD

In dealing with worldliness, Watchman Nee eliminated everything worldly from his life. He was absolutely separated from the world. There was no sign of worldliness in his home, in his manner of dress, or in anything related to his living. Although he did not do it in a legal way, he lived in an unworldly manner throughout his entire life. He kept himself from worldliness not only in his living but also in his work. The way all his publications were designed bore no impression of the world, nor did any of the practices he introduced into the church have any flavor of the world.

Watchman Nee fully realized that the flesh is the worst part of a fallen man and always fights against the Spirit of God (Gen. 6:3; Gal. 5:17). His flesh was continually suppressed by simply living in the spirit and behaving according to the inner anointing. He feared his flesh and would do nothing according to his flesh, but continually walked according to his spirit that he might not lose God's presence.

It was revealed to Watchman Nee that fallen man is saturated with Satan and can easily become the very embodiment and expression of Satan. This was Peter's experience in Matthew 16:21-23. In following the Lord Watchman Nee continually denied the self (Matt. 16:24). He feared the self and condemned it more than any other negative thing. In his daily life, in his work, and in his contact with others, he was always bearing the cross and denying the self. He was fully aware of the self-preference which exists in the fallen nature of man. He knew that King Saul lost his kingship and throne because of his self-preference (1 Sam. 15:1-28). Realizing that self-preference was more subtle than either sin or worldliness, he would not tolerate any self-preference to exist between himself and the Lord.

Watchman Nee learned from his experience that nothing, not even good and spiritual things, can substitute for obedience. For him to obey the Lord meant to cleave to the Lord's purposed will; it did not mean to take His permissive will as Balaam did (Num. 22:2-35). Anything which deviates from the Lord's purposed will is a form of disobedience. For him disobedience was a veil which would separate him from God's presence. He stressed that for him to receive light and revelation from the Lord he needed an unveiled face. Margaret Barber told him, and he passed it on to his close associates, that a small leaf on a

tree can block out the full moon from one's sight. Since he realized that disobedience would cause the loss of God's presence, he made it his purpose to obey the Lord's will and the Lord's revelation at any cost.

In order to keep his fellowship with the Lord untarnished, Watchman Nee learned how to apply the blood of Christ to his situation. He received light that only the blood of the Lord can keep one's conscience from any kind of condemnation before God. He relied upon the cleansing of the Lord's blood to maintain a continual practice of God's presence. Watchman Nee also thoroughly learned the lesson of abiding in the Lord according to the inner anointing (1 John 2:27-28). He realized that the inner anointing was the Lord's moving and working within him. To disobey the anointing was to disobey the Lord Himself. Only by obeying the inner anointing could he have the closest and most intimate walk with the Lord.

By all the above practices, he kept himself continually in the presence of God. No shadow whatsoever was allowed to come between him and God, and his fellowship with the Lord was constantly maintained. It was in this kind of uninterrupted fellowship with the Lord that he continually received heavenly light and spiritual revelation. He greatly treasured God's presence. To him God's presence was life, light, power, and victory. In His presence he enjoyed all the riches of God's provision. It is obvious that he received much help from the book *The Practice of the Presence of God* by Brother Lawrence. In this matter he was also helped very much by the biography of Hudson Taylor.

LIVING A CRUCIFIED LIFE

Watchman Nee learned that to live by Christ as his life, one must see the subjective aspects of Christ's death. Watchman Nee received the revelation that he had been crucified with Christ, that it was no longer he that lived, but Christ that lived in him. He also saw that to experience the death of Christ in a subjective way, he needed to bear the cross, that is, to remain in Christ's crucifixion. He realized that for him to have such an experience, God must sovereignly arrange his environment, making it a practical cross for him to bear. This is exactly what God did. From the very beginning of his ministry, God arranged situations in which he could deny his self by bearing the cross and living by Christ as life.

Throughout the years he was a person under the cross, willing to be opposed, rejected, criticized, and condemned. He would not vindicate himself, excuse himself, reason with people, or explain things in order to reduce his sufferings. He always shunned disclosing things about himself which would let people know what good work he had done for the Lord or what good things he had done for others. He truly lived a crucified life.

In the early years of his ministry, Watchman Nee was excommunicated by his six co-workers. At that time his temperament and his flesh rose up to react to their action, and this inclination was reinforced by the fact that most of the saints who met with them took sides with him. While he was on a trip ministering, letters and cables were sent telling him that he had been excommunicated. At the time he received them, he was restricted from reading them. But while on a boat returning to Foochow, he read the letters and cables and was much provoked. He felt that his six co-workers had unfairly excommunicated him, and he intended to return and vindicate himself. Immediately, however, the Holy

Spirit within him made him clear that the Lord would not allow him to vindicate himself, and he was silenced by the Lord. Upon his arrival many brothers and sisters were waiting for him at the pier. They simply could not help telling him how unfairly the six co-workers had dealt with him. They followed him from the pier to his home later that night, and all of their sympathy aroused his temperament, but the Lord strongly forbade him to do anything. Then, as the brothers and sisters crowded around, waiting for a definite word, he told them that the Lord would not allow him to vindicate himself and that he would leave home the next morning for another place in order to stay away from that situation. He asked them to be quiet about it, and this made them all the more disappointed. In that difficult situation he learned a great deal about how to remain in the Lord's death practically and bear the cross in order to live by Christ and for Christ. During that time of suffering, he wrote the following hymn:

(Translated from Chinese Hymn #468)

1. If I would only stray a bit,
Then ease my lot would be;
But I recall how Christ my Lord
Did suffer faithfully.
2. The world I have forever left
And severed all its ties;
The way may yet more narrow grow
And all against me rise.
3. But though the worldlings glare in rage;
I seek His smiling face.
Though outward glory others choose,
I, His "well done" through grace.
4. My heart's desire is not for fame
Nor profit in these days;
I humbly wish to serve my Lord
And gain that day His praise.
5. Unto the judgment seat of Christ
I daily look away;
May all my living and my work
Abide the fire that day.
6. You may your reputation hold,
Wealth, friends, and glory gain;
You may win all success and praise,
A following great obtain.

7. But I would be but lonely, poor,
With no prosperity;
My heart desires to follow Him
And finish faithfully.
8. My Lord, when here on earth, I know,
Gained nothing but the cross.
I only hope to be like Him
And for Him suffer loss.
9. My glory's in the coming age,
Today I'll patient be.
I'd ne'er enjoy ahead of Him
This world's prosperity.
10. That day I shall receive the crown,
He'll wipe away my tears.
So faithfully I'll journey on
Till He at length appears.

While staying in Shanghai as an unmarried person, Watchman Nee's mother came to stay with him for a period of time. Rumors circulated that a woman was living with him. Miss Groves, a sister who had previously been a help to him, heard the rumor and came to ask, "Is it true that you have a woman living with you?" He answered, "Yes." Then she rebuked him. Years later when he related this incident to me, I asked, "Why didn't you tell her that that woman was your mother?" He replied, "Miss Groves didn't ask who that woman was." He simply did not like to explain things to people in order to vindicate himself.

Following his marriage, his wife's aunt threatened to take some steps to damage his reputation if he would not come to pay her the courtesy of a visit. This actually stopped him from paying her a visit. If she had not threatened him in such a way, he would have done it. Under such threatening, however, he would not meet her demand. He refused to do anything to reduce the attack of others upon him. He believed that everything was from God's hand and was willing to bear any kind of opposition or attack as a cross, in order to live a crucified life with Christ.

In 1942 in the church in Shanghai, there was a big disturbance concerning him. He did not say a word to vindicate himself; neither did he take any steps to appease the situation or reduce his suffering. Again, he was learning the lesson of the cross, living the crucified life by the Christ who was living in him.

Because of that disturbance he was frustrated from continuing his ministry for six years. During that six-year period of suffering, he did nothing to attempt to recover his ministry, nor did he attempt to start any other kind of work. He remained fully silent, under God's sovereign hand, learning the lessons of

the cross. He kept himself fully in the confinement of Christ's death and experienced Christ as his life during that long trial. Following that long dark night of six years, when the day dawned and the Lord came to recover his ministry in 1948 through a revival in Shanghai, he asked us to sing the following hymn on the life of the grapevine. This hymn portrays how the grapevine is continually under certain kinds of hardship and dealing, yet it still continues to bear fruit and to cheer others. Three stanzas of the hymn say:

Yet its wine throughout the winter
Warmth and sweetness ever bears
Unto those in coldness shiv'ring,
Pressed with sorrow, pain, and cares.
Yet without, alone, the grapevine
Midst the ice and snow doth stand,
Steadfastly its lot enduring, Though 'tis hard to understand.

Winter o'er, the vine prepareth
Fruit again itself to bear;
Budding forth and growing branches,
Beauteous green again to wear;
Never murmuring or complaining
For the winter's sore abuse,
Or for all its loss desiring
Its fresh offering to reduce.

Breathing air, untainted, heavenly,
As it lifts its arms on high,
Earth's impure, defiled affections
Ne'er the vine may occupy.
Facing sacrifice, yet smiling,
And while love doth prune once more,
Strokes it bears as if it never
Suffered loss and pain before.

(#635, Hymns)

This hymn indicates that Watchman Nee was continually under hardships and dealings in order to produce spiritual fruit for cheering others. After that long winter, he prepared himself to bear fruit, not murmuring or complaining about anyone's abuse nor desiring to reduce his fresh contribution. He told those of us who were his close co-workers that when criticized in our behavior and character, we should not vindicate ourselves, although we must without hesitation contend for the truth. In Shanghai in 1948 there was a brother in the church who opposed Watchman Nee, because this brother's longstanding ambition for position in the church was not fulfilled. This brother gave financial assistance to a traveling preacher who wrote a long article criticizing and accusing Watchman Nee on a number of counts. The article was widely circulated, but Watchman did nothing to vindicate himself concerning this article.

Witness Lee, a close coworker of Watchman Nee testified, “During my long association with him, I never once saw him quarrel, dispute, or fight with anyone. One always received the impression that he was following in the footsteps of the Lamb and living under the putting to death of Jesus in order that the life of Jesus might be manifested in him (2 Cor. 4:10)”.

LIVING A RESURRECTED LIFE

Watchman Nee saw that he had been crucified with Christ and that he had risen with Christ. The resurrected Christ with the fullness of the Spirit had become his life. It was by the resurrection life of the indwelling Christ that he was able to bear the cross and to participate in the fellowship of His sufferings and be conformed to His death. By the resurrection life of Christ, he abandoned the world, forsook his future, denied himself, was freed from sin, overcame besetting sins, subdued Satan's temptations, conquered Satan's evil wiles, and defeated Satan himself. It was also by the resurrection life of Christ that he served the Lord, worked for Him, and carried out His commission. He consistently rejected his natural strength in the Lord's service. He feared the intrusion of himself into the Lord's work. He dared not minister apart from the indwelling Christ. In delivering messages, contacting people, writing articles, corresponding with the saints, and in all trifling things, he acted not by himself but by the resurrected life.

He further saw that the church as the Body of Christ was simply the enlargement, expansion, and expression of the resurrected Christ. His vision that Christ in resurrection was the life and content of the church was unique. He not only ministered by the resurrected Christ, but also ministered the resurrected Christ to the saints for the building up of His Body. He frequently emphasized that anything which is not Christ in resurrection is not the church, and anything not done by the resurrected Christ is something foreign in the Body. He would serve the church with nothing but the resurrected Christ. The more he continued his ministry, the more he ministered the resurrected Christ to the saints and to the churches. The resurrected Christ became not only his life and living, but also his message and ministry. He was one who not only knew resurrection life and who lived and ministered by and with the resurrected Christ; he was also one who bore the cross, participated in His suffering, and was being conformed to His death. I believe it was by living such a resurrected life that he was able to pass through the long martyrdom of twenty years' imprisonment which finally ended in death.

LIVING AN OVERCOMING LIFE

Watchman Nee received a clear vision of what it means to be an overcomer by studying the Scriptures and reading the writings of Jessie Penn-Lewis. He saw the principle in both the Old Testament and the New Testament that whenever God's people failed Him, He called some back to His original standard to overcome the defeated situation and fulfill His purpose. This is emphasized repeatedly by the Lord in the seven epistles to the seven churches in Revelation 2 and 3. He saw that the church was in a defeated condition, and he felt called by the Lord to be an overcomer in this age so that the Lord might recover His original purpose concerning His church. The rich provision of God's sufficient grace enabled him to live such an overcoming life by the power of the resurrected Christ. His overcoming life was the result of living a crucified and resurrected life. By the crucified and resurrected life, he overcame sin, the world, self, self-pity, natural temperament, the flesh, and Satan. By the crucified and resurrected life, he

also overcame defeated, degraded, and deviated Christianity with all its forms and traditions. He equally overcame Christianity's criticisms, rejections, oppositions, and persecutions by the crucified and resurrected life. By living such a life, he followed his Master as the Lamb and bore His reproach outside the camp of Christianity in an overcoming way. In living such an overcoming life, he followed in the footsteps of the apostle Paul by filling up what was lacking of the afflictions of Christ for His Body's sake (Col. 1:24). Ultimately, by living such an overcoming life, he became a living witness of Christ, bearing "the testimony of Jesus" (Rev. 1:9) not only in the sin-stricken world but also in Satan-stricken Christianity. The overcoming life which he lived eventually became his testimony of the Lord for His recovery.

All through the years of his life and ministry, Watchman Nee so cleaved to the crucified and resurrected Christ that he lived in the reality of an overcoming life. In the final period of his life, to all appearances he was taken away from his ministry by a change in the political situation. Actually, however, he was sovereignly put into an environment which afforded him a long period of twenty years to live an overcoming life. He did live such a life, overcoming even unto death.

EXPERIENCING THE DISCIPLINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

Like Jacob of old, Watchman Nee passed through many dealings in the Lord's hand. Following the long period of trial during which his ministry was discontinued, in our fellowship with him in Shanghai he frequently referred to the discipline of the Holy Spirit. He learned the following lesson by experience: While God's children are seeking after Him, whatever happens to them, whatever the source, whatever the nature of the dealing, and no matter how it happens, everything is arranged by the sovereign hand of God. This sovereign arrangement of our circumstances is the discipline of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit of God disciplines us by the things which happen to us.

Watchman Nee saw that what we are by nature means nothing; only what the Spirit constitutes within our being counts. Whatever we are by birth, whether good or bad, whether useful or not, is natural and altogether a hindrance to the Holy Spirit in constituting the divine life into our being. For this reason our natural strength, natural wisdom, natural cleverness, natural disposition, natural shortcomings, natural virtues, and natural attributes, plus our character and habits, must all be torn down in order that the Holy Spirit may form in us a new disposition, new character, new habits, new virtues, and new attributes. In order to accomplish this work of reconstitution, the Holy Spirit of God moves within us to enlighten, inspire, lead, and saturate us with the divine life. He also works in our environment to arrange every detail, person, matter, and thing in our situation to tear down what we are naturally. He may arrange to place a certain person in our home in order to tear down our natural quickness or slowness. He may arrange certain matters to abolish our natural cleverness or dullness. He may arrange another situation to tear down our natural wisdom or folly. He uses all kinds of persons, matters, and things to tear down all aspects of our natural being in order that He may conform us to the image of Christ.

Watchman saw in Romans 8 that, on the one hand, the Spirit of God works within us that we may realize our sonship, and that, on the other hand, all things work together for good in our environment that we may be conformed to the image of His firstborn Son. All persons and all situations related to us are

arranged by the Spirit of God to match His work within us that we may be conformed to the image of the firstborn Son of God. The work of the Spirit within is to constitute a new being for us; whereas the work of the Spirit without is to tear down every natural aspect of our old being through our environment.

Watchman Nee stressed how vital this is. All things of our natural life must be torn down, that our being may be reconstituted by the Holy Spirit with the divine life. Through all the things that happened to him through the years, he learned that God's children need the discipline of the Holy Spirit. He learned to accept all kinds of circumstances without complaining, blaming, grudging, or criticizing. He considered everything a discipline of the Holy Spirit. Everything benefited him spiritually. He would not miss any opportunity to learn a lesson and gain profit. His frequent question to those who were suffering was, "What lesson have you learned? What profit have you gained?" He did not instruct any one of us to improve our character or correct our behavior; he helped all of us to learn the lesson of the Holy Spirit's discipline.

He continually reminded us that to improve character or correct behavior is simply to make the natural being better, whereas the discipline of the Holy Spirit tears down our natural being to constitute a renewed being.

I never saw or heard him condemn anything or anyone. He was always calm, peaceful, and willing to accept any kind of environment. Regardless of the situation, he gave the Holy Spirit every opportunity to tear down some aspect of his natural life and renew him with the divine life. He was always ready to cooperate with the indwelling Spirit to carry out His discipline through outward circumstances. For this reason, he was always at peace with others, at rest in the Lord, and growing in life.

EXPERIENCING THE BREAKING OF THE OUTER MAN AND THE RELEASE OF THE SPIRIT

In the early days of his Christian life, Watchman Nee learned how to bear the cross, to live a crucified life, and to live in the Lord's presence. The chapters in his book *The Normal Christian Life* were all lessons learned in those early years. Later, he learned the further spiritual lessons of the discipline of the Holy Spirit, the breaking of the outer man, and the release of the spirit. In fellowship with him after his many sufferings during the war, he stressed three main points: the discipline of the Holy Spirit, the breaking of the outer man, and the release of the spirit.

No doubt, during the long period of his suffering, he learned many lessons, but in his fellowship he indicated no other lessons. He not only talked about the breaking of the outer man and the release of the spirit, but these experiences were also his reality. In the late 1940s, when he resumed his ministry, what came out from him was an impression that this was a broken man, a man through whom the Spirit could be fully released.

He frequently shared that though the Holy Spirit dwells in our spirit, if our outer man is not broken, our spirit could never be released. The Holy Spirit dwelling in our spirit is confined and

imprisoned by the outer man. For this reason the outer man must be broken that the inner man (the human spirit with the Holy Spirit) might be released. The scriptural basis for this reality is 2 Corinthians 4:16, "Though our outer man is decaying, yet our inner man is being renewed day by day."

Watchman Nee taught that when contacting others, preaching the gospel, ministering the Word, or testifying, we need the release of the spirit that the Spirit of life may come out of us to impart life to others. How much life can be imparted in testimonies and ministries depends on how much spirit can be released from within us. How much spirit can be released depends on how much the outer man has been broken. This is not simply a matter of tearing down some aspect of the natural being; this is a matter of breaking the outer man.

When contacting others, Watchman Nee did not exercise his natural insight to understand their situation. He always exercised his spirit to sense their real condition before the Lord. Whenever he was listening or speaking to others, his released spirit was foremost, not his broken outer man. The result was that what he spoke to others was not mere knowledge or instruction but life supply conveyed in his released spirit.

When he ministered the Word, what was crucial was the release of his spirit. What he cared for was not doctrine, but the release of his spirit.

To him the ministry of God's Word was a failure unless there was the release of the spirit. It was not difficult for Watchman Nee to release his spirit, for through years of suffering his outer man had been broken. However, it was difficult for those of us who were with him to release our spirit because our outer man still remained whole.

When he was with others or was ministering the Word, it was unnecessary for him to spend a long period of time to prepare his spirit to be released. In the opening word he could release his spirit with no time lapse. Since his outer man was broken, he could release his spirit anytime, unless he deliberately restricted it. It was not easy for others of us to release our spirit; but it was difficult for him to restrict his spirit because the shell of his outer man had been broken.

What we are speaking of here is not just a walk in the spirit that we may live a spiritual life; we are speaking of the release of the spirit that life may be released from within us to supply and nourish others. Watchman Nee's fellowship and ministry were rich in life. The secret was this: His outer man had been broken, and his spirit was easily released.

Watchman Nee strongly emphasized the breaking of the outer man for the release of the spirit. He shared that the breaking of the outer man cannot be accomplished in a short time. All the situations and environments in our whole life are arranged by God to accomplish this one thing. This is the ultimate consummation of the Holy Spirit's discipline.

In the days after he resumed his ministry, he repeatedly stressed the breaking of the outer man. In his fellowship with us concerning the Lord's work, he pointed out that among the co-workers, the limitation of usefulness and fruitfulness in every case was due to the lack of this one thing: the breaking of the outer man. Through many years of suffering, he fully experienced this breaking and set a good example in this matter.

HIS BURDEN AND COMMISSION

Watchman Nee's study of the Bible and his reading of many spiritual books greatly enlightened him regarding God's economy. It was according to the revelations which he received from the Lord that he was burdened to work for the Lord. This burden was actually the Lord's commission to him for His recovery in this age. His burden fell into several categories, such as preaching the gospel, edifying the young believers, teaching the truth, bearing a specific testimony of the Lord and establishing local churches. He preached the gospel to his schoolmates as well as his countrymen. Hundreds were saved and had their lives changed.

Following gospel preaching, Watchman Nee was burdened to help young believers in the following five areas: 1) in their Christian walk, 2) in the growth of life, 3) in knowing the Bible, 4) in knowing the errors of denominationalism, and 5) in knowing the church. He instructed them in how to make a thorough confession of their sins to God, how to be reconciled with others, how to make a full clearance of the past, how to overcome sin, how to forsake the world, how to consecrate themselves to the Lord, how to study the Bible, how to pray, how to lead others to the Lord, how to meet and fellowship with the saints, how to seek the Lord's will, how to follow the inner anointing, how to live by faith, how to renounce the sects, and how to keep the unity of the Body. To fulfill this purpose he dedicated his time for two years to publish a monthly magazine entitled *The Christian*, which received wide circulation. Thousands of copies of each issue were printed, and hundreds of young followers of the Lord were immensely edified by these messages.

Watchman Nee was also burdened to help believers have a right understanding of spiritual things concerning the Lord's interest and to teach them the truths of the Bible. In his early ministry he held a study on the book of Revelation. Following that, he held a thorough study with the church in Shanghai on the Gospel of Matthew, on the rapture and tribulation, on how to meet, and on a number of other subjects. Since he knew the Bible thoroughly, he desired to expound the Bible book after book, but the Lord frustrated this intention. He then realized that the Lord was burdening him and commissioning him concerning two things: 1) to bear a specific testimony of the Lord, and 2) to establish local churches.

He was specifically burdened and commissioned by the Lord to bear testimony to this truth. For the discharge of this burden, he released spoken messages and also issued a magazine called *The Present Testimony*, in which he published messages on the subjective aspect of the Lord's crucifixion and resurrection, on the principles of life, on the supremacy of Christ, and on God's eternal purpose. He also

held conferences and special meetings through the years to release messages on these deeper themes. In his open letters (chapter twenty-five of this book) he made this more than clear.

We publish this little magazine because we have received the commission from God to help His children specifically in matters relating to spiritual life and warfare. In every age there is a unique truth especially needed for that period. For those of us living in these last days, there must also be some specific truth which we especially need. By means of The Present Testimony, we intend to bear testimony to the truth needed in this present age.

Second, Watchman Nee's ultimate burden was to establish and build up local churches for the satisfaction of God's desire. This was his ultimate commission from the Lord, based on what he had seen and experienced of the Lord. His vision was that the preaching of the gospel, the edifying of believers, the teaching of biblical truth, and the bearing of a specific testimony of the Lord should be according to God's economy for the establishment and building up of local churches. These things are not God's goal; they are only procedures to accomplish God's goal, which is the establishment and building up of local churches. God desires to have local churches according to His New Testament economy; this is His eternal purpose. This is clearly and emphatically revealed in the New Testament, and this is the central point of the New Testament revelation. Watchman Nee, like the apostle Paul, was fully burdened and commissioned with this revelation. He gave a personal testimony at Kulangsu, Fukien, on October 20, 1936:

During the period between 1921 and 1923, revival meetings were held to lead people to the Lord. At that time preaching the gospel was believed to be the unique work for God. But God opened my eyes to see that His purpose requires that those who have been saved by grace stand upon the ground of oneness in local churches to represent and maintain God's testimony on earth. Some of my co-workers had different views of the truth concerning the church. But when I carefully studied the book of Acts, I realized that God's wish is to establish local churches in each city. At that time the light shone upon me so clearly that I recognized that this is His purpose.

At the same time I received this light, a problem arose with some co-workers who held different views regarding important points of our work. This resulted in friction among us. They felt that we should be zealous in revival and gospel preaching work and that the fruit of such work could be easily seen. My view, however, was to establish local churches with less stress on the revival and preaching side. When an older co-worker went out to hold gospel meetings, as he frequently did, I was at times tempted to secretly hold revival gospel meetings of my own. However, instead of doing this, when he was away, I immediately acted according to the vision I had received. Upon his return, he would undo what I had done and work according to his concept. But when he was again absent, I would go back to my previous way. Consequently, we oscillated back and forth on this matter all the time. Since the light each of us had received in respect to the work was different, our ways of working were also different. One way was that of revival and evangelism, while the other way was that of establishing local churches. What the Lord revealed to me was extremely clear: Before long He would raise up local churches in various parts of China. Whenever I closed my eyes, the vision of the birth of local churches appeared....

When the Lord called me to serve Him, the primary objective was not to hold revival meetings, help people hear more scriptural doctrines, or for me to become a great evangelist. The Lord revealed to me that He desired to build up local churches in various places to manifest Himself and to bear the testimony of unity on the ground of the local churches. In this way, each saint is able to function in the church and live the church life. What God wants is not individuals trying to be victorious or spiritual; He wants a corporate glorious church presented to Himself.

From the time I was bedridden by illness until the time I was healed by God, I was being shown more clearly the kind of work God wanted me to do. This consists of the following four aspects:

Literary work

Before I became ill, I not only visited various places to conduct special meetings, but I also had a great ambition to compose a good comprehensive commentary. I intended to devote much energy, time, and money in writing a large commentary consisting of about a hundred volumes. After completing *The Spiritual Man*, which I began in Nanking when I became ill, I realized that the task of expounding the Scriptures was not for me. However, since that time I have frequently met with temptation in this respect. After my illness, God revealed to me that the central point of the messages He gave me was not for expounding the Scriptures, preaching the ordinary gospel, paying attention to prophecies, or anything outward, but for laying stress on the living word of life. For this reason I felt I should resume publishing *The Present Testimony* to assist God's children in spiritual life and warfare.

Each age has a unique truth especially needed in that time. For us, living in the last days, there must also be some truth which we especially need. By means of *The Present Testimony* the testimony for the truth of the present age was borne. I am profoundly convinced that the present is the preparatory period. Children of God will be reaped, but they have to become ripe first (Mark 4:29). The time for us to be caught up is full; whether or not the church is ready is the most vital problem. God's aim today is to expedite building up the Body of His Son, which is the church. As it is said in the Scripture: "That He might sanctify her, cleansing her by the washing of the water in the word, that He might present the church to Himself glorious" (Eph. 5:26-27), so that the enemy might be quickly destroyed to usher in the kingdom. I humbly hope that I may, in the hand of the Lord, have a little share in this glorious work. All that I have written has but one aim, which is that the reader will, in the new creation, give himself wholly to God and become a useful person in His hands. Now I wholeheartedly commit my writings, my readers, and myself to God, who preserves men forever, and hope that His Spirit will guide me into all His truths.

Conducting overcomer meetings

God has shown me that in every local church a group of overcomers should be raised up (as those mentioned in Revelation 2 and 3) to be the Lord's witnesses. For this reason, every year an overcomer conference has been held to faithfully deliver the messages that God has given me.

Building up local churches

When the Lord called me to serve Him, the prime object was not for me to hold revival meetings so that people might hear more scriptural doctrines, nor for me to become a great evangelist. The Lord revealed to me that He wanted to build up local churches in other localities to manifest Himself, to bear testimony of unity on the ground of locality so that each saint might perform his duty in the church and live the church life. God wants not merely individual pursuit of victory or spirituality, but a corporate, glorious church presented to Himself.

Training young people

If the return of the Lord should be delayed, it will be necessary to raise up a number of young people to continue the testimony and the work for the following generations. Many co-workers have already prayed concerning this matter with the hope of providing a suitable place for the purpose of training young people. My thought is not to establish a seminary or a Bible institute, but to have young people staying together to live the Body life and practice the spiritual life. In such a place they would receive training for the purpose of edification, by learning to read the Scripture, to pray, and to build up a good character. On the negative side, there would be training for the purpose of learning how to deal with sin, the world, the flesh, and the natural life. At a suitable time, the young people would return to their respective churches in various places to be tempered together with other saints to serve the Lord in the church. I have purchased over ten acres of land at Chenru, in the suburbs of Shanghai. Planning for building on that site is in progress, and before long, young people will be able to go there for training.

In the future my personal burden and work will generally comprise these four aspects. May all the glory be to the Lord. We have nothing at all in ourselves, and though we have done something, we admit to being useless and unprofitable servants. (Watchman Nee's testimony, 2)

A MINISTRY OF LIFE

Ministry is the issue of revelation plus suffering. Without revelation one cannot have ministry because he has nothing to minister. But though one may have revelation, if he lacks suffering, he still has no ministry. He may have some sort of teaching or gift, but this is not ministry. There is a difference between teaching and ministry. Ministry is something higher and deeper. Gift is superficial and costs little, while ministry is weighty and costly. If you have received revelation from God, He will put you into suffering in order that you may have ministry. The measure of life, the amount of reality, and the riches of Christ we are able to minister to others depend entirely upon two elements: how much revelation we have received and how much suffering we have undergone regarding that which has been revealed to us. When suffering is added to revelation, we have ministry. Paul said, "Therefore having this ministry..." (2 Cor. 4:1). He did not say that he had a certain teaching or a gift, but a ministry. Again he said, "I Paul became a minister" (Col. 1:23). He did not say that he was made a speaker or a teacher, but a minister. We are not

referring to today's "minister." The word "minister" has been spoiled and misused in today's Christianity. A minister is a person who has a real ministry, a ministry which issues from these two things—revelation plus suffering.

Out of Watchman Nee's revelations wrought by his sufferings, a ministry came forth. His ministry was clearly of two aspects: first, of Christ and, second, of the church. His ministry was full, proper, and adequately balanced. I have never known anyone so thoroughly and adequately balanced in the aspects of Christ and the church as Watchman Nee. He saw a clear vision of Christ, and he also received a full revelation of the church. In his spoken ministry and in his publications as well, he was always properly balanced in these two aspects. Many in the United States are aware that he put out book after book concerning Christ as life and Christ as everything. But many may not realize that he also published book after book on the matter of the church.

Concerning the church he covered two main points in his ministry: the content of the church and the practice of the church, or in other words, the reality of the church and the practicality of the church. The content and the reality of the church are Christ Himself. Watchman saw the vision that Christ is not merely for the believers individually but even more for the church corporately. His vision was unlike those who are today considered to be spiritual people; they hold that Christ is mostly for Christians as individuals while caring little for the church. They even fear to speak about the church, for they realize that whenever the matter of the church is raised, a problem is created, and they would rather steer clear of all problems. Watchman Nee's vision of Christ was that Christ is for individual believers to enjoy in order to be built up in the church. Eventually, the Christ whom we experience becomes the reality and the content of the church. Watchman also saw that this reality of the church is also practical and that we need the practicality of the church. Hence, he ministered both the reality and the practicality of the church. The reality of the church is the content, and the practicality of the church is its expression.

Christ is not just for individual Christians but for the corporate Body. And the Christ we enjoy as Christians individually is entirely for the building up of the corporate Body. For this reason Christ is both the content of the church and the reality of the church. The church's reality is simply Christ realized by many individual Christians in a corporate way. To match this reality, we need the church practice. If we stay at home and hold Christ as the reality, there will be no church. Even though we might hold the reality individually, we would be short of the practicality. Christians need to come together and to be built together; each one needs to come out of his little cell and into one big cell, under one roof, to practice the church life. Then we not only have the reality, but also the practicality of the church. These were the two main points of Watchman Nee's ministry.

Watchman Nee's ministry regarding Christ as our life was fully accepted; but his ministry regarding the church was frequently rejected. Today it is the same. Many have received help from his ministry regarding Christ as life, but those same people would not take his ministry regarding the church. Many bookstores carry his books on Christ as life, but purposely will not carry his books on the church. Some publishers publish his books on Christ as life with great appreciation for his ministry in this aspect, yet they condemn his ministry on the church. Publishers and booksellers have even done their best to hide

his ministry on the church. We fully agree that his books concerning Christ should be published, for they are marvelous. But it is altogether unfair and dishonest to hide his books on the church.

A rumor was even spread after World War II that Watchman Nee changed his concept concerning the practicality of the church life and the ground of the church. This is absolutely not true. His book *Further Talks on the Church Life* documents and shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that after 1948, rather than changing his concept concerning the church, he ministered even more strongly than before concerning his original vision. In one of these messages, given shortly before his imprisonment, he said that what he saw in 1937 concerning the church was absolutely right. He rather confirmed what he had seen before; he did not change at all. He was faithful to the Lord's vision and commission concerning Christ and the church. During his whole life, his ministry was for Christ and the church—not for Christ only, but for Christ and the church.

During his thirty years of ministry, Watchman Nee used many different means to minister the spiritual riches wrought into him by the Lord. He used five general means, such as preaching the gospel, teaching the Bible, traveling, contacting people, and corresponding with people. He also used three specific means, such as holding conferences, conducting trainings, and issuing publications. Watchman Nee started a series of conferences in February 1928. These conferences were called overcomer conferences. The audience was small, but the impact and the result were great. The following statements explain the purpose of his conferences:

In our conferences our intention is only to speak forth the message of the victory of Christ, not to speak of other matters. The preaching of this message is our particular responsibility....In reality, unless a person knows God in the aspects of trusting and obeying Him, it is of little use to speak to him concerning other matters. We can mention many other matters to those who are faithful, but if we share them with those who are yet unwilling to serve God faithfully, it will only give rise to disputes....Our Bible study meetings, on the other hand, are of a different nature: They are conducted for those who are willing to serve God faithfully and are seeking to have a clearer understanding of Bible truths. For this reason, we are free in these meetings to bring up those things which we would be reluctant to bring up in conferences. We hope that in our future conferences, neither the speaker nor the listeners will bring up, either publicly or privately, any matters outside the victory of Christ, in order that we might have God's full blessing....This does not mean that other matters are not important; but it does mean that when men sincerely desire to receive the victory of Christ and to believe and obey the Lord, He will spontaneously direct their attention to these other external matters, and they will automatically obey...At this stage, if certain things are not clear to some, we would be most willing to help them in the Bible study meetings. We deeply sense that what the church of God urgently needs and what she absolutely must experience today is the victory of Christ—the facts and principles which He declared through His death and resurrection. In this matter we need to be faithful and steadfast, and we need to preach it wholeheartedly. (WN's open letter in the twenty-second issue of *The Present Testimony*, published in September—December 1931)¹⁴

¹⁴ *CWWN*, vol. 9, pp. 285-286.

The purpose of this conference is to unite all the believers in every place who are of the same mind that they might wait before God and receive the message which comes from Him. Our past experience tells us that we must all receive deeper edification. For this reason we must lay much emphasis on the testimony of "the victory of Christ," which the Lord has committed to us. May those who intercede before the Lord pray in one accord for this conference that we may genuinely have the power which is purely of the Holy Spirit with no mixture of soulish power whatsoever. (The announcement for the second conference in *The Present Testimony*, July, 1931)¹⁵

I want all the brothers to understand the nature of this type of conference; no attention will be paid to the less significant matters of the Bible. What we want to see in the Holy Spirit is Christ and Him crucified. Matters such as prophecy, church organization, Scripture exposition, types, baptism, laying on of hands, speaking in tongues, miracles, and a hundred other questions have their proper place. As Christians we should not deny them their proper place. However, these are neither the center of the Scriptures nor the center of the life of the Holy Spirit. God has only one center, which is Christ—Christ and Him crucified. Our annual conferences of this nature are to bring us back to this center. Therefore, we are reluctant to mention any minor matters in these conferences. Rather, we would emphasize only the central point which God Himself stressed....

In our conference this time, as before, we wish to stress the central message. After much prayer I feel the theme which the Lord has given me for this conference is "God's overcomers." Everything in the conference will focus on this center....

Finally, in this conference, our hope is to meet Christ, to receive light and revelation from heaven, and to be filled with the life that is unknown to ordinary people. We do not intend to pay attention to the many minor, outward matters. "To know Him" (Phil. 3:10)—this is what we seek. (WN's open letter in the thirty-second issue of *The Present Testimony*, October—December 1933)¹⁶

Watchman conducted trainings as the second specific means of fulfilling his ministry. Let us read his own word concerning this matter, given in his second testimony in Kulangsu, October 20, 1936:

If the return of the Lord should be delayed, it will be necessary to raise up a number of young people to continue the testimony and the work for the following generations. Many co-workers have already prayed concerning this matter with the hope of providing a suitable place for the purpose of training young people. My thought is not to establish a seminary or a Bible institute, but to have young people staying together to live the Body life and practice the spiritual life. In such a place they would receive training for the purpose of edification, by learning to read the Scripture, to pray, and to build up a good character. On the negative side, there would be training for the purpose of learning how to deal with sin, the world, the flesh, and the natural life. At a suitable time, the young people would return to their respective churches in

¹⁵ *CWWN*, vol. 9, p. 251.

¹⁶ *CWWN*, vol. 11, pp.651-652

various places to be tempered together with other saints to serve the Lord in the church. I have purchased over ten acres of land at Chenru, in the suburbs of Shanghai. Planning for building on that site is in progress, and before long, young people will be able to go there for training.¹⁷

Watchman Nee also took the opportunity to purchase many houses on a mountain which was called Kuling, close to Foochow, where many missionaries had their summer retreat. During World War II most of the missionaries left the country and gladly sold their houses at very low prices. In 1948, about eighty brothers and sisters went with him to Kuling Mountain and occupied those houses for a four-month training period. The following is a testimony of Chang Wu-cheng, one of his trainees:

At the opening of the training Brother Nee first gave some explanations. "First, this training is not a seminary. Our purpose is not to pass on some scriptural knowledge or methods of work to the trainees, but to help those who are already following the Lord and walking on this way to go further. My ministry is somewhat different from that of Brother Witness Lee. He can cause those who have no heart for the Lord to have a heart for the Lord, those who are incapable to become capable, and those who are not going on to go on. I admit that I do not have what he has. For twenty years I have only been able to help those who had something already to have something more, and to help those who are seeking, to receive help. Whether this training is a success or failure all depends upon what kind of people you are. If you are preoccupied and self-satisfied, you will not receive help. But if you really want to go on, I can help you go on further, and if you have some light, I can help you receive more light. My ministry is not to revive you or to change you, but to lead you if you are already on the way. My ministry is not to pull out those who are sitting at home and force them to walk. "Second, this training will cover four parts: 1) how to be a minister of God's Word, 2) how to help new believers, 3) things to pay attention to and the solution to problems, 4) how to administer the church affairs."¹⁸

The third specific means Watchman Nee employed for his ministry was that of issuing publications. He wrote and printed gospel tracts, and millions of tracts were sent out each year. He also published various periodicals to meet different burdens and needs. These periodicals included *The Present Testimony*, *The Testimony*, *The Christians*, *The Way*, *Notes on Scriptural Messages*, *Collection of Newsletters*, *The Open Door*, *The Ministers*, *The Glad Tidings*, and *The Gospel*, etc.

In addition to publishing periodicals, Watchman Nee also published many books for the carrying out of his ministry. Some of these books were messages published in his periodicals and reprinted in book form. They could be classified as follows: books on the gospel, books for the edification of new believers, books of general messages for Christians, books on central messages, practicality of the church, workers of the Lord, Bible study, books translated from English writings, and three hymn books.

It is notable that Watchman Nee fully looked to God for sustenance for the publication work. He testified:

¹⁷ *CWWN*, vol. 26, p. 479

¹⁸ *Watchman Nee, A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, pp. 215-216

After writing the tracts, I began praying and asking for provision for the printing and distribution expenses. God said to me, "If you wish Me to answer your prayer, you must first rid yourself of all hindrances." ... As soon as all hindrances were removed, God answered my prayer. Thank the Lord! This was my first experience of God's answering my prayer in the matter of printing. We were then handing out more than a thousand tracts daily. Two or three million copies were printed and distributed annually to supply the churches in various places. In the few years after the publication work was begun, God always answered my prayers and supplied all our needs.

The Lord also wanted me to publish the magazine *The Present Testimony* and to give it out free of charge. At that time all spiritual periodicals throughout China were for sale; only what I published was free. The editing room where I wrote the manuscripts was a small cubicle. When the manuscripts were completed, they were sent to the press. When there were no funds available, I would pray to God for His provision for printing... Now about seven thousand copies of each issue are being printed. All the finances required are provided by God at the right time and in the way I have been relating. I have never solicited contributions from anyone. At times people have even begged me to accept money. In all of these matters I have been looking solely to Him.¹⁹

After Watchman Nee passed away, his colleague Witness Lee collected the printed and spoken messages into a 62-volume *Collected Works of Watchman Nee*, the volumes of which were published successively from 1991 to 1993. In "A Short Introduction in Memory of Brother Watchman Nee", Witness Lee categorized the major truth taught by Nee into twelve topics:

Concerning God

Watchman Nee pointed out that God is eternal, self-existing, ever-existing, having no beginning or ending, and complete and perfect in every sense. God is triune; in His Godhead, He is the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. The Father is the source, the Son is the expression, and the Spirit is the application. God the Son is the embodiment of God the Father, while God the Spirit is the reality of God the Son, applying the Triune God to those who believe into God the Son. God is also holy and righteous. Holiness refers to God's inward nature, while righteousness refers to God's outward acts. God is love and light. Love is the element of His inward nature, while light is the element of His outward expression. This God possesses extraordinary wisdom and accomplishes superlative works.

Concerning the Eternal Plan (Economy) of God

He pointed out that this God who possesses extraordinary wisdom and accomplishes superlative works has a good pleasure according to His heart's desire, which is to gain a group of men who would become one with Him, sharing the same life, the same living, the same move, and the same work as His, that He may express Himself in glory through them. Therefore, in eternity past He purposed in Himself an eternal plan (economy). In this plan God the Son was to be the centrality and universality that He would have the preeminence in all things. For this

¹⁹ *CWWN*, vol. 26, pp. 488-490

reason He also created the universe, with all the myriads of items therein, in order that He might create in it a tripartite man—composed of a spirit, a soul, and a body—as a vessel to receive Him and express Him. God would enter into man's spirit as the Spirit and regenerate man, thus producing His many sons, who share His life and nature, and the many members of Christ the Son, who constitute His organic Body as His corporate expression, so that the Triune God through this expression would have an ultimate expression in fullness for eternity.

Concerning the Incarnation of God

He pointed out that at the time of creation God did not put Himself into man to let man share His life and nature. It was four thousand years later that He in God the Son, through the Spirit entering the flesh of a virgin, was conceived as a man with both the divine nature and the human nature—a God-man who is the complete God as well as the perfect man. Thus, He brought God into man, and within human flesh, He lived a human life on earth, expressing God by living out all of God's attributes through His human virtues.

Concerning Christ

He pointed out that the Second of the Divine Trinity was made Christ by God in eternity past. This One is God's Anointed. In time, He came to accomplish the eternal plan (economy) which God had purposed for the expression of Himself. God desires that this Christ, His embodiment, be the centrality and universality in His eternal plan and that He would have the preeminence over all things in both creation and redemption, transcending all things. This Christ whom He established emptied Himself, laying aside the form of God and taking the form of a slave, and was found in fashion as a man, living a humble human life on earth. At the end of His human life, this Christ of God went to the cross, accomplished God's eternal redemption for us, the sinners, and released God's eternal life. He also resurrected from the dead and was transformed from God's only begotten Son to God's firstborn Son. Furthermore, in resurrection He became the life-giving Spirit to enter into the believers, making them God's new creation and His members, constituting His Body. He became the life, the element, and the Head of the Body. In this way the Triune God has obtained a corporate expression in this universe. In the coming kingdom He will be King and will reign with the overcoming saints over the coming world. Later, in the new heaven and new earth, He will be the centrality and universality of the New Jerusalem and will be the mutual dwelling place of God and man to be the full expression of the Triune God in eternity.

Concerning the Death of Christ

He pointed out that the death of Christ was not a death of martyrdom, but a vicarious death on behalf of us, the sinners, which bears many significances: (1) to remove our sins, (2) to crucify the flesh for us, thus terminating the old man, (3) to destroy Satan who has the power of death, (4) to judge the world under Satan, (5) to annul the ordinances which separated us, (6) to

satisfy all the requirements of righteousness, holiness, and glory which God had placed on us, the sinners, and (7) to release God's eternal life from within Himself for us.

Concerning the Resurrection of Christ

He pointed out that Christ's resurrection was a resurrection of His whole being from the dead, including His body, by God through the divine Spirit within Christ. Such a resurrection made Him, the only begotten Son of God, the firstborn Son of God with both the divine nature and the human nature. His resurrection also transformed Him into a life-giving Spirit, the Holy Spirit, the reality of life, who enters into His believers to regenerate them, to bring their humanity into divinity, to make them God's many sons, His many brothers, and His members who constitute His mysterious Body as His organism for the expression of Christ, the embodiment of the Triune God. The reality of this resurrection, which is the Holy Spirit, the reality of life, has become the overcoming power in the life of His believers and will become the infinite power which will resurrect them from the dead and will transform and redeem their bodies.

Concerning the Eternal Life

He pointed out that the eternal life described in the Bible is God's uncreated life, which is eternal both in time and in nature, perfect, and without any blemish. This eternal life of God swallows up and overcomes death and is also the indestructible life. This life of God is also the Triune God Himself as life to those who believe into His Son. By this life we become God-men, those who are joined to God and who possess both humanity and divinity.

Concerning the Spirit

He pointed out that the Spirit is the application of the Triune God. The Spirit reaches those who have believed into and received God the Son. The Spirit applies to them God the Father who is in God the Son. He is the Spirit of life and the reality of life; He is also the life-giving Spirit, dispensing life to those who believe into the Son. As such, He is the regenerating Spirit who regenerates the believers with the life of God the Father in God the Son, making them the children of God. He then becomes the indwelling Spirit within them as the reality of all things. He is the renewing Spirit who renews the man of the old creation into God's new creation with God's eternally new and never-aging life. He is also the sanctifying Spirit who separates and sanctifies the believers with God's sanctifying nature. He is the transforming Spirit who transforms them with the life element of Christ into His image. He is the firstfruits, the foretaste, of God as the eternal portion of those who have believed into the Son. He is the Spirit of power poured out on the believers of the Son as the authority for their work. He is the reality of the Triune God, the reality of Christ, the reality of all the truths, and the reality of the resurrection of Christ. Only by receiving Him will a man possess the Triune God, the truths, Christ, and the resurrection of Christ.

Concerning Christ's Redemption and God's Salvation

He pointed out that the redemption of Christ was accomplished through His vicarious and redemptive death for the sinners. When we the sinners receive this redemption, we are forgiven, cleansed, justified, and reconciled to God. Based on Christ's redemption, God in His salvation forgives, cleanses, justifies, reconciles, and regenerates us through Christ's resurrection and renews, separates, and sanctifies us through His Spirit. Furthermore, the Spirit transforms us through the life-element of the pneumatic Christ, conforming us to the image of God's firstborn Son, Christ, and finally glorifying us with the divine glory into which Christ has entered.

This salvation which God accomplished through Christ's death and resurrection and through the Holy Spirit's work of regeneration, renewing, separation, sanctification, transformation, conformation, and glorification is different from the reward which God will give to the believers at the time of Christ's coming. God's salvation is based on grace, which is different from the law, and is not based on man's works according to the law. God's reward is based on the overcoming life which believers in Christ live out after they are redeemed and saved, and this reward is through faith, by Christ's resurrection life, and by the life-giving power of the Holy Spirit. This reward is also based on the work, in Christ and by the Holy Spirit, of the building up of the church, the Body of Christ, which accomplishes God's eternal plan (economy). God's salvation is eternal; it includes saving us from our past sins, our present bondage of sin, and our temptations and failures into the ultimate enjoyment and full taste of the Triune God with all His riches in the New Jerusalem in the new heaven and the new earth. God's reward is dispensational and is limited to our reigning and obtaining glory together with Christ in the millennial kingdom during the manifestation of the kingdom.

Concerning the Believers

He pointed out that the believers in Christ were created by the Triune God according to His image as tripartite men with a spirit, a soul, and a body to be God's vessel for containing Him, expressing Him, representing Him, and reigning for Him over all creation. At the time of creation, God did not put His life and nature into man; He only created a spirit in man so that man could receive with his spirit the pneumatic God into him as life. But man fell under Satan's temptation. He did not obey God's commandment; rather, he was corrupted by Satan, bearing Satan's evil nature and being constituted a sinner. Because of this, God Himself became a man and put on the flesh of fallen man. This man's name was Jesus Christ, who in His flesh died for man and redeemed man from his sins, thus terminating the sinner himself together with Satan, the world, and the old creation. After His death, His whole being was resurrected, and in resurrection He was transformed into a life-giving Spirit. As such, He enters into the sinners who believe in and receive Him and becomes one with them, thus regenerating them to become God's children and His members, making them one with Himself, and constituting them His organic Body, which is the church, His fullness as His corporate expression.

These sinners who believe into Jesus Christ are called the Christians, the followers of Christ, those related to Christ. They were of God's old creation but have become God's new creation through regeneration by believing into Christ, possessing God's life and nature, walking

by God's life and His Spirit, and living and working for God. They are being built up together in spirit to become the church of God, which is God's house, the Body of Christ and the fullness of Christ, and are waiting for Christ's return, at which time He will rapture them, transform them, and receive them into His glory to be with Him forever. Those among them who after their salvation are willing to live an overcoming life by the overcoming life of Christ and by the resurrection power in the Holy Spirit, who will participate in the work of accomplishing God's plan (economy), and who will ripen first before His coming again, will receive His reward to enter into the millennium, to be co-kings with Him, and to rule over the world. Those among them who are not ripened in this way will receive His discipline in the millennial kingdom so that they will ripen. Hence, they will be constituted elements of the New Jerusalem, and after the millennium in the new heaven and new earth, they will participate together with those believers who ripened first in the ultimate blessing and enjoyment of God's salvation in the New Jerusalem for eternity.

Concerning the Church

He pointed out that the church is constituted of all those who believe into Christ and who belong to Christ. On the one hand, this church is universal, and on the other hand, it is local. On the universal side, the church is both God's house and the Body of Christ in the universe. On the local side, the church is the local manifestation of the house of God and the Body of Christ. These local manifestations are the many local churches which together form the one unique church in the universe.

This church as God's house is also God's household and God's habitation, which affords God the satisfaction and joy of a Father with His children; it is also God's dwelling place, which affords Him full and satisfying rest. In this way, He can freely express all that He is, has, and can do in this house.

This church as the Body of Christ is an organism by which Christ moves and walks among mankind and through which He lives out His all-inclusive self. This Body is also the bride of Christ, the counterpart of Christ; it is out of Christ, unto Christ, and for the satisfaction of Christ's love. This Body is also a new man created by Christ in Himself, being constituted with His life and element for the fulfillment of the eternal plan (economy) of God.

In order to exist among mankind, this church is scattered over all the earth to become the many separate local churches. Each one has its elders for administration and its deacons for service. In business affairs the churches are independent and separate, but in life and nature they are still one universal Body, receiving the same apostles' teaching, maintaining the one apostles' fellowship, and bearing the one testimony for Christ for the accomplishment of God's one plan (economy).

Such a church is composed outwardly of the many saints called out by God from the world, but inwardly it is the result of the Triune God working Himself into and growing out of the believers in Christ. Hence, it is a living organism; it is absolutely not a religious organization in the society, much less a lifeless material building.

This church is also the kingdom of God today, in which God reigns and rules over everything.

Concerning the New Jerusalem

Finally, he also pointed out that the ultimate revelation of the Bible, the New Jerusalem, is constituted of all the redeemed ones in the Old and the New Testament. It is the tabernacle of the Triune God, the habitation of God with man in eternity. It is also the bride of Christ who is the embodiment of the Triune God, His beloved spouse in eternity. This holy city is also God's Holy of Holies, with the same one dimension in height, length, and breadth. It is constituted of God and the Lamb to be the serving place and dwelling of all God's redeemed. It is constituted of: (1) God the Father, the source of the Triune God, as its essence, like the transparent pure gold; (2) God the Son, the expression of the Triune God, as its entrance in His redeeming death and His life-dispensing resurrection, like the beautiful pearl; and (3) God the Spirit, the application of the Triune God, as her walls and foundations, through the Spirit's transformation in the believers, like the glorious precious stones. She is thus constituted by the Triune God to be the ultimate consummation of God with the redeemed, regenerated, and transformed tripartite man, in which He and man become one as His corporate expression and manifestation in eternity. In this city the Lamb is the lamp, shining forth God's glory, and in the midst of this city there is the throne of administration of God and the Lamb, from which flows a river of water of life, clear as crystal. This river flows in the middle of a spiral street, which encircles the whole city and reaches the twelve gates at the circumference of the city, nourishing the entire city. On either side of this river grows the tree of life, with new fruits every month, supplying the entire city. In this way, the holy city, the New Jerusalem, is the culmination of the union between the Triune God and His redeemed tripartite man; it is filled with the glory of the Triune God and expresses His fullness in eternity. It is also full of the supply of the Triune God to His redeemed in His redemption, so that they can have a full enjoyment and a full taste of all that the redeeming Triune God is, has done, and has attained. ("A Short Introduction in Memory of Brother Watchman Nee" by Witness Lee)

20

HIS SUFFERINGS AND MARTYRDOM

Watchman Nee endured much suffering for the sake of his ministry. He was absolute in following the Lord and faithful in fulfilling his commission. Because of his faithfulness and absoluteness, he was continually mistreated and underwent many hardships. Because he continually fought the battle for the Lord's recovery, he was continually under attack from the enemy. At the same time, he was also under God's sovereign hand. The sovereign arrangements of God in his environment were also a source of trouble and a means by which God dealt with him. For these two reasons, he lived a life of suffering. For the most part his sufferings came from the following sources:

POVERTY

²⁰ *CWWN, vol 1*, pp. xxviii-xxxvi.

In the early years of Watchman Nee's ministry, the economic situation in China was very difficult. In those days, this was not an easy way. In that kind of financial situation, he came to learn what poverty was. In the early days of his ministry in Shanghai, there were times when he had nothing to eat but a little bread.

ILL HEALTH

Nee also suffered frequent ill health. He began his ministry before 1923 and was not married until 1934. There was a period of eleven years when he had no wife to help him. During those years he lived by himself. It was during this period that he became afflicted with tuberculosis of the lungs and suffered for several years from this disease. In 1934 at the age of thirty, however, Watchman Nee married a true "help meet," Charity Chang. In later years he was also stricken with a chronic stomach disorder as well as angina pectoris, a serious heart ailment. Because of his ill health, Watchman learned how to be greatly dependent upon the Lord. He learned how to live by resurrection life in order to meet his physical needs. Many times he ministered not by physical strength but by resurrection life. The following excerpts from his open letters in *The Christian* and in *The Present Testimony* give a picture of his ill health and the spiritual lessons he learned through it.

It seems that my ill health during this past year was known far and wide. In three localities it was even rumored that my earthly tabernacle had been destroyed. For this reason there were increased prayers for me more than ever before. I greatly appreciate those who care for my physical welfare. In the past days my natural strength has been much weakened. Even light activity causes my body to feel its burden. But praise the Lord that this year was still filled with many days of work. Instead of resting and getting rusty, why not labor and trust? The strength of promise in time of need is never decreased. For this fact I cannot but praise the Lord.

The scarcity of fruit, the emptiness of life, the staleness of the spirit, and the weakness of the body are each enough to make me feel ashamed. Actually, I deserve nothing but to be ashamed. That all things work together for good to them that love God is true and trustworthy. In my situation these words again have become so real. (excerpted from December 1927 of *The Christian*, Editorials and Announcements, Volume 2, Issue No. 12)²¹

Of course, what I have experienced during my illness is most profitable. From the very beginning I prayed that I would gain from this illness what I needed, for I am not willing to be ill for nothing. As I look back over the past year, I can gratefully say that God's treatment is just right; not one single day could be omitted. Many of these experiences cannot be made public, but I fully believe that they are for my personal enrichment and for your gain as well.

Now, through God's unlimited and inexhaustible grace and through your ceaseless prayers, once again I have returned from the gate of death. I look to the Lord that in a time convenient to Him He would bring me to complete recovery. At present I rest and at the same

²¹ *CWWN*, vol. 7, pp.1255-1259.

time work. I now present myself once more to God to accomplish His will and to serve His saints. (excerpted from the 12th issue of *The Present Testimony*, published in December 1929)²²

Though my sickness has been accumulating over many years, it was worsened by writing *The Spiritual Man*. Thank God, now I am recovering. I am again able to write a few letters, prepare a few articles, lead several Bible study sessions, and attend a few meetings. There are still many other things I could wish to do but cannot do. Still I am thankful to God for what I can do. Those who know the human body say that I have been close to death several times, but thank God He has been keeping me up to this day. I hope that in the days of my sojourning on this earth I may be able to serve Him and you faithfully. (excerpted from the 19th issue of *The Present Testimony*, published in January—February 1931)²³

In the last few months, due to heart disease and other physical illness, my earthly tent is again in danger of collapsing at any moment. Many times I tarry at the fork of the road, not knowing what way to take. Humanly speaking, in many experiences I do not know whether to cry or laugh. But thank the Lord, for the Lord's sake nothing is too difficult and no price is too great. In the eyes of those who trust and obey, a dark, cloudy situation is still a bright and clear sky. Those lines are true: "If there's less of earth-joy, give, Lord, more of heaven. Let the spirit praise Thee, though the heart be riven." (the 25th issue of *The Present Testimony*, of May—June 1932)²⁴

DENOMINATIONS

Watchman Nee took a firm stand on the oneness of the Body and was an anti-testimony against the divisions created by denominations. Because of this it caused him much suffering, he was despised, criticized, opposed and attacked, many rumors, misunderstanding and misrepresentation were made against him. Opposition came not only from local Christians but also from missionaries. Most of the missionaries opposed Watchman Nee because of his anti-testimony. Since they had sacrificed their countries, their homes, and their careers, and had come to a pagan country to help people be saved and to build their mission churches, they deeply resented his ministry. In the midst of that situation, this young man, a young national who had never been outside of China, rose up and published arguments which attacked the very foundations of their work and the denominational churches they had built. He taught that all denominations were unscriptural and that only one kind of church is scriptural: the church in the locality. He expressed appreciation to the missionaries for bringing the gospel to China, but he strongly protested their bringing the denominations with them and building up their mission churches in division. He said that all the denominational names such as Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Anglican, etc., must be dropped. He put this message in print and spread it all over China. He was strongly convinced that his view was scriptural, and he paid a high price to maintain it.

After he offered a prayer in 1939 in the Keswick Convention that deeply touched the attendants, the chairman, who was also the chairman of the China Inland Mission, talked with Brother Nee. Brother

²² *CWWN*, vol. 8, pp. 87-89.

²³ *CWWN*, vol. 9, pp. 215-216.

²⁴ *CWWN*, vol. 10, p. 436.

Nee grasped the opportunity, feeling that it was the proper time to fellowship with a leader of one of the best missions that had gone to China. Throughout their fellowship, the chairman of the CIM agreed with him. He told Brother Nee that what the Lord had commissioned him to do in China was exactly the burden of Mr. Hudson Taylor, the founder of the CIM, and that their missionaries in China were wrong in opposing him. Eventually, the chairman of the mission went to China and called the missionaries of the CIM together in Shanghai and told them that they were wrong in opposing the work of Watchman Nee. He told them that what Watchman Nee was doing was exactly what they should be doing. He advised them never to do anything from that day forth to oppose him. But after he left and returned to London, they still kept opposing him.

The denominations opposed him, attacked him, and did their best to destroy his ministry. The following illustration is one example. When Mrs. Nee's aunt was opposing her marriage to Watchman, some denominational Christians collaborated with her to attack him and did their best to damage his ministry. They hated him and launched a full-scale assault against him. One of the methods his opposers used to attack him was by spreading rumors against him. This is the "evil report" mentioned by Paul in 2 Corinthians 6:8. Rumors are the most subtle and damaging kind of attack. A rumor is nothing but a lie. Some opposers defamed Watchman by spreading rumors and evil reports. While Watchman was single and living in Shanghai, his mother came to stay with him for a period of time. Some spread the rumor that he was living with a woman. What an evil rumor that was!

Watchman Nee was also misunderstood and misrepresented. Watchman illustrated this misrepresentation by saying, "The Watchman Nee portrayed by them I would also condemn." Watchman Nee was often presented through the filter of inaccurate information coupled with a suspicious imagination on the part of those who misunderstood him. For this reason people who presented him in this way gave a completely wrong impression concerning him. This also caused him to suffer.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

Another source of Brother Nee's sufferings was the brothers and sisters. These sufferings were of a more serious nature than those from the denominations. Sufferings from the denominations came from without, while sufferings from the brothers and sisters came from within. Sufferings coming from within the inner circle afflicted him more than any other kind.

Two years after the church life began to be practiced in Watchman's home town in 1922, he was excommunicated by his co-workers. He was excommunicated because he stood for the truth of the Lord's recovery and protested against the leading co-worker's being ordained by a denominational missionary. Considering his dissent too pronounced, they excommunicated him. Excommunication is a very serious matter, and in this case it was done while he was away on a ministry trip. Most of the believers who met with them sided with him, but the Lord would not allow him to do anything to vindicate himself. That was really a suffering to the natural man.

From the time that Watchman began his work, he was in fellowship with an older sister. She loved the Lord, sought the Lord, and was quite gifted of the Lord. Having gained the respect of Christians

from several directions, she began to travel and preach. She became one who continually dissented from Watchman Nee. In January 1934, while he was conducting the third overcomer conference in Shanghai, this sister was in the meetings. When Watchman spoke, she would often shake her head. This was a suffering to him, and this was not the only case. Through the years, in the work and in the churches, this kind of dissension happened to him a number of times.

Among those who worked with Watchman Nee and bore the responsibility with him in the church life, no one approached him in maturity and competency; all the others were immature and incompetent. Fifty years ago in China, Watchman was unique and extraordinary in his knowledge of spiritual things. He went forward much further than all the rest. He saw many things the brothers did not see, and their immaturity and incompetency caused him a great deal of suffering.

The stubbornness of the brothers also caused him to suffer. One day a learned young man came into the meeting of the church in Shanghai and was saved. He intended to go to the United States for further study. However, before leaving China, he desired to be baptized. Watchman was very clear concerning him and agreed that he should be baptized. But an older co-worker disagreed. His reason was that this young man was too new. He had come to the meetings only once or twice, and he was about to leave for the United States. Such a person should not be baptized. He based his reason upon Watchman's own teaching that nothing should be done in the church life without fellowship, and his fellowship was that this brother should not be baptized. He held stubbornly to this point concerning fellowship and used it to insist that the young man should not be baptized. His concern was that the young man might not be saved. Watchman told him that if to baptize the young man was a mistake, he would bear the full responsibility before the Lord. But still the co-worker stubbornly refused. In 1933 Watchman began to realize that for the sisters not to pray in the prayer meetings of the church was a great loss. He became convinced that it was proper for the sisters to pray in the meetings. However, the leading ones in the church at that time stubbornly kept the old way. That too grieved him.

Brother Nee also suffered from the brothers' ambition for position. Among the first three brothers to come into the church in Shanghai in the very beginning, one was very ambitious to be a leader. Due to his ambition he caused a great deal of trouble. Eventually, in 1948, after being in the church for twenty years, he left. He began a meeting in his home with a traveling preacher. That traveling preacher later wrote a long article against Watchman Nee. This also caused him to suffer. A number of Chinese preachers throughout the past fifty years passed through the church life. They came to the meetings expecting to be placed in some position. But Watchman always made it clear that the church was not an organization and that no positions were available. When asked concerning position he would say, "Who would give me a position? There is no position. The church is an organism." Some came and met with the church for a time, expecting to receive some post in the work. Eventually, however, when they discovered that they could not obtain what they were after, they left and became opponents.

Rebellion of the brothers and sisters was another source of suffering to Watchman Nee. A brother co-worker committed immorality. Watchman assisted the church in that co-worker's locality to excommunicate him. He in turn rebelliously attacked Brother Nee. During World War II, after the Japanese army occupied Shanghai, that co-worker sent mail to Watchman of such a nature that if the

contents had been disclosed or discovered by the censors it would have caused much trouble. What an evil attack that was!

Through the years a number became rebellious and attacked him. The most serious case centered around his involvement in business and involved the saints in Shanghai in 1942. Most of the brothers and sisters, including the co-workers and elders, rebelled against him and attacked him. This was the greatest cause of suffering to him and forced him to discontinue his ministry for six years. That was a severe and long suffering.

Through all these sufferings, however, he learned the lessons. These sufferings not only assisted him in trusting the Lord; they also worked for him in dealing with his flesh, his self, his soul, and his natural life. In my own personal knowledge of him, the final experience he learned through his sufferings, when his ministry was terminated for six years, was that of the breaking of the outer man. He never passed on mere teachings and doctrines; his messages contained the reality he acquired through the experience of suffering. The experience he acquired through suffering served as a great help to all of us and became a rich heritage to all the churches in the Lord's recovery. This rich heritage was acquired by him at a high price.

His sufferings also helped him to receive revelations from the Lord. Often through a certain kind of suffering, he received a certain kind of revelation. His sufferings often became the Lord's revelation. He was purified, dealt with, torn down, and constituted by the Holy Spirit with the divine life through his sufferings. Through such experience of suffering, he was equipped and positioned to receive the Lord's revelation.

MATURED

The book of Genesis reveals that by the time Jacob reached the end of his life, he had matured to become Israel. We also see a matured life in Watchman Nee after his many experiences with the Lord and much suffering. His maturity was manifested in a number of ways. He was one with the Lord because his whole being was saturated with the Lord. It was difficult to find a trace of anything natural in his being. He was always in the spirit, never frustrated by the flesh or restricted by the natural man. He was always prepared to minister the Lord to others. It was unnecessary for him to prepare himself to minister; he was able to minister life to others constantly and instantly. Watchman Nee possessed a matured measure of life. He was full of insight and able to discern the situation of others in a thorough way. He had the ability to isolate a person's problem and thoroughly diagnose his condition.

His heart was large, and he enjoyed bearing the burdens of others. The burdens of others were not a heavy weight to him; his care for them was like an ocean, without scarcity. He fully bore the burden of the Lord's recovery in building up the churches in China. Yet there was no indication that he was either striving or struggling to fulfill his commission. In his dealings with others, sweetness, tenderness, and softness were spontaneous. He did not perform. The flavor of these virtues simply overflowed spontaneously from the fullness of his matured life. It was his testimony that he was ready to be either

raptured or martyred. As I write these words, on the desk before me are two paperweights made of stone. One bears the inscription of his word: "My future is to be either raptured or martyred."

MARTYRED

Watchman Nee was led by the Lord to remain in mainland China and to sacrifice his life for the Lord's work there. In this respect, he was like the apostle Paul in Acts 20:24, who said, "I consider my life of no account as if precious to myself, in order that I may finish my course and the ministry which I have received from the Lord Jesus." Concerning Watchman Nee's decision, Brother Hsu Jin-chin testified the following:

Before Brother Nee left Hong Kong, Brother Lee advised him many times not to return to the mainland. But Brother Nee said, "If a mother discovered that her house was on fire, and she herself was outside the house doing the laundry, what would she do? Although she realized the danger, would she not rush into the house? Although I know that my return is fraught with dangers, I know that many brothers and sisters are still inside. How can I not return?"²⁵

Watchman Nee was arrested in March 1952 because of his professed faith in Christ as well as his leadership among the local churches. He was falsely condemned, judged, and sentenced in 1956 to fifteen years of imprisonment. During this time, only his wife was allowed to visit him. Although there is no way for us to know what he experienced of the Lord during his long imprisonment, his last eight letters provide a glimpse into his suffering, feeling, and expectation during his confinement.

Letter One

April 22, 1972

Eldest Sister Pin-cheng,

I received your letter of April 7, and found that you had not received my letter, in which I notified you that the things you sent me every time have been received. All the things you mentioned in your letter I have received. I am very grateful to you.

You know my physical condition is chronic, an illness of the organ itself. When it is activated I suffer much, but even when it is latent, it is still present with me. The difference is whether or not it is activated. Summer is here, and although more exposure to the sun can alter a little the color of my skin, it cannot change the illness. However, I maintain my joy, so please do not worry. I hope you will also take care of yourself and be filled with joy in your heart.

I wish you well.

²⁵ *Watchman Nee, A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, p. 327.

Shu-tsu

Watchman wrote this letter to his sister-in-law, who was his wife's oldest sister and whom he addressed in the letter as "eldest sister."

This sister lived in Peking and was away from Mrs. Nee for about twenty years. In 1971 Mrs. Nee fell from a stool and broke two ribs. Because of this fall, Mrs. Nee's high blood pressure increased, and this caused her death. Due to this great loss, the eldest sister felt it necessary after Mrs. Nee's death to stay and take care of Watchman and to send him the things he needed. "The things you sent me every time" refers to this.

"When it [the 'chronic ailment'] is activated I suffer much" and "it ['more exposure to the sun'] cannot change the illness" indicate that he was still suffering from his illness.

"However, I maintain my joy" indicates that he was practicing the word of the apostle Paul in Philippians 4:4: "Rejoice in the Lord always." "Be filled with joy in your heart" indicates that he not only rejoiced in the Lord Himself, but also encouraged his sister-in-law to be filled with the joy of the Lord. Both of these words show us that while he was suffering his imprisonment, he trusted in the Lord and had much fellowship with the Lord. He was like the apostle, who, while suffering imprisonment, rejoiced in the Lord and encouraged his readers to also rejoice in the Lord (Phil. 2:17-18). In his letter he did not quote anything from the Scriptures, indicating that he had no freedom to do so. This letter was dated April 22, 1972, thirty-eight days before he passed away. He signed this letter with his name, Shu-tsu, which was commonly used among his relatives.

Letter Two

May 6, 1972

Eldest Sister Pin-cheng,

Tomorrow (May 7) it will be half a year since the death of Sister Hwei. Too many changes have transpired during the past half a year. In reminiscing over the former days, and in perusing and caressing the articles left behind by her, I could not help but grieve and ache in my heart. For over twenty years, I have not been able to take care of her once. This will be a lifelong regret to me. It was all because of me; I owe her so much and have given her so many hardships. My sickness is chronic and has frequent setbacks. As far as my living goes, I try as much as possible to make things simple, so that I would not bother others. In my sickness, I really miss my own relatives and long to be with them. However, I submit to the arrangement placed on my environment. For the past ten days or so, I could not help but have unceasing deep feelings for Sister Hwei.

How is your health? You are always in my remembrance. As an older person, you should take more care of yourself. Are you still thinking about coming to the south? I do not know what to say. I can only wish you well.

Shu-tsu

In this letter "Sister Hwei" refers to Watchman's wife, Charity, whose Chinese name is Pin-hwei.

Letter Three

May 16, 1972

Eldest Sister Pin-cheng,

Both your letter dated the 6th from Peking and the one dated the 11th from Shanghai have been received. This time when you come, I hope that you can stay longer and have more rest. In my sickness, I do long to be in contact more with my own relatives. Here the mountains are beautiful and the water clear. One thing special about this place is that the children are especially handsome, more so than all the ones I saw in Shanghai. I hope that you can find some rest here.

Sister Hwei's ashes are indeed a problem. When you come, we will discuss this.

I do not have much need. Just bring me an electric flashlight.

I wish you well.

Shu-tsu

Letter Four

May 22, 1972

Eldest Sister Pin-cheng,

I have talked with the supervisor concerning the question of my leaving the farm here. He said, "You cannot go to Peking or Shanghai. You can only go to a small place, a village. As long as the verification papers come, the government will deal with the matter according to the set policy. There is no need to discuss this with me."

Therefore, please find for me someone among my relatives whose name I can come under. You can explain to them that I can take care of my living. I hope that they can receive me and that they can ask the commune administration there to issue a certificate saying that I can stay there and that they will accept me.

I hope that someone can be found among my relatives. Ma Hsing-tao is one who may be willing to do it. Please discuss it with him, or with some others.

On Saturday night, I had another relapse. For a few hours, my heart was quivering. Later I took some Diacin and was able to be sustained. On Sunday, I slept the whole day. In my sickness, I deeply long to return to my own relatives and be with them, as a falling leaf returning to its roots. I have lost contact with all of them for over twenty years. Therefore, I can only ask you to help me.

When you come, bring with you one catty of Tai-Chang shredded beef and one catty of dried beef. Because of my angina pectoris, the doctor has told me not to eat egg yolk, fat, or any internal organs, for fear that the illness will worsen. So I can only eat some lean meat. If I do not eat anything, I will not have the supply of amino acid in the protein. This is a problem to me.

I wish you well.

Shu-tsu

In this letter, Watchman Nee referred to his sickness more than once. Diacin is a tradename of Niacin, a nicotinic acid. Angina pectoris, the chronic illness which he had, is a disease which causes chest pain due to a lack of blood supply to the heart muscles.

"Ma Hsing-tao" is Watchman's nephew-in-law, the husband of his niece who was the daughter of his cousin. During his imprisonment, this nephew-in-law and his wife took care of Mrs. Nee, who had poor health. Both he and his wife were brother and sister in the Lord. Eventually, his wife died, leaving this nephew-in-law to take care of Mrs. Nee alone.

On the same day that the above letter was written, Watchman wrote another letter to this relative (see Letter Five).

Letter Five

May 22, 1972

Nephew-in-law Hsing-tao,

I believe your aunt, while she was alive, must have talked to you about my situation.

You know that my eldest sister is supplying my needs; therefore, my living is no problem. I am old and with much illness, longing very much to be with my relatives. As a falling leaf

returning to its root, so I seek a final resting place. I earnestly hope that you could take the responsibility to accomplish this matter for me. In every respect I am depending on you.

Because of the death of your aunt six and a half months ago, all my five internal organs hurt, and it is difficult for me to pass through the days. I hope that you would make every effort to mail the certificate here. When your aunt was alive, she many times mentioned Hwei-yi and her children. I wonder how the children are now? I miss them.

I heard that going to Chekiang may cause a problem with the food coupons. I believe since I eat very little, there will be a solution; so it does not matter.

For more than twenty years we have not corresponded with each other. You are often in my remembrance.

I wish you well.

Shu-tsu

This letter was written by Watchman to his nephew-in-law.

"Your aunt" refers to Mrs. Nee. "Must have talked to you about my situation," according to the context of the whole letter, apparently refers to Watchman's health and matters involving his release from prison. "My eldest sister" refers to his eldest sister, Mrs. Chen, who lived in Hong Kong. During his imprisonment it was she who sent financial supply to Shanghai for Watchman Nee and his wife. It was because of this that his "living is no problem."

"Longing very much to be with my relatives" indicates that he was expecting to be released from prison and to stay with his nephew-in-law. At that time he considered himself "as a fallen leaf returning to its root," seeking "a final resting place" for the remaining years of his life. "To accomplish this matter for me" indicates that he had requested his nephew-in-law to prepare a resting place for him. "In every respect" concerning this matter he was depending upon that relative.

"Because of the death of your aunt six and a half months ago, all my five internal organs hurt, and it is difficult for me to pass through the days." This shows the deep sorrow he experienced regarding his wife's death and the hardship he suffered from it.

"Make every effort to mail the certificate" may indicate that Watchman desired this relative to send him a certificate certifying their relationship so he could be released from prison.

"Going to Chekiang" indicates that this relative's home was in Chekiang where Watchman intended to go and rest during his remaining years.

"May cause a problem with the food coupons" indicates the possibility of a problem for him to buy food stuff in Chekiang since he would be a stranger there.

This letter was dated May 22, 1972, only eight days before his departure.

Letter Six

May 25, 1972

Eldest Sister Pin-cheng,

Tomorrow, I will be reassigned from Feng-Shu-Ling to Shan-Shia-Pu Farm. When you come, do not buy your ticket for Feng-Shu-Ling. Instead buy your ticket for Shan-Shia-Pu. It is a little further away from Feng-Shu-Ling, at the next station. I have sent you one letter before this one. I do not know if you have received it. I hope to see you soon.

I wish you well.

Shu-tsu

This letter to his sister-in-law shows that on May 26, he was to be transferred from the farm in Feng-Shu-Ling to another more remote farm in Shan-Shia-Pu, one station away.

Letter Seven

May 26, 1972

Hsing-tao,

While in Feng-Shu-Ling I wrote you a letter, hoping you could obtain a certificate for me from the commune administration, which would clearly indicate your desire to receive me and guarantee my living. (You know my eldest sister is supplying my daily needs.) Your attitude should be firm and clear.

[Series of long dashes supplied by Watchman Nee here.]

Today I was transferred from Feng-Shu-Ling to the Convalescent Group at Pai-Yun-Shan. I hope you will try your best to do this and give me a reply. The certificate should be sent directly to Group No. 14, Pai-Yun-Shan Farm. In the salutation it should be the commune administration writing to Pai-Mao-Ling Farm, Kwang-Te County, Anhwei province. But when you mail it, you should address it to Group No. 14, Pai-Yun-Shan Farm, Kwang-Te County, Anhwei province.

I hope very much to go back to my relatives. Please make an effort.

I wish you well,

Shu-tsu

This is the second letter written by Watchman to the same nephew-in-law. It was dated May 26, 1972, only four days before his death.

"While in Feng-Shu-Ling I wrote you a letter" indicates that the earlier letter was written in Feng-Shu-Ling.

"Address it to Group No. 14, Pai-Yun-Shan Farm, Kwang-Te County, Anhwei province" indicates that Watchman died in the Pai-Yun-Shan Farm, Kwang-Te County, Anhwei province. Pai-Yun-Shan Farm is probably the same as Shan-Shia-Pu mentioned in letter six.

"I hope very much to go back to my relatives" indicates how he desired to be released and go to his relatives. But he died four days later.

In all of the above letters, there is no mention of the name of the Lord or of God. This indicates that he did not have the freedom to do so.

Letter Eight

May 30, 1972

Eldest Sister Pin-cheng,

I have been reassigned to Shan-Shia-Pu Group No. 14. It is ten [Chinese] miles away from the station and is separated from it by a mountain. It is very inconvenient for you to come. You do not need to come anymore.

In my sickness, I still remain joyful at heart. Please do not worry. I am still doing my best to not allow myself to be grieved by my own illness.

Pin-hwei's ashes will be left to your care. I am trusting in you for everything. I give my consent to everything.

This letter is short, yet my feelings run deep. I can only wish you well.

Shu-tsu

This was the last letter of Watchman Nee. It shows that the farm in which he died was quite remote, being ten Chinese miles from the station and separated from the station by a mountain. The fact that he had changed his mind and no longer wanted his sister-in-law to visit him and the fact that he had left the care of his wife's ashes to his sister-in-law, seem to indicate that he had sensed his imminent death. He died the same day.

There is no way to trace the cause of Watchman's death. However, at his departure not one relative, brother, or sister was with him. Humanly speaking, what a miserable and humiliating way to die.

There was no proper notification of his death and no funeral. He was cremated on June 1, 1972. Only the eldest sister of Mrs. Nee was informed of his death and cremation on June 1, 1972. It was she who picked up the ashes and gave them to Watchman's nephew-in-law. He in turn buried the ashes with those of Mrs. Nee in his home town of Kwanchao in the county of Haining, Chekiang province. The following is an account by Brother Nee's grandniece, who accompanied Mrs. Nee's eldest sister at the time when Brother Nee's ashes were picked up:

In June 1972, we got a notice from the labor farm that my granduncle had passed away. My eldest grandaunt and I rushed to the labor farm. But when we got there, we learned that he had already been cremated. We could only see his ashes....Before his departure, he left a piece of paper under his pillow, which had several lines of big words written in a shaking hand. He wanted to testify to the truth which he had even until his death, with his lifelong experience. That truth is—"Christ is the Son of God who died for the redemption of sinners and resurrected after three days. This is the greatest truth in the universe. I die because of my belief in Christ. Watchman Nee." When the officer of the labor farm showed us this paper, I prayed that the Lord would let me quickly remember it by heart....

My granduncle had passed away. He was faithful until death. With a crown stained with blood, he went to be with the Lord. Although God did not fulfill his last wish, to come out alive to join his wife, the Lord prepared something even better—they were reunited before the Lord.²⁶

Such is the way that Watchman Nee ended his time on this earth. In May 1989, after a period of seventeen years, his ashes and the ashes of Mrs. Nee were both transferred by his two nephews from Chekiang to a public cemetery in Shiangshan in the city of Soochow of Kiangsu province. They were both buried in "The Christian Cemetery" beside Watchman's brother Nee Hwai-tsu and the latter's wife.

Watchman Nee was a man of suffering. Along his pathway of following the Lamb, he suffered. Today as a result of his suffering, we have such a rich heritage in the Lord's recovery. The following two stanzas are the conclusion to Hymn #635 in our hymnal, which is on the suffering of the grapevine. These words, which he helped me arrange into singable verse in Hong Kong in 1950, summarized his entire life.

Not by gain our life is measured,
But by what we've lost 'tis scored;
Tis not how much wine is drunken,
But how much has been outpoured.
For the strength of love e'er standeth,=
In the sacrifice we bear;
He who has the greatest suffering
Ever has the most to share.
He who treats himself severely

²⁶ *Watchman Nee, A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, p. 190.

Is the best for God to gain;
He who hurts himself most dearly
Most can comfort those in pain.
He who suffering never beareth
Is but empty "sounding brass";
He who self-life never spareth
Has the joys which all surpass.²⁷

During Watchman Nee's imprisonment he was confined, but his ministry was not bound (2 Tim. 2:9). Under the Lord's sovereignty, his ministry has spread throughout the entire world as a rich supply of life to all seeking Christians. His ultimate burden was the spread and the building up of the church as the house of God, God's tabernacle. Although his own earthly tabernacle (physical body) has been taken down, the building of God obtained through his ministry remains and still is growing and spreading throughout the earth. By the time Watchman Nee was arrested in 1952, approximately four hundred local churches had been raised up in China. In addition, over thirty local churches had been raised up in the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia. Today there are over twenty-three hundred local churches worldwide because of the rich and faithful ministry of Watchman Nee.

Watchman Nee realized that life is measured not by gain but by loss and that the one who has suffered the most has the most to share with others. For this reason, he never spared himself, but bore the cross and the fellowship of Christ's suffering, being conformed to His death, in order to live Christ out that others might be nourished and enriched with Him.

²⁷ *Watchman Nee, A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, p. 191.

TESTIMONIES GIVEN BY CO-WORKERS AND SAINTS

This chapter contains testimonies of six persons who knew Watchman Nee personally. What they have written concerning him is drawn from their personal knowledge and firsthand experience extending over a period of years.

TESTIMONY OF WITNESS LEE

Through all the twenty-five years I knew Watchman Nee, from 1925 to 1950, I was deeply impressed with certain characteristics of his.

Absolute toward the Lord

He loved the Lord as his first love. To him the Lord came first in everything. He never compromised regarding the Lord's interest, nor did he sacrifice any truth for the sake of convenience. He also did not follow the Lord halfway. His commitment to the Lord was absolute.

Well-balanced

In knowing the Bible and in his church practice, he was very well-balanced. He did not follow any teaching or any practice in an unbalanced way as so many Christians in denominations do. He would frequently compare one view of a certain thing with other views that he might be kept from falling into some extreme. In his daily Christian life, he practiced the same principle.

All-inclusive

From reading many classical Christian books, he picked up all the good scriptural points of many different Christian groups, gathering them all into the practice of the church life. He never rejected a good scriptural point simply because it came from the wrong source. He even picked up some good items from extreme Pentecostalism. In this way he was able to bring into the present practice of the church all the riches which Christ had given His Body in the past centuries. Through him we are now able to participate in all these riches in the local churches, not in a narrow way, nor in a sectarian way, but in an all-inclusive way.

Knowing the Bible

In my entire life I have never met another person who knew the Bible as deeply as Watchman Nee. He received much help from many of the finest Christian writers of past centuries, but he also stood upon their shoulders, seeing more things from the Scriptures than they did. He not only knew the letter of the Bible, but he also knew the Spirit of the Bible. He probed into the depths and touched the Spirit of the Scriptures. His knowledge of the Bible was filled with light and saturated with life. He had not only the objective view of the Scriptures but also the subjective experience of God's Word.

Knowing the Lord

He was truly a man of God, knowing the Lord in a full way. He knew the Lord in His acts as well as in His ways. He knew the Lord not only according to His love, mercy, grace, righteousness, and holiness, but also according to His eternal purpose and His present economy. He had both the full, objective knowledge and the living, subjective realization of the Lord. He knew the Lord personally, as well as in the church, His Body.

Knowing Life

He knew that the Lord as the living Spirit lived in his spirit, and he knew how to exercise his spirit. He practiced rejecting the mind, emotion, and will of his soul, and he also practiced behaving and acting in the spirit. In this way he lived by the Lord as his life. He cared little for work; he continually cared for life more than work. He said repeatedly that the work should be the outflow of life. His ministry was not one of work but one of life, carried out by life. He paid much more attention to what he was than to what he did. He was truly a man of life.

Knowing the Church

He saw clearly that the church as the Body of Christ was Christ's expression with Him as its life and content. He also saw that the church could only be practical with the existence of local churches. He saw too that only churches in localities could carry out God's eternal purpose to have the church built up in a way which the gates of Hades could not prevail against. He thoroughly realized that to recover the proper church life on the proper ground is God's present economy. He did not teach mere doctrines concerning the church. He received a full revelation from the New Testament, not only regarding the content and reality of the church, but also regarding the practicality of the church. Through the years in his ministry, he not only stressed the experience of Christ but also emphasized the practice of the church life. His vision was not only Christ, but Christ and the church. Christ was his life, and the church was his living. He suffered for the church more than for Christ. The persecutions which came upon him from the denominations came mostly because of his emphasis on the church. He was burdened to carry out his vision concerning the practicality of the church life. He desired to see a local church in every city in China.

A Gift of the Age

I consider Watchman Nee to be a unique gift given by the Head to His Body for His recovery in this age. I fully respect him as such a gift. I have the full confidence and assurance that it was absolutely of the Lord that I followed this gift for the Lord's interest in His present move on this earth. I feel no shame whatsoever in saying that I followed a man --a man that was the unique gift and the seer of the divine visions in this age.

I am more than grateful to the Lord that immediately after being saved I was brought into such a profitable relationship with Watchman Nee and put into the closest relationship with him in the work of His recovery through so many events over a long period of time. The revelations concerning Christ, the church, the spirit, and life which I saw through Watchman Nee, the infusions of life which I received from him, and the things concerning the work and the church which I learned from him will require eternity to evaluate their true worth. (Excerpted from *Watchman Nee, A Seer*, ch. 33)

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL I.L. CHANGE

The first testimony is that of his brother-in-law, Samuel I. L. Chang, who was an elder in the church in Los Angeles.

His Relationship with Watchman Nee

Watchman Nee's grandmother and my grandmother were classmates in school. Their friendship began the relationship between our two families. Our fathers were also schoolmates, as were our sisters, and in due time he and I also attended the same school. Our relationship, however, was not merely the kind of friendship persons in the world have, but became the kind of relationship which exists between two Christian brothers. This relationship between us continued down through the years. It was through fellowship with Watchman Nee in 1927 that I was made clear concerning my own salvation. In 1934 he married my sister, but even though he became my brother-in-law, our relationship continued to be based not upon family ties but upon our relationship in Christ.

Assurance of Salvation through Watchman Nee

My spiritual relationship with Watchman Nee began when I received the assurance of salvation. He ministered Christ to me in the Spirit, bringing me into a genuine and living enjoyment of the assurance of salvation. He asked me simply, "Are you saved?" I replied, "I don't know." He asked again, "Why are you not saved?" Again I replied, "I don't know." Then he asked, "Do you believe John 3:16?" He then proceeded to break this verse down, clause by clause: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son." He asked, "Do you believe this?" I replied, "Yes, I believe this." He asked, "Do you believe that 'every one who believes into Him would not perish, but have eternal life'?" I said, "Yes, I believe that also." He asked, "Are you saved?" I said, "I don't know." Then he said to me strongly, "But God said this. If you don't believe what He says, you make Him a liar!" These words lifted the veil from my heart and quickened my spirit. Immediately, I sensed the anointing within and fully believed that I was saved.

Ministered To by Watchman Nee

On a number of occasions when I had personal problems, I went to Watchman Nee for help. Not one time was I rebuked. He would simply ask, "What have you learned from the Lord?" He helped me realize that all things occur under God's hand and are working together for good to conform me to the image of His Son (Rom. 8:28-29)

On one occasion my wife entered the hospital for an operation. Following the operation, the enemy attacked her with accusations and caused her to think that she was about to die. This news was reported to Watchman Nee, and he and my sister went to visit her. He realized that she was under the accusation of the enemy and ministered to her from Revelation 12:11: "And they overcame him because of the blood of the Lamb and because of the word of their testimony, and they loved not their soul-life even unto death." Then he telephoned me and confessed that his failure to help keep me in the Lord's fellowship had given the enemy ground to attack my wife. For this failure he asked my forgiveness. He fully realized that the warfare was not simply a matter for my wife alone, but that the warfare also required her husband and the church. This is why he asked me to forgive him. He realized that in order to fight against the enemy I needed the church and that there had been neglect on his part in being one with me. I told him, however, that it was not his fault; the fault lay in my inadequate consecration and in my love for the world. That is what gave the enemy the ground. Immediately I repented to the Lord. The moment I repented, the enemy left my wife, and the Lord gave her peace. The next morning when Watchman Nee's mother came to pray with her, she was able to sing praises to the Lord and enjoy the Lord's sweet anointing. This incident shows that Watchman Nee knew the ways of God. Through his spiritual discernment, my family was helped and was brought back to a complete union with Christ in our daily living.

My Impression of Watchman Nee

Watchman Nee was a person who was thoroughly saturated with the Lord. He was a man who lived in the Lord's presence. His disposition, character, and behavior had been transformed through the years under the perfecting hand of Miss Margaret E. Barber. He could listen without interruption to the words or suggestions of others. He was a man whose inner being had been touched by the Lord, and one who had acquired much rich experience from being dealt with by the Lord. If it were not so, such a genius would have found it extremely difficult to maintain a relationship with a foolish, stupid young brother like me. Later on, when I worked closely with him, I observed that he could listen to any kind of person without giving the impression that he was superior. He was transformed to such a degree that he could be built up with anyone, no matter what their condition, without being frustrated by their shortcomings or childishness.

In observing Watchman Nee's way of working, I never saw him try to impose his authority. Rather, he would set an example himself. He would rise early in the morning and work regular hours. He never took things lightly or acted loosely. Neither was he lazy. He never assumed that he was the boss, nor did he require of others what he himself would not do. He worked with his own hands, teaching others to work together with tenderness, love, patience, and cooperation.

Today most of Christianity criticizes him for his ministry concerning the church. Yet, I can testify that his ministry regarding the church was not a doctrine, a theory, or an unworkable plan. Not only did he teach what God revealed to him concerning the church—he also put the revelation into practice. Although the practice of the church, as God revealed it to Watchman Nee, was not seen on a large scale during his lifetime, today it has been fully vindicated. It is workable. Thousands of believers today can testify that they are living in the full reality of the church life.

TESTIMONY OF WEIGH, KWANG-HSI

Weigh Kwang-hsi, who passed away in 1988, was Watchman Nee's classmate. The following is his testimony which he wrote in 1973:

For several years Watchman Nee and I were classmates at Trinity College, a school founded by the Church of England in the city of Foochow. We were good friends and frequently studied and played together. During our junior and senior high school years, we were both nominal Christians. We both had some knowledge of the Bible, and we outwardly kept the Christian forms of baptism, holy communion, church attendance, Bible study, and prayer. But we had never accepted in our hearts the Christ who was crucified for our sins and who resurrected on the third day, and we did not know Him as our personal Savior. We both loved the world and pursued the vanities of the world.

Watchman Nee was pursuing scholastic attainment in the field of Chinese literature. He would frequently write articles for publication in the newspapers. The money he earned was spent on lottery tickets. He was also fond of the movies. I preferred sports and yearned for the fame and praise of men.

In our first college year, his life suddenly changed. He became a fervent Christian and ceased pursuing the world. He frequently testified to his classmates, exhorting them to believe in the Lord Jesus. Many schoolmates did believe in the Lord and began voluntarily to pray in the college chapel, even during weekdays. He would frequently study the Bible in class; however, this did not seem to affect his grades. He usually came out with the highest examination scores in every subject. The lives of many of the students were changed by accepting the Lord, and the dormitory director admitted that some mischievous students, who had previously violated school regulations, had accepted the Lord and experienced a great change in their lives. As a result, he found himself with fewer cases of violation of school rules by students.

Saved through Watchman Nee

Watchman Nee invited me to attend some gospel meetings, but I refused. My heart was set on becoming famous in the sports world. One day, however, he came to my room and preached the gospel to me alone, urging me to accept the Lord Jesus as my Savior. Though I attempted to argue with him concerning some religious problems, he would not argue; instead, he asked me several questions: "Have

you sinned? Do you know if your sins are forgiven? Do you know if you are saved?" At the time I didn't understand why, but in my heart I felt sorrowful. Later I realized that this was the convicting work of the Holy Spirit. He preached the gospel to me, explaining that God loved me and gave His only begotten Son for me, and that if I would truly believe in Him, I would not perish but would have eternal life. When asked if I would believe in Christ, I said I would. We knelt together and prayed, with him praying first. Then I prayed, asking the Lord to forgive my sins and thanking Him for loving and saving me. When I rose up, my heart was filled with joy and peace. I experienced a great change in my life and brought forth the fruit of repentance. My name had been one of the names on his prayer list, and the Lord answered his prayer. Praise the Lord!

Recovered by Watchman Nee

In 1924 I transferred to Nanking University and came under the influence of modernism. My faith was shaken. At that time Watchman Nee was staying in a brother's home in Nanking, recuperating from an illness. I frequently visited him for fellowship, and he helped me escape the influence of modernism. After his health improved, I was able to make arrangements for him to preach the gospel at Nanking University. As a result of his preaching, two of my classmates were saved.

Edified by Watchman Nee

In 1928, when I was about to leave the university, I considered serving the Lord full-time. I did not want to be a preacher on salary, but I did not know how to live by faith, so I went to Watchman Nee for fellowship. At that time he was quite lonely and greatly in need of co-workers who would be of the same mind. When I raised this matter, he did not encourage me in a careless manner to serve the Lord. He was neither influenced by his need for co-workers nor by the personal relationship between us. He simply told me not to wait until the Jordan waters opened, but to step into the water by faith—then the way would open before me. He knew that I lacked this kind of faith. I was waiting for the outward circumstances to change before beginning to serve the Lord. (Fifty years ago in China it was difficult to find anyone serving the Lord by faith like Watchman Nee.) Hence, I laid aside the thought of serving the Lord full-time and taught college for eight years.

In the spring of 1934, Watchman Nee held his third overcomer conference in Shanghai. In the morning he spoke on the centrality and universality of Christ. In the afternoon he spoke on God's overcomers. Through his messages in this conference, the Lord gave me revelation which brought about a great turn in my spiritual life. As a result, I stood up in the conference and for the first time consecrated my entire life to the Lord. At that time I was still teaching school.

In 1935 in Chefoo, Brother Nee experienced anew the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. After this, he held a conference in Chuanchow, Fukien, and asked me to attend. There many were helped to experience the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, with the result that they had power and boldness to witness for the Lord. He also preached on the secret of the overcoming life, which is to let Christ live in our stead, according to Paul's testimony in Galatians 2:20. This conference brought in a great revival.

Confirmed and Assigned by Watchman Nee

In October 1936, Watchman Nee conducted a co-workers' conference in Kulangsu, Fukien. He cabled me and invited me to attend. By that time I had become clear concerning the Lord's call and was prepared to resign my teaching job to live by faith and serve the Lord. While I was seeking the Lord for His guidance, I received Brother Nee's invitation. I immediately realized that it was the Lord's will for me to attend the conference. I thank the Lord that at this conference I was given the rare opportunity of listening to Watchman Nee's testimony, which I was later able to publish as three articles. At the end of the conference, Brother Nee and the other co-workers assigned me to begin the work in Canton and later in Hong Kong. In 1937 Watchman Nee began the Lord's work in the southwest part of China in the city of K'un-ming in Yunnan province. After establishing the church there, he invited me to come and work in that locality. I picked up the burden and moved my family there. I worked there for three years, until my return to Hong Kong in 1940.

Following World War II, whenever Watchman Nee visited Canton or Hong Kong, I took the opportunity to seek his fellowship. I usually planned to ask him a number of questions, but after having some fellowship with him, it was unnecessary to ask the questions. In our fellowship I always received an abundant supply of life.

Trained by Watchman Nee

In 1948 I again had opportunity to attend a conference in the church in Shanghai. Brother Nee ministered on the matter of handing over ourselves with all we possess to the Lord. His words were full of impact and the power of the Holy Spirit, and the meetings were full of the Lord's presence. Many were revived and handed over themselves and their possessions, to be built together in serving the Lord. In the last meeting of the conference, because I was leaving for Foochow, Brother Nee, in the presence of all the assembled brothers and sisters, addressed me in the following words of farewell:

There is only one Christ, but due to different viewpoints and emphases of the workers, it seems that Christ has been divided into many Christs. If a worker cannot express to others the one Christ whom God desires to present, his work is a failure. Many today have had very intimate contact with the Lord, while others are merely pressing against Him (Mark 5:24). Perhaps some have indeed touched His back, held His hand, or torn His garments; yet they have no relationship whatever with Him in life. Among the many who thronged Jesus, the woman with an issue of blood was not the only one who was ill, but she was the only one healed in life (Matt. 9:20-22).

Some today indeed know the Christ of Bethsaida (Mark 8:22-26) or the Christ of Gadara (Mark 5:1-20) or the Christ of Emmaus (Luke 24:13-35). In their experience they have really seen the miracles and the wonders. They may even be able to perform the miracles themselves. Yet if there is no true inward revelation, none of these works will amount to anything. Some may be able to tell others with moving power of a Christ of Emmaus. They may be able to expound the Scriptures and may cause others to become truly fervent in their hearts; yet it is all to no avail. The real work is to impart a Christ of

revelation to others. I speak these words not only to Brother Weigh, but to all the co-workers and to all the brothers and sisters alike. If you and I cannot impart a Christ of revelation to others, our work is a failure.

Here we see that there are two basically different stands that a worker of the Lord can take: one emphasizes work, the expounding of the Scriptures, miracles, works of wonders, and answers to prayers, etc. The other presents before men a Christ of revelation.

In the same year, 1948, from the beginning of June to the end of September, Watchman Nee held a period of training on Kuling Mountain, Fukien, for the purpose of training co-workers from all over China. I attended that training. Every day we spent approximately seven hours listening to Brother Nee and receiving his ministry. I was greatly helped in my spiritual understanding and also in the principles of working for the Lord....

My Last Contact with Watchman Nee

In the early part of 1950, Watchman Nee came to Hong Kong. Soon Witness Lee also joined him. In the past it had been a rare occurrence for these two brothers to visit the same church at the same time. Their ministry issued in a great revival in the church in Hong Kong. Previously there had been about three hundred in the meetings. As a result of the revival the number increased to between two and three thousand. There was a special blessing upon the church in Hong Kong.

TESTIMONY OF CHANG, WU-CHEN

Chang Wu-chen, a leading co-worker on the island of Taiwan, was one of Watchman Nee's trainees. The following is his testimony regarding Watchman Nee:

Saved through Watchman Nee

I first met Watchman Nee in Chefoo, Shantung province, in the summer of 1935. I was then twenty-one years old. I was raised in a Christian family and studied in a Christian school. Though my mother's father had been a Free Methodist pastor, Christianity left me with a very poor impression, and I became an atheist. God was merciful to me, however, and caused me to meet Watchman Nee and Witness Lee. It was through them that I received salvation.

My aunt, who was quite concerned for my salvation, found occasion to introduce me to Watchman Nee in Witness Lee's living room. He began to preach the gospel to me, and we debated the matter of God's existence. He gave many reasons to prove God's existence, but I argued that since I could not see God, I could not believe in Him. Then he asked, "Can you see everything with your eyes? Do you deny the existence of something simply because you cannot see it? For example, there are electrical waves and air in this room. Can you deny their existence? God is not physical; God is Spirit. You cannot

contact God with your eyes; you must use your spirit. If you seek God with your spirit, you will find Him." Then I asked, "How do I contact God with my spirit?" His reply was, "Just speak to God from deep within, according to your need and inner sense."

I went home and began to pray according to his instruction. Thank God! He answered my prayer and changed me from within. The following Sunday I attended the meeting. Witness Lee preached the gospel. His words were so powerful that the Lord was able to conquer me, deliver me, and clearly save me.

Helped through His Publications

After being saved, I secretly consecrated myself to the Lord. The Lord was so dear and so precious to me that I was willing to give up the world and serve Him the rest of my life. Then for twelve years I did not see Watchman Nee, but continued to receive much help through his spiritual publications.

Trained by Watchman Nee

I was a trainee in Watchman Nee's first training on Kuling Mountain, Foochow, in 1948. I attended his training for nearly four months and was greatly helped by him. On one occasion, after I gave a testimony, he made the following comments:

Brother Chang, you said that in spiritual matters you frequently felt flat and often felt dry. I hope that from now on you will disregard all these feelings. Whether or not you feel flat, disregard it. Simply commit yourself into the Lord's hand and believe that He is able to take care of you, and spontaneously He will bring you through. There are many problems we cannot overcome by ourselves. However, when we behold the Lord and draw near to the Lord, the problem disappears.

The following is a parable about a centipede. One day, as a centipede was about to walk, it examined its legs to consider which one should move first. Should the left leg move first or the right one? How about the eighth leg, or the tenth? The centipede was stuck there trying to make a decision. The problem of the mind became a problem of the practice. Eventually, the sun came up. Without thinking, the centipede ran out to see the sunrise without considering which leg should move first. It forgot about how to walk and simply walked. When the problem of the mind was gone, the problem of the practice also disappeared.

The more you try to deal with the inner dryness, depression, and flatness, the more you cannot overcome them. These things become an issue because you make them an issue. If you forget about them and let them go, they will disappear.

Sometimes a problem is conquered by fighting, and other times it is conquered by forgetting. Many things can be gotten over by the exercise of your strength. But at other times,

simply by forgetting it, the problem is solved. Boast in your weakness and give up your striving and your methods; then His power will spread over you.

This is the secret: Ask God to give you a glimpse of His riches and His glory through reading the Bible, praying, attending a meeting, or having fellowship with the brothers. Spontaneously, you will forget about other things. The infilling comes by forgetting, and forgetting comes by touching the Lord. Once you touch the Lord, you will no longer look at yourself.

Following his comments on my testimony, I asked him the following question: "I was sick for a year with tuberculosis, even with blood in my mucus. One day God's word came, I received faith, and the sickness was healed. But occasionally I would vomit again and the symptom would reappear. Why does the symptom reappear, and how do I overcome it?"

Brother Nee gave the following answer:

Concerning the matter of healing, we must pay attention to three things: 1) Do not tempt God, 2) Do not accept the symptom, and 3) Believe that the grace is sufficient.

Timothy had a chronic stomach problem. Paul advised him to no longer drink water. In those days the Jews had water ponds beneath their houses to store rain water or water diverted from another source. Bacteria grew in the water and made it unsanitary. So Paul advised Timothy to use a little wine (1 Tim. 5:23). Wine has a warming effect and helps the blood circulation. Paul had the gift of healing, and he healed many sick ones, but he did not heal Timothy's sickness. Timothy himself was also gifted, yet he could not get his own stomach problem healed. God did not give a word. Timothy could not say, "It doesn't matter whether I drink water or wine." No! That would be tempting God. He should not drink the water out of a clay pond. To trust God and to tempt God may appear the same outwardly. The difference is in whether you have God's word or not. From all appearance, to rise up and walk with God's word is the same as to rise up and walk without God's word. But to rise and walk without God's word is to tempt God. If I walk on the premise that God can heal me, I am tempting God. But if I have God's word, I do not need to worry about the law of sanitation. If I do not have God's word, I should not disobey the natural law. Look at the man with the withered hand. Because the Lord had spoken a word to him, he did not wait until the symptom changed to believe that he was healed. He could ignore the symptom. The Lord told him to stretch forth his hand, and he simply stretched forth his hand. The Lord's word is dependable; the symptom is not. The paralytic did not wait until he was stronger before picking up his bed and walking. The Lord told him to pick up his bed and walk; so he picked it up and walked. When you have the Lord's word, you do not need to check your pulse or see if your fever is gone. If one does not have God's word, he needs to abide by the law of sanitation. But if one has God's word, he can afford to be an extremist, fearing nothing.

Watchman Nee then gave this testimony of how he was healed:

I was sick. Then one day God sent His word to heal me. I only knew that I must take care of God's word and not my symptom. If God says I am healed, then His word has stopped the illness. If you continue to look at your sickness, God's word loses its effectiveness. I was neither delighted if my fever went down nor nervous if it went up. My eyes were not on my temperature but on God's word. Whether the temperature was high or low, whether the blood count was more or less, these were not the Lord. Only the Lord is the Lord. Learn to laugh at the temperature. It doesn't matter whether it is high or low. Learn to trust in God's word and not in the symptom. Only God's word is real; the symptom is false. When God says it is over, it is over. If you vomited blood, God must be testing your faith. Learn to trust in God's word and not in the symptom, and the symptom will change. At first, I could not believe that I was healed either, because I did not have God's word. But one day God's word came, yet my symptom was still very serious. But I rose up and said, "Lord, rebuke the symptom if it is false." One or two hours later the illness was gone.

I had a lung problem, a kidney problem, a liver problem, and a heart problem. In 1923 I had peritonitis. I lay in bed for over a month. Breathing was painful to me. My fever was high and I was in much suffering. Brother Miao asked some saints to come and pray for me. When he prayed I felt nothing. However, when a certain sister, Miss Barber, prayed, "Lord, no one in the grave can praise Thee. If our brother dies, he will not be able to praise Thee," my heart was relieved, even though my fever was still high and I was still in acute pain. When the day dawned, I arose and walked to Lo-Hsing Pagoda to edit an issue of *The Christian*. If you do not have God's word, you must take care of your body. But if you have God's word, you should ignore the symptom. Treat the symptom as a temptation and a lie. Do not stay with the symptom; stay away from it.

Some illnesses are healed immediately; others are not. Once when sick, I asked the Lord to heal me. The Lord said, "The healing will not take place quickly, but My grace is sufficient for you." Then the Lord showed me something. A boat sailing in the middle of a stream was facing a big rock and could not get through. The Lord asked me, "Shall I remove the rock so you can get through, or shall I raise the water level so that you can go over it?" At that moment I was clear concerning the Lord's will, and I said, "Lord, I do not ask to have the problem removed; I ask for an increase of Your grace."

There is no illness in the world that a Christian cannot overcome. If you have the Lord's word, do not care for the symptom. Believe that God is faithful. Be strengthened by contacting God's word, not by seeking removal of the symptom. Neither need you fear that the symptom will be an obstacle. Although the rock is not removed, the water level will be increased, not just some but greatly. This is our way.

In summary, these three things should be noted: 1) If you act without God's word, you tempt God; 2) If you have God's word, do not look at the symptom; 3) If God's word does not heal you immediately, then His grace will be sufficient for you. He never intended that we be sick

and lack sufficient grace. Paul had an infirmity, yet he worked more than anyone else. Illness never stops the work. Learn to commit yourself to the true and faithful Lord.

A month before attending the Kuling training, I vomited a mouthful of blood and stayed in a Shanghai hospital. When the vomiting stopped, I went to Kuling. That was why I asked the question concerning the recurrence of a symptom after being healed. After receiving Brother Nee's help and guidance, the Lord showed me that in this universe only two things are real: God and His word. Everything else is false. Since I had God's word, I was healed, and since I was healed, there was no need to care for the symptom. Since God's word had come, any symptom was a lie. I thank God that from June 1948 until this very day in 1991, for forty-three years, I have not vomited blood again, not even a trace. The symptom has completely fled. Praise the Lord!

Impression of Watchman Nee

Whenever Watchman Nee was asked a question, his answer was always practical, to the point, clear, full of anointing, and filled with light. His manner was very normal and open, and he was easy to approach. He had a great capacity and a broad heart. In spiritual matters, he climbed to the heights and touched the depths. Concerning God's principle and purpose, he was very rich in understanding and experience. He was frequently misunderstood and evil spoken of, but he never attempted to explain or vindicate himself. Once when asked why he would not make some effort to explain so as to avoid being misunderstood, he replied, "Brothers, if people trust us, there is no need to explain; if people do not trust us, there is no use in explaining." Not only would he not explain or vindicate when being backbitten; he would not reason or argue even when rebuked to his face.

He belittled the matter of riches. Substantial amounts of money passed through his hands. He was entrusted with large amounts to distribute in the Lord's work, and he also earned large sums in his business. Yet, while receiving with one hand, he would distribute with the other. On one occasion he said, "I believe that among the co-workers in China, I am the one who most frequently spends the last dollar." This was surely so. All those close to him knew that he was often empty-handed, keeping nothing for himself. But for the Lord's work and for the need of the church, he would give anything.

TESTIMONY OF CHANG, YU-LAN

The following is the testimony of a close associate of Watchman Nee, Dr. Chang Yu-lan, who was a leading brother in the church in Taipei, Taiwan:

Impression of Watchman Nee

Watchman Nee arrived in Chungking on March 6, 1945, and three days later attended a love feast to which he had been invited by the church in Chungking. He stayed in my home for ten days, and we

continued to see each other for over a year. Later he moved to a place nearby called Little Lung-kan. Some of us would go to his home once or twice a week for fellowship. This continued for over six months. I would always have some questions prepared and would ask them one by one. His answers solved many problems. He always left a very sweet impression, yet one did not lose the sense of respect. His attitude was gentle and meek, and his words were full of anointing. In conversation with him, there was no sense of distance but a sense of being watered and supplied. Frequently seven or eight brothers and sisters would surround him, talking and asking questions for several hours, but he never showed tiredness. The impression left by his words and manner are unforgettable.

Concerning Spiritual Instruction

He told us about going to Margaret Barber weekly, during his student days, to be rebuked. At those times when there was nothing to rebuke, she would ask questions until some fault was found; then she would rebuke him. He said that through this means he received excellent spiritual instruction.

On one occasion Watchman Nee was rebuked by an employee. This employee pointed his finger and pounded his fist, rebuking Watchman Nee for almost four hours. At one point, some neighbors who felt the employee was being unfair, stepped in to intervene. But Watchman Nee sat calmly in his chair, holding a newspaper, without changing expression, as if nothing were happening. At times while he was being rebuked, he would nod his head. When I saw that, I could not understand it. Now I know that he was receiving it as a discipline from God's hand and was submitting himself to this circumstance God had allowed.

Frequently, Watchman Nee would suddenly lift up his eyes, look to heaven, and say, "He is God." The implication was that every circumstance was under God's sovereign arrangement and that he was willing to receive it as such and to obey.

Watchman Nee did not have the usual concept toward those who would inflict him with hurt. On one occasion he said, "The brothers who transgress are like little children who have fallen into a miry ditch. Their clothes and hair are defiled. But give them a bath, and they will be clean again. In the future all the brothers and sisters will be transparent precious stones in the New Jerusalem."

In Chungking the brothers asked him to participate in the Lord's table. However, he would not partake of the bread or the cup; he simply sat and prayed silently. His reason: "The problem in the church in Shanghai has not been resolved; therefore, I cannot break the bread here." I asked him when he would resume his ministry, and he replied, "There is no possibility."

Concerning the Lord's leading for the work, Watchman Nee was very keen in his discernment and quick in making decisions. In explaining why this was so, he said, "If I am wrong, the Lord will use the wall and the donkey to stop me, as He did with Balaam." This attitude indicates that Watchman Nee was one who always obeyed the discipline of the Holy Spirit.

Concerning the Christian Life

On one occasion Watchman Nee instructed some of us, saying, "Christians must escape the system of Christianity. It is more important to deal with the system than to deal with consecration. It is useless to consecrate inside the system." When asked whether it was permissible to play cards without betting money, he replied, "To the Christian there is no absolute right or wrong. It may be all right for one person to do a thing, but not all right for another person to do the same thing. What is right or wrong for a Christian depends upon the level of life he has attained; the level of life is reflected in how many things he cannot do."

Prayer and Fellowship with the Lord

Watchman Nee prayed in a slow way with one or two words coming slowly from his mouth. When I was in Chungking, I unconsciously picked up his way of prayer. By praying in such a way I sensed the presence of the Lord abiding with me. Every word was directed to the Lord, and the words kept springing up from within. Later, a leading brother rebuked me for that practice and told me that I should not copy another's way of prayer, so I stopped praying that way. However, even to this day, when I pray privately I still pray this way, pouring out to God one or two words at a time. By praying in this way, it is much easier to touch the anointing.

On how to maintain fellowship with the Lord, Watchman Nee used the following example: "Suppose a train is traveling from Szechuan to K'un-ming. It must pass through many tunnels. Sometimes it is traveling in darkness, sometimes in light. The experience of a Christian's fellowship with the Lord is the same. If one is in darkness, he must first confess his sin. If there is no sense of sin, he must exercise his will to continue on in the fellowship."

Concerning Maturity in Life

On the matter of maturing in life, Watchman Nee said this:

Time is needed for life to mature. Other than having a big head, young people cannot really be matured. Maturity is a matter of the enlargement of capacity. You must allow God to give you time to suffer beyond measure; then your capacity will be enlarged. Some could suffer the loss of five dollars, but could never suffer the loss of five thousand dollars. Some could forgive others two or three times, but the fifth time would make their hands tremble. One discovers by eating whether a fruit is raw or ripe. Raw fruit tastes sour and bitter and is tough and hard. Only ripe fruit tastes sweet and fragrant. Madame Guyon had the flavor of ripeness. She was a teacher to the elderly and a friend to children. The Christian life grows in a natural way. It is not a matter of being artificially ripened like the ripening of a banana with mild heat. The Son of Man came eating and drinking. With some people, their eating and drinking exposes their true condition. Life does not come as a result of spiritual cultivation. If you have the Spirit, there is no need of cultivation; if you do not have the Spirit, there is no way to cultivate. Lilies blossom and birds grow feathers quite spontaneously. There is no need for them to cultivate these features.

Cultivation can only produce a "saint" according to the world's concept; it cannot produce a real Christian. It is sufficient to have the seal of the cross on the negative side. There is no need to strive to bear fruit. Striving only delays the growth of life; it cannot speed it up. It is important for us to receive God's arrangement in the circumstances. This arrangement is the discipline of the Holy Spirit. To escape God's arrangement just one time is to lose an opportunity to have our capacity enlarged. This will prolong the time required for life to mature in us and will even require us to make up this lesson in order to reach maturity. A believer can never be the same after passing through suffering. Either he will have his capacity enlarged or he will become more hardened. For this reason, when believers are passing through suffering, they must pay attention and they must realize that maturity in life is the sum total of receiving the discipline of the Holy Spirit. People may see a person who has matured in life, but they cannot see the accumulated discipline of the Holy Spirit which that person has received secretly day by day throughout the years.

A Few Spiritual Sayings

Watchman Nee once said, "The lower we put something, the safer it is. It is safest to put a cup on the floor." The implication was that the more the workers of the Lord humble themselves, the safer it is for them. On another occasion he said, "When the cross is not 'air-sealed,' it will be blown away." This means that when you are bearing the cross you should not tell the secret to others. As soon as you tell what you are passing through, the meaning of the cross is gone.

Another of his sayings went like this: "Some who fall, fall on the upper floor, while some who stand, stand on the ground floor. Those who stand on the ground floor should not laugh at those who fall on the upper floor."

Concerning admonishing someone, Brother Nee said, "There can be two results: 1) The person you admonish is restored, or 2) He is hardened. The way to tell whether your admonition was accurate or not is to observe the person you admonished. If by rejecting your admonition, such a one ends up in darkness, it proves your admonition was correct. But if after such a one rejects your fellowship, he still continues to have fellowship with the Lord, it proves your admonition was wrong."

One time he said to me, "If some beggars are sleeping under the eaves and you wake them up, treat them with won ton and then preach the gospel to them. Surely you will touch the anointing within." After coming to Taiwan, I met Watchman Nee's nephew, Soo-fu. He told me that when he was young he saw his uncle meet a group of coolies squatting around gambling. Watchman Nee also squatted beside them, talking and laughing. To all he really became all in order to gain some.

His Living

From observing Watchman Nee's way of life, I feel that he learned how to abound and how to be abased and that everywhere and in every way he learned the secret. When he first came to Chungking, he lived in a small apartment with only a bed and a table. When one went to visit him, the wooden stairs

would sway and make creaking noises. Later, when he moved into his own factory buildings, it made no difference; his attitude was the same as before. Concerning eating, he sometimes ate only bread and water, and at other times he enjoyed an abundant love feast. To all such matters regarding his living he seemed indifferent.

TESTIMONY OF E.P. RADEMACHER, A WESTERN MISSIONARY

Elizabeth P. Rademacher was a missionary in Shanghai during World War II and now serves the Lord in the church in Huntington Beach, California, U.S.A. The following is her testimony regarding Watchman Nee:

Forty-eight years have elapsed since I last saw Watchman Nee. It was February 1943, and America was at war with Japan. Most foreigners living in the International Settlement in Shanghai, China, were under the jurisdiction of the Japanese. Just the evening before I was interned along with many other Americans (my co-workers were British), through our gate came Watchman Nee, unannounced, as was his custom when visiting us four Westerners. After sharing some refreshments and enjoying some sweet fellowship, he handed me a small unlabeled bottle of highly concentrated vitamins produced at CBC Laboratories with the instruction: "Take half a drop a day." What forethought and concern for a little sister about to be confined for an undetermined period of time!

When I first heard the name Watchman Nee in 1934, I knew nothing about him. I pictured an aged man with a flowing white beard! Little did I realize that he wasn't much older than I—probably at that time about thirty. Several years later I saw him for the first time at Hardoon Road, where, with an older missionary, I sometimes attended the Lord's table and special meetings.

The Spirit's Indwelling

At the beginning of 1938, Watchman Nee conducted a Bible study with the church in Shanghai on the Holy Spirit. Having had a Pentecostal background, I was somewhat confused and disillusioned. I desired to hear what he had to say, hoping to receive help on a number of puzzling questions. For example, why were there inconsistencies in the lives of so many who professedly had received the outpoured Spirit with manifestations? Where was the godly living? Why did I live a defeated life?

The word the Lord spoke to me through Watchman Nee made a revolutionary impact on my life. The evening I heard him say that Jesus became the Spirit to dwell in us, light dawned. Before, the Lord had seemed so far removed from me; now He was real within. This solved my basic problem. I could now locate Him within my being. I saw further that the work of the Holy Spirit is twofold. There is the outward aspect with gifts and manifestations; but more important still, there is the inward aspect—the infilling that transforms lives.

He used a helpful illustration which made an indelible impression: If a heavily loaded vehicle is run without adequate air in the tires, it is possible that the car will be wrecked. This is an apt picture of one who experiences many outpourings of the Spirit without having a commensurate work of the Spirit within. I thanked God I had not become a wreck. Now I understood why so many I had been acquainted with in the past had wound up bringing disgrace to the Lord's name.

On another occasion he gave his testimony concerning the girl he had loved and given up for the Lord. He quoted Psalm 73:25: "Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee," and testified that this had become his reality. This testimony amazed me. I had never heard or met anyone who could honestly make such a statement.

The Kingdom

The Bible study ended, but the Lord wasn't through with me. The Sunday evening before Watchman Nee's departure for Hong Kong and England, six of us gathered around the fireplace in a missionary couple's home. We had met in such an informal way several times before. Usually a large number of Westerners were present, eating and fellowshiping together, listening eagerly to Brother Nee as he spoke in fluent English concerning the kingdom or as he answered questions relating to his messages on the Holy Spirit. Once there swept over me the deep inner sense: God is standing here speaking!

This occasion afforded him his last opportunity to share his burden before going abroad. He began, "I want to say something more about the kingdom." During the course of his speaking, he uttered these words: "The Lord needs heralds for the kingdom." At that moment something happened to me, and Watchman Nee, being aware of it, said, "Don't be afraid, Miss Peck." Simply by the power of the Lord's speaking, I was changed into another person. Praise the Lord for such a faithful, humble, and approachable servant of His.

Other Recollections

There are also other recollections of very practical and considerate expressions of loving concern: the day Watchman and Mrs. Nee dropped in with a silk wadded comforter for each of us missionaries; several invitations to their home for delicious dinners featuring Foochow delicacies; the conversation after a serious wrong decision on my part, and the comforting reply, "Sometimes even our mistakes are right."

During the period from 1940 to early 1943, there were changes in the church life. We began to meet in smaller groups in different areas of the city for the Lord's table and prayer meetings. Watchman Nee usually ministered on Sunday mornings, Wednesday evenings, and sometimes to the new believers on Friday nights, as well as during special conferences. I remember that he frequently referred to Margaret E. Barber, through whom he received so much help in his early Christian life. The ministry of the Word was life-giving, and many impressions were so deeply implanted as to be unforgettable. One example is his comment on Romans 12:1-2: "God's will is not for those who are unconsecrated. It is a

question of what sort of person I am. Am I qualified to know His will? All good is not God's will, but God's will is always good." And this word to the new believers: "Salvation without consecration is like a railway with only one track. We need both to advance on the spiritual road." Also this word on John 14:6: "How many truths do you know that have emancipated you? The truth is Christ; so if truth is only 'truth' to you, it is ineffectual."

One message on the will of God left me overwhelmed. It portrayed the will of God from eternity in the past to eternity in the future. The essence of what he said was this: In the beginning there was only one will—God's undisputed will. Then Satan fell, and in the universe there was a second will—a rebellious will. Later God created man with a free will, able to choose to be one either with God or with Satan. In eternity future, after Satan has been cast into the lake of fire, there will again be only one will in the universe—but a will not the same as in the beginning, for God's will and man's will will be perfectly blended into one will.

Confidence in His Leading

Sometime in 1942 Watchman Nee's ministry ceased. Since we were not always aware of his movements or his engagements in other places, it did not seem strange at first. As the weeks passed, though I did not know that he had been asked not to minister at Haroon Road, I began to sense an undercurrent. The day also came when the Westerners were asked not to attend the meetings. Whether or not this was due to the Japanese occupation and the fear that we might be accused of spying, I do not know. We were always delighted when Brother Nee would visit us unexpectedly in those days. Since at this time he was involved with the CBC Laboratories, we received a personally conducted tour through the company. No matter how others may have felt during that time of his "tentmaking," we had nothing but trust and confidence in his leading. How could we pass judgment on him? It was because of his faithfulness in following the Lord and proclaiming His Word that several of us had been brought into the glorious church life.

TESTIMONIES GIVEN BY FAMILY AND FRIENDS

TESTIMONY OF WAN, XIAO-LING

“Of whom the world was not worthy” - Heb. 11:38

—Recollections from the last days of Watchman Nee and his wife—

“Looking away unto Jesus, the Author and Perfecter of our faith, who for the joy set before Him endured the cross, despising the shame, and has sat down on the right hand of the throne of God.” - Heb. 12:2

“These are those who come out of the great tribulation, and they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.” - Rev. 7:14b

The Cultural Revolution that began in 1966 was the refining fire prepared by God for the brothers and sisters in China. My grandaunt, Watchman Nee’s wife (Charity Chang), graduated from Yenching University with a degree in biology when she was young. She had always been a good helper to Watchman Nee. After my granduncle (Watchman Nee) was imprisoned, she was also detained and interrogated for a period of time and was still under surveillance after her release. During the Cultural Revolution, she was labeled a “counter-revolutionary” because of Watchman Nee and suffered much inhumane torture. My grandaunt had very poor health, suffering from severe high blood pressure and hypertensive heart disease. Nevertheless, she looked up to the Lord unwaveringly from beginning to end “like a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and like a sheep that is dumb before its shearers”(Isa. 53:7b).

One day in the summer of 1966, she was locked up in a small room by a group of Red Guards and interrogated continuously day and night. Outside, we could only hear the sounds of belt whipping, mixed with abuse and threats. Each sound was like a whip on our hearts but we didn’t hear her saying a word. After a long time, she was escorted out. Her eyes were bruised and swollen like a bun and there were many wounds all over her body. Her glasses were broken several times during that period of time, her basic human rights were not respected. She was seized and marched on display on the streets many times. One time, she and two other elderly sisters were forced to raise their hands in the air, with shoes on their hands, a pointed paper hat on their heads, and a sign on their neck. They were ordered to stand in this way for hours, being scolded and insulted, with the purpose that they would give up their faith and no longer believe in Jesus. However, all three of them remained silent after several hours. Eventually, the Red Guards lost their patience and asked them one by one loudly: “Do you still believe in your Jesus?” They all answered with a firm voice, “Yes”. The Red Guards were so indignant. They picked up the shoes on the ground and threw at their heads and shoulders, saying, “Go see God with your granite heads!” Thank God, He was with them and strengthened them in the midst of all persecutions. Later, when they talked about the persecution they suffered in that incident, they were rejoicing that they were counted worthy to be dishonored on behalf of the name of the Lord.

The Red Guards confiscated all the Bibles and hymns from the house, but my grandaunt still tried every means to hide a few copies. One time a child climbed over the wall from outside and found two

Bibles under the eaves; she was thus condemned. After I believed in the Lord, one time I accidentally found a small Bible behind the cupboard in the kitchen. I was full of joy. It was also hidden by my grandaunt. In those days, when the Bible was not available, a small copy of God's word was so precious to me.

Grandaunt was ordered to clean the alley twice a day, morning and evening. Even though she was not in prison, she was even more humiliated and persecuted than the prisoners inside the prison. Since she was a "counter-revolutionary" denounced by all, any passersby, even the children, were free to hit her or spit on her. One time, after a criticism session was held against her, she said to me : "We have become a spectacle to the world, both to angels and to men (1 Cor. 4:9); this has been settled in the Bible long ago." In all the persecutions, she always prayed silently while being openly criticized on the stage. She stood firm in the Lord and did not put His name to shame. These things happened day after day and year after year. All those who had seen her called her "white hair." Everyone knew that the old lady with the silver hair was laboring under surveillance and inhuman treatment because of her and her husband's faith. For the name of the Lord Jesus, she has become a wonderful testimony for all to see.

In 1970, I was sent to the countryside to settle in as a member of a rural production team (at that time all the junior high graduates were sent to the countryside to be farmers). My grandaunt prayed for me every day. In the spring of 1971, before I left Shanghai, she charged me in tears: "The Lord Jesus is our most precious Savior. You must closely follow the Lord whatsoever." I received wonderful leading and abundant grace from the Lord during my time in the countryside. I think it must have to do with my grandaunt's intercession.

Before my granduncle (Watchman Nee) was arrested in 1952, he had the opportunity to go to Hong Kong to arrange church affairs. At that time, many people advised him not to return to China. However, he was called by God to "return to China and suffer together with the brothers and sisters." He understood clearly what the pathway God had set for him: "My destiny is either to be raptured or to be martyred." Shortly after he returned, he was arrested and imprisoned in Tilanqiao Prison in Shanghai. He finished his 15-year prison sentence in 1967, and the government asked him to publicly denounce his Christian faith, for the government had spread rumors to the public that "Watchman Nee had given up his faith." But this test meant nothing to him. The Lord was too precious to him. After fifteen years of imprisonment, he once again gave up the so-called "personal freedom," continuing to be a prisoner for the Lord willingly. This public renouncement led to greater persecution. My granduncle was imprisoned with two gangster criminals whose task was to compel him to give up his faith. The more they tortured him, the more merit they achieved. I once heard from a fellow prisoner that one of my granduncle's cotton vests was torn by them. One can imagine that he suffered a great deal for not willing to forsake his faith. When these people failed to achieve their goal and my granduncle's sentence was expiring, they secretly escorted him to the Qingdong Labor Farm in Qingpu County, a suburb of Shanghai. His wife was allowed to visit him once during this period of time, and then suddenly, we did not hear from him for several months. Later we found that he had been transferred to an even tougher place, the Baimaoling Labor Farm, in a remote mountain of Anhui Province.

In November 1971, my grandaunt suffered a stroke and passed away. Before that, she was allowed to correspond with her husband (there was a time when correspondence was not allowed, and no one knew where my granduncle was). There were only three days from the time she suffered a stroke to the time of her death. This was exactly what she had asked the Lord for when she was still on the earth. She suffered from severe high blood pressure and heart disease and knew that she would eventually die of a stroke. It was always her hope that the Lord would take her away quickly once a stroke occurred, so that she would not be a cumbrance to others or endure long-term suffering. Thank the Lord for hearing her prayer and fulfilling her wish. It was only three days from the time she went into a coma after the stroke to her death and was taken by the Lord in the hospital peacefully and painlessly.

After my grandaunt passed away, we dared not tell my granduncle right away. We knew that he had a weak heart and might not be able to bear such a blow. We waited for more than a month before writing to him a little at a time. Nevertheless, he seemed to have a premonition about it. From the time she was critically ill to her departure, he kept writing letters asking about her health. In his letters, he expressed his eagerness to be released soon so that he could reunite with his wife and take care of her during her illness. When my eldest grandaunt (Sister Nee's eldest sister) and her granddaughter went to visit Watchman Nee in Anhui in early 1972, they learned that his heart was extremely weak. My grandaunt's death grieved him deeply, for she was the only family with whom he kept in touch. Later, we heard from a prisoner who shared the same cell with my granduncle that my granduncle had always wished that he could finish his sentence and reunite with his wife. He knew that his wife was in very poor health. He once said: "My prison sentence is like a race against my wife's life. If I can go out while she is still alive, I will be able to look after her. She has suffered so much for my sake."

Before being arrested, my granduncle was traveling all over the country ministering to the churches. Then he was imprisoned for twenty years. The two of them spent very little time together. When my granduncle was arrested, the government fabricated many dreadful and unfounded charges to accuse him, and many brothers and sisters were deceived at that time. My grandaunt was the person that knew him the best. She said: "The things they said about him were completely unfounded." My granduncle suffered many unbearable injustices. When he was still in Tilanqiao Prison, my grandaunt was allowed to visit him once a month to drop off a little food and necessities. After he was transferred to Qingdong Labor Farm, my grandaunt went to visit him once, then they had no more opportunity to see each other. My granduncle was very sad about my grandaunt's passing away. One fellow prisoner told us that he was in mourning for many days. From his letter to my eldest grandaunt on April 22, we learned that he was "maintaining his joy." Over the years, one heavy oppressions after another, he was never discouraged because what he looked to was the God who never disappoints us.

In June 1972, we received a notice from the labor farm that my granduncle had passed away. My eldest grandaunt and I rushed to the labor farm. When we got there, we learned that he had already been cremated. We could only see his ashes. A prison inmate told us that at the time his heart disease was very serious, yet they put him on a tractor and moved him to a farm hospital 20 kilometers away. The mountain road was very bumpy and it was unbearable even for people in good health to be constantly jolted on a tractor, let alone someone with a serious heart disease and was susceptible to shock. Thus my granduncle was taken by the Lord on the way. Before leaving the farm, he left a piece of paper under his pillow which

had several lines of big words written in a shaking hand. He wanted to testify to the truth that he had even until his death, with his lifelong experience. That truth is—"Christ is the Son of God who died for the redemption of sinners and resurrected after three days. This is the greatest truth in the universe. I die because of my belief in Christ. Watchman Nee." When the officer at the labor farm showed us this paper, I prayed that the Lord would let me quickly remember it by heart.

The officer of the labor camp told us that he wrote several notebooks of "reactionary journals". These may contain the new light he received from the truth during imprisonment. We are not able to retrieve these precious manuscripts from the labor camp, unless God preserves these journals in a very special way.

A fellow prisoner of my granduncle told us some situations he had in prison. My granduncle had been praying for this man when he was still alive. Shortly after my granduncle passed away, this man was saved unto the Lord.

My granduncle had passed away. He was faithful until death. With a crown stained with blood, he went to be with the Lord. Although God did not fulfill his last wish, to be able to come out alive and join his wife, the Lord prepared something even better—they were reunited before the Lord. "All these died in faith, not receiving the promises but seeing them from afar and joyfully greeting them" (Heb. 11:13) . "Therefore God is not ashamed of them, to be called their God, for He has prepared a city for them" (Heb. 11:16).

They left. Like many other martyrs, they belong to a group of overcomers called by God for His own name, of whom the world is not worthy. Now they are resting, but their prayers and their fruits are still well pleasing to God and are still working continuously, as well as their footsteps are encouraging us to be more faithful to the Lord.

TESTIMONY OF WU, YOU-QI

Dear brothers and sisters, I am from Shanghai, China. My name is You-qi Wu. This year (2003) I am 68-years old. I was originally a middle school teacher. In 1960, I was accused of opposing the "Three Red Flags" policy, labeled as an active counter-revolutionist and sentenced to 7 years in prison. I was imprisoned in the largest prison in the Far East, Tilanqiao Prison in Shanghai.

Brother Nee was arrested in 1952. After his arrest, it was as if he had disappeared from the face of the earth. No one knew anything about him. Thank and praise the Lord. The Lord has mercy on a lowly person like me. He loves me and keeps me so that I would have an opportunity to tell you what I know about Watchman Nee during his imprisonment.

Brother Watchman Nee and I were together for a total of nine years (1963-1972), during which we were separated for about two years. Thank the Lord that He eventually brought us back together until three days before Nee was taken away by the Lord. There have been many testimonies of him in all these years. Brother Nee was a human being, so what I want to testify about today is the human side of him.

In 1963, Brother Nee and I were moved to the same floor in the same group, and slept in the same room. From then on, Nee and I formed an indissoluble bond.

Tilanqiao Prison is quite large, with a total of 10 buildings. Each building has 5 floors, in each floor there are 90 rooms. If you calculate 3 persons per cell, each building would contain more than 1000 people. It is not an easy thing to meet a person in such a huge prison, amongst tens of thousands of people. Nevertheless, Nee and I met in building 3, this was the Lord's sovereign arrangement.

There are 3 persons in our cell, Watchman Nee, me, and a young man in his twenties who is mentally retarded. This young man couldn't even speak clearly, he was constantly shaking his head and putting his right hand on top of his chest. After all, he was also labeled as a counterrevolutionary.

Brothers and sisters, let me tell you this: when I first moved to this cell, I was very unfriendly to Watchman Nee. I disliked him and was hostile to him. I looked down at him and was unwilling to talk to him. Why? Because he was the group leader at the time. In the prison, there were group leaders over inmates. In my eyes, those leaders were all flatterers and lackeys of the government. They climbed the ladder by stepping on the head of other inmates, having their own sentences reduced by lengthening other inmates' sentences. Also, why was I arrested? I didn't steal, rob, kill, or set fires. I just spoke a few words and was detained and imprisoned. So I was in fear. I was afraid of him and dared not to talk to him. There were three persons in our cell, one was mentally retarded and could not speak, the second one was Nee, and the last one was me. Nee was writing every day. If he was not snitching on me, who would he snitch on? How would I ever want to talk to him? I didn't say a word to him twenty-four hours a day. He always sat at the door writing something. Why was he sitting at the door? The cell we were in was about 1.5 -1.6 meters wide. I could touch the walls on both sides with my arm stretched. The cell was about two meters long. There were walls on three sides with no window and an iron door in front. There was a little light near the door. Nee would sit at the door when he wanted to write. The meals and water were distributed to

the prisoners without opening the door, we simply reached out and took them in. Nee sat by the door and brought in everything for us, including my food and water, hot and cold. I didn't want to talk to him and never thanked him. He did that himself. Our relationship was really bad.

Then something happened, which was the Lord's arrangement. My only family was my wife. She graduated from Shanghai Fisheries College and was teaching chemistry at Shanghai Jinggang Middle School. We have a daughter. Family members of prisoners can visit us once a month and send us some necessities. My wife loved me very much and she visited me every month. I thought she was still teaching out there, but something had happened to her.

One day, the school principal asked her: "Miss Zhou, I heard that your husband is a counterrevolutionary and is now in Tilanqiao Prison?" She answered: "Yes". He said: "You have to divorce him". My wife asked: "Why?" He said: "The government has a policy that family members of counterrevolutionaries cannot be teachers. Your husband is a counterrevolutionary and has reactionary thoughts. How can you teach your students well if you are in contact with him? Therefore you must divorce him". My wife said: "When I married Youqi Wu, he was not a counterrevolutionary. He was a boxer in Shanghai and could represent the city to join the international competitions. He became a counterrevolutionary after we got married. If I have to divorce him and marry someone else, there is no guarantee that the other man would not become a counter-revolutionary in the future. Should I divorce him and marry again? Moreover, we have a daughter. If I marry again at this young age, I might have more children, which will cause disadvantage to this child. Besides, Youqi Wu is only sentenced to 7 years. I can wait for him. After his release, he can build socialism and we can still be husband and wife." What she said made perfect sense, neither the principal nor Academic dean could refute her. But can they give up like this? By no means. Soon after, the principal asked her again: "Have you decided on that issue?" She answered: "Not a chance." The principal said: "Then there is no chance here from us too. This is the government policy. Hand over your work permit. If you refuse to divorce him, you have to leave the school." Back then the situation in China was completely different from now. Once she leaves the school, she would lose her job and not be able to seek other employment herself. She left the school and cried all the way home. Her mind went blank. What should I do from now on? How do I maintain the living and raise my daughter? When she got home, she held our daughter and wept bitterly. No one was there to comfort her.

Later when she visited me, she told me everything she had experienced. After hearing this, I was filled with anger. How can this world be so unreasonable? I have been accused as a counter-revolutionary without reasons, and now even my wife and my daughter can't get away either! My wife told me: "I sold my watch today to come see you. I don't know what to do in the future." Brothers and sisters, I didn't kill, set fire, steal, rob, or cause an explosion. I'm not the Kuomintang, I'm not a spy, I'm not a landlord, I haven't done anything bad, what kind of counter-revolutionary am I? I have never posted or given away any counter-revolution flyers. What did I "counter" against? I don't understand. But what else can we do? My wife wept bitterly but I didn't shed tears. I grew up under the Communist Regime and was taught that we should never shed tears in front of the enemy. Today I will not shed a tear. I was not the government's enemy, I supported it. When the Communists liberated the country, I was only 12 years old. I even brought flowers to the People's Liberation Army. It was you who pushed me to the side of the enemy. You

made me your enemy. The five-minute visit passed by quickly, and my wife left with the child in her arms. I stood there looking at her and didn't know what to do. I am not sure if she would divorce me. Suddenly she turned around and shouted: "Take care of your health!" This shouting is still in my ears, it was heartbreaking! I could not do anything, I can't rush out, I can't escape, I don't have a weapon, I can't fight with them, I can only allow myself to be trampled upon.

As the prison guards pushed me back to the cell, I couldn't help but shed tears. There was no desk, chair, or bed in the cell. I was weeping against the wall. Soon I found out someone was holding my hand. There were only three people in the cell, I knew it must be that annoying Nee. I was very angry at the time. He was the person I despised the most. Why was he holding my hand? I wouldn't even talk to him, I didn't want his sympathy. I was going to shake off his hand. I was a boxer and I was very young at the time. He was an older man and had a heart disease. I thought he could be thrown against the door by my shaking off his hand. But brothers and sisters, it was really strange. It was a miracle. I couldn't lift up my hand. Nee was not a strong person. I tried to lift up my hand at least three times yet couldn't do so. Then I heard him whispered in my ear: "Youqi, cry it out. It is better to cry it out. It will make you feel better." His words touched me deeply. There was a rule in prison that prohibits inmates from crying aloud. Why can't inmates cry aloud? Because all prisoners were upset, If you cry, others would cry, then soon all prisoners would be crying. This will cause a prison riot and it is not profitable for re-education. I thought Nee would tell me "not to cry", "it is wrong to cry", "you need to be reformed". I thought he would say that because he was a group leader, he must side with the government. I never expected him to say words like this, "crying it out, it will make you feel better". His words changed my view of him. I started to cry aloud, very loud. I didn't care about anything anymore. Even if a jailor came over to scold me, beat me, or shoot me, I don't care. My family has been brought to this point, it doesn't matter if I died. It was strange that the jailor didn't come to me on that day. I was crying until I was exhausted. Nee handed me a towel to clean up my face and water for me to drink. The two of us sat on the floor. From this point on, I started talking to him. I told him what I had encountered, and to my surprise, he was very straightforward, he shared with me what happened to him and his family too. From that day on, we talked more and more. He told me that he was very busy and that he was a Christian. He also told me that his wife loved him very much. His wife had very serious high blood pressure. The low blood pressure was 140 or 150, and the high blood pressure was 200, or more than 200. She might die at any time. She was supported by the Lord and it was the Lord's mercy. He hoped that his sentence would be over sooner so that he could go out earlier and see his wife. If his sentence was prolonged and his wife passed away sooner, he would never be able to see her again in this life. His wife loved her husband very much just like my wife did. He also told me many other things, and the two of us talked and got along more and more. He said that a Christian would not oppose the leader of the country, for it was the Lord who made him a leader. He was preaching the gospel to me. After listening to his words, I thought to myself, I knew very well that I was wronged, now it seemed that he was also wronged. He did not oppose the government because he said it is improper for a Christian to oppose the leadership. Now he was punished as a counter-revolutionary, isn't this an injustice? So I asked him, do you still believe in the Lord? He replied: "You don't believe in Him, I believe. You have never seen Him, I have seen Him." These were his exact words. It was very simple, but I have always remembered.

Twenty-four years ago, a brother visited me and I told him about this miracle. I said, I couldn't figure out why I couldn't lift up my hand at that time. I was quite strong, but as he was holding me, I was not able to shake his hand off. What that brother said made sense to me. He said, "You will not be able to lift it up. The Lord Jesus will not let you lift it up." As soon as I heard this, I was clear. Yes, I was a lowly man, but the Lord found me. He has chosen me, therefore I was not able to lift up my hand at that time.

The relationship between the two of us became better, and we could talk now. There was another person, the mentally retarded one, who was happy as well, always laughing on the side. He talked a lot, but I could only understand at most 50% of his words. Nee understood his words fully, so he translated for me. The three of us lived our hard days together like this.

However, the days weren't as calm as we longed for. One day, the jailor summoned Watchman Nee. After a long time, lunch came, but he still hadn't come back. Since our relationship became better, I wrapped his lunch in a quilt. In the past, I wouldn't care about him, I wouldn't care if his lunch was thrown away, it was none of my business. After he came back, he was a little upset, sitting on the ground. I asked him: "What did they summon you for?" He said: "They want me to give up my faith." I said: "Did you agree?" He said, "I didn't." He added, "They asked me to give up my faith. If I agreed, they would release me." I said, "And you didn't agree?" He said, "I did not agree. There were two other people who got summoned too, one surnamed Lan, and the other surnamed Zhang. Lan was a director of a large hospital in Shanghai and Zhang used to be a county magistrate in Shanghai, both of them are well-known in the Catholic Church." I asked Nee, "how about these two?" He answered, "Both of them gave up their faith. You will know in a moment." Soon the speakers in the prison turned on.

The warden announced, "There are two inmates who have changed their minds through the government's education and reform. They have behaved well and are willing to publicly denounce their past beliefs and abandon their reactionary stances. Now the two of them speak for themselves." Lan and Zhang spoke one by one. First they condemned themselves and then the Catholic Church, saying that the Catholic Church is an intelligence agency used by imperialism and is counter-revolution. They were deceived, and through government's re-education, they openly denounced the superstition, broke away from this reactionary organization, and thoroughly repented. Both of them were crying. After they finished speaking, the warden announced that with the approval of the chief warden (the warden was in charge of one building, the chief warden was in charge of the entire prison with all ten buildings), the two of them were released early and they could go home today. Brothers and sisters, when we heard these words, all the inmates in the prison were shocked, I was shocked too! Nee was right in front of me. I stared at him with both eyes. You told me a few days ago that your wife is so nice to you and you love each other, that your wife is in poor health dangerously, and that you miss your wife so much. Today the People's Government gives you a chance to go back, all you need to do is speak a word to give up on your faith. As soon as you open your mouth, you can go home, but you did not do so? What kind of person are you that wouldn't speak a word? You believe in the Lord to such an extent that I can't understand you. Brothers and sisters, I have read a poem since I was a child. It was written by the Hungarian poet Petofi. He wrote:

Liberty and love
These two I must have.
For my love I'll sacrifice

My life.
For liberty I'll sacrifice
My love.

This shows how precious liberty is! Today the People's Government would give brother Nee liberty, but he was not taking it. For the Lord, Nee would sacrifice his life, his love, and his freedom, all three. He loved the Lord and believed the Lord so much; that touched me deeply. This scheme of the Communist Party was to touch the soul; it was so fierceful to Nee. Since you are not giving up your faith, we'll release the other two in front of your eyes. Nee did not waver; the scheme did not touch his soul, but it touched my soul. I knew that he was not a fool or a retard and there must be a reason for him to believe in Jesus. Believing in Jesus must be a very good thing, I also want to believe in Jesus. I want to follow uncle Nee to believe in Jesus. From that moment on, I felt that I must believe in the Lord. Everyone must believe in the Lord, to be freed from burdens and to receive peace.

Some brothers and sisters asked me, "Which book or article of Nee's that you read so that you believe in Jesus?" I told them, "I did not believe in Jesus after reading his articles. At the time I met him, I was an unbeliever and had never read any of his articles. I was saved by reading his person." There is a Chinese saying which says, "Living speaks louder than words." I believed in the Lord because I saw his actual living and conduct and I was touched. Uncle Nee was a man, and knowing him as a man with emotions personally caused me to believe in the Lord. I was deeply impressed with him.

This is how I was saved in prison through uncle Nee. When uncle Nee was in prison, he did not stand on a high place and, lifting up his hands, say, "Friends, you must believe in Jesus!", then tens and thousands of people believed in the Lord. Neither did he fight against the Communist Party in prison in order to be a hero. That was not the case. Those were lies. There was no such thing. He was simply not giving up his faith. We must be truthful when we speak. I speak the truth in Christ and I do not lie. My conscience, inspired by the Holy Spirit, bears witness to my words.

The second time we met was at the Baimaoling Labor Camp in Anhui Province, where we stayed together for another five years. We were both very moved when we met. I wrote a poem about it: "We met late yet loving one another. God's arrangement is unfathomable. One prison, one cell we were from. Here in Anhui we reunite." By that time his health had become very poor, and he was old and barely able to walk. The place where we lived was about sixty or seventy meters away from the canteen. We lived in a lower area, and the canteen was built on top close to the road. To get food from the canteen, you have to climb two steep slopes and cross the road. It was simply impossible for him to get food. So I packed three meals a day and brought them back for him to eat. One day, the prison guard summoned me to the office. He asked me why I packed Watchman Nee's meals every day. I said: "He is old and in poor health. He was not able to climb the two steep slopes, so it is reasonable for me to bring him food and take care of him." Unexpectedly, the prison guard's face sank and said to me: "Nonsense, he is pretending to be sick. Let him fetch food by himself, don't bring food to him anymore." It was obvious that they were trying to make things difficult for Nee, and I simply ignored their warning.

A few days later, I went to the canteen to get meals again. The staff in the kitchen told me: the guards had announced that no one is allowed to get food for Watchman Nee and Nee has to come here to eat by himself. In this situation, I had no choice but to go back to the dorm and tell Nee about everything. Since he was so knowledgeable, I asked him to think of a solution quickly. I sat next to him and waited

for his idea. After waiting for a long period of time, he finally opened his mouth and said, "I would just let it be." I was so surprised when I heard his words. Let it be? Let God arrange everything? I was indignant and impatient. I couldn't believe how he could say such words. Don't you want your food? I didn't want to confront him, so I decided to share my food with him. While we were sharing the meal, the Lord gave a clumsy person like me a good idea: I used to get five taels (note: 1 tael = 50 grams) of food for lunch, now I tell the canteen staff that I want to buy 1 tael more for my hard labor today. The staff wouldn't doubt me. So I would get 6 taels of food. After coming back to the dorm, I gave 2 taels of food to Watchman Nee (2 taels of food was sufficient for his age), and I took 4 taels of food. Though my food was less than before, I can still get by. In this way, we made it through the difficulty by sharing our meals every day.

One day in 1971, the guard allowed me to bring a letter from Watchman Nee's family to him. The letter said that Nee's wife fell from the chair, broke two ribs, and is now receiving emergency care in the hospital. I was comforting him on one hand and urging him to submit a request to return to Shanghai to visit his family. I could accompany him on the trip. The fact was Watchman Nee and I had served our respective prison sentences in full a while ago and were no longer prisoners. But in 1966, the Cultural Revolution broke out in China, none of the prisoners who had served their sentences could be released. According to the rules, we were allowed to visit our families once a year for half a month. I thought with such a big thing happening at home, we should at least be allowed for a visit.

At first, the guard told uncle Nee that they would think about it. Later, he said, "Since your heart disease is so severe even to walk, how can you make it to Shanghai?" Uncle Nee told him that I could go with him. The guard said that they would think about it again. There was no response for half a month. We went again to ask the guard, and the guy pulled a long face and said: "What are you going back for? You are not a doctor. We've checked and found out that your wife's health is getting better now. We've looked into your request for a family visit. We are declining it." Watchman Nee did not argue a word with them, neither did he let me reason with them. He went back to the dormitory with me and prayed silently. Someone saw his lips moving and asked me, "Is Nee praying?" I answered, "No, he is doing Qigong." The guard also came to ask me the same question, and I gave him the same answer. Nevertheless, I know that uncle Nee had never stopped praying for a day.

One day, I came back from work at noon and saw uncle Nee with tears all over his face. His wife had passed away. Uncle Nee was very sorrowful. I tried to comfort him and again encouraged him to submit another request to return to Shanghai for the funeral. I thought they would have approved it this time. However, to my surprise, after waiting and waiting, the request was still declined. The guard said, "Since she had died already, what is the point for you to go back?" Brothers and sisters, have any of you suffered an affliction that is more tormenting than this? Uncle Nee was heartbroken, but because he desired the Lord and firmly believed in the Lord, he endured it.

At that time he wrote a poem: Cried a thousand times, called a thousand times, / I am so familiar with your voice, why don't you answer me?

When I saw his poem, I echoed: Requested a thousand times, asked a thousand times, / It is human nature to attend the funeral, why don't you approve?

Uncle Nee loved the Lord all his life and suffered great affliction. After a few days uncle Nee recovered from his grief. His life returned to normal and he persisted to pray every day.

Nine months later, he was transferred to Baiyun Mountain, a remote place in eastern Anhui. A heart patient, who could not even walk, bid farewell to us while sitting on a tractor bumping along. Three days later, we heard the news that he had passed away.

In addition to his physical sufferings, uncle Nee endured unbearable torments psychologically. He suffered much in his life and obtained nothing, but he gained the Lord. We saw the Lord through him. He was an earthen vessel, but within his earthen vessel there was treasure.

Today we can shout freely: "Lord, I love you." We can also shout "Lord, I love you" in mainland China. However, it was impossible to do so back then under the rule of the ultra left. Uncle Watchman Nee loved the Lord all his life, but he was under restriction for twenty years, not being allowed to say, "Lord, I love you." Imagine that situation if you will. If for twenty years, you were not allowed to say, "Dear mother, I love you," "Dear daughter, I love you," or "Dear wife, I love you," would you be able to bear that? However, uncle Nee endured all these. Today, because of him let us shout three times together: "Oh, Lord, I love you!" "Oh, Lord, I love you!" "Oh, Lord, I love you!"

Section Two:

A Brief History of the Christian Assembly in Shanghai and the Testimonies of the Faithful Saints and Their Martyrdom

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY IN SHANGHAI

The Lord's testimony in Shanghai began in 1926. Sister Peace Wang saw the light of the Lord's recovery and began the bread-breaking meeting at her residence on Gengqingli, Xinzha Road. In 1927, brother Watchman Nee and sister Ruth Lee also attended the gathering in Gengqingli successively. In March of the same year, brother Nee moved the Gospel Book Room from Luoxing Tower in Mawei, Fuzhou to Shanghai. In January 1928, the Shanghai Christian Assembly moved into Wendeli, Lane 240, Hartong Road. In the short period of 15 years from 1927 to 1942, Shanghai became the center of brother Nee's ministry work. He published spiritual books and periodicals here and held trainings in Youhua Village. In 1942, Brother Nee was ex-communicated from the Shanghai Christian Assembly due to a misunderstanding. For six years, the meetings were dead and co-workers were dispersed; gatherings were soon stopped and the meeting hall closed due to the Japanese army's invasion.



In 1948, brother Nee resumed his ministry and his return to Shanghai brought in the revival of the church in Shanghai. In the same year, the church in Shanghai purchased a piece of land and built a meeting hall on Nanyang Road that could accommodate 3,000 people. From 1948 to 1951, the Christian Assembly in Shanghai enjoyed the most blessed time where the saints engaged in the preaching of the gospel in one accord.

In 1956, when the Su-fan Movement began, brother Nee was sentenced to 15 years in prison, and most of the main co-workers and responsible ones of the Christian Assembly in Shanghai were arrested. The content and essence of the Christian Assembly in Shanghai as a church also ended due to the Su-fan.. The Su-fan inspection team stationed itself at the meeting hall on Nanyang Road, organized a "believers' study committee" to take over church affairs, and elected three pseudo-elders who subsequently expelled brother Nee. Two years later, in 1958, these pseudo-elders dedicated the meeting hall on Nanyang Road for the government to use as a gymnasium. Believers in the Christian Assembly were merged into the Three-Self combined worship center at Huai'en chapel on Shaanxi North Road. The brief history of the Christian Assembly in Shanghai that is currently circulating on the internet mostly quotes "A Brief History of the Shanghai Christian Assembly" written by Ren Zhongxiang, one of the pseudo-elders at that

time. Ren Zhongxiang distorted facts and wrote a politically charged history of the Christian Assembly. However, the church is the Body and the bride of Christ and has nothing to do with politics. The history of the Christian Assembly in Shanghai should be written by those believers who held fast in their faith and feared no suffering even to martyrdom, and should not be written from the hands of those who betrayed their Lord in pursuit of their own glory.

In the past two years, some people with hidden self-serving intentions have published books in the name of restoring history to gain fame for themselves. One of them, a woman, had only been in the Christian Assembly in Shanghai for six years and had never been part of the core group of serving ones. During her last two years in the church there she betrayed the co-workers, leading to the overnight simultaneous arrest of many of them, including Zhang Yuzhi, Zhu Chen, Lan Zhiyi, Ruth Lee, Peace Wang, and Chen Benwei on January 29, 1956. Such a person is not qualified to represent the saints of the Church in Shanghai, much less writing a memoir of the church. She herself admitted that she had given up her faith for 24 years. Her inaccurate and vicious writing has awakened those of us, believers who have suffered in silence for the Lord as well as children of the co-workers who were arrested and martyred, to be willing to stand up and present the faithful testimonies of the saints in the church in Shanghai.

TESTIMONIES OF FAITHFUL SAINTS AND THE HISTORY OF THEIR MARTYRDOM

TESTIMONY CONCERNING ZHANG, YUZH

In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party had not yet occupied Shanghai. Since brother Witness Lee left Shanghai and went to Taiwan, my husband Zhang Yuzhi together with other brothers and sisters stayed in Shanghai to take care of the local church there. In 1956 when the Communist Party began the Su-fan movement against the counter-revolutionaries, about thirty brothers and sisters in the Christian Assembly in Shanghai were arrested, sentenced, and imprisoned. Brother Zhang Yuzhi was sentenced to 12 years, simply because he refused to join the Three-Self Christian organization established by the government (three-self being self-government, self-support, and self-preaching). In essence the Three-Self movement is so that the Communist Party could rule over all the churches in China. The Chinese Communist government is the “head” of the church.

After brother Zhang was arrested, the Communist Party officials took turns to interrogate him without allowing him to sleep. The torment was so great that his physical health soon collapsed. One time when he was given a reprieve to be outdoors, he came across a broken piece of ceramic bowl. While he was attempting to use it to cut his wrist, suddenly he sensed a voice speaking to him, saying, “No temptation has taken you except that which is common to men; and God is faithful, who will not allow that you be tempted beyond what you are able, but will, with the temptation, also make the way out, that you may be able to endure it” (1 Corinthians 10:13). He stopped his attempt as a result.

Another time in the middle of the night he was taken to a law court. The guard behaved very roughly which caused him to be frightened. With a harsh voice they demanded that he stood up. Suddenly he saw a person clothed in white standing next to him. He was full of joy, almost laughing out loud. But this was not allowed before the guards. Hence he was smiling inwardly to himself. During the first year of his imprisonment, he was interrogated more than 300 times, but God was always merciful to him and carried him through in peace. At last they concluded his case and sent him far away to Qinghai province in the northwest, where he was forced to labor outdoors though the weather was freezing. His first assignment was to work in a brick-making factory. He became sick after a week of heavy labor with a fever of 40 C. Nevertheless he was still required to go out to labor. When he arrived at the factory, he reported to the guards and was asked to sit down because of his high fever. It was snowing hard outside. He soon lay down on the ground wishing that perhaps he would be buried together with the heavy snow. It was not until the end of the day when the team was sent back to the prison cell that he was permitted to go to the prison hospital to receive medical care. His first letter to home informed us that he was in the prison hospital and that he received two treatments, streptomycin and PAS by injection or Rimifon orally. I knew then that he had tuberculosis. I felt so helpless and gave everything in the Lord’s hand. I wanted to visit him but it would take three days by train to reach where he was and I needed to work every day so that the needs of our family of six could be met. My oldest daughter just turned 14 and the youngest was 9 years old. It was also not possible for us to visit a counterrevolutionary at that time. Thank the Lord He

prepared a kind-hearted nurse who sent my husband to a ward for the seriously ill so that he could get proper care. However, as his condition improved slightly, the labor team captain demanded that he returned to labor. The kind nurse said that my husband had active lung disease and was contagious, so he could not work. One day, the prison health center needed an injection nurse, and they asked who could do it. My husband felt that perhaps he could do it, although he had never received any special training in this area except when I was bedridden at home once and he tried to perform VC intramuscular injection on me several times. He also observed how I gave him IVs when he was sick. And just like that, they kept him as an injector in the health center. He administered about 240 intramuscular injections and nearly 40 intravenous injections every day. God kept him from having any accidents. At that time, they used a 20 cc syringe to inject the same medicine into 10 patients at once without changing the needle.

Then three years of natural disasters came (1956-61). China and the Soviet Union turned against each other over the debts China owed to the Soviet Union. A large number of prisoners in the labor camps starved to death. Each prisoner could only get two highland barley cakes a day (about 100 grams per cake), so they stuffed themselves with everything they could get their hands on, including some unimaginable things. Prisoners lined up waiting to bury their companions. The authorities of the labor camps were concerned about the possibility of causing international protests, so they paroled the old, weak, and sick prisoners, including those from the countryside and had always been honest, to return to their hometowns. Brother Zhang Yuzhi was also released because of this, but he was only allowed to return to his hometown, the countryside of Lanxi County, Zhejiang province. Without approval from the Public Security Bureau, he was not allowed to visit his family in Shanghai. Later, the Public Security Bureau sent someone to him and told him that he must work for them by spying on the activities of the Christians and reporting to them. Brother Zhang told them at that time: "You should send me back to the labor camp immediately." He wrote to the leaders of the Qinghai labor camp, expressing his willingness to continue reform there. But the request was unaccepted. The leader's letter said that the labor farm could no longer accept him, and even if he broke the law again he might not be sent there.

The Cultural Revolution reached its craziest period in 1968, and the Communist Party's persecution of my husband also reached an unprecedented level of ferocity and barbarity. In Shanghai, the Red Guards searched out many Christian Bibles and spiritual books and burned them. They also burned many chapels. There was a brother who worked at a medical research center. They forced him to kneel in front of a statue of Mao and asked him to kowtow. (Brothers Lu Daoxiong and Brother Zhang Yuzhi were shot to death on the same day). Of course he refused and was tortured by them for three days. One evening that brother quietly came to my house and asked me if he could come in. How can I deny entry to a brother who is being brutally persecuted? But if I let him in and the Communist Party found out, they would charge me with "supporting counter-revolutionaries." Nevertheless, I asked him to sit down, and he told me that they would beat him to death and that he wanted to run away. I said to him: "You can't escape. If you escape, they will try their best and they will catch you, and things will get worse. Under the Communist Party, you have no way to escape and nowhere to hide. You will lose your job and your family." But he said: "I can't stand their persecution. Many people have endured hardships and even committed suicide by jumping off buildings because of me. My heart is sadder than death." I advised him that the worst was for him to go to jail. He said that even in prison people had to worship images. I said, I don't know because I didn't hear about it. Finally, he promised me not to run away. But on the third day,

he secretly wrote a note to my husband (who was at the countryside by that time), asking for his prayers and asking him to exchange some national food stamps for him (national food stamps were scarce in mainland China at that time, so he could not buy food if he left town). Brother Zhang exchanged all the food for him and asked a brother to deliver it to him. Someone confessed this matter and the Communist Party found out about it, so my husband and I were quarantined and examined by the Public Security Bureau and the Procuratorate.

In 1969, the Public Security Bureau first talked to Zhang Yuzhi and then to me. They said that if both of us gave up our faith, all our mistakes would be erased. Or else it would be a matter of death. They said, You go back and think about it carefully. They lied to me and said that Zhang Yuzhi promised to go back and think about it.

In February 1970, the Public Security Bureau sent someone to my house and asked, "What do you think about your husband?" I told them that since he came back from Qinghai, he had been living in the countryside, obeying the government's arrangement and abiding by the law. He even bought a broom himself and swept the streets every day. I told them, "If you think he has not done enough, please criticize and help him." But they said: "He is an incorrigible person, and there is no use in helping him." This made me clear that they were going to kill him. A week before they executed him, police officers came to our house every day. I was working the night shift at this time. I used to do medical work in a factory and was in charge of its nursing center. After they detained me in isolation for nearly nine months, they asked me to stay in the factory and supervise the work instead. I said to God, "I don't understand why. I have never seen my husband commit any sin that deserves death. At most, he is not faithful enough before You." God spoke to me from Hebrews chapter 11: They were stoned, they were sawn in two, they died by the murder of the sword...of whom the world was not worthy. The phrase "of whom the world was not worthy" makes me feel relieved and empowered. Since the Communist Party took over, I feel that the government is not worthy to have my husband living under its regime. He is too honest, like a citizen of the heavenly kingdom.

Because I was a member of a counter-revolutionary family and was identified as in the fourth category of people to be condemned, an ordinary person had an eight-hour work day but I had to work for ten hours each day. In Shanghai, whenever the Communist Party wants to execute a prisoner, they always announce to the public the crime of those on the death row. In fact, they have already decided on the crime. One day after work, some workers were discussing in the factory all the people that were condemned already and they deliberately spoke loudly so that I could hear their voices. When it came to my husband, brother Zhang, they said that he was a heinous counter-revolutionary and should be shot... When I heard this, I asked God: "How does he appear to you?" God told me: "Who shall bring a charge against God's chosen ones? It is God who justifies. Who is he who condemns? It is Christ Jesus who died (Romans 8:33). God's speaking was such a relief to me. The day before the execution, two public security officers came to ask me what I wanted, and I answered, "Nothing." But since they asked me again and again, I said, "Can I see him one last time?" I thought perhaps I could render some supply to him in the Lord. I told the officers that they should give me an answer right then, yes or no, and there was no need to go back and study it, but they still said they would go back and study it and then reply to me. As a result, I have not received any reply.

I told God that I would pray for him if I knew the day of his execution. I heard the news on the bus on my way to work, so that night, they wouldn't let me ride the bus home, fearing that I would get into an accident. They asked me to make preparations. So I sat in a corner in the factory, cut the linen materials into large pieces, and covered myself with them as a sign of mourning for him. Linen clothes are worn by the Chinese people in times of mourning. I prayed and sang all night long: "In the Lord, my dear, now go to sleep, and rest peacefully in the breast of our Savior. Although your family and friends love you, nothing compares to the love of Jesus. Goodbye, goodbye, goodbye." I also sang another song, God Be With You Till We Meet Again. The next day was the factory's day off, but they wouldn't let me go home. They told me to sleep in the office of the special project, and I was guarded by several people. I asked the Lord to let me sleep for two hours because I really have not rested much. I kept praying for him for two hours, and by 1:30 PM, there was no more prayer in me. At 3:30 in the afternoon, they woke me up and read me the verdict on my husband: 1. He was stubborn in his faith and persisting in his opposition (that is, not giving up his faith), and he continued to participate in counterrevolutionary activities; 2. In 1963, he composed some reactionary religious books; 3. When the criminal, Lu Daoxiong, tried to escape, he provided him with food stamps. Due to the above reasons he should be killed; otherwise, the public would not be appeased. They asked me if I had any opinion, and I said no. Then they told me: "You can go home now. What will you do when you go back?" I said: "I worked the night shift last night and would go home to eat and sleep." On the way home in the bus, I felt released and relaxed. I thought Yuzhi had been freed from pain, sorrow, and fear, and there were no longer sighs and sorrows, nor any persecution and humiliation. I dedicated myself to the Lord again, to serve Him for the rest of my life. So I sang in my heart: Lord, make me love You more. Every blow I suffer is true gain to me. In the place of what Thou takest, Thou dost give Thyself to me.

I feel that the blow I suffered by the Lord's taking him away from me and collecting him to Himself is so that He could give Himself to me. What a wonderful and true gain this is to me. Therefore, in the past whenever there was a problem at home, I would think if my husband was here, he would solve it. But now the Lord is with me, and He is better than brother Yuzhi. Now whenever I think that it would be great if Yuzhi is still here because Mainland China desperately needs evangelists, I should instead think about how limited man's work is and how infinite, powerful, and almighty God is. He is able to take care of things that man cannot do.

When I got home, I learned that my daughter Lechen was also locked up in her work unit during the day off and was only released back home later. When I told her that I prayed until 1:30 PM but stopped after that time, she said, "Me too." Perhaps my husband had gone to rest with the Lord at that time.

The next day I went to work. My colleagues told me that one of them knew the public security officer who gave her access to the prison cart. She saw an old man (my husband Yuzhi) whose face was very peaceful and calm, totally different from the other prisoners on the death row who looked pale and panicked. After some time, my daughter told me that an older sister surnamed Hua told her that her son followed the prison cart to the execution ground. He saw brother Zhang in the prison cart being very peaceful, just like how he was on the podium. He also witnessed brother Zhang climbing down from the prison cart while singing and the policeman next to him kicked his legs severely and yelled, "You are

going to die, why are you so happy?" The brother watched brother Yuzhi limping all the way to the execution ground. This news soon spread to Xiaoshan and also went to Shaoxing, Zhejiang province, where my husband often went to give messages. A great revival was set off there. The believers said: "Our brother has returned to the Lord, and we will follow him." At that time, because of the Communist Party's severe persecutions, these believers were frightened and timid and they hid themselves. When they heard the testimony, they were encouraged because they knew that "they overcame him because of the blood of the Lamb and because of the word of their testimony, and they loved not their soul-life even unto death" (Revelation 12:11). (Li-ying Li, wife of Zhang, Yuzhi)

Below is a beautiful testimony about brother Zhang Yuzhi written by Zhang Lechen, his 2nd daughter:

I was born into a Christian family. My father, Zhang Yuzhi, was a preacher, and my mother loved the Lord very much. Since I was a child, I have known that there is heaven and hell, and that there is a Lord Jesus who died on the cross for our sins; I have also memorized John 3:16. At that time, because I was afraid of going to hell, if an adult asked me: "Do you believe in the Lord Jesus?" I would immediately answer: "Yes." I also often knelt down to pray (although most of the time I would doze off), asking the Lord Jesus to help me so that I would not go to hell.

My entire teenage years were spent without my father around. On January 29, 1956 (I was 12 years old at the time) my father and his coworkers were arrested because of their faith (not willing to join Three-Self). Two days later, the Daily News headlined it in big letters, "The government has uncovered a counter-revolutionary group within Christianity with its leader Watchman Nee (already in custody) and the core members Ruth Lee, Peace Wang, Zhang Yuzhi, and Lan Zhiyi." Our home which has always been bustling with people suddenly became deserted. My father disappeared from our life, and we rarely saw our mother either, because in addition to work she was also under investigation. Children's meetings ceased. There were no more hymns of praise either. In their place were accusation meetings, exhibits, and mockings and despises from our classmates. I no longer mentioned things about the Lord, and my faith was shaken by atheistic thoughts. I did not dare to confess the Lord, but neither did I dare to deny Him. Nevertheless one sentence often came up in me: "If you deny Me before men, I also will deny you before the Father." Whenever I was asked if I were a Christian, I often answered in the affirmative but ambiguously. I also often asked the Lord not to let people ask me such a question because I was not sure.

Seven years later, around 1962, my father was on parole from prison to receive medical care and we were able to meet again. At that time my life was in a quandary because of my poor family background, having no job prospects except laboring in various villages with much suffering and pain. Later I returned home because of poor health and I felt depressed and was full of complaints. I had many opportunities to be with my father during that time. He stayed in the countryside in Zhejiang and occasionally would come to Shanghai to visit us. When he returned, I often observed him with my mother. They missed the bread-breaking meetings very much and would shed tears when the subject of the Lord Jesus being crucified on the cross came up. I watched them but I felt nothing. I even argued with

my dad, "You taught me from youth not to lie or be greedy. I have behaved too well. The Lord should not have let me go to hell!" One early evening my father and I were taking a walk by the river. He said, "I often weep when I see the condition of my children; the world does not want you but neither have you gained God." His comment stirred up all the complaints I have harbored in my heart. I said, "Open your eyes and see how good this world is." Then I proceeded to relay all the good things of this world. His response was that life is vanity and all shall pass. I contradicted him, saying, "You always say life is vanity of vanities, and a man will die. But since we are still alive, we should try to live a fuller life." I added some more, "If there is no God, all that I have encountered I will not blame you or anyone; it is simply my fate. However, since God does exist and He allows me to meet so many difficulties, why has He not asked me whether I am willing to give myself to Him and whether I agree to receiving such a destiny? If God were to ask me such a question today, I will tell Him definitely, No!" I said many more on that day and I did not allow my father to interject anything while I was speaking. At last he asked, "Are you finished?" Then with much gentleness and forbearance he said, "You said all these words of complaints because you do not know God. If you know Him, you will not say any of these. You should ask the Lord to open your eyes and give you a spirit of wisdom and revelation so that you may truly know Him."

There was a beautiful sunset that day. With his eyes set far away my father prayed for me. Undoubtedly his faith has influenced me greatly. From that day on, I began to reconsider my own faith. I thought perhaps God is really almighty and righteous; it was my lack that I have yet to know Him. I prayed to God, Lord, open my eyes so that I may know You. Later when God showed me how thoroughly I was a sinner I asked Him to save me. In my prayer I heard His voice, saying, "I came to save sinners." Since then I have known that He is my real Savior and He has saved me and given me peace and joy.

Throughout my father's life with the Lord, there was no sunshine or flowers; instead, blood and tears were strawn through the path but with much sweet testimonies. During the less than 20 years I was with him (including my infancy), he was likened to a myrrh scattering heavenly fragrance and these precious scents are stored in my heart. His many testimonies have also encouraged me continually. My father was a sickly person with a timid and affectionate personality. Without a doubt the first seven years of jail life was like a trial of furnace to him. I remember him telling me that one cold night after he was interrogated for a while and was finally falling asleep, they came again to summon him for another round of interrogation. This took place three times. He was shaking with cold and feeling frightened as he walked in the dark prison corridor in chains. He considered it to be better to die, but suddenly a voice came to his ears, "No temptations has taken you except that which is common to man; and God is faithful, who will not allow that you be tempted beyond what you are able, but will, with the temptation, also make the way out, that you may be able to endure it." My father also told me about another incident. One time the interrogator was very violently slapping on the table and he was very afraid. Suddenly he saw an angel in white garments standing next to him. Immediately his heart was full of joy and he was close to laughing out loud. In this way his fear vanished right away.

When my father was in the labor camp in Qinghai, one day he was squatting on a corner enjoying some sunshine while looking at the setting sun by the lakeshore. In the face of hunger, loneliness, labor, and persecution, he thought of his elderly mother, his beloved wife, and four young children. He became

very disheartened and he considered giving up being a full time serving one. Merely being an ordinary believer was sufficient. Suddenly a voice came to him, “If you shrink back, my soul does not delight in you” (Hebrews 10:38). My father was very touched. He wept and confessed to God that he would not shrink back; rather, he would follow the Lord closely until the end.

In 1962 in the countryside of Zhejiang, I often scanned through the leather-bound Bible my father had used for decades. I was most impressed with a few phrases he wrote in it: “Fear nothing except offending God” and “Believe in God always even if facing death.” No man is willing to face death. But if this matter happens to the ones you love, you cannot but face it. Twenty-seven years ago the government felt that my father was unwilling to give up faith and continued to preach the gospel without being subjected to reform; he was arrested again and sentenced to death. The “sin” that caused his sentence of death was that he “edited reactionary instruction materials to conduct counter-revolutionary propagations among reactionary people.” I have read most of his writings. They are not instruction materials at all. After he was out of prison, when he saw that the church was in desolation and the brothers and sisters all turned cold, out of a heavy heart he wrote two articles. One was about how Mary loved the Lord but we used movies to replace meetings, novels to replace the Bible, and listening to pop music in place of singing hymns. The other article was about the condition of the seven churches in the book of Revelation. When I lost my father, I suffered great pain and my faith was shaken again. My mother said I should tell all of the feelings in my heart to the Lord. I lost myself before God in tears, prayers, and petitions. Later God used Romans 8:35-39 to comfort me: Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation or anguish or persecution or famine or nakedness or peril or sword? As it is written, For your sake we are being put to death all day long; we have been accounted as sheep for slaughter. But in all these things we more than conquer through Him who loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death nor life nor angels nor principalities nor things present nor things to come nor powers nor height nor depth nor any other creature will be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

In the face of death God placed unspeakable peace in my father’s heart as well in ours. My father once said in 1966 that he often felt numb in his legs and arms and hence he was afraid that he might die because of high blood pressure. However, on the day of April 25, 1970, he was led to martyrdom like a sheep being slaughtered in obedience and silence. We heard that before he went to the execution ground, he was very calm in the prison cell, just as he was giving messages on platforms, even with much singing. I believe that he must have been singing this hymn: Lord Jesus I love Thee, I know I am Yours. My father loved the Lord, and this love enabled him to discard humiliation with much composure and rest he consecrated his life willingly. Thank the Lord! This is the way He led us through the valley of death. I can testify that in the past 27 years, this peace has never departed from me either.

I firmly believe that my father and I are parted only temporarily. I will see him one day. Twenty-seven years after we parted, I am facing a similar threat of death. I asked myself if I am afraid? I seem to be somewhat afraid because for thousands of years many people have been heading toward the same road but none has returned to tell us what it was like. However, on the other hand, I am not afraid because I have the assurance of eternal life (John 3:16). I am grateful to the Lord because the pain in my physical body can be reduced by medicines but the pain the Lord Jesus suffered on the cross for me

cannot be fathomed. It was because of the blood and water that flowed out from His side that I can enter into the heavenly gate in peace and overcome the authority of death.

It has been more than eight years since I arrived in the US. My husband and my daughter joined me a year later. At the time of our arrival, both my husband and I were past forty years of age and we did not have any family in Houston. We have experienced many difficulties and afflictions since. Though I wanted to leave the Lord many times, He did not treat me the same as I did Him. He heard the prayers of my parents and even my own inconsistent prayers here and there. He drew me tightly with cords of a man and with bands of love. He disciplined me in many ways so that He could give Himself to me and make me His child. Though I am now sick with cancer, the Lord Himself has allowed it to happen. Brothers and sisters, you should never doubt God or be shaken by any sickness. We may not understand the Lord's plan, but we trust that His intention is good. We should still love the Lord and our love for Him will never be enough.

It is not that we love God but that God loves us; we are short of love toward Him because we do not know Him adequately. My father's testimony during his sufferings spoke strongly of God's grace. I still remember the first time that we met after seven years of separation; it was at Jinhua station. As soon as he saw me he said right away, You are very thin. How is your life? I replied, It is bitter beyond description. That was how I felt at the time. I looked at him and saw that the seven years of jail time has changed him a lot. He looked much older and his voice sounded different. The person standing before me was an old man in black clothes. My heart was filled with sorrows and much persistent love and compassion for my father. Nevertheless, as we were conversing for a little while, his eyes were suddenly welled up with tears and he said with a choking voice, "I am truly short of grace toward God." I was shocked at his words. I thought, Is God short of grace toward you or are you short of grace toward God? Have you become befuddled because of the prison sentence?

Another time I opened the Bible to a place and challenged my father frankly, "Why is God so bad? David has suffered so much afflictions already. Why did God still punish him by stirring him up to number his people?" My father replied that every time he came to this place he could not refrain from weeping. He said, "In three kinds of afflictions, David expressed that he was rather willing to fall into God's judging hands than man's hands because he knew God who is full of mercy and compassion." I was greatly surprised at my father's explanation. Our explanations of the same portion of the Bible differed so drastically. My father stopped again with tears in his eyes. After a while he resumed speaking and he said, "I am truly short of God." I am deeply impressed that my father made the same statement twice.

Whenever we see something happening to us or to others, we often ask, Why? Why would a lover of God encounter misfortune? Why would a person lose his life because of the gospel, and even his children would suffer persecution? Why do I encounter these afflictions? If we dig into these issues and get stuck there, we will never find a satisfactory answer. This is because we can never search the depth of God, as Romans 11:33 says, "Oh the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments and untraceable His ways!" Concerning the things we encounter, two matters are for certain. First, suffering causes us to know Christ, to draw near to Him; sufferings will

deliver us from the bondage of sin and the old man and purify us in the spirit. Second, suffering causes us to realize that we are but sojourners and temporal dwellers on this earth; our eternal home is in the heavens. The end of a Christian is not death but resurrection; the path of a Christian is full of light and glory because Christ is the hope of glory to us. As a believer our hope is not merely for this life; rather, our resurrection is assured because Christ has already resurrected.

Decades of ups and downs have passed since my father and I had that walk by the river. During this time Ephesians 1:17 has always stayed in my heart. This verse causes me to understand that God has a plan from eternity to eternity. Our human life on earth is but a blink of an eye compared to eternity. He is the Almighty God. What a surpassing thought that is. I am not pessimistic, because my breath and my life depend on Him. How long I will continue to live is in His hand. I will be happy if I return to my heavenly home because the Lord is there, my father is there, and many other dear brothers and sisters are there as well. May God grant us a spirit of wisdom and revelation that we may truly know Him (Ephesians 1:17). – an excerpt from sister Zhang Lechen's writings, March 1997.

TESTIMONY CONCERNING LU, DAO-XIONG

Brother Lu Daoxiong was born in a poor Christian family. His father Lu Yaosheng was a free-lance preacher who dedicated his son to God from birth. Since Lu Daoxiong was the first born, he was subjected to many demands from his father. As he was growing up, he was required to advance not only in education but also in learning to speak on the platform in a new small chapel in Fuyang, Zhejiang province. Though Daoxiong has never received official seminary education, God led him personally in that remote village on the mountain side, calling him and preparing him to be a witness for that age. In addition to his diligent study in the field of pharmacy he was also devoted to reading the Bible with much hunger, being prepared to be used by the Lord one day. Hence, when he graduated with honors in the pharmaceutical major from Northeastern Pharmaceutical College in 1956, he was assigned to work at the Shanghai Institute of Medical Industry. This was truly a wonderful leading and special arrangement by God.

1956 was the year that the whole country was swept into the Su-fan movement. Brother Lu came among us (the Christian Assembly in Shanghai) and participated in all the meetings. He seemed not to be influenced by the outward atmosphere and entered into fellowship with brothers and sisters very quickly as if they have known one another for a long time.

In the meanwhile he never lagged behind at work either and often made incisive remarks which earned him the respect from his colleagues because he has a thorough view of issues. The hardships he experienced in his youth caused him to stay close to God. For this reason he often said that suffering was beneficial to him. Precisely because he suffered a lot of poverty in his life, he cherished every opportunity given to him by God to love every brother and sister, to live for the Lord more, and to live out the life of a Christian. This was his belief!



1. Preparing Himself

Brother Daoxiong treated himself very strictly. He never spent money carelessly. Sometimes I would like to buy some toys for our children; he always forbade me. However, if some brothers or sisters would come to our home for a meal and fellowship, he would be most happy. He was more than willing to spend on the saints. He loved our two children very much, especially our older daughter. Nevertheless, he admonished me, saying, “We must be prepared for the Lord’s testimony. We should put aside as much as we can for those who will take care of our children.” Little did we expect that the little savings we had worked hard to put aside were all confiscated and ransacked in two “tornados” during the Cultural Revolution. All we had left was a little “decals.” Thank the Lord that we have truly become those who have nothing. God desires that we will learn to follow Him under such a circumstance. This is His infinite wisdom and intention.

In every situation Daoxiong appeared to be under the process of preparation to be a cleansed vessel for the Lord's use. Before any turmoil even came near, he felt inwardly to be on the alert that something was about to happen. When brothers and sisters came to visit, he would fellowship with them the inward feelings he felt. Below are a few sentences that he said from the depth of his being.

“What the Lord is calling today are the witnesses of the age! If a person is unwilling to leave his parents, wife, children, house, and his own life for the Lord's sake, he is not worthy to be the Lord's disciple! The ones the Lord desires to choose and call in this age are a group of people who will risk everything to live for Him! What the Lord wants to gain today are the witnesses of the age who will sacrifice everything for Him and leave everything behind! ”

Brother Daoxiong was truly inspired by the Lord's Spirit to speak these words. Soon after, what he said was realized in him. In order to be a faithful witness for the Lord, he left everything behind to follow the Lord he loved!

2. Receiving the Test of Faith on the Eve of the Thunderstorm from 1967 to 1968

Thank the Lord, this was the first test of faith and love we received since we began our life together. Such a fiery affliction came at us like a thunderstorm. It was entirely unexpected by us and hence was particularly harsh and cruel. Our brother experienced the content of two hymns which he loved the most. Chinese hymns 222 and 276, the latter of which was truly the depiction of his life story. [note: Chinese hymn #222 in #405 in the new Hymnal and #544 in English; there is no English equivalent of Chinese hymn #276.)

These people do not care about gains and losses, /
having been made spectacles to be seen and despised everywhere.
Yet their hearts overflow with a good matter /
because they are washed by the blood of the Lamb.

When the wave of unrest swept into the medical hospital, the unit leader ordered every target of criticism to bow to Chairman Mao's portrait and confess their sins. Lu Daoxiong, holding firmly to his faith, refused to bow to Mao's picture and apologize, so he was severely beaten. I remember during this time he asked me to talk to an elder brother, “Can a Christian bow to a person's portrait?” The answer was, “If the person is alive, yes, but if the person is dead, no.” My husband could not agree inwardly with this answer. He told the authority that for the sake of his Christian faith, he would never bow to any portrait. For this reason, they increased the torments on him. On one hand, he was required to labor by moving extremely heavy and large stones, and on the other hand, four burly men were sent to beat him severely until even the crowd outside the main gate started shouting, "You must not beat people to death like this. You have to fight civilly! Don't fight with force!" But God secretly protected his life from death. He was beaten all over his body black and blue, but he did not die. He felt very glorious for the humiliation he suffered for Christ! This was because he was a person living in the vision of Hymn 276! No matter how much persecution he sustained, he remained silent. He also encouraged me not to lose heart, and that if I want to follow the Lord, I must be faithful to the end. He was just like what the hymn says: These people are faithful to the end. They seek the Lord's smile in the face of fire and water. They maintain their faith in suffering, because of the blood of the Lamb

3. Separation

As the Cultural Revolution entered into its peak, both of us received much beating and persecution at our respective work. Our two children (one 6 years old and the other 8) were left in the nursery school without warm garments during winter and only sandals on their feet. I was unable to visit them even on Sundays because I was under interrogation in isolation twice, once because of my own faith and the other time because of my husband Lu Daoxiong's escape. Later because my older daughter was crying every day for her mother and refusing to eat, they had to ask my sister-in-law to come and pick up my two children from the nursery and take them into her home.

This is the way my husband escaped. He could not endure the unceasing beating and persecution over a long period of time and on March 28, 1968 he left his wife and children and ran to Wenzhou. Later when the verdict of his crime was announced, it said that he conducted counter-revolutionary activities in the cloak of religion and he escaped to join the enemy; furthermore, he attacked the Party Leader viciously, plotting to overthrow the Proletariat. Since his crimes were beyond heinous, it cannot be appeased without being put to death. (Was not our Lord listed among the criminals and suffered death on the cross to sustain all of our sins?) Since a student cannot go higher than his teacher, nor a servant higher than his master, what our Lord went through we must also follow!

Before he escaped, he went to the nursery to say goodbye to our children. He held each one up gently and quietly blessed them. Little did we know that this was the last meeting between the father and his daughter and son.

On March 27 before I went to work on the night shift, we had our last dinner together. I did not know that he was planning to run away to Wenzhou that night. I simply felt that he was unusually quiet and did not say much. I was talking most of the time. I thought perhaps he was too tired to speak. I did not press him; I simply encouraged him a little and was getting ready to leave. Suddenly he put down what he was doing and followed me downstairs. At the door he said to me, "Shengqing, please take care of yourself." He stood there watching me for a while. Those were the last words he said to me in this life. When I returned home the next morning, I saw the note he left on the table. He told me he had to leave. He also told me not to look for him; he took with him a little money and meal tickets. After reading the note he left, I was heartbroken and I cried loudly! I don't know where to find my husband? my lord! This tragic thing has happened to me! What should I do next? Our children are too young for me to bear them up by myself. I turned this matter to the Party and gave them the note he wrote. I did not expect that their conclusion was that I conspired with my husband to help him run away. My husband was forced to run away and they demanded that I hand him over! My Lord and my God! For this reason, I was put into the isolation room for review for the second time, and I was tortured endlessly in order to explain Lu Daoxiong's escape!

4. Forsaking Everything to Be Worthy of Being the Lord's Disciple

My husband was willing to keep his faith at any price. When he chose to run away, he was prepared to give everything he had for the Lord. The first stop he made in Wenzhou was at the home of brother Yu at Cangtan. Brother Yu received him for a time out of the Lord's love and helped to move him to a second home and then to a third home. Eventually he stayed with a brother in Fanshan. The entire

time lasted for almost a year. My husband was arrested because a female relative of this last home reported to the authorities, and he was returned to Shanghai and sentenced to death. The brothers in Wenzhou received him and cared for him out of the unsearchable love of Christ and at the cost of their lives. May the Lord remember these ones and bless them for the sacrifice they made for the members. While away, brother Lu Daoxiong was under severe pressure. But the brothers and sisters received him in the Lord and out of the Lord's love. They provided him with clothes, food, and accommodation. They even enabled him to live the life of the Body. During this year, my husband was moved by the Spirit to release two messages concerning brothers should love one another and the churches should bear one another in prayer so that the problems in the churches can be met and solved; and in difficult situations we must learn to fast and pray so that all the fiery darts of the enemy can be thwarted and all his vicious hidden intentions can be bound. These words were told to me from a brother in Wenzhou later. Ever since the two messages were released, they rendered much help to the churches and there was mutual care and much fasting in prayer among the churches as well. In a short time the storms retreated. Thank the Lord for His great grace. This surely was the work of the Holy Spirit Himself.

When my husband was in Wenzhou, members in the Body served him with the incomparable love of Christ. A young brother who was involved in the care arrangement was even beaten to death under great pressure by people in the Gang of Four. Brother Yu who was the first one that received my husband was later sentenced to 20 years. Brother Zhang was sentenced to 3.5 years and brother Wu 4 years. There were still countless others whose household registration was removed or whose grain portion withheld. All these touching incidents were the result of being constrained by the love of Christ and being willing to lay down their lives for brothers. What the saints in the churches in Wenzhou County did for my husband's sake was a living testimony. Their sacrifices were like a great cloud of witnesses surrounding us and encouraging us to rise up to run the race before us!

When my husband was arrested at Fanshan in Wenzhou, he only had a Bible, a hymnal, and a change of clothes with him. Yet the Gang of Four sent a team of militiamen to arrest an unarmed innocent man as if facing a formidable enemy. In order to clear themselves of their own crime, they falsely accused my husband of being a traitor and a spy, carrying a transmitter with developing paper and compressed biscuits. These charges were falsely imposed on my husband.

Thank God who loves us. He gave my husband strength to set his face like a flint toward Jerusalem. He never regretted the path he chose because what he chose was the Lord Jesus Himself. For this reason he was able to count all things as loss that he might gain Christ. He was willing to lay aside all things without regret in order to follow the Lord faithfully!

5. The Last Test of Faith

In 1969 after my husband was arrested in Wenzhou and returned to Shanghai, before being tried and sentenced he was dragged back to his former workplace for public ridicule and criticism. In a gathering the authorities declared his crimes and at the same time advised him that as long as he was willing to change his mind (i.e., to give up his faith), they will deal with him kindly to give him a way out. Right away my husband expressed his position, that he would never give up his faith and was willing to receive whatever punishment rendered to him.

After the Gang of Four was abolished, I appealed to the director of the hospital concerning my husband. They told me that they had a conversation with Lu Daoxiong, asking him, “Do you not want to see your son and daughter?” He said, “No.” They said, “What about your wife? Do you not want to see her?” He said, “No. I do not wish to see them.” They said that even in prison he was stubborn to the end; he continued to pray and read the Bible; he met his end because of his own doing.

As his life headed toward the end, he was still faithful to testify of the Lord’s victory in glory. My husband is worthy to be the Lord’s witness in this age.

6. Being Listed among the Criminals – His Last Testimony

From March 28, 1968 when Daoxiong was forced to leave home until he died for the Lord’s name on April 25, 1970, we did not meet even once. The following record was from some brothers and sisters who saw him on the way to the execution ground. Some saw it directly and others indirectly.

There were 51 “criminals” to be executed. Except for my husband and brother Zhang Yuzhi, all the others were pale with fear and panic-stricken, because what awaited them was eternal destruction.

Thank God. Brother Zhang Yuzhi and brother Lu Daoxiong went to the execution ground in the same cart. Their faces were filled with heavenly joy and peace with a steady and restful attitude. They were willing to give up their lives and everything for the Lord! Yes, I believe that my husband will see the Lord in peace. Many in the crowd surrounding the cart shouted, “Look at those two! They believe in Jesus. How different they are! They are not afraid!” Yes, with those two believers of Jesus, it was different, because what awaited them was a crown of glory!

My husband followed the bloody footsteps of those martyrs before him. It was worthy for him to give up his precious life for the One he loved.

7. The World Not Deserving to Have Him

My husband gave up his life for the Lord and for His testimony on April 25, 1970. This was just as the book of Revelation chapter 12 verse 11 says, And they overcame him because of the blood of the Lamb and because of the word of their testimony, and they loved not their soul-life even unto death. Unshaken, he did not lose his faith even under great pressure; he experienced a severe test of life and death, but he still kept the faith. He is indeed a witness of the Lord in this age!

He was just an ordinary believer in the church, a small brother without any fame. But his faithfulness toward the Lord and toward His name caused him to die together with God’s servant brother Zhang Yuzhi for the Lord. I firmly believe that his name is also written in the Lamb’s book of life. He was accepted and praised by the Lord.

The world is not worthy to have him. One day in God’s kingdom he will also be crowned with glory.

Praise our Father and God. His will is unfathomable. His way is righteous and true. Oh my heart, rise up and worship Him forever and ever, from generation to generation!

Chinese Hymn 276 verse 5 (translation)

The world is not worthy of these ones, who filled up the afflictions of Christ
and rested from their work,

They surround the Lord's throne forever
because of the blood of the Lamb.

They march forward into the New Jerusalem, into the realm of life,
because of the blood of the Lamb.

They march forward into the New Jerusalem, into the realm of life,
because of the blood of the Lamb.

8. Revenge Being of God

Since my husband was martyred in the name of the Lord, I have never thought of filing a petition and asking for vindication, because I believe that vengeance belongs to God and the Lord will repay. This was the case until 1978 when I received a letter from sister Zheng Liyu, wife of brother Yu Xunmin. In the letter she told me that her husband was sentenced to 20 years because my husband and he have already served 12 years. Many other members were also affected in various ways. She asked that I file a complaint about my husband's case to the court and ask for clarification and vindication so as to relieve the families of all the brothers and sisters who were implicated. Shortly after sister Zhu Zhenhua who lived on Yongfu Road came with her daughter Zhang Yan to see me with the same request, because her husband was also affected by my husband's case and has not been released. I went before the Lord with a heavy burden and cried out to Him, "Dear Lord, even if you do not avenge me, a widow with two children, you should at least avenge so many brothers and sisters in Wenzhou who received brother Lu Daoxiong for Your sake. Dear God of vengeance, rise up and execute righteous salvation for Your people quickly! I have no way on this earth. Prepare a way out in the heavens, dear Lord. Nothing is impossible with You. I pray this in the almighty name of our Lord Jesus! Amen!" Subsequently the Lord prepared another sister Liu Yuhua who lived in Hongko district to fast and pray with me until I became clear within how to go about this, how to file a complaint, and to whom I should make a petition. The Lord led me step by step in a wonderful way because I knew nothing, could do nothing, and had no experience in any such thing. I went to the People's Supreme Court a few times with no results. One time I also met with no result and as I was passing the gate to the court, the Lord's mysterious direction came in. A voice within said that I should approach the gate guard and inquire the name of the person in charge of my husband's case. When I stood before this guard whom I have never met before, I gave him my husband's name and told him how as a Christian my husband was killed by the Gang of Four without committing any crimes. I asked if he could find out the name of the person in charge of his case. A miracle happened. This guard whom I have never met obtained my husband's name and immediately made phone calls to locate the person in charge. He wrote the name of the person down and his office hours for me. He also advised me to call and make an appointment before coming so that I would not waste my time. That was the first step the merciful God led me in this difficult situation. Inwardly I knew that the Lord will continue opening the way until I finished this impossible and heavy task.

Praise and thank our almighty God. He held my hand and caused me to depend on Him to accomplish such an impossible task. I remember when I first met the comrade in charge of my husband's case. With a very long face his first sentence was, "We have in our hand accurate and definite evidence of

Lu Daoxiong's crimes. Gang of Four did not commit all acts incorrectly. I advise you to go home and take care of your children. You need not return." But our God heard all the prayers of many members and had compassion for our sufferings and situations. After three petitions and numerous trips to the Supreme Court and the hospital where my husband used to work, in order to release a correct verdict, they must first restore all the steps of the case to truthfully reach a righteous verdict. Thank God who gave me heavenly wisdom and conviction. I was not afraid of each and every director, no matter who they were. The One who was with me is greater than they. I firmly relied on the power of God and refuted all the false accusations in the original verdict. My husband's case was finally reviewed and the verdict was changed on January 23, 1980 as follows:

Revoking the Original Shanghai Military Criminal Judgment No. 132
Lu Daoxiong was exempted from criminal punishment

In addition, a subsidy of 1,500 yuan was given to my family. My daughter took over her father's job at the Medical Institute, which also reduced a lot of my financial burden. Thank God, only He knows my needs. My husband's unjust case was finally resolved, from being impossible to obtaining a revised sentence. The court admitted that they wrongly sentenced him to death, but believed that he still engaged in illegal religious activities, so he was exempted from criminal punishment. However, the revised judgment did not resolve all the saints implicated in his case. At that time, my physical health was failing and I was too exhausted to continue. Nevertheless inwardly I was full of faith. I would never give up until the problems of my dear brothers and sisters were resolved. I kept petitioning God, asking Him to avenge all the members in His Body. On the other hand, I told the court authorities that when I recovered, I would return and endeavor to clear up all the cases implicated with my husband's case.

Thank God, after countless efforts, it was just after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China announced the policy to bring things right, I relied on God's great grace and power to submit a final appeal concerning the case of Lu Daoxiong on December 21, 1985. At the time my heart was filled with joy and praise. Thank the Lord who has heard the prayer of the churches, cared for the plight of orphans and widows, and redressed the grievances of all the members of the Body. On October 16, 1986, the Shanghai Higher People's Court issued a criminal verdict acquitting Lu Daoxiong.

Thank our dear Lord and God. Only He can resurrect the dead and cause the impossible to become possible. As Lu Daoxiong was declared to be free of guilt, all the dear brothers and sisters and their families that had been implicated in the case were completely absolved.

May all of our hearts rise up to praise and worship Him, the God who avenges us. He is the only true and living God. In Him nothing is impossible. In the past He did miraculous things and today He continues to carry out His purpose. Our God is the only One worthy to be praised. Every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess His name forever and ever from generation to generation!

9. Epilogue

In the same year on December 19, which was a Friday at 2 pm, the medical institute where my husband worked held a memorial meeting for him. About 200 people, including the main leading ones at the institute, his former co-workers, and the dear brothers and sisters in the Lord attended this memorial meeting. The director of the institute announced in the meeting that the Supreme People's Court has completely cleared Lu Daoxiong from any crimes and restored his name. Hallelujah. All glory, authorities, and wisdom be to our almighty and wise God until forever. Amen!

The following was the word I gave at the memorial meeting.

Remember my husband, brother Lu Daoxiong

Lu Daoxiong had a short but bright and straightforward life. As a citizen, he was lawful. As a skilled person, he not only fulfilled his duty but had a noble and high view concerning the medical field of our beloved country. He often used his spare time to study and research concerning several difficult diseases, he especially explored how to combine Western and Eastern ways to treat several diseases. He collected a large number of materials in this aspect and kept a detailed record concerning them. Due to his diligence and efforts, he successfully worked out a cancer-dealing medicine as well as a medicine to treat hair loss. He even gave away samples he developed regarding hair loss to friends and received definite positive feedback. He lived a very simple life; the money he saved was secretly put into more experiments and more research books, with the hope that by combining Chinese and Western medical approaches there would be a definite contribution to the medical field one day.

Lu Daoxiong was also a compassionate person with flesh and blood. He was very strict toward himself but generous toward others. When he was studying in the university, because he could not afford textbooks and sometimes could not find proper textbooks, he took copious notes with much effort. His exam results were all perfect scores of 5, except Russian. He did not even own a watch when he began working and then got married because he wanted to save money to support his sister for college and support his aging parents. He always lived a very simple life and never went along with the trend. When encountering situations he had a good understanding about them and would insist till the end if he thought he was correct. He never did anything casually and was very sincere and compassionate toward others.

My husband is merely an ordinary man. The only thing that made him different was that he was a faithful disciple of Jesus Christ. He held fast to pursuing truth and righteousness with a courage against violence. In those years of afflictions, though violence robbed him of his life, history is just and today's memorial meeting testified strongly that Lu Daoxiong was innocent. All the crimes added to him by violence is now vindicated completely. Therefore, the death of Lu Daoxiong testifies that though evil can be rampant for a while, it will not succeed forever. Only truth and justice are invincible.

Eighteen years ago, Lu Daoxiong was listed as a criminal with others and died, but he appeared so calm and at peace before death. This was because of his unwavering faith and a pure soul, which made him never afraid of dying for truth and righteousness. His physical body may have been corrupted by now, but his spirit was resurrected and his faith never failed. Lu

Daoxiong's life may not be recorded in the annals of history, but in the hearts of me and my children, he will always be a warrior defending the truth.

Lu Daoxiong held fast to the truth and was faithful to his faith. In the end, he gave up his precious life and hard work, leaving behind his parents, wife and children. He was like an ordinary grain of wheat that fell to the ground and died, being trampled by violence. I believe that his death will bear many grains who love the truth and pursue righteousness. His death will overcome darkness and evil.

Dear Daoxiong, may you rest in peace. Today with your son and daughter we remember you deeply. The end of a black night is the beginning of the dawn. Wait for us. We will meet again in the other life.

At that time, many colleagues from the medical institute were moved to tears after listening to the eulogy, and they said, This eulogy is so touching! How do they know this is not an ordinary eulogy? These are blood and tears in crystals, an ode to the martyred souls that are under the altar! Only all the redeemed children of God can understand it!

May all the glory be to our omnipotent, omniscient, and all-sufficient God forever and ever.

Chinese Hymn #405 verses 3 and 4 (English Hymn #544)

Verse 3

I love Thee in life, I will love Thee in death,
And Praise Thee as long as Thou lendest me breath;
And say when the death-dew lies cold on my brow
If ever I loved Thee, Lord Jesus, 'tis now.

Verse 4

In ages eternal of endless delight
I'll ever adore Thee in glory so bright;
I'll sing with the glittering crown on my brow
If ever I loved Thee, Lord Jesus, 'tis now.

Shao Shengqing
November 8, 1993

TESTIMONY CONCERNING YU, DAO-SHENG

I (Yu, Jing-ling Li) am a third-generation Christian. My grandfather and grandmother heard the gospel in Yentai, Shandong and believed in the Lord. Both my grandparents loved the Lord very much. Every night they would first go to the west room and knelt down to pray before going to bed to sleep. When my father was sick, my grandmother came to see him and she knelt on the floor praying for him. My parents also loved the Lord very much. In our home we used to have home meetings. I prayed when I was young that if I become as wealthy as my father I would also give money to build a chapel. One day in 1930s brother Nee came to Yentai to give messages. My father, my second and third sisters all went to listen to him and felt good. Later my cousin also went to Shanghai and joined brother Nee in the meeting. This cousin even participated in brother Nee's training in Youhua Village.

In 1942 I was attending university in Shanghai. I returned to Chefoo in summer and My mother fasted for my salvation. During that time there were meetings every day for a week and on one Saturday we came to a portion of the Bible that spoke of baptism. That word stayed with me during my sleep and my meals, operating in my being continually. I went into a room where there was no one. As soon as I knelt down, I felt like a prodigal returning home and I could not stop weeping. The Lord pushed me inward to go and have a talk about baptism. When I was talking with brother Lee about baptism, he asked, "Miss Lee, do you love the Lord? If so, let us pray!" That prayer was so sweet. The next day was the Lord's Day and I was baptized. Because of the Lord's leading inwardly, after I was baptized, the way I wore my hair and my clothes all changed. A few months later in 1943 Yentai experienced a great revival. Everyone was moved. I was also moved to hand myself over to the Lord.

In 1946 I was in Shanghai again. The war had just ended but not many brothers and sisters returned; few were in the church prayer meeting. Then brother Nee returned to Shanghai and the services in the church there also returned to normal. Sister Peace Wang was very burdened toward me and asked me to stay with her. As I recall now, staying with her was a training for me in my daily living and in many aspects. Peace Wang was very strict and I could not take it. Then one morning sister Wang said, "After breakfast, we will have a prayer time in the living room." That day as she prayed, she wept. She said to me, "I hope that the Lord can find a way in all of you young ones." As she wept, my inward being was turned.

In 1948 when brother Nee was leading a national co-worker' gathering, he asked me and sister Zhou Jingmei to leave our secular jobs and serve the Lord full time. The church in Shanghai at that time was preaching the gospel in four different places simultaneously. Afterwards I participated in the second session of Kuling training and found that there was much light in brother Nee's messages and I received much supply.

In 1950 sister Ruth Lee who served in the Shanghai Gospel Book Room wrote a letter to me; I was in Fuzhou in the Kuling training and sister Lee asked me to return to Shanghai to help. So I did and assisted in putting to print all the messages released in Kuling training. During that time, two books, The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and What is New Testament, were published as well. In 1952 I was still serving in the Gospel Book Room to work on putting out a hymnal. Whenever I ran into a question, sister Ruth Lee would ask me to bring the question to brother Nee. Brother Nee's heart was not strong at the time and was resting at home with sister Nee caring for him. The second time I went to see him, when

I reached the door, sister Nee came out and asked me to leave right away. She said the officials from the Public Security were talking with brother Nee. That afternoon brother Nee was taken by the officials to Manchuria.

I married brother Yu Daosheng in 1953. Brother Yu graduated from Shanghai Jiaotong University. In 1947 he went to another province to work. After a year he quit that job and returned to Shanghai to attend the “hand-over” meetings. After he finished the training, brother Nee sent him to Qunming, Yunan province to serve. In 1950 brother Yu’s father expected him to get married. So he returned to Shanghai and fellowshipped with the elder co-workers such as Yu Chenghua, Zhang Yuzhi, Ju Cheng, and Ruth Lee, asking them to pray for his marriage. After praying for two or three weeks, they all felt that he and I were suitable. Sister Ruth Lee came to fellowship about this matter with me. Hence, In October 1953 we were married. After we got married, we went to Guangzhou to see my husband’s parents. Since my husband arrived in Guangzhou, the number of the students has increased rapidly and it caught the attention of the government. One day the local Religious Affairs office summoned my husband to their office and demanded that he stop giving messages or else he would bear the results himself. After praying for a week, my husband replied to the Religious Affairs office, saying, “I have given myself to the Lord. In season or out of season I must preach the gospel.”

Around the end of 1955 and the beginning of 1956, Guangzhou began the Su-fan Movement, striking down “Watchman Nee’s counter-revolutionary group in Guangzhou.” My husband Yu Daosheng together with two others, Cheng De’er and Huo Yingyuan, was arrested. After being detained for a year, they were sent to a labor farm for two years and then to a chemical plant to work. The chemical plant is actually another form of labor. People like Yu Daosheng who refused to give up their faith, were put into hard labor. He had to shovel coal for the boiler and clean the toilet of the elementary school next door. Later, he was asked to use sulfuric acid and hydrochloric acid to wash products, which caused his hands to bleed and form pus. Not only so, they were asked to criticize the Bible. One day my husband returned from the factory and could not eat. I asked him why. He said this afternoon he was asked to criticize the Bible in public. Right away we prayed for this together. It was so wonderful that in the afternoon the subject was changed; they were asked to criticize the vice chairman of the Party.

The environment was so bad that my husband had to leave China. After he left I was put into prison because of the gospel. Originally I was sentenced to ten years. After one year Hua Guofeng became the Chairman of the Party and he put to practice the religious policy of the Party. As a result I was released and my two daughters and I were sent to a farming village. At that time my older daughter was only 15 years old and was required to work in the field with other farmers.

Another year passed and the Lord opened the way for us to return to Guangzhou. My husband found a way to go from Hong Kong to the US. Thank the Lord my daughters and I were able to join him in the US in the 1980s because of His wonderful grace. Finally our family was together again.

In 2013

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP HSU

1. The testimony of a brother from the Christian Assembly

My name is Philip Hsu. I was clearly saved in 1950 in the Christian Assembly meeting hall on Hongko Road, Shanghai from brother Lan Zhiyi's gospel preaching. After having a talk with brother Zhang Yuzhi concerning baptism, I was baptized in June of the same year in the new meeting hall on Nanyang Road. My grandfather was a preacher with the China Inland Mission. My two aunts were Hsu Fengxian (wife of Nee Huaizu, youngest brother of Watchman Nee), and Hsu Enxiu (wife of Nee Xingzu, second youngest brother of Watchman Nee). I also know Zhang Pinhui (Watchman Nee's wife) as well as Nee's grandniece from his wife side, Wang Bao Xianling.

In 1954 when I was studying at a medical school in Suzhou, I organized a Christian student fellowship group on campus for first year to fifth year students. I also had morning watch with three other brothers and sisters every morning in the park across from the medical campus. We also prayed together at night after our study time. In 1955 when the Su-fan movement began across the country, (Su-fan means to clear out all the hidden counter-revolutionary groups), I suffered religious persecutions because 1, I preached the gospel to my classmates and 2, I do not believe in evolution. I was kept in isolation for more than half a year and criticized and ridiculed either in front of the entire school assembly or in small class meetings.

They forced me to admit that I was a counter-revolutionary. Banners or comic posters across the campus all declared that I was such. Because I did not admit, they used physical punishments by forcing me to kneel down, pressing my head to the floor, and pressing their feet on my legs to prevent me from getting up. Later I learned how to deal with them, by not responding to anything they tried on me. I never betrayed any of the brothers and sisters.

In 1956, they declared that I was a member of the Watchman Nee Counter-revolutionary Group. The medical school formed an office specializing in criticizing Watchman Nee Counter-revolutionary Group. The person responsible for that office was Bu Liwen.

I did not feel pain at all; instead I was pleased that I was worthy of suffering for the Lord's name sake.

In March 1956 the medical school took all the students to Shanghai Health School located on Tongren Road to view the exhibit concerning the Watchman Nee Counter-revolutionary Group. I still remember clearly to this day that there was a negative of a headless naked woman (many small holes above and below the negative). No one knew who that was. There was also a recording being played. The recording was in Fujian dialect that no one understood. The so-called criminal evidences included the petition to keep the Kuling property in Fujian with thirty thousand signatures, Nee's instigation of people to release snails (means for schistosomiasis infection) into the rivers in Jiangxi province, which was a total stupid nonsense because doctors all knew that it was not so easy to locate snails, not to mention purchasing a large amount of snails and casting them into rivers. The exhibit contained many other accusations.

From my own personal experiences of being criticized, I know truly and deeply that everything can be used as false evidence. The Chinese have a saying to describe it: just put Zhang's hat on Lee's head. Later I also heard that when the first Secretary, Chen Pixian, of the East China Bureau was accused, they used the same negative for the accusation. Any crimes can be put on you as long as they are the intentions of the leader. In order to bring you down, they will do anything and everything. It is truly heinous. If you believe it, either you are naive or you are a fool.

In order to convict someone in Western countries, both parties must confront each other in court and produce witnesses and physical evidence. Generally speaking, innocence is assumed in the first place. Only when there are reliable witnesses and physical evidence and a verdict of guilt by the jury, can the judge convict a person.

When the "anti-bourgeois right" movement began in 1957, I was criticized for several months because of my religious beliefs. I said: "There is no real freedom of beliefs in China." I was later expelled from the medical school and was not allowed to enter the university again.

2. Sent away for "labor education" on September 28, 1958

The criminal charge for me was being a "reactionary religious disciple." I was sent to the hydraulic engineering factory in Anhui province, having been assigned to the 3rd labor camp, and joined all other prisoners in the labor for ideology reform. We spent 12 hours a day laboring and were given one day of rest for every 10 days. We were paid 15 yuan (about US\$2.50) per month, which was barely enough for food. One had to participate in this kind of labor reform until the officials felt certain that he had indeed been reformed before being released from labor education. (We were never clear what the standard was.)

The criminal facts charged against me are:

I am a key member of the "Little Flock" Christian Church in Shanghai.

I carried out "reactionary religious activities" in college and preached religion to classmates (preaching the gospel).

I am a key member of the "reactionary Christian union" among the top ten middle schools in Shanghai.

I once instigated a Christian Youth League member to withdraw from the Communist Youth League.

Watchman Nee is a relative of mine. I do not believe in the crimes accused of the "Little Flock" of Watchman Nee's group, and I try my best to defend them.

Thank the Lord! Because of His mercy, I was assigned to the health department hospital of the 3rd labor camp, to do the work of rescuing seriously ill patients in the intensive ward.

In 1961, I was assigned to the clinic where officials were treated. When I gave an injection to the top official at his home, the Lord moved me to ask him that I have been in the reform camp for almost three years.; work diligently, have been conscientious in ideological reform, and never made any mistakes; was it possible to release me from the labor education? He replied that I should write down all

my reform accomplishments. About one month later, the officer overseeing the hospital operation came to me; he asked me to write down my reform process focusing on my accomplishments. At the end of 1961, I was released from the “labor education” punishment. I became a person free of labor education, which means I became an “employed” person.

A person might be free of labor education but he was not really released. Instead, he was forced to “stay employed” in the same place. Such an “employed” person can have 15 days of holiday to visit his family every year. There were three kinds of people who belonged to the bottom category in society at that time: labor camp prisoners, labor camp persons, and employed persons. I still participated in labor, education, and ideology reform with other medical prisoners or regular prisoners; we must supervise one another and spy on one another.

3. The National “Four Cleanups” Movement in 1964

The government labeled me a "counter-revolutionary." A reactionary person became a counter-revolutionary person. Because I did not give up my Christian faith, I was always treated like a counter-revolutionary. As a result I was subject to criticism and ridicule in every movement. They said that "religious belief" was the root of my counter-revolutionary crimes. Counter-revolution is considered a major opposition between us and the enemy; hence, a counter-revolutionary is the enemy of the people.

Later, my “hat” was taken off and I became a "hat-off counter-revolutionary". My wife and daughter were the family members of a “hat-off counter-revolutionary." My wife was originally the daughter of a counter-revolutionary, so she became a double counter-revolutionary. This means that when an individual and his family status are not good, his social status will be very low.

4. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976

During the Cultural Revolution, more demands were made on counter-revolutionaries. We were only allowed to labor with no right to speak or do anything. Twice daily we must “ask for forgiveness” to Mao Zedong’s portrait and recite “confession.” From 1966 to 1970 the annual family visitation right was rescinded. To go out shopping on Sundays must be approved by an officer first and not allowed at all on holidays. Generally we were required to study politics for two hours every night, but during the summer and winter holiday times three hours a day were required. Two people recorded all the summaries of our ideology reform. We delved into the root of our sins, tracing back to the time when we were 8 years old and receiving thorough criticism.

In 1969 when China and Russia were in a tense relationship, I was reassigned to laboring among the “employed counter-revolutionary team.” Our task was to move large amounts of soil in order to build dirt dams against floods. Each person needed to push a wheelbarrow with two large baskets on both sides. The baskets weighed 200 kilograms at first, and then increased to 300 kilograms, and then to 400 kilograms. I could not bear such labor and could only pray to the Lord. At a critical moment, suddenly the doctor of the brigade medical center came to me and asked me to rescue two critically ill patients (two critical cases). In this way, I was temporarily loaned to the brigade medical center and was spared from the heavy labor.

The grace of God is sufficient for us because He knows our weaknesses and He bears our burden.

About a year later, people on the labor team and the medical center labor were sent to a labor farm with much more labor and harsher living. However, I was returned to the employed counter-revolutionary team and followed them to a factory instead. At first I was murmuring that I had to work hard again. Later I realized that it was God's arrangement which was much better than I thought.

In 1971 I was assigned to the construction team of the Chaohu Foundry in Anhui province and worked very hard for a year. Then suddenly there was a transfer order from the hospital and I was transferred to the factory hospital to work on pharmaceuticals (an emergency task). Finally, I worked as a doctor managing wards and seeing outpatients. This continued until the end of 1981 when I applied to visit relatives in the United States.

5. Being forced to stay in labor reform for 20 years

I was married in 1972. My wife was the 3rd daughter of brother Zhang Yuzhi. Since her father was considered a key member of "Watchman Nee Counter-revolutionary Group," my wife Zhang Xiangchen was sent to Xinjiang to labor for 6 years, during which time she endured constant criticism that caused her to lose her health and be stricken with many diseases. We were also forced to live apart for almost 10 years when my daughter and my wife had no proper resident registration nor supply for livelihood .

For 20 years my wife was diligent in studying and reciting the Bible while in Shanghai. Her study enabled her to compose a book titled "Conclusion of the Bible" which covers all 66 books of the Bible. We were giving it away to many brothers and sisters in Zhejiang, who seem to appreciate it very much.

From 1979 to 1980 we also translated John Foxe's *The Book of Martyrs*. We later changed the title of the book to *Blood Witnesses*. This book in Chinese enjoyed a huge number of readers, only next to the Bible and the Chinese version of *Pilgrim's Progress*.

The Book of Martyrs narrated the important facts throughout the two thousand years of the history of Christian churches. It also recorded innumerable saints who testified of the great love of Christ with their own lives. These ones followed Christ Jesus faithfully because the love of the Lord constrained them. They sacrificed themselves and bore the cross to follow the Lord (Matt. 16:24). Because of their love for the Lord, they did not love their own lives even unto death (Rev. 12:11). They fought the good fight and deserved to have the crown of righteousness laid up for them by God. These crowns of righteousness were kept for them (2 Tim. 4:7-8).

This is the pathway from death to life, the footsteps of the flock for the past two thousand years.

Thank the Lord for giving us the burden and then the boldness and encouragement to translate the book into Chinese, with my wife doing the proof-reading. Most of the book was translated while I was in the labor camp. Thank the Lord that all of the translated texts were mailed to Shanghai safely. (The Chinese Post Office always opens and inspects the packages before allowing them to go forth.) My wife Xiangchen engraved all the texts on wax papers and printed 400 copies by herself. These copies were sent to more than 300 underground churches. The whole process involved buying steel plates, wax papers, and a large amount of white paper which all contained certain risks. If the government discovered it, it would have been inevitable to be arrested and sentenced.

After Deng Xiaoping came to power in 1979, many people thought they would be able to preach the gospel freely in the future! However we did not believe that was the case; hence, we would like to use this book to remind and encourage many.

What was remarkable was that one of the printed copies was mailed back to China from Japan and even reached our hand. These copies were hand-made by my wife and my daughter with the help of two children from a brother who loved the Lord. Thank the Lord. We see later that this is what the Lord wanted us to do.

We gave this returned copy to the church here, testifying for our brother Zhang Yuzhi. We did this work in memory of the martyrdom of our father. Our father's name was Philip. The translator was noted as Philip Hsu.

I grew up in the local churches. Until today I can never forget the rich spiritual inheritance brother Watchman Nee has brought to us in the Lord concerning Christ and the church. When I was in much suffering and affliction during the years of labor camp, what I've learned became a timely support to me. In the summer of 1953, I was learning to serve in the church. The responsible brothers related to us stories of martyred believers one story per day. Those stories sustained me greatly during the labor camp. I was sentenced to labor camp on account of being "a responsible one in ten high schools in Shanghai" in 1959. That was truly an unforgettable period of my life. I suffered serious fatigue and torture while being interrogated day and night by some young officers who were merely ten years my senior. Their method of investigation was to ask me questions continuously. Most of the time the questions were presented as positive in nature, which required me to answer in the affirmative, Yes. Just as I was exhausted by their questions they would insert some negative ones to trick me into saying yes in exhaustion. This was their way of gathering "evidence" of my confession. I was young at that time. In the beginning I was able to discern their schemes. But as the time went on I realized that I was not able to maintain my guard. Eventually the Lord gave me wisdom to train myself to answer them with one sentence always, "If you say that I am a counter-revolutionary, so I am."

I was sent into labor camp in 1958 and got married to Zhang Xiangchen, the 3rd daughter of brother Zhang Yuzhi, also at the labor camp in 1972. In my impression, the most difficult time in the camp was in 1961 when there was tension between China and Russia over the border dispute. I worked from 8 o'clock in the morning until midnight everyday, pushing a single-wheel double-bucket cart filled with sand. In the beginning each bucket weighed about 200 pounds, but as the days went on, the weight increased to 400, then 800, and then eventually to 1200 pounds each. Innumerable times I despaired even of living, just as the apostle Paul had said. Each time just as I was in a crisis, I was summoned to attend to some officers or comrades medically because I was once a student at a medical school (but did not graduate, as Lily Hsu did, because I was arrested). My life was preserved in this way. I feel that the Lord has kept me until today as an old man of 78 years of age because I must give a glorious testimony and testify for all the brothers and sisters who had suffered so much in the 1950s and 1960s, just as the Word says, "I have fought the good fight; I have finished the course; I have kept the faith" (2 Timothy 4:7).

Though I have suffered, my sufferings cannot be compared to what my father-in-law Zhang Yuzhi had experienced. In 1962 he was sent to join a labor team in his hometown of Lanxi, Zhejiang province

and was never allowed to return to see his family and four daughters in Shanghai. Eventually the government offered him a deal. If he was willing to conduct a thorough investigation of Watchman Nee's oldest sister, Nee Guizhen, as well as other co-workers of Nee, and find out if they held any counterrevolutionary thoughts, he would be set free. My father-in-law rejected the offer resolutely. He was later sentenced to death in the name of treason and was shot to death.

July 2, 2013

Section Three:

Background Study of the Official Historical Material Related to the 1950s

MARTYRS, BRAINWASHERS, AND THE BRAINWASHED: EXAMINING THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST WATCHMAN NEE IN THE CONTEXT OF CHINA’S POLITICAL THOUGHT REFORM IN THE 1950s

Faithful Shaw*

Outline:

I. Transition of Political Regimes (November 1948–October 1949)

A. "Either Raptured or Martyred"

Having an Attitude of Martyrdom

Preparation for Sacrifice

B. Facing the New Environment under the New Regime

Submitting to Deputy Authorities on Earth

Seizing Opportunities

C. Religious Policy under the New Regime

D. Thought Reform Campaign

II. The Three-Self Reform Movement—A Major Remaking of Christianity in China (1950–1951)

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A Template of Christian Accusation Campaign

III. From the Accusation Campaign to the Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns (1951–1952)

- A. Nationwide Accusation Campaign in the Christian Groups
 - B. The Accusation Meeting Held in the Church in Shanghai
 - C. The Learning Campaign for Thought Reform with Chinese Churches
 - D. Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns
- IV. Su-fan Movement (Counter-revolutionary Campaign) (July 1955–September 1960)
- A. National Public Security Bureau Report (August 1955)
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 - C. Implementation of the Crackdown Order in Shanghai (January–March 1956)

The "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" case (hereinafter referred to as the "Nee case") refers to the political case against Watchman Nee and his co-workers in mainland China during the early 1950s. Since the Yan'an Rectification Movement in 1942, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has employed intensive mass political campaigns as a means of thought reform. The Nee case took place in the early 1950s in the backdrop of mainland China, when the new government launched three major political campaigns: "land reform," "resistance against US aggression and aid to Korea," and "suppression of counter-revolutionaries." Meanwhile, the government launched the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) and the accusation campaign within Protestant Christianity.^[1]

Following the expulsion of foreign missionaries, major denominations formerly supported by Western missions experienced a significant loss of members due to the shifting political landscape. During this period, indigenous Christian groups, such as the Beijing Christian Chapel, the Jesus Family, the True Jesus Church, and local churches (also called Christian Assembly), believed that they had fully implemented the "Three-Self" principles^[2] and disassociated themselves from imperialism; hence, they resisted government's campaigns at varying degrees. Instead, they rapidly expanded from 1949 to 1951, preaching the gospel and endeavoring to spread, reaching even historical peaks. As a result, the new regime viewed them as uncontrollable and dangerous groups. Eager to unite internally and eliminate external forces, the new regime was determined to take strong measures to suppress these Christian groups, making them the primary targets of the new government's crackdown in a series of political campaigns in the 1950s.^[3]

Watchman Nee^[4], as the founder and leader of the local churches, returned to Shanghai from Hong Kong in March of 1950 to care for hundreds of local churches in the face of the new CCP regime.^[5] Nee was secretly arrested in April 1952 during the "Five-Anti" campaign. Later, during the "Elimination of the Counter-revolutionary" campaign in 1956, he was accused of being the head of the "Watchman Nee Counter-revolutionary Group" and was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Despite having completed his sentence in 1967, Nee remained imprisoned in Baixiuling labor camp in Anhui Province in 1972, ultimately dying as a martyr for his faith.^[6] Understanding and interpreting all the accusations against Nee in the Nee case requires a thorough understanding of the political climate of that era.

Under the political movements and the TSPM of the 1950s, the local churches established by Nee became a significant target of attack by the government and the TSPM leaders. Therefore, when studying the church-state relation of the 1950s, the Nee case deserves a careful and rigorous examination.^[7] The charges against Nee included political, economic, and moral crimes, among which the political crime was the core and ultimately a decisive charge. The present research on Watchman Nee can be mainly divided into two categories: one focusing on his life and the other on his thoughts and influence.^[8] Among these publications, over the past two decades some individuals have made moral accusations against Nee, including former members of local churches such as Lily Hsu (1931–)^[9] and the former president of Alliance Bible Seminary in Hong Kong, Leung Ka-lun.^[10] Regrettably all of the moral accusations came from second- or even third-hand sources, like government documents and rumors from former members who were involved in politics or who joined the TSPM.^[11] There was no direct evidence from witnesses or confirmation from the people involved, which can lead to mistakes in conclusions in historical research.^[12]

In historical research, it is important to carefully, thoroughly, and critically consider the source of each piece of evidence, as well as the possible motives and circumstances at the time, to make sure that the conclusions are sound. This is especially important when there are strong political intentions, as "hearsay evidence" can lead to wrong decisions regarding justice. This article aims to help readers understand the historical context of the Nee case by presenting and analyzing the original materials obtained during historical research, thereby providing a better understanding of the history of Christianity in contemporary China for those who seek it.^[13]

Although Nee is considered a Christian martyr under Communist China, previous studies have rarely examined his martyrdom experience from the perspective of political circumstances and thought reform. Since the Yan'an Rectification Movement in 1942, the CCP has emphasized thought reform to achieve "totalism" across all sectors of society.^[14] The term "thought reform" is also referred to as "brainwashing," "re-education," or "coercive persuasion" in English contexts.^[15] Historically, Western scholars had not employed brainwashing theory to analyze the history and political movements of CCP until Edward Hunter's (1902–1978) seminal work, *Brainwashing in Red China* (1951).^[16] Subsequently, Robert Jay Lifton (1926–) explored how totalist regimes used thought reform in his book, *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism* (1969).^[17] It wasn't until last year (2023) that scholars revisited the study of brainwashing theory and applied it to the study of contemporary China.^[18] This paper follows this line of discussion, combining the theme of martyrdom with brainwashing theory to analyze the contemporary history of Christianity in 1950s China, focusing particularly on the Nee case from 1949 to 1958. This paper demonstrates the complex dynamics among martyrs, brainwashers, and the brainwashed, examining the charges against Nee and his martyrdom experience from a political thought reform perspective.

The first part of this paper briefly outlines Nee's ministry on the subject of martyrdom, his ministry's development around the time of China's political transition in 1949, and the new regime's religious policies. The second part focuses on the historical background and political campaigns of the new regime's efforts to remake Christianity in China, culminating in the first national Christian conference, while observing the interaction between Nee and the local churches he led with others. The

third part covers how the Accusation Campaign expanded to the Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns and ended with Nee's arrest. The fourth part illustrates how the government targeted Nee and his co-workers as adversaries in the Anti-Rightist Campaign, the brainwashing methods employed, how the brainwashed ones changed typically, and ended with Nee's trial. Lastly, the paper summarizes the approaches and techniques used by brainwashers, how the brainwashed manifested their changes in the Nee case, the moral charges leveled against the targets, and the memory issues faced by the brainwashed. This paper is exploratory in nature and aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the history of contemporary Christianity in China from the perspective of political thought reform, highlighting the profound impact of political pressures and brainwashing on the physical, psychological, spiritual, and human aspects of the believers under totalistic regimes.

I. Transition of Political Regimes (November 1948–October 1949)

From 1948 to 1949, the political situation in Mainland China underwent rapid change. During this period, Watchman Nee convened two urgent co-workers' meetings. In early November 1948, the United States held its 41st presidential election, one of the most dramatic elections in its history. The election featured a contest between Republican Thomas Edmund Dewey (1902–1971) and Democrat Harry S. Truman (1884–1972). Prior to the election, nearly all professional forecasts and opinion polls predicted Dewey's victory over Truman. However, Truman's unexpected success as the elected President of the United States altered both China's and the United States' political landscape. Meanwhile, in the midst of the Chinese civil war, the Communist Party forces had reached Nanjing's Pukou district, preparing to cross the Yangtze River. Following the announcement of the election results, Nee believed Truman's victory was unfavorable to the Nationalist government, prompting him to convene an urgent co-workers' meeting. He summoned all the main co-workers nationwide to come and pray in Shanghai and discussed how to respond to the impending changes in the situation. During the meeting, Nee stated that he and all other co-workers would stay on the mainland to continue caring for various churches but they would send Witness Lee abroad. Before Nee left Shanghai for Mount Kuling in Fuzhou (the old name is "Foochow") to prepare for the second term of training for the co-workers, Nee instructed Lee to oversee the building of the new meeting hall on Nanyang Road in Shanghai.^[19]

As the situation rapidly evolved, Nee flew from Fuzhou to Shanghai again around February 1949, convening a second co-workers' meeting. In this meeting, Nee became more clear from the Lord for the way ahead and instructed Lee to travel abroad while the rest of the co-workers stayed in the country, being faithful to the Lord until the end. According to Lee's recollection, he asked Nee, "Brother, why have you decided that I must leave the country, while you and all the rest stay and sacrifice everything for the Lord's work? Does this mean that you think I am not worthy?" Nee explained to Lee, "Brother, you must realize that although in this desperate situation we trust in the Lord, it is possible that the enemy will one day wipe us out. If this happens, you will be out of China, and we will still have something left. So you must go." Nee once again charged Lee to complete the building of the new meeting hall on Nanyang Road in Shanghai. Following the meeting, Nee returned to Fuzhou to prepare for the second term of Kuling training.^[20]

A. "Either Raptured or Martyred"

Having an Attitude of Martyrdom

On May 27, 1949, Shanghai changed hands politically.[21] At that time, Nee was in Fuzhou, Fujian Province, conducting the second term of the Kuling training for the elders and co-workers. The training, originally scheduled to take place at Kuling Mountain from March to July 1949, was relocated to Nee's home on Haiquan Lane, Fuzhou, due to deteriorating security condition on the mountain after more than a month of training.[22] Prior to the political changes in Shanghai (at the end of March), Nee foresaw the escalating tensions and the impending arrival of the People's Liberation Army crossing the Yangtze River. Concerned that the local church co-workers might be targeted, Nee urgently telegraphed his co-worker Witness Lee, who was overseeing the building of the new meeting hall in Shanghai, to turn over his responsibilities to others and go to Fuzhou to meet Nee, and then proceed to go to Taiwan for the work.[23] Lee arrived in Fuzhou in May and remained there until mid-July when he left the mainland. A month later, the regime in Fuzhou changed hands (August 17).[24] Nee, anticipating potential persecution from the new regime, reintroduced the topic of "martyrdom" during the second term of the Kuling training. The Lord revealed this topic to him when he was young, and it has remained a steadfast belief since he dedicated himself to serving Christ.[25] He always imparted this faith to the believers who received his ministry, encouraging them to be martyrs.

Martyrdom is the greatest work. The supreme testimony is to be faithful unto death. The blood speaks better words than the mouth. The voice of the blood is louder than any other voice, and its power greater than any other power. The Lord wants all of us to be martyrs, if not physically, at least psychologically. ... Although the Lord has not ordained that every one of us be martyrs in our body, He desires that we have the spirit of those who will not deny the Lord or disobey His word even unto death. If we encounter misunderstandings, rejections, oppositions, persecutions, and even execution for the sake of being faithful in serving the Lord, and if we are not mindful of these things, we are being faithful unto death. If through serving the Lord faithfully, we lose our worldly friends, parents, wives, wealth, fame, glory, joy, and life, and would accept these losses happily, we are being faithful unto death. How difficult this is! Does not the flesh tremble at this thought? Yet the power of the Lord is strong enough to sustain His saints. [CWWN, vol.4, 347-348]

The life of a martyr is a life of death. If one does not live a life of death in his daily life, it would be difficult (except by the Lord's grace) to expect him to be an unretreating martyr. The Lord desires that we be living martyrs, that is, "living dead ones." Daily we are living martyrs. When the time comes for us to testify of our faith with our blood, we will be able to face death readily through His grace. ... If we truly have the cross working in us, we will consider this life in death as something precious, because it is this life that pleases the Lord. (August 1926) [26]
[CWWN. vol. 4, 348-349]

The various temptations, oppressions, misunderstandings, and hardships which come can weaken even the physically strongest one, to say nothing of someone like me whose earthly tabernacle is often being shaken. It is difficult to become a martyr, but it is also difficult to

become an apostate. It is difficult to be faithful but even more difficult to lose chastity. To restrain our lips is indeed painful, but to vindicate ourselves does not bring joy either. An evil name brings sorrow, but a good name does not necessarily bring gladness. We care only to work faithfully, keeping the first love and maintaining a single eye while waiting for the Lord's return. Did not the Lord tell us from the outset that we must bear the cross and encounter sufferings on this earth? (August 1932)^[27] [CWWN, vol.10, 455]

The Lord has no intention that every one of us should be a martyr, but we need to have the heart of a martyr, which is not to love our soul-life. Paul did not love his soul-life, and he considered his soul-life of no account as if precious to himself. This is the proper attitude for every servant of the Lord.^[28] (December 1939) [CWWN, vol. 44, 869]

During the Kuling training from 1948 to 1949, Nee emphasized martyrdom as one of the topics for edifying new believers. He pointed out that martyrdom is the Lord's requirement for every believer, including new believers (Rev. 2:10), "Do not fear the things that you are about to suffer. Behold, the devil is about to cast some of you into prison that you may be tried, and you will have tribulation for ten days. Be faithful unto death, and I will give you the crown of life."^[29] [CWWN, vol. 60, 451] Nee went on to elaborate:

A martyr is one whom the Lord reckons to be faithful. We have to tell new believers that the Lord has shown us this fact: All believers should be ready to sacrifice their life for the Lord. Every believer should not only believe in Him but also expect to sacrifice his life for Him. ... We have to tell new ones that many people have sealed their preaching with their blood. Men like Stephen, James, Mark, Matthew, Peter, Matthias, Andrew, Paul, Judas (the Lord's brother), Bartholomew, Luke, Barnabas, Timothy, and Ananias were all martyrs. We have to show new ones that a disciple of the Lord has to be faithful unto death.^[30] [CWWN, vol. 60, 453]

Nee emphasized that Christian martyrdom is about "[someone who] can escape, but he would rather not run."^[31] Nee cited numerous examples of martyrs throughout church history, including the more than 1.3 million Christians killed under the Stalinist regime in Russia from 1929 to 1940. Though the path of martyrdom is exceedingly difficult, being able to die as a martyr for the Lord is a special grace from Him, for in the kingdom to come, they will receive great glory.^[32] During the Kuling training, in a lesson on the character of the Lord's worker, Nee discussed a similar topic, addressing that while God does not intend for people to suffer, workers need to have "a mind to suffer" (1 Pet. 4:1) to prepare them to face possible political changes:

Suffering and having a mind to suffer are two different things. Having a mind to suffer implies that we have a desire to willingly suffer for Christ's sake; it means that we have a heart and a willingness to endure affliction on His behalf. ...

To what extent should we be prepared to suffer? The Bible's standard is "Be faithful unto death" (Rev. 2:10). In other words, we have to be prepared for any suffering, even the suffering of death.

Only those who have a mind to suffer, who have an unlimited capacity to suffer, who will not love their soul-life even unto death, can serve Him. Today we have to consecrate ourselves once again to the Lord. We do not consecrate ourselves to suffering, but we are ready to sacrifice everything. The Lord may not want us to give up our life, but we should have the conviction that we will love not our soul-life even unto death.^[33]

Preparation for Sacrifice

Following the conclusion of the second term of Kuling training in July 1949, Nee traveled from Fuzhou to Guangzhou and then to Hong Kong to visit the churches.^[34] In mid-August, the 10th Corps of the CCP's Third Field Army swiftly captured Fuzhou within five days, using a pincer movement. Soon after, Nee returned from Hong Kong to Shanghai, which was already under the occupation of the Communist army. Nee's deep concern for the churches in China led him to seek a more accurate understanding of the evolving situation. His observations led him to believe that several years of work remained. By the end of the year (1949), he returned once more to his residence in Hong Kong.^[35]

During his visit to the church in Hong Kong, Nee felt burdened to bring the revival that had been happening in mainland China to the British colony, to strengthen the church's testimony there. This could also be perceived as another way that Nee prepared the church there for the potential persecution that the new regime might bring. Around January 1950, Nee began leading meetings in Hong Kong. Nee summoned Witness Lee from Taiwan shortly after. The rare occurrence of both ministers leading a series of meetings together in one local church continued for an entire month, resulting in a significant revival in the church in Hong Kong. Attendance grew from just over three hundred to two or three thousand within a short period of time.^[36]

These revival meetings marked a new beginning in the church history in Hong Kong. However, Nee strongly believed that his burden and responsibility were to be with the believers who remained in China. In fact, after the two co-workers' meetings that were urgently called and held in Shanghai in November 1948 and February 1949, Nee had already decided to stay in Shanghai for the sake of the churches in China. Nee announced to the co-workers that Lee would be sent to Taiwan in preparation for potential persecution following the regime change.^[37] Therefore, despite being aware of the danger of returning to mainland China, Nee disregarded the advice of some brothers in Hong Kong and resolutely decided to return to China. He left without saying goodbye on a day in mid-March (the 12th), taking a train back to Shanghai.^[38] Lee recalled, "He was like the Apostle Paul in Acts 20:24... He realized the risks, but his will was firmly set and his spirit courageous to finish his course and to fulfill the ministry which he had received of the Lord."^[39] [A Seer, 123] Concerning the last days of their encounter, Lee testified about Nee, saying, "he was ready to be either raptured or martyred. As I write these words, on the desk before me are two paperweights made of stone. One bears the inscription of his word: 'My future is to be either raptured or martyred.'"^[40] [A Seer, 121]

B. Facing the New Environment under the New Regime

Submitting to Deputy Authorities on Earth

During the Kuling training, due to the anticipated changes in the political situation, Nee spoke concerning the attitude that Christians should have towards the regime. This was consistent with his long standing teaching that Christians should not participate in any form of revolution on earth but should strive to submit to the government under the premise of not violating their faith, even praying for a government which is unfriendly to Christians. As early as 1936, when speaking to a group of young medical students in Tianjin, Nee answered questions about the Christian attitude towards society, saying: "When Christ came to the world for the first time, His main task was to deal with sin, to save people from sin, and to give them new life. When Christ comes for the second time, it will be to solve all the problems of this society and renew all political systems."^[41] Nee believed that human sin was the cause of today's problems in society. Therefore, Christians should strive to save people from sin and bring them into God's life, rather than trying to change the political system or reform society. Christians are eagerly awaiting the Lord's return, anticipating the resolution of all social issues.^[42]

Nee upheld his long-standing position even during the Chinese civil war (1946–1949), asserting that "Christ's first coming resolved the personal problems of Christians, and the Lord's second coming will resolve all societal difficulties such as injustice, war, disease, famine, education, knowledge, and criminal organizations." He believed that "revolution occurs because of bad systems; people rise up to reform and even sacrifice blood because they hate and detest bad systems." We cannot "destroy the social system by shedding blood." Nee believed that Christians' heavenly calling is not to change the world's systems but to preach the gospel to save sinners and await the Lord's coming, which is true "Christian socialism."^[43] While the Nationalists and Communists engaged in the war, the Siege of Changchun, in northeastern China (late May 1948), Nee convened prayer meetings during the first term of Kuling training to pray for the situation. After the meetings, he pointed out, "The victory or defeat of the government is not our concern. Our attitude should change. We should not criticize, curse, or slander. As long as the government does not oppose our worship of God, we should bless them. As brother Witness Lee said, 'Even if a country's government is a hundred times worse, we should still pray for them.'"^[44]

During the second term of Kuling training, Nee once again emphasized that it was necessary to teach new believers how to maintain their relationship with the new regime. He stated that when the Lord Jesus came to earth for the first time, He did not engage in political revolution or establish a Jewish state because His purpose was to save sinners. His work was spiritual, not worldly, and unrelated to politics. Therefore, just as the Lord Jesus maintained His position on earth, Christians should also maintain their position as Christians, following in His footsteps, avoiding political activities, and not engaging in politics. Christians on earth serve the kingdom of God, instead of ruling over earthly political regimes. On the other hand, Christians should strive to obey the earthly authority (Romans 13:1–7); however, this obedience has its limits. Only God is the object of unlimited obedience for Christians. Apart from matters of faith, Christians should obey the government in all other matters. Nee believed that as Christians prepare to live under the new regime, they should adopt the above attitude and practice towards state authority, and he instructed his co-workers to instill this in the new believers.^[45]

Seizing Opportunities

After returning to Shanghai from Hong Kong, Nee worked diligently and exhorted his co-workers to "redeem the time, because the days are evil" (Eph. 5:16), encouraging them to seize the limited

opportunities for ministry. Faced with the new environment under the new regime, Nee proposed two main strategies: first, to "advance," meaning to seize opportunities and actively seek development. This involved spreading the gospel through migration, saving souls, and establishing churches.^[46] It also included contacting and assimilating various Christian groups left behind by Western missionaries with the hope to resist potential oppression from the new regime by strengthening the number of believers.^[47] Second, within the scope of Christian faith, strive to obey the new regime's demands with the hope to develop within the space allowed by the Communist Party. In July 1950, Nee expressed this idea of "advancing" at a co-workers' meeting:

Once the new believer edification meetings are well established, I believe we should find a way to reach out to the groups that love the Lord and are amicable to us. We should establish fellowship with them and bring them to the church. In the past our emphasis was to gain sinners from among the "Gentiles." Among believers, we only sought to bring in individuals. We were afraid that people would say we were stealing sheep. We were hesitant to go out to them. This was our attitude in the past. Even to this day, we have taken this way. This was what the Lord wanted us to do in the past.

After the second Kuling conference, my feeling began to change. It was not a doctrinal change. Over the past three months, this inward feeling has become stronger and stronger. Today I feel that we must not only gain lovers of the Lord individually but must gain group after group of those who love the Lord. ... I think the Lord will want us to fellowship with such a spiritual group. Of course, if the new believer edification meetings are not strong, we cannot stand up easily. All the brothers must be mobilized to go out and reach these ones. We did not do this in the past; we must do it now. ... On the one hand, we must emphasize the gospel. On the other hand, we must pay attention to the spiritual groups. We will gain not only individuals but entire groups.^[48] [CWWN, vol. 55, 201]

The kind of church unity that Nee advocates is not the type that the Roman Catholic church practiced, the "handshake across the wall" type of spiritual unity, nor the type of congregationalism, but the unity, the oneness, of the Body of Christ based on the local ground according to the Bible.^[49] At that time, Nee called upon other Christian groups willing to testify to the oneness of local churches to support those groups, along with their pastors and ministers, who were facing economic difficulties due to the expulsion of missionaries. Several foreign mission societies, including the China Inland Mission (CIM) and American Presbyterian missionaries, welcomed this decision. Prior to their expulsion, these missionaries entrusted their groups to the local churches that Nee led because he had made the decision to stay in China to continue leading and caring for the churches.^[50] The result was the expansion of local churches to Yunnan Province in western China and the addition of up to ten meeting places of the China Inland Mission and their pastors in Zhejiang Province in central China to the local churches.^[51] In order to accommodate these Christian groups, Nee even allowed them to maintain their original church governance and worship styles.^[52] Nee actively made plans and preparations for the future, fully aware that the new regime would eventually restrict the church and potentially hinder the gospel work. Unfortunately, that day seemed to come sooner than he expected.^[53]

While Nee was determined to strengthen and expand the local churches and seek the oneness with many Christian groups the Korean War broke out. The Korean War started on June 25, 1950, and in July, Mao Zedong called for the "Resistance against America and Aid to Korea" campaign. The Communist government also began preparing for the "Three-Self Reform Movement to Resist America and Aid Korea" within Protestant Christianity, aiming to incorporate many Christian groups into the state-controlled "Three-Self Patriotic Movement" (TSPM) Committee.

Similar to many Christian groups founded by indigenous believers at the time, Nee believed that local churches had to some extent affirmed and already implemented the "Three-Self" principles and were not interested in participating or getting involved in the political sphere. Furthermore, Nee believed that the churches could find some degree of survival and autonomy under the new regime's promise of religious freedom. Therefore, Nee appeared to embrace the idea of complying and collaborating with the new regime, provided that faith remained unhindered (see Rom. 13:1–7). In fact, in the first year of the new regime being established, local churches enjoyed some degree of religious freedom on the surface, were largely unaffected by the political situation, continued to preach the gospel and speak of the growing of spiritual life, and continued to expand rapidly, reaching even the peak period in history. However, the government undoubtedly perceived all these actions as a challenge to the regime, positioning Nee as a potential target for future attacks.^[54]

C. Religious Policy under the New Regime

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) held its first plenary session in September 1949 in Peking (now Beijing), inviting representatives from the religious sector to participate. On September 29, the CPPCC adopted the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" (referred to as the "Common Program"). This program served as a temporary constitution, explicitly defining the basic rights of the people in the People's Republic of China, including freedom of thought, speech, and religion. However, many Christians were concerned about the future of religion in socialist China, fearing that the Communist Party would eliminate it. Although some believed that the government would fulfill the commitments in the "Common Program," they soon realized that it was just an illusion. The CCP's top leadership had already decided to eliminate religious beliefs that competed with communism and planned to crack down on stubborn Christians.

While the CCP was passing the "Common Program," Nee was in Hong Kong and became aware of the provisions regarding religious freedom.^[55] He believed that although the "Common Program" guaranteed religious freedom, the new regime might not necessarily implement its commitments. With the situation in flux, there might only be a limited window of opportunity for revival, possibly just four years (1948–1952). Once the opportunity for ministry was missed, it would be difficult to regain it.^[56] Nee seemed to accurately predict his own future. Indeed, a profound remaking was underway, as the CCP did not sincerely grant religious freedom to Christians, or there was a significant precondition for enjoying such freedom. Soon, every aspect of life in society under the new regime would undergo profound and thorough remaking and adjustment, including Christianity as one of the religions.^[57] Premier Zhou Enlai (1898–1976) explicitly elaborated on the new government's religious policy in reports and speeches on various occasions. He emphasized the protection of religious freedom but also warned against

imperialism. He called on the religious community to distance themselves from hostile imperialist countries and considered anti-imperial patriotism a prerequisite for enjoying religious freedom. Zhou also pointed out that Chinese Christianity needed to sever ties with imperialism, achieve self-renewal, and become a religion truly belonging to the Chinese people. He emphasized that the government's aim was not to eliminate religion but to purge it of imperialist elements. Zhou Enlai's three meetings in Beijing on May 2nd, 6th, and 13th, 1950, with modernist Christian figures like Wu Yaozong (1893–1979) and Liu Liangmo (1909–1988), suggested that these modernists supported by the Communist Party would lead the self-remaking project of Christianity.^[58]

D. Thought Reform Campaign

The CCP's use of "self-thought reform" (i.e., "brainwashing"^[59]) to deal with the issue of Christianity under the new regime is not a new attempt.^[60] Mao's "Rectification Movement" (1942–1945) in Yan'an set a precedent.^[61] This movement, through violence and brainwashing, established Mao's leadership within the party.^[62] Mao utilized the "Central Committee General Learning Committee" (GLC) to demand all party members form study groups, engage in intensive, closed-door study discussions, self-criticism, and confession, and ultimately establish absolute obedience to Mao.^[63] During the Rectification Movement, an environment of fear, suspicion, and betrayal forced people to engage in self-criticism and write self-criticism essays, resulting in a significant number of wrongful convictions. Mao's successful thought reform in Yan'an became the model for political movements in the new regime, adopting the consistent strategy of counter-revolutionary work, namely "forcing, confessing, and believing"—"forcing" refers to physical torture to extract confessions, "confessing" refers to superstitious confessions, and "believing" refers to unwavering conviction.^[64] In order to achieve their political goals, they did not hesitate to manufacture a large number of wrongful convictions, causing harm to innocent people and resulting in an estimated death toll of over ten thousand.^[65]

For the new CCP regime, intellectuals constitute an important sector for thought reform. The thought reform of higher education began in April 1951, expanding from Peking University to universities nationwide, with political study as the main content,^[66] concurrently implementing "departmental adjustments in universities" modeled after the Soviet Union.^[67] Subsequently, universities nationwide established "study committees," making the political thought reform of intellectuals a daily task for higher education institutions. On October 23, 1951, during the third plenary session of the first National Committee of the CPPCC, Mao explicitly stated that the thought reform of intellectuals was one of the important conditions for democratic reform and industrialization in the new China.^[68] Although there was a temporary halt in the fall of 1952,^[69] the government did not cease its intellectuals' thought reform. It launched planned, organized, and step-by-step thought reform work in schools, including cadre training and the purging of counter-revolutionaries.^[70] Subsequently, the thought-reform plan expanded to other sectors, including government officials and businessmen. The CCP viewed Christianity as a tool of Western imperialism, making Chinese Christians an inevitable target of reform. The reform of Chinese Christianity, which falls under the religious domain, was just one aspect of the nationwide thought reform under the new government.

II. The Three-Self Reform Movement—A Major Remaking of Christianity in China (1950–1951)

From 1950 to 1951, Christianity in China underwent a large-scale reform, with the government-led Three-Self Renewal Movement (TSPM) and the Accusation Movement becoming its banner and content. This patriotic movement was initially called the "Three-Self Reform Movement" (TSRM) (renamed the TSPM in 1954), beginning in the early 1950s against the backdrop of three major political campaigns in China—the Korean War, land reform, and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries.^[71] Understanding the backdrops of these large-scale political movements and the involvement of Nee and local churches is crucial for comprehending the nature of the Nee case, regarded as one of the most significant political cases in the contemporary history of Christianity in China.

A. The “Resist US Aggression, Aid Korea, and Defend the Motherland” Movement

The outbreak of the Korean War greatly spurred the government’s remaking of Chinese Christianity, including its appearance and Christian thoughts.^[72] The war erupted in June 1950. On October 8, Mao Zedong decided that China would enter the war and proposed the slogan "Resist US Aggression, Aid Korea, Defend the Motherland," dispatching the People's Volunteer Army (PVA) across the Yalu River to confront the US military. On October 26, the new government established the "Chinese People's Committee for Resisting US Aggression and Aiding Korea." On February 2, 1951, the Central Committee of the CCP issued "Instructions on Further Carrying Out the Movement of Resisting US Aggression and Aiding Korea," officially launching the nationwide patriotic movement to resist US aggression and aid Korea.^[73]

Under this "new situation," churches across China were required to participate in nationwide criticism against the United States.^[74] To eliminate the "pro-American, pro-admiration for America, and fear of America" sentiments in Chinese society, the government initiated the "Three Viewings" movement to unify people's understanding of American imperialism, advocating a universal attitude of hatred, disdain, and contempt towards American imperialism.^[75] The government launched a propaganda offensive again in February 1952, accusing the United States of secretly conducting bacteriological warfare against North Korea and northeastern China, spreading diseases through biological weapons.^[76] Subsequently, major cities held bacteriological warfare exhibitions, which sparked a nationwide anti-American movement. On February 16, the Three-Self Preparatory Committee called on Christians nationwide to protest against the United States' bacteriological warfare crimes in Korea.^[77] Despite doubts about the authenticity of the evidence, widespread official propaganda led the majority of people to believe the official accusations, mobilizing them to collect "evidence" nationwide and participate in the "anti-bacteriological warfare patriotic health campaign."^[78]

The Korean War primarily affected Chinese churches by cutting off their overseas financial support. On December 16, 1950, the United States announced a comprehensive blockade and embargo against China, freezing the assets of two Korean banks in China and prompting China to announce countermeasures on the 20th. This severely affected Christian groups in China that relied on subsidies from the United States. At the end of the same year (December 29), the State Council announced guidelines for handling cultural and educational relief agencies and religious organizations receiving US

subsidies, calling on the governments at all levels and religious figures nationwide to thoroughly eliminate the cultural aggression of American imperialism in China and requiring all groups to register with and report their work and economic situation to the local government.^[79] Many Christian groups that relied on US subsidies immediately sought closer ties with the new government, with churches in many places issuing statements in support of the government's arrangements.^[80] Watchman Nee believed that local churches had long been independent from the Western missions and churches, so he marked "not applicable" on the government's "Registration Form for Accepting Imperialist Subsidies" and returned the blank form. The authorities and the TSPM immediately became suspicious of this move, viewing it as a form of concealment and confrontation with the government.^[81]

Another impact of the war on the Chinese Christian community was the expulsion of foreign missionaries in China. In 1951, many missionaries in China were accused of being "counter-revolutionaries," "agents of American imperialism," or "spies," and were arrested or expelled.^[82] The government promoted allegations against foreign missionaries and church personnel suspected of espionage activities, initiating a nationwide campaign to expel Western missionaries. These propaganda efforts included fabricated evidence accusing missionaries of crimes such as espionage, rape, and murder.^[83] Starting in 1951, newspapers across the country extensively reported on allegations against church orphanages and held accusation meetings. Among them, the case of "the Sacred Infant Orphanage" in Guangzhou was particularly famous. The government's accusations stirred up hatred and patriotism against the churches nationwide, prompting Christians to harbor even deeper hatred toward American imperialism.^[84] Watchman Nee himself and the local churches he led maintained normal personal contacts with foreign missionaries based on the universality of Christian faith, accepting spiritual assistance but never establishing a subordinate relationship with overseas organizations. Instead, the local churches operated independently and autonomously, adhering to the biblical model of eldership among local believers. As a result, they refused to acknowledge their subordination to overseas organizations and refused to participate in accusations against foreign missionaries.^[85]

B. Land Reform Movement

The Land Reform Movement (referred to as "Land Reform") took place from June 30, 1950, to the end of 1952. Five days after the outbreak of the Korean War, the CCP announced the "Land Reform Law of the People's Republic of China," abolishing the landlord class' land ownership and transferring the land to the peasants. From the winter of 1950 to the end of 1952, approximately 300 million peasants nationwide obtained about 700 million mou of land [note: 1 mou corresponds to 1/15 of a hectare], relieving them of the burden of past land rent. With the exception of a few areas, the land reform process was essentially complete. The CCP successfully implemented land reform by mobilizing "active members" to promote the "accusation movement" among the peasant masses, thereby raising their political awareness and support for the revolution.^[86] In the early stages of the land reform, Nee and his co-workers petitioned to preserve the land and the workers' houses in Kuling by signature. However, the government not only rejected the petition but also classified them as "group landlords."^[87] The government then detained the members of the workers' houses in Kuling for six months, forced them to move out, and confiscated their land and property.^[88] In January 1952, a report on the workers' houses in

Kuling accused Nee and other petitioners of committing political crimes of "undermining land reform," with a direct target at Nee himself.^[89]

C. Campaign to Suppress Counter-revolutionaries

In the first year after the PRC's establishment, in order to eliminate the influence of the Kuomintang and Western forces in China, the CCP's top leaders decided to suppress the "counter-revolutionaries."^[90] Mao Zedong's decision to send troops to Korea in October 1950 marked the official launch of the "Suppressing the Counter-revolutionaries" campaign. On October 10th, Mao chaired the adoption of the new "Directive on Suppressing Counter-Revolutionary Activities," ordering the nationwide crackdown.^[91] Counter-revolutionaries included members of the Kuomintang, bandits, landlords, spies, and reactionaries.^[92] The purpose of the crackdown was to eliminate threats to social order and consolidate the regime through mass movements.^[93] Especially after the outbreak of the Korean War, it was necessary to suppress domestic counter-revolutionaries, "clean up the house better to deal with imperialism," and eliminate "some internal collaborators [of the United States]."^[94] The Central People's Government published the "Regulations for the Punishment of Counter-revolutionaries" in February 1951, which convicted anyone who colluded with imperialism, participated in espionage or spy organizations, or engaged in counter-revolutionary activities through feudal channels. At the same time, the regulations expanded counter-revolutionary crimes to include "incitement and instigation," such as "inciting the masses" to resist government orders, "sowing discord" between the people and the government, or "conducting counter-revolutionary propaganda," which could also result in conviction.^[95]

Mao mandated a "firm, accurate, and ruthless" crackdown action, emphasizing "the decisive killing of all those who deserved it."^[96] Taking Shanghai as an example, the Shanghai Military Control Committee issued the "Registration Measures for Reactionary Party Groups and Agents," requiring personnel related to Kuomintang-affiliated organizations to register on January 5, 1951.^[97] Mao instructed the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee to execute "three to five hundred people" by the spring of that year and "one to two thousand people" within a year.^[98] The city arrested a total of 8,359 counter-revolutionaries on the evening of April 27th. On April 29th, the Yiyuan Stadium hosted a mass trial, during which nine people faced public trials and received death sentences. On April 30th, another 285 people received death sentences, and by November 1951, 8,100 counter-revolutionaries were transferred to other locations for forced labor reform.^[99]

Subsequently, the government combined the Suppressing Counter-Revolutionaries Campaign with other concurrent movements, such as the Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns, mobilizing units from all provinces and cities nationwide to conduct in-depth investigations and suppress hidden counter-revolutionary elements. By the end of 1953, the three-year Suppressing Counter-revolutionaries Campaign had come to a conclusion. In Shanghai alone, the authorities arrested and dealt with over 54,000 counter-revolutionary individuals.^[100] Mao emphasized the need to mobilize democratic individuals and the masses to serve as a deterrent. The Security Defense Committees, responsible for organizing the masses nationwide, monitored them to consolidate the ruling foundation of the CCP and stabilize social order. According to a report by Deputy Minister of Public Security Xu Zirong in January 1954, since the launch of the Suppressing Counter-revolutionaries Campaign, over 2.62 million people

nationwide have been arrested, among whom 712,000 were executed, over 1.29 million were detained, and over 1.2 million were put under control.^[101] This Counter-Revolutionary Suppression Campaign greatly intimidated society, enhanced the prestige of the new regime, and had a profound impact on the early days of New China, alongside the Land Reform and the Korean War, collectively known as the three major political movements in the early years of the CCP's rule.^[102]

In short, following the outbreak of the Korean War, the new regime believed that Western imperialists were intensifying their infiltration and sabotage activities in China, thereby it would intensify the purge of "counter-revolutionaries," "American imperialists," and "spies" across various sectors, particularly targeting the Protestant and Catholic leaders and groups that were perceived as having strong ties with the Western groups.^[103] In November 1950, the religious community in Shanghai issued a statement supporting the resistance against the US in Korea, calling for the exposure of the imperialist reactionary conspiracy that used religion in China and the elimination of imperialist reactionary elements.^[104] Liu Liangmo urged "to eliminate imperialist elements in religion who wielded both the cross and the gun and to suppress their various counter-revolutionary activities hidden behind religious guise."^[105] Under such a strong and terrifying political climate, almost every Chinese Christian had to confront the issue of their personal relationship with the state. Christians, who the government perceived to have the closest ties to imperialism, had to publicly distance themselves from imperialism and stand with the "people" and comply with government demands. This posed an unprecedentedly huge challenge and pressure for every Christian and church leader.

D. "Reform Declaration" and Signature Campaign for Anti-Imperialism and for Patriotism (May to July 1950)

Against the backdrop of "resisting the US and aiding Korea" and the Counter-Revolutionary campaigns, Wu Yaozong and other Protestant modernists initiated the Declaration of Christian Reform and a signature campaign.^[106] The government orchestrated these ostensibly Christian-led campaigns with the aim against imperialism and for patriotism.^[107] In May 1950, nineteen Protestant leaders, invited by Zhou Enlai, met in Beijing and, with the support of the CCP leadership, issued the Declaration on the Future Endeavors of the Chinese Christian Church (referred to as the "Reform Declaration").^[108] The declaration outlined the future endeavors of the Chinese Christian Church, urging Christian groups to support a common platform and oppose imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism.^[109] The CCP paid high attention to the declaration's open letter, sending it to over a thousand Christian leaders nationwide. The Central Committee of the CCP issued relevant instructions, and the signature campaign swept across the country, with 180,000 signatories, accounting for 18% of the country's Christians.^[110]

At the end of July, Wu published the "Declaration of Reform," which included a list of 40 church leaders. It's possible that Nee received the declaration and an invitation to sign it. However, Nee's name did not appear on it.^[111] Although Wu gained the support of 40 church leaders, some opposed the declaration's content which linked Christianity with imperialism, for instance Tian Jingfu of the Xi'an Youth Association and Zhu Youyu of the China Anglican Church.^[112] The Lingliang Church in Shanghai believed that they had already implemented their own self-autonomy, self-sufficiency, and self-propagation, so they also refused to sign.^[113] Nee initially disagreed with the declaration, so he was

not among the first batch of 1,527 signatories. In September 1950, in the booklets "Our Position" and "Regarding the Reform Declaration of the Three-Self," he advised local church leaders to stand firm in their stance toward the declaration.^[114] At that time, there were approximately 10,000 Christian churches with 8,000 pastors and 840,000 Christians nationwide. In this political atmosphere, signing the declaration was equivalent to supporting "anti-imperialism and patriotism" while not signing could be seen as "counter-revolutionary." Therefore, everyone signed to express their attitude to protect themselves. In December, Nee, along with Tang Shoulin, and Zhang Yuzhi, met with Wu Yaozong and handed over a list of 32,782 signatures to Wu.^[115] Later, the church in Shanghai made an explanation about the source of this list.^[116] However, the TSPM did not stop its activities with the declaration; it continued to take more concrete actions, such as participating in the accusation campaign. Some Christian groups chose to cooperate with the state, while others refused, resulting in the latter becoming targets of government attacks.^[117]

E. National Christian Conference (April 1951)

Using Accusations to "Clean the House, Purify the Church"

The National Christian Conference in April 1951 was a significant event in the remaking of the history of Christianity in China. During the Korean War, hostilities between the United States and China led to the freezing of each other's assets, causing an economic crisis for churches that relied on the assistance from overseas missions.^[118] The CCP saw this as an opportunity to accelerate the remaking of Christianity in China. At a government affairs meeting on December 29, 1950, Zhou Enlai expressed the desire to expedite the elimination of American influence in China.^[119] To alleviate the panic over the interruption of overseas financial resources, the CCP emphasized on March 5, 1951, that the self-reliance and reform movement was part of the anti-imperialist political struggle and called for active government leadership.^[120] In April, the CCP Central Committee decided to convene the National Christian Conference in Beijing (referred to as the "Beijing Conference") to discuss implementing the Three-Self principle among Christian groups that received American subsidies.^[121] In preparation, the government held a national religious work conference from March 15 to 19 to confirm the preparatory work for the conference and emphasize the need for thorough preparation.^[122]

The government convened the Beijing Conference to essentially implement the Three-Self Reform Movement (TSRM), which required every Christian organization to sever all connections with the United States. Additionally, it demanded that every Christian undergo ideological reform and fully submit to the new regime.^[123] The government invited representatives from all Christian organizations to attend the conference, including leaders of indigenous groups like Nee who were not associated with Western missions.^[124] Before the conference, Nee mentioned some concerns that troubled him^[125] and discussed with Wang Mingdao the possibility of government interference in the matter of faith, hoping to collectively gain some space for faith.^[126] While Wang refused to attend, Nee chose to attend the conference as an observer, representing indigenous churches. Other indigenous church representatives who attended the conference included Jing Dianying (Jesus Family), Wei Yisa (True Jesus Church), and Xie Yongqin (China Christian Independent Association).^[127] One hundred fifty-four representatives from Christian organizations attended the conference, among whom 41 were from Shanghai, including Wu Yaozong, Deng Yuzhi, and Liu Liangmo.^[128]

In this conference, four important events occurred: First, government representative Lu Dingyi reiterated the stance of the "Common Program" on religious freedom, stating that only those who support the PRC could enjoy religious freedom.^[129] Second, the conference illustrated emphatically the international situation, pointing out the conspiracy of the American imperialists who used Christianity for global aggression and demanding the Christians groups to cut ties with imperialism.^[130] Third, in addition to dealing with Christian organizations who had been receiving American subsidies, the conference issued a "Joint Declaration by Representatives from Chinese Christian Churches and Groups," calling on Christians to actively participate in political movements and internal reforms.^[131] Lastly, the conference established the "Committee for the Three-Self Reform Movement (TSRM) in Christian Churches in China" (referred to as the "Three-Self Preparatory Committee"), with Wu Yaozong as the chairman and Liu Liangmo as the secretary, aiming to unify the nationwide patriotic and reform movements in Christianity. This committee aimed to organize and promote TSRM throughout the country to thoroughly sever the relationship between the Chinese churches and American missions and to enhance believers' political consciousness and patriotism.^[132]

The most important task of the Three-Self Preparatory Committee was to promote a nationwide accusation campaign among the Christian churches, to implement the policies mentioned in the "Joint Declaration" of the Beijing Conference, and to assist the government in carrying out its "cleaning the house" policy, which involves "exposing imperialists and traitors within the church, expelling them from the church, and maintaining the purity of the church."^[133] Following the model of past Communist movements, the accusation campaign would require penetrating into every church to identify targets, mobilize the masses, initiate exposures, and carry out accusation meetings. These measures would unify the thoughts, cultivate a new generation of activists, and replace leaders who could not adapt to the times. On this basis, Three-Self Reform Preparatory Committees were established in all the regions, thereby fully integrating churches from all over the country into the control of the CCP through TSRM.

During the Beijing Conference, Deputy Director of the Cultural and Educational Committee of the State Council, Lu Dingyi, personally demonstrated how to accuse American missionaries. He first accused Pastor Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801–1861) and the organizations he influenced, the China National Christian Council and the World Christian Council, describing them as "agencies controlled by American imperialism" and "tools of imperialist aggression."^[134] In the following two days of closed-door group discussions, leaders of various denominations initially remained silent until Zhou Lixing, director of the Religious Affairs Bureau of East China, urged everyone to start accusing.^[135] On the afternoon of the 18th, when Wu Yaozong chaired the group discussion, some church leaders who used to support and were under the influence of Western missions began standing up one by one to make accusations. Cui Xianxiang was the first to accuse American missionary Frank Wilson Price (1895–1974). For the next two days, a total of 18 people took the stage to accuse their colleagues as "imperialists disguised as religious figures" (foreign nationals) or "traitors of Christianity" and "lackeys of espionage" (nationals).^[136] Those who participated in the accusation went through intense thought struggles, and "some had not slept well for several nights."^[137] The accusation speeches of these 18 church leaders not only became a highlight of the conference but also had a demonstrative effect. Their accusation speeches were soon published and became a template for the subsequent nationwide accusation campaign.^[138] In this way, in the latter half of 1951, the accusation campaign unfolded across the country.

A Template of Christian Accusation Campaign

One of the focus of the two-day accusation meeting during the Beijing Conference was the accusation of the free evangelist Gu Ren'en on April 20th.^[139] The process not only made Gu the focus but also made it become a template for the subsequent accusation campaign.^[140] As will be seen later, the "Gu case"—the case of Gu Ren'en's counter-revolutionary activities—deserves discussion alongside the Nee case because both cases began with political overtones before moving on to moral and economic charges. After Gu's arrest, in addition to nationwide condemnation propaganda, there were political condemnations from the churches and various moral disclosures.^[141] The Gu case was seen as timely because the government needed to capture a spy for American imperialism to send a strong message to the entire Chinese Christian community—whoever in the religious community opposes or resists the government-supported TSRM would be considered as "imperialist tools, especially of American imperialism, in religious cloaks" and must be thoroughly eradicated. Gu's end would serve as a deterrent to many others.^[142]

The message conveyed during the Beijing Conference was that Christian groups in China were about to face severe changes. Meetings accusing certain individuals would be held across the country, and Christian organizations would also be affected. The conference arranged group discussions to learn how to expose and accuse, how to hold "crime exhibitions" of the accused, and how to conduct practical operation of accusation sessions. All these arrangements were not made on the fly; rather, the government prepared them in advance of the conference to signal that it would begin its accusation campaign. At this conference, Gu Ren'en became one of the first individuals named by the government for accusation, allowing representatives from Christian organizations nationwide to disclose his alleged crimes in various places. The Gu Ren'en case served as a model for subsequent accusation meetings carried out by the government within the "Three-Self" movement; it was also the first instance of an accusation campaign within Christianity, signaling the start of accusation struggles in churches across the nation.^[143] The case established three elements of "crimes": political (accused of being an American imperialist spy and promoting counter-revolution), financial (seeking personal gain and enrichment), and moral. After the conference, many Christians who were shocked by the government's message had to, for self-protection, echo the government's accusations and even intensify the criticism against Gu.

During the Beijing Conference, Watchman Nee did not participate in any accusation but he undoubtedly faced immense political pressure. He probably understood that the government's demands went far beyond having signatures but actually participating in the accusation campaign. While he recognized the biblical requirement to submit to the deputy authority assigned by God, he also understood the need to strengthen believers in the local churches. Back in Shanghai after the conference, facing the upcoming nationwide accusation movement in a politically tense environment, Nee and his co-workers labored tirelessly day and night, preparing and publishing various Bible materials, spiritual messages, and newly added hymns as ways to strengthen the faith of believers. He also seized the opportunity to publish messages from the two terms of Kuling training, hoping that these materials could be preserved for the benefit of the believers in the future.^[144] From 1952 to 1953, his Gospel Book Room published a substantial number of books, just to name a few, *How to Study the Bible*; *Messages for Building up New Believers*; *The Glorious Church*; *The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*; *The New Testament*; *Central Messages: Christ is the Way, the Truth, and the Life*; *The Breaking of Outer Man and the Release of the*

Spirit; The Character of the Lord's Worker; The Ministry of God's Word; Twelve Baskets Full; and Hymns (Revised Temporary Edition), as well as materials prepared for martyrdom.^[145]

III. From the Accusation Campaign to the Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns (1951–1952)

A. Nationwide Accusation Campaign within Christian Groups

During the Beijing Conference, the government officially called for a nationwide accusation campaign within Christian groups. After the conference, the campaign began across the country. An editorial in the *People's Daily* (April 24, 1951) stated that accusation was an important way to popularize and promote TSRM and an effective means to combat "imperialists." The editorial urged the experiences obtained during the conference's accusation to be extended to Christian groups nationwide and called for every Christian to actively participate in the accusation campaign to help the government eliminate counter-revolutionaries within the church, raise political awareness, and arouse hatred against American imperialism and love for the motherland.^[146] To promote this campaign, the Three-Self Reform Preparatory Committee passed a resolution on the following day (April 25) to universally launch the accusation campaign with the leadership and assistance of local governments.^[147]

On May 2, the Three-Self Reform Preparatory Committee issued a call for "effective communication [and] effective denunciation," requiring every Christian church and group nationwide to convey the spirit and content of the Beijing Conference within their church in May and to hold accusation meetings with the guidance and assistance of local governments.^[148] Additionally, it was requested that accusing materials and experiences be sent to the preparatory committee by the end of May. Although accusation was a common means during the suppression of the counter-revolutionary campaign, many Christians were still unfamiliar with it and believed it fundamentally conflicted with the Bible and the Christian faith (Matthew 7:7–5).^[149] Wu Yaozong defended the accusation campaign in an article published in the *People's Daily* on May 24, arguing that accusation was entirely consistent with the teaching of Jesus and that even Jesus himself had harshly accused the scribes and Pharisees. Wu believed that only through accusation could the churches in China obtain "rebirth," and believers should actively participate.^[150] During this period, *Tianfeng* magazine also published several articles seeking a theoretical basis for the accusation movement.^[151]

Meanwhile, in order to launch the accusation campaign effectively in all regions the Three-Self Reform Preparatory Committee instructed the churches and Christian groups on how to conduct accusation meetings to educate church members. In this process, Liu Liangmo played a crucial role.^[152] In his article titled "How to Conduct Church Accusation Meetings?" published in *Tianfeng* on May 19, 1951, he detailed the reasons, content, targets, and methods of accusation, which was considered "one of the most effective methods to purge the influence of imperialism within Christianity."^[153] The target of the accusation was identified as those "imperialists lurking within the church, their minions, and other traitors to the church," with how they "utilize the church to invade China and deceive believers." The methods of accusation included first "eliminating many Christian concerns." The first step involved the formation of an "accusation committee" by the church federations to study targets for accusation and invite accusers,

followed by the convening of "accusation mobilization meetings." The second step was to hold "accusation group meetings" in various churches and organizations to select the most powerful individuals to participate in the "accusation meetings." During the preparation of accusation meetings, local religious affairs office, government officials, etc., should be invited to provide guidance, and accusation statements should be published in local newspapers and sent to the Three-Self Reform Preparatory Committee. If materials exposing specific crimes, such as letters, photographs, weapons, radios, etc., were obtained, "city-wide exhibition" or "national exhibition" could be organized. Liu emphasized that "in order to purge the influence of imperialism, it is important for every church to conduct accusation meetings well."

Driven by various parties and individuals, like Wu Yaozong, the nationwide accusation campaign was rapidly launched. According to the Two-Month Work Report of the Three-Self Reform Preparatory Committee, from May to the end of June, 63 accusation meetings had been held nationwide, with particularly successful ones in Shanghai, Nanjing, Qingdao, and other places.^[154] Shanghai, due to its numerous sects and strong influence, became a region of special concern for the CCP, where the accusation campaign was initiated earliest and progressed most deeply.^[155] Despite this, Tianfeng reported that the nationwide popularization and deepening of the accusation campaign still faced difficulties, with some Christian groups showing inadequate accusation, especially those that were considered "spiritual groups."^[156]

The "Chinese Christian Council" (CCC) in Shanghai received particular attention from the government.^[157] In an accusation meeting on June 1st, Wu Yaozong and Chen Chonggui claimed that the United States was using the Council as a proxy for aggression against China. Subsequently, the council was almost dissolved.^[158] From June to October, Shanghai hosted several accusation meetings with over 10,000 people participating in the city-wide Christian accusation meeting on June 10th.^[159] Pastors from all over the nation were among the accusers who criticized some churches for having ties to foreign governments and accused the United States of manipulating them.^[160] Finally, Wu gave a report, accusing foreign powers of using "spiritual factions" to spread erroneous thoughts.^[161] The political atmosphere of the assembly was extremely intense, ending with the whole audience cheering, "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!"^[162] This mass accusation meeting demonstrated that local independent churches or "spiritual groups" in Shanghai could not escape being targeted for denunciation by claiming to have no connection with Western sects or being "apolitical." A Tianfeng editorial made it clear that the Shanghai accusation campaign specifically targeted American imperialism and a number of churches and organizations falling victim to its manipulation, including missionaries, the CCC, all major denominations.^[163]

B. The Accusation Meeting Held in the Church in Shanghai

Between May and August 1951, Nee learned that the accusation campaign had been launched in some areas of Shanghai, its content being expanded from opposition to imperialism to accusing church beliefs and targeting church leaders. He realized that the campaign would cause believers to attack each other, but not participating would bring disaster to the church, thus feeling immense pressure. A letter from July 1951 reported that the local churches were under a severe test, and Nee was sick again due to

heart disease.^[164] Director Zhou Lixing of the government's religious affairs office and Three-Self representative Liu Liangmo presided over the accusation meeting that took place at the Nanyang Road meeting hall.^[165] On August 7th, Zhou demanded that Nee admit the error of the "apolitical" viewpoint and participate in the accusations against the United States for exploiting Christianity, the church in Shanghai, the Brethren in England, and Austin-Sparks, as well as accusing those co-workers who had left the mainland, such as Witness Lee, who was sent to Taiwan.^[166] On August 10th, Zhou met with Nee and church leaders again, stating that the government only cared about political stances and did not interfere with religious beliefs.^[167] On August 20th, 21st, and September 12th, Nee delivered three speeches at the Nanyang Road meeting hall and compiled them into a booklet titled "How I Turned" to help believers understand how to be both loyal Christians and loyal people under the new regime.^[168] He reviewed his experience from the April Beijing conference to the present.

Let me share a testimony first. After the Beijing conference, I returned to Shanghai, and within me, there arose a great conflict, or rather, a great thought struggle, about whether we could transcend politics. This matter felt extremely weighty to me. Some sisters have worked with me for thirty years, and there are others who have been with me for over twenty years. You know, during these thirty years, we focused solely on religious matters and didn't touch anything else. It seemed like we were not interested in anything other than religious matters. However, today, it seems like everything from the past thirty years has been shaken. When I heard in Beijing that transcending politics was wrong, it made me very uncomfortable because I didn't recognize that transcending politics was wrong. I felt like my heart was sick, and this time, my heart condition worsened.

In all these years, I have been through many things, but I have never prayed in despair. However, this time, I prayed for the Lord to take me back. There was another difficulty, which is that recently, the liaison officers [note: referring to "The Accusation Guidance Committee"] (please forgive me for saying this, as it is already in the past) specifically mentioned how American imperialism should be accused of using the local church in Shanghai. I felt that if I were to stand up and accuse in this way, it would be asking me to lie. Brothers, I am truly sad. I feel that if I were to resort to lying to avoid human judgment, it would be something I could not do. So, I had another prayer: "Lord, please take me back!" Brothers, today I am here talking to you, and it's because in these past few months, I've turned over some things there. These fundamental questions have made me feel very difficult—so difficult that I hope to depart from this world soon. I think these fundamental difficulties may be shared by those who sit here tonight to learn how to serve God together. Therefore, I feel the need to talk to you about the situation I have turned [note: referring to "transcending politics"] and let you see before God whether this is the way to go.^[169]

Nee's prayer—"Lord, please take me back [to you]!"—expressed the immense internal and external difficulties he faced, to the extent that he longed for an "early departure" from this world, revealing that he might have been prepared for martyrdom at that time, preferring death over doing anything that would offend the Lord Jesus. It seems that for Nee, the scene of the government and accusers' accusation meetings against Elijah Coleman Bridgman at the Beijing conference a few months earlier was still vivid, like the crowd's cry of "Crucify Him! Crucify Him!" in the Gospels. For him, based

on his faith and conscience, he could not accuse anyone, including the Brethren in England, Austin-Sparks, and his close co-worker Witness Lee.^[170] Nee maintained that accusing others was lying, something he could not do. And for the government and the TSRM representatives, Nee could not meet their demands. Therefore, his "turn" did not achieve the effect of being reprinted in Tianfeng for propaganda. On the contrary, they saw Nee as the main obstacle preventing the accusation campaign from spreading and deepening, and they thus wanted to remove him as soon as possible. Zhang Xikang has the following recollection:

We returned the blank registration forms without accusing imperialism, which caused suspicion from the Religious Affairs Bureau and the Three-Self leaders, who believed that we were opposing and concealing. After their investigation, they spoke with Brother Ni and demanded that he explain his relationship with eight foreign brothers who came to Shanghai in 1932, as well as his visits to England in 1933 and 1938, specifically in relation to Brother Austin-Sparks. Brother Nee responded that the eight foreign brothers were visiting us with the intention that we would become a branch of the Closed Brethren in China, which we refused, as evidenced by the "Open Letter to the Brethren of the Roehampton District of England." As for his relationship with Sparks, it was merely a shared understanding in light of the Bible, without any established affiliation, administrative, or economic ties. The Three-Self leaders also demanded that Brother Nee accuse Brother Witness Lee, who left for Taiwan, alleging that he was a reactionary who escaped and took many young people with him. Brother Nee once personally told me in the office of the pharmaceutical factory in 1950 [note: should be 1951], "How could I accuse Brother Witness Lee?" How could this be called brotherly love? Because of this, the focus was then turned towards Brother Nee, intending to accuse him.^[171]

Due to the setbacks encountered by the accusation campaign in the church in Shanghai, the government and Three-Self representatives changed strategy and quickly found some "activists" to instigate and mobilize a "mass line" to accuse Nee. According to Zhang Xikang, Liu Liangmo was behind the scenes and mobilized a teacher, Wu Weizun, from Shouzheng High School to come forward and accuse Nee and the church.^[172] The church in Shanghai held its first official accusation meeting at the Nanyang Road meeting hall in late August, with Liu serving as the meeting's chair. The day before was a preparatory accusation, with rehearsal accusations held at the Nanyang Road and Qiuchiang Road meeting halls separately after group study. Liu Liangmo presided over the session on Nanyang Road, while Cai Zhaoxiu (secretary-general of the National Association of the YMCA of China) presided over the session on Qiuchiang Road.^[173] During rehearsals, some accusations were considered not thorough enough by the committee, but Wu Weizun's accusation speech received praise from Cai, who believed it hit the key points.^[174] The next evening, the official accusation meeting was held at the Nanyang Road meeting hall for the first time. Three-Self representatives first spoke to the believers during the meeting, accusing the church leaders of imperialist behavior, but this resulted in a silent resistance, with no one speaking in support.^[175] Instead, some local church members protested against government interference in their faith. Subsequently, the "activists" who had been arranged made accusations, and Wu Weizun was the fourth accuser. At the urging of government officials, Wu came forward to make accusations about the church's teachings regarding sisters' headcovering, some hymns in the hymnal, the content of gospel

preaching, and other issues, resulting in stirring up strong counter-accusation emotions among the believers and leading to chaos in the venue.^[176]

The government and Three-Self representatives were completely unprepared for the counter-accusation emotions sparked by the first accusation meeting in the church in Shanghai. For many believers, this campaign threatened their basic faith. Afterwards, Liu Liangmo immediately reported the situation to the leadership in the Shanghai Religious Affairs Bureau.^[177] The government and Three-Self representatives analyzed and judged the chaos of the accusation meeting, pointing the finger at Nee.^[178] As a result, the church in Shanghai never held another accusation meeting.^[179] The church and its members believed that the accusation campaign was actually targeting the Bible and their faith, so they refused to participate in the Three-Self Movement. Meanwhile, the government believed that the church members were unwilling to undergo thought reform and were planning to sabotage the Party-led accusation campaign. The relationship between the two sides deteriorated rapidly.

Overall, the CCP government viewed the accusation campaign as the only way to remake Christianity in China; it was also the current political demand toward every Christian and church leader. When the accusation meeting was held in the church in Shanghai, since Nee and other leaders felt they had long adhered to the Three-Self principles and had no economic or organizational ties to imperialism, they showed passive resistance to the campaign and avoided making thorough allegations. The government considered the church in Shanghai, one of the largest indigenous Christian groups in the country, resisting the accusation campaign as a serious political crime ("counter-revolutionary" and "reactionary") and would not tolerate it. The arrest of Nee and other leaders was simply a matter of time and charges. But in order to win the majority's support and minimize the scope of impact, the government initially targeted only Nee. Moreover, the government and Three-Self representative adopted another strategy—identifying a few “activists” from inside to mobilize the masses in a "bottom-up" approach to help launch the accusation campaign widely.^[180] Eventually, the selected "activists" cooperated with the government actively to accuse church leaders and replace the original leadership. Based on the experiences in Nanjing and Shanghai, the government indicated that to continue and deepen the accusation campaign, it was necessary to discover and cultivate activists through whom to mobilize the masses of believers. Under government support, the activists could replace the existing church leadership and proceed to establish the branch of Three-Self Association.^[181]

Because some of Nee's relatives had connections with the former KMT government and he was unwilling to "draw a clear line" with foreign missionaries in China, overseas Christians, and co-workers going to Taiwan, there was no sign that the new government had any trust in Nee or considered him a potential collaborator. In the early stages of the accusation campaign, the government remained attentive to Nee. Chinese Christian scholar Joseph Lee pointed out that as early as the beginning of the country's establishment, the government had noticed the rapid development of local churches, harbored suspicion and resentment towards them, and conspired to deal with Nee.^[182] Zhang Xikang recalled that the government compelled Christian missionaries to engage in accusations as a means of showcasing their political stance. In launching the accusation campaign in the church in Shanghai, the government asked Nee to accuse his fellow co-workers, such as Witness Lee, who had traveled to Taiwan, of being imperialists, but Nee declined.^[183] According to the Communist United Front, Nee's relationship with the

government and the Three-Self had evolved from "contradictions among the people" to "antagonistic contradictions."^[184] In November 1951, the Religious Affairs Office compiled a "Religious Situation Report," which identified Nee as a "reactionary" involved in various reactionary activities in the name of religion.^[185] An investigative report published in the same month in *Tianfeng*, which labeled Nee as a political criminal and accused him of undermining the land reform movement by controlling churches across the country and spreading reactionary speech, served as proof that the official investigation into Nee had already started.^[186] According to the government, local church leaders not only previously accepted foreign aid and refused to register but they also refused to acknowledge any connection with imperialism. They were seen as "backward elements" in various current political movements; now that the believers of the local churches were passively resisting the accusation movement and ideological transformation, and the government considered Nee to be the instigator of this resistance, he needed to be swiftly dealt with to allow the reform movement to continue to deepen. At this point, Nee was the focus of widespread public accusations in the accusation meetings, which the official and the Three-Self media extensively covered.^[187]

As some of Nee's co-workers watched to see what defensive actions he would take, Nee recalled several instances of trials in his life, including personal attacks, misunderstandings, and false accusations. Each time, he refused to defend himself and saw them as strikes from the Lord and His will to refine him. He was willing to obey the Lord's will and suffer in order to bear more spiritual fruit.^[188] Nee likely composed the hymn "God, You are now rearranging my way" around this time, reflecting his state of mind and suggesting that he was prepared for the "rearrangement" of his future, as seen in the first and third stanzas.^[189]

God, You are now rearranging my way.
All I have built You're destroying today.
Those serving faithfully daily decrease.
Dishonesty, misunderstandings increase.

If Your good pleasure and will should decree
That I must take suff'ring's yoke upon me,
Then may my heart's deepest joy be this thing—
Obeying Your will to take the suffering.

C. The Learning Campaign for Thought Reform with Chinese Churches

As the accusation campaign continued to deepen, the government demanded that the churches in China strengthen their political learning, especially conducting thought education within churches, in order to support the accusation campaign and achieve comprehensive remaking of Christianity (the Three-Self Reform Movement, TSRM). The government believed that the thought of Christian leaders lagged behind that of ordinary Christians, thus requiring systematic learning, and continuous education and indoctrination to cultivate support and advocacy for the government's policies toward Christianity. In November 1951, the Three-Self Preparatory Committee held the "First TSRM Cadre Training Class" in

Shanghai for three weeks, training a group of young "activists" with the aim to promote learning and reform work nationwide.^[190] The curriculum included two main units: domestic and international situations, and the TSRM of Christianity.^[191]

On January 5, 1952, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference issued a "Decision on Launching a Learning Movement for Ideological Reform among People of All Walks of Life," specifically targeting ideological education among various democratic parties, the industrial and commercial sectors, and the religious community.^[192] The learning content included studying theory (Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought), studying policies (important policy documents of the Party Central Committee), and rectification (implementing criticism and self-criticism, conducting self-education, and remaking). The government was determined to thoroughly transform the ideology of the Christian community, combining it with the ongoing Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns.^[193] Prior to this, on November 30, 1951, the Central Committee of CCP issued a "Directive on Carrying Out Ideological Reform and Organizational Cleansing in Schools," which required all schools nationwide to conduct thought reform on teachers and students within one to two years and organize campaigns for those who were loyal and honest to confess their past mistakes.^[194] After the issuance of this directive, the thought reform learning campaign began comprehensively in the schools across the country and gradually expanded to the whole Christian community throughout the country.

D. Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns

The Central Committee of the CCP launched the "Three-Anti" Campaign in late 1951 and the "Five-Anti" Campaign in the middle of 1952. The "Three-Anti" Campaign, referring to "anti-corruption, anti-waste, and anti-bureaucratism," aimed at state organizations and enterprises, while the "Five-Anti" Campaign, referring to "anti-bribery, anti-tax evasion, anti-cheating on quality and quantity, anti-embezzlement of state property, and anti-theft of national economic intelligence," targeted private enterprises.^[195] These two campaigns had extremely strong moral condemnatory characteristics, aiming to expose and combat immorality and criminal behavior in society. The initiators and organizers of the movements deliberately created an atmosphere of moral criticism, disdainful of any misconduct and criminal behavior.^[196] The initial motivation for the campaign stemmed from financial difficulties caused by the Korean War, coupled with concerns about the future of the new regime due to the exposure of corruption and bureaucratic phenomena within the Party.^[197]

According to Mao, the "Three-Anti and Five-Anti" campaigns were "a great mass campaign to cleanse the poisonous remnants of the old society."^[198] In December 1951, the Central Committee of the Communist Party successively issued the "Decision on Implementing the Strengthening of the Elite and Streamlining the Administration, Increasing Production and Conserving Resources, Opposing Corruption, Opposing Waste, and Opposing Bureaucratism" and the "Instructions from the Central Committee of the CCP on the Necessity of Vigorously Carrying Out the 'Three-Anti' Struggle," which officially launched the nationwide "Three-Anti" campaign.^[199] Mao then enlarged the campaign target to the bourgeoisie class and announced it on January 26, 1952, and asked the working class to conduct "Five-anti" struggle against the bourgeoisie class in every major city in February while the Party would conduct its

“Three-anti” struggle internally. Major cities swiftly launched the campaign and "tiger-hunting teams" were quickly formed.

Amid the urgent need for economic resources during the Korean War, Mao saw these campaigns as an opportunity to implement economic exploitation of the urban business class, starting with state organizations and units and gradually expanding to private enterprises. The campaigns resulted in the disappearance of privately owned commercial and industrial enterprises nationwide, changing them into joint public-private ventures, laying the foundation for future remaking away from capitalist society and complete nationalization of businesses.^[200] During the campaigns, private entrepreneurs were forced to hand over their businesses and join joint ventures; facing tremendous pressure, many of them committed suicide.^[201] The campaigns employed many torturous and humiliating methods, leading to the wrongful persecution of thousands of people, many of whom committed suicide, with even incidents of entire families committing suicide.^[202] Throughout the campaign, a climate of terror pervaded the country, leading to numerous suicides. According to contemporary historian Xie Yong's research, since mid-February 1952, there were numerous incidents of mental disorders across the country, with tens of thousands of suicides in Shanghai alone, among them jumping from buildings, leaping into rivers, electrocution, and hanging being the most common.^[203] On March 25, 1952, Shanghai Mayor Chen Yi announced the official launch of the "Five-Anti" campaign in Shanghai. Despite the policy of struggle being clearly established by the authorities, after the campaign commenced, activities of capitalists were often exaggerated, though almost all capitalists cooperated, and even volunteered to pay fines, showing no resistance. The accusation of embezzling national resources was prone to be exaggerated due to the lack of clear legal basis.^[204] By late May, the campaign had essentially concluded. During this period, Shanghai had investigated and dealt with over 9,600 "tigers," with an average of seven business owners committing suicide daily from late March to early April.^[205]

Since the call from the Central Committee of the CCP to participate in the campaign to overthrow the "big tigers" (major corrupt officials) on February 6, 1952, the Three-Self Preparatory Committee also called on Christians nationwide to actively participate in the “Three-Anti and Five-Anti” campaign and to contribute to the great cause of building the new China with a patriotic and religious spirit.^[206] The following day (February 7), the Three-Self Preparatory Committee held a mobilization meeting at the YMCA, inviting 144 pastors from various Christian groups in Shanghai to attend. At the meeting, pastors were urged to mobilize believers in their groups to participate in the "Three-Anti and Five-Anti" campaign to expose the corruption of the "big tigers." Excerpts of accusations against some individuals in the Christian community were circulated, based on revelations made by Tianjin official media. These individuals held important positions within the church, including Wang Weisheng and Ruan Weijing from the timber industry, as well as Lei Aide and Zhuge Wenping from the medical field.^[207]

Among the "big tigers" being targeted in Shanghai in Christianity were Mei Guozhen, the medical director of the main branch of the Shanghai Bethel Hospital, and his aunt, Shi Chengzhi, who was the president of the hospital, as well as Li Nengcai, a capitalist from the Shanghai Caiji Sawmill.^[208] The Tianfeng magazine reprinted a report from the Liberation Daily, the official newspaper of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party, which stated that during a mass inspection Mei and Shi "confessed" to the discovery of property worth over 100 million Hong Kong dollars, including cars, and

the inspection team of the hospital's cost saving committee also uncovered medical equipment, film making equipment, gold, and US dollars worth over 200 million Hong Kong dollars.^[209] Although the cases of Mei, Shi, and Li might have been the result of labor disputes, the Communist Party took advantage of "Three-Anti and Five-Anti" campaign to nationalize private property. Tianfeng cited these cases as representative examples because they all had prominent Christian backgrounds, which served as a warning to believers concerning the consequences of expressing anti-Communist sentiments and resisting the TSRM.^[210]

One of the victims arrested on economic charges during the "Three-Anti and Five-Anti" movement was Watchman Nee.^[211] His younger brother, Peter Nee (Nee Huai-tsu [倪懷祖]), a graduate of St. John's University in Shanghai in November 1934, co-founded the predecessor of the Biochemical Pharmaceutical Factory in Shanghai with their father. Based on this foundation, Watchman Nee founded the renowned China Biology & Chemical Co., Ltd., commonly known as the Pharmaceutical Factory. This company, which produced drugs during the Sino-Japanese War, later became famous for its contributions to the resistance against Japan.^[212] The registration documents of the Pharmaceutical Factory show that it was initially established on Huashan Road in Shanghai in July 1937, moved to Hong Kong during the war, and later to Macau. It then relocated back to Huashan Road, Shanghai, in 1940, producing drugs for both the Nationalist and Communist forces.^[213] Initially, Nee helped his brother with the business at the request of his family. Later, he saw it as an opportunity to generate profits to support the needs of the church and co-workers. He also employed some believers in the factory. Besides meeting the needs of co-workers and believers, profits from the business were also used to purchase properties for the training center in Mount Kuling, Fuzhou, the ministers' houses on Haiguan Lane, Fuzhou city, and the meeting place on Nanyang Road, Shanghai. However, due to his involvement in business and the dissatisfaction among some believers working in the factory, a controversy arose against Nee within the church in Shanghai, leading to his not being able to minister publicly for six years from 1942 to 1948.^[214] During the Sino-Japanese War, he established the Biochemical Pharmaceutical Factory in Chongqing in 1942, which later moved back to Shanghai after the war. In 1948, during the revival meetings at the church in Shanghai, Nee also dedicated his pharmaceutical factory to the church, practicing what he preaches.^[215] In 1950, upon his return to Shanghai, Nee established a pigment production factory (Tsui Hua Chemical Factory) and the Elim Printing Press under the church's ownership. In 1950, as part of the government's campaign to merge public and private enterprises, the government ordered the merger of China Biology & Chemical Co., Ltd. into the state-owned Shenyang Northeast Pharmaceutical General Factory, with Nee serving as the director of the factory management committee.^[216]

During the waves of the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaign, the government demanded that Nee disclose all information about his involvement in the pharmaceutical business.^[217] Meanwhile, the TSRM Preparatory Committee instigated conflicts between some workers in the Elim Printing Press who were also church members and the church's leading ones, which led to some workers accusing Nee of financial crimes. Nee probably sensed that his days of freedom were numbered. After discussing with both his wife Charity Chang, and the co-workers and elders in Shanghai, Nee decided to dedicate his time to preparing biblical materials for believers. Sister Ruth Lee and her helpers helped edit Nee's spoken messages. Facing a life-and-death situation, they worked tirelessly, from day to night, even sleeping only two hours a day, meticulously detailing and recording the word of God until March 1952.^[218] On April 10, 1952, the

Public Security Bureau officers from Shenyang, Northeast China, arrested Nee at the Pharmaceutical Factory office on Jiangxi Road, Shanghai, and took him to Shenyang. The government confiscated all the related businesses. In order to win over the majority of the congregation, the government and the Three-Self Movement blocked the news of Nee's arrest. Except for the leading ones in the church in Shanghai, most believers did not know any of it for several years. The government did not announce any charges or sentences against Nee until February 1956, when they charged him with economic crimes.^[219]

Nee's detention prohibited him from communicating with the outside world. It is difficult for us to know what treatment Nee endured during his four years in prison. Chapter 2 of Ding Shu's book, Yangmou ["Open Plot"], describes how Mao issued directives to hunt down "tigers" in various places during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaign. The methods used against the targets of struggle included labeling and criticizing, forcing confessions, physically abusing detainees, intimidating and coercing, and employing guerrilla tactics similar to those used in the Yan'an Rectification Movement in 1942.^[220] Local reports submitted to the central government also acknowledged the use of forced confessions, physical torture, and disguised torture (such as forced kneeling, bearing signs, "playing volleyball" (one form of the torture), and beating) in anti-corruption struggles.^[221] Nee's experiences during the period of Five-Anti interrogation were probably not much different. At that time, there were reports that the CCP officials would make two demands after Nee's imprisonment. First, he had to publicly renounce his faith in writing; second, he had to unconditionally cooperate with the government and take up a key position in the Three-Self organization as a condition for regaining his freedom.^[222] If these reports were true, Nee's continued detention would indicate that he did not deny his faith at that time.

Starting in early 1952, the Central Committee of the CCP essentially classified local churches as "reactionary organizations." In a report from the Southwest Bureau's United Front Department to the central government in February 1952, it was stated:

The local churches ("Little Flock") deceptively claim to be a local religious organization unrelated to imperialism and refuse to register. In the past, they were impenetrable, but during this Three-Anti movement, under pressure from both internal and external masses, divisions have emerged internally. Through confessions and denunciations in small and large meetings, it has been discovered that it is closely related to the Legion of Mary, which is heavily concealed within the industrial and commercial sectors.^[223]

The report described the characteristics of local churches as follows: (1) It was a tight-knit organization, not only resembling the Legion of Mary (Catholic) but also similar to Yiquandao. There were layers of core leadership with Nee as the national leader. (2) Their activities were related to international spies, having been in contact with foreigners during the civil war. (3) It was economically affluent, establishing production facilities and acquiring properties for meeting purposes. (4) In the late stage of the civil war (1947), it proposed slogans such as "Conquer the entire China" and drafted a "migration plan." It also called on believers and students in higher education institutions to "surrender" and deceived students to go to Taiwan and various parts of the country. (5) After liberation, it consistently conducted reactionary propaganda and resisted the Three-Anti movement. The report concluded by stating, "Now, there have emerged seven or eight activists within the church. The middle group, upon

seeing the dark situation within the church, has also gradually turned. The stubborn group cannot but bow to the masses."

In May of the same year (1952), a report from the Central-South Bureau to the central government also mentioned the discovery of a Christian reactionary group, "Little Flock," and the confiscation of a transmitter during the Three-Anti Campaign.^[224] In July, the East China Bureau's Propaganda Department stated that most Christians did not actively oppose the thought reform during the Three-Anti Campaign, but "those of Little Flock were more reactionary."^[225] In August, the CCP Central Committee issued an order to all regions regarding "not using the slogan of "Three-Anti" in the Reform Movement of Churches." It stated that it was inappropriate to mobilize the masses of believers by using the "Three-Anti" slogan to carry out the TSRM within churches, as this would lead to varying degrees of confusion within the anti-imperialist and patriotic unity front within the churches. The order also stated:

In the coming period, it is necessary to deepen the Three-Self Reform Movement (TSRM) within the churches in accordance with the regulations of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). Based on this, clergy and other staff members of the church should be required to disclose their ties with imperialism. In the process of disclosure, it is further required to mobilize the masses of believers to attack individuals who have connections with imperialism in a leadership-controlled manner. If there is evidence of corruption, it should be exposed and dealt with to further weaken their power and influence and to unite the vast masses of believers under the banner of anti-imperialism and patriotism. Genuine reformists who are anti-imperialist and patriotic should disclose any corruption internally, pass the test, or simply take responsibility.

You have already started the struggle against Christian Assemblies (Little Flock) in a planned manner, which is necessary. It is also correct to use the "Five-Anti" slogan to attack their business operations, starting with the economy. However, the "Five-Anti" slogan should not be used against "Christian Assemblies." The timing of the publication of the Watchman Nee case is still under study by the Central Public Security Bureau. The Bureau in East China does not need to wait for this decision but should decide on the methods and steps of the struggle according to its own situation.

Your struggle against the Jesus Family in Mazhuang, Shandong, has been successful. Please submit a summary report promptly and expand the publicity to promote the Anti-imperialist and Patriotic Movement within the church.

Regarding the struggle plan against Catholicism in Shanghai, it is requested to make a special report to the central authority.^[226]

This directive reveals three points: First, the Central Committee of CCP views local churches, the Jesus Family, and the Shanghai Catholic Church as entities to be contested at this stage, with local churches being national in scope. Second, the CCP Central Committee seeks to limit the scope of the "Three-Anti and Five-Anti" campaign to individual leaders rather than entire groups in order to avoid targeting even some active reformers, thus expanding the united front. Even if those reformers opposed

imperialism and loved their country while engaging in corruption, as long as they confessed internally, they could be protected or their offenses overlooked. By refusing to conduct "anti-imperialist and patriotic movements" within the churches, the government targeted Nee through economic means, only using it as an entry point to initiate political struggles within local churches, with the focus not fundamentally on whether there were economic crimes. Third, the Central Public Security Bureau handled the Nee case, demonstrating that the government did not consider it to be merely a local issue but rather a significant national issue.

Before and after the "Three-Anti and Five-Anti" campaign, in addition to the arrest of Nee, several representative cases demonstrated the authorities' actions to suppress Christian individuals and groups. These included the arrest of Isaac Wei, the leader of the True Jesus Church of the Pentecostal Movement in Beijing, the dissolution of the Jesus Family in Mazhuang, Shandong, the suppression of the Catholic Legion of Mary, and the expulsion of Pastor Huang Yushen from the China Christian Council in Shanghai. These groups were considered the three largest indigenous Christian groups in the country at the time, and their leaders were arrested starting in late 1951, one by one, with their congregations gradually being incorporated into the official Three-Self system.^[227]

IV. Su-fan Movement (Counter-revolutionary Campaign) (July 1955–September 1960)

In 1955, the CCP launched a new campaign called the "Campaign to Thoroughly Eliminate Hidden Counter-Revolutionaries" (commonly known as "Su-fan," the "Counter-Revolutionary Campaign"). Its aim was to eliminate "counter-revolutionaries" hidden within the party, government, military, and various sectors. It can be seen as an extension of the Yan'an Rectification Campaign and a continuation of the "Suppression of Counter-Revolutionary Campaign" from 1950 to 1953.^[228] From 1954 to 1955, several "anti-party and counter-revolutionary" cases occurred, including the "Gao Gang and Rao Shushi anti-party incident" (referred to as the "Gao Rao incident"), the "Pan Hannian and Yangfan counter-revolutionary group case" (referred to as the "Pan Yang incident"), and the "Hu Feng counter-revolutionary group case" (referred to as the "Hu Feng incident"). Mao believed that "with the progress of our country's socialist cause, class struggle is bound to become increasingly acute and complex," and not only were there counter-revolutionaries within the party but also in various government agencies nationwide. Therefore, it was decided to launch a nationwide campaign to "thoroughly eliminate hidden counter-revolutionaries."^[229] On July 1, 1955, the Central Committee of the CCP issued a "Directive on Launching the Investigation and Thorough Purge of Hidden Counter-Revolutionaries," which required party and government agencies at all levels to carry out investigation work.^[230] On August 25, the CCP Central Committee issued a "Directive on Thoroughly Purging Hidden Counter-revolutionaries," which specified that the proportion of investigation and suppression in various agencies should be five percent.^[231] The campaign began in the second half of 1955 and was carried out in batches, lasting for more than two years until the end of 1957. In the later stage of the campaign, the central authorities emphasized the need for careful examination and rectification of wrongful crackdowns, arrests, detentions, and sentences. However, due to the expansion of the struggle against the rightists after the summer of 1957, the rectification work was essentially shelved.

The Central Committee established the "Central Counter-revolutionary Five-Person Group" (expanded to the Central Ten-Person Group in July 1957) as the highest authority for the campaign, which led the "Counter-revolutionary Ten-Person Groups" at all levels, from provinces, cities, and counties down to grassroots units (with varying numbers of members) to deal with "counter-revolutionaries" hidden in various sectors and levels of society.^[232] The composition of the counter-revolutionary groups typically included the first or second secretary of the Party committee, representatives from the Ministry of Public Security, representatives from the procuratorate, relevant Party organizational cadres, and cadres from the propaganda department. On July 11, the official publication of the TSPM, the weekly magazine Tianfeng, published an editorial titled "Strengthen Unity, Distinguish Right from Wrong," labeling Wang Mingdao as "a sinner of the Chinese people, a sinner of the church, and a sinner of history."^[233] As a nationwide Christian organization, the local churches naturally became targets of the counter-revolutionary movement. Following Nee's secret detention, the counter-revolutionary campaign turned its attention towards the leaders of local churches across the country. In a policy document forwarded by the Central Ten-Person Group to counter-revolutionary groups nationwide, it explicitly stated that Christian Assemblies, also known as Little Flock, were "sects manipulated by counter-revolutionaries established under the direct influence and support of imperialism."^[234] To narrow down the targets for maximum effect of the united front, the government identified the crackdown targets as the "upper-level counter-revolutionary leaders" and "all counter-revolutionaries."

Our targets for the struggle are the upper-level counter-revolutionary leaders of "Little Flock" and all counter-revolutionaries hidden within "Little Flock." This includes individuals with a history of serious counter-revolutionary crimes as well as those who, under the guise of religion, engage in various counter-revolutionary activities using their public and legal identities, such as gathering intelligence, stealing secrets, spreading counter-revolutionary rumors, writing counter-revolutionary slogans, organizing counter-revolutionary cliques, and undermining various socialist constructions.^[235]

Lu Dingyi, Minister of the Central Propaganda Department and leader of the Su-fan campaign (with Vice Minister Luo Ruiqing as the Deputy Group Leader), revealed in October 1955 during a conversation with Pavel Yudin (1899–1968, the Russian ambassador to China), that in the first four months of the movement (until September 1955), they had examined 2.22 million people with about 170,000 individuals having connections to counter-revolutionary activities, 11,000 counter-revolutionary groups being exposed, and 7,550 people being arrested. During the process, 4,239 people attempted suicide, resulting in 1,920 deaths.^[236] Mao stated that "the route in the Su-fan work is the route of mass involvement in Su-fan." Throughout the Su-fan movement, the government's public security department used various methods, such as organizing "exhibitions of evidence of guilt," to incite hatred among the masses against counter-revolutionaries.^[237] As these methods were used, the government claimed to have uncovered the case of "Wang Mingdao Counter-revolutionary Group" in August in the Protestant community and the case of "Gong Pinmei Counter-revolutionary Group" in September in the Catholic community. Similar methods were also used in the subsequent "Nee case."

A. Report by the National Public Security Bureau (August 1955)

The first sub-bureau of the "PRC's Public Security Bureau"^[238] compiled a report in August 1955 titled "An Overview of Christian Assembly (Little Flock)."^[239] The report began by stating that Christian Assembly, also named Little Flock, the church of God in certain places, or local churches, is an emerging sect within the spiritual group of Christianity. Since its establishment, it has been deeply at odds with other denominations due to its methods of undermining other Christian sects in order to strengthen itself, leading to its reputation as an 'evil cult' because of its practice of sheep-stealing.^[240] Regarding the authorities' accusations against Nee, the document states: "During the Sino-Japan War, Nee caused dissatisfaction among senior members, such as Ruth Lee, due to his misconduct and embezzlement of foreign subsidies, leading to divisions among members and temporary downward development. Nevertheless, the group's statement toward outsiders was that due to Nee's business operations, his spirituality had declined and he was requested to stop his ministry temporarily. As Nee devoted himself to the business operation, He collaborated with high-ranking officials and intelligence agents of the KMT regime, traveling inland to conduct commercial activities."^[241] The document further stated that, "In the past thirty years, under the active management of Nee Tuosheng, Christian Assembly has developed rapidly. It has become one of the most numerous, widely distributed, and powerful spiritual sects in Chinese Christianity... There are approximately 870 meeting places with over eighty thousand believers."^[242]

The report listed the names of 17 local church workers responsible for work in thirteen regions across the country at the time, as well as a total of 169 "senior members," accusing a considerable portion of them of being "Chiang Kai-shek's spies" and other counter-revolutionary elements before the Liberation, totaling 87 individuals.^[243] Furthermore, the report accuses local churches of engaging in "conspiracy and sabotage activities before and after the Liberation," including maintaining connections with "Chiang Kai-shek's forces," vigorously expanding overseas and domestically, "colluding with espionage agents to conduct intelligence activities," and "using 'spirituality' as an excuse to sabotage Anti-imperialist Patriotic Movement, inciting believers to withdraw from the Three-Self Patriotic Movement."^[244] It also accuses local churches of ramping up "reactionary activities" across various regions since 1953, with charges including "rapid expansion of believers," "strengthening religious work among youth and children," "actively infiltrating our organizations, schools, hospitals, etc., and continuously eroding our party, youth league organizations, and grassroots cadres," and "expanding into rural areas, border regions, and ethnic minority areas," among others.^[245] Finally, the document concludes:

Within the upper core group led by the politically ambitious Watchman Nee, Christian Assemblies harbor a considerable number of individuals who are counter-revolutionaries and class enemies in five aspects. They consistently disguise themselves under the guise of religion and harbor strong hostility towards our socialist construction and socialist reform endeavors, engaging in activities aimed at counter-revolutionary sabotage. The situation is extremely serious.^[246]

B. Crackdown Order by the CCP's Central Committee (November–December 1955)

At the end of the same year (1955), the CCP's Central Committee received a report from the "Central Committee for Religious Affairs" on November 24th, entitled "Regarding the Issue of Cracking

Down on Counter-Revolutionaries Hidden within the 'Christian Assembly'.^[247] On December 25th, the Central Committee expressed agreement with this report and forwarded it to the Shanghai Bureau as well as to other provincial and municipal committees and party organizations nationwide, ordering immediate compliance with the CCP's Central Committee's crackdown order, with the aim of reporting the results at the CPCCC scheduled for February of the following year (1956).^[248] The report consists of ten main points, including the following:

Firstly, it accuses local churches of being "a sect manipulated by counter-revolutionaries established under the direct influence and support of imperialism" and has "developed quite rapidly in individual places. The leadership of various localities is mostly controlled by counter-revolutionaries, and there is also a considerable number of counter-revolutionaries hidden among the believers." Its "leadership core has in fact become a counter-revolutionary group that opposes the people's government and undermines national building under the guise of religion." Secondly, in order to organize this struggle, comrades responsible for managing religious and reconnaissance work in several key provinces and cities convened in Beijing on August 27 and November 15–18 to report on the work situation. They decided to actively prepare for the work and plan to launch a focused crackdown on counter-revolutionaries within the "Little Flock" nationwide in late December, with the aim of concluding the work by the end of January next year. The crackdown order emphasized that "the overall goal of the struggle is to thoroughly destroy the counter-revolutionary leadership group of the 'Little Flock' and to eradicate all counter-revolutionaries hidden within the 'Little Flock;' publicly expose the crimes of counter-revolutionaries in the 'Little Flock;' carry out extensive and in-depth patriotic education among believers; vigorously win over senior members; unite the masses of believers, thus gradually transforming the churches manipulated by counter-revolutionaries into patriotic churches that were engaged in legitimate religious activities." The main targets for arrest and crackdown were "(1) imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek's spies and espionage agents; (2) counter-revolutionaries hidden within the 'Little Flock'; and (3) counter-revolutionaries who persist in carrying out reactionary activities."

The strategy of this struggle was to "arrest and prosecute resolute counter-revolutionaries and not to arrest counter-revolutionaries who can either be arrested or not arrested; instead, use summons and mobilize masses to strike them" in order to "divide the enemy more actively and effectively and win over senior members and the masses of believers." The focus of the struggle was: (1) the major cities where the churches of the Little Flock were located, such as Shanghai, Fuzhou, Wenzhou, Changchun, Shantou, Beijing, Xi'an, Lanzhou, Wuhan, Chongqing, etc.; (2) the main regions where the Little Flock had a lot of activities, such as Zhejiang, Fujian coastal provinces, etc.; (3) government agencies, schools, hospitals, industrial and mining enterprises, and other departments. Regarding the strategy for believers in small groups, "the masses should be mobilized first; reactionary activities within the 'small groups' should be widely exposed; adequate thought reform should be carried out to stir up internal uprisings. Only a small number of resolute counter-revolutionaries should be targeted for concentrated attacks, and efforts should be made to win over the majority of backward believers." "The core members of the Little Flock who have truly changed can be retained and utilized in general departments; core members of the 'Little Flock' who still adhere to reactionary positions should be decisively removed."^[249] The order reiterates:

While launching the struggle, it is necessary to ensure that normal religious activities are not interrupted. It is essential to strategically win over some upper-level figures beforehand or during the course of the struggle. We should firmly support patriotic upper-level figures within the "Little Flock" and those willing to align with us to lead religious activities. If there are no such individuals available, even relatively backward upper-level figures should be encouraged to participate in legitimate religious activities. The earlier and more effectively we resolve this issue, the more advantageous it will be for us; simultaneously, it will further promote internal division among them. In the context of the nationwide crackdown on counter-revolutionaries, especially after the suppression of the Wang Mingdao and Gong Pinmei Anti-Revolutionary Groups, there have been fluctuations within the "Little Flock." Some upper-level figures have expressed willingness to align with the government and stand on the patriotic side. This situation is advantageous for us, and regardless of their motives, it should be utilized to carry out differentiation and attract support, thereby expanding the Christian anti-imperialist patriotic united front. However, vigilance should be heightened against malicious individuals, and timely action should be taken to counter their sabotage activities when discovered.^[250]

The order emphasizes the importance of propaganda work in the struggle, stating that "propaganda work among the masses inside and outside the church must be done well during the struggle. It is necessary to mobilize public opinion extensively, fully expose the enemy's crimes, refute all rumors and fallacies that may arise, vigorously promote religious policies and anti-counter-revolutionary policies, gradually clarify the confused thoughts of the believers, raise their awareness of patriotism, and draw the line between the enemy and us. It is necessary to mobilize pastors and believers from various Christian churches to participate in this struggle." The public security departments should keep coming up with plans to "control the leadership of the Little Flock in a planned and secret manner, adapt to the needs of future long-term struggles, and strengthen the secret reconnaissance work on the Little Flock" according to the report. To ensure the "complete victory" of this struggle, "temporary command organizations should be established in major areas under the unified leadership of the Party committees, and close cooperation between the public security departments and the religious affairs departments should be strengthened, with mobilization of relevant agencies." "Absolute secrecy must be maintained in all regions for this operation; any violations will be strictly disciplined according to the Party's rules."^[251] For the full text, please refer to Appendix A.

C. Implementation of the Crackdown Order in Shanghai (January–March 1956)

Following the central government's crackdown order, in mid-January 1956, public security departments and religious affairs departments across the country, under the unified leadership of the Party committees, began operations together. They successively launched surprise arrests nationwide of key leaders in local churches under the pretext of "counter-revolutionary" charges. Comprehensive protests, protracted propaganda campaigns, and work on thought reform came after this.^[252]

The following seven steps largely reflect the government's counter-revolutionary measures: 1) Swift arrests of those identified as "upper-level counter-revolutionaries" (co-workers, elders) at their homes. Investigators isolated those not arrested but deemed recruitable among the co-workers and elders,

encouraging them to confess their "problems." 2) Three-Self personnel led thought-reform sessions that other church leaders (deacons) had to attend and take part in. 3) Other church members were required to visit "exhibitions of counter-revolutionary crimes" and participate in various "group studies." 4) Young members who are in colleges and hospitals were required to undergo thought reform and confess their problems, followed by organizing them to attend exhibitions and accusation meetings. 5) After intensive "studies," large-scale public accusation meetings were convened. 6) Organize "activists" among the deacons and co-workers among the youth to replace the original leadership and establish a "Believers' Learning Committee" to continue leading political education for believers. 7) Utilize media for propaganda and ideological work, including detailed reports in newspapers nationwide, Three-Self publications like Tianfeng, and articles published in church publications after the crackdown, reprinting accusatory articles.^[253]

The government's entire counter-revolutionary campaign in the church in Shanghai lasted approximately three months, from January 29, 1956, until the end of March, when believers' anti-counter-revolutionary studies concluded.^[254] Below is a chronological list of the tactics the government used in the church in Shanghai during the Anti-Revolutionary Campaign.

Firstly, on the evening of January 29th, the Shanghai Public Security Bureau arrested four co-workers of the local church in Shanghai, Ruth Lee, Peace Wang, Zhang Yuzhi, and Lan Zhiyi, at Wende Lane. At the same time, a total of 30 people, including Zhu Chen, Chen Benwei, Sun Kai, Chu Liming, and Li Mingliang, were also detained and held at the First Detention Center of Nanshi Railway Station.^[255] That night, public security also separately detained Yu Chenghua, Tang Shoulin, Ren Zhongxiang, and Zuo Furu (1902–1979) to conduct isolated investigations at the Nanyang Road meeting hall in an effort to persuade them to join the accusation. Yu consistently refused to confess and was subjected to numerous interrogations day and night at the prison detention center for over two months before passing away (believed to have died under duress from torture).^[256] However, Tang, Ren, and Zuo joined the ranks of the accusers. Subsequently, from the following day on, Nee was publicly accused of being a "counter-revolutionary" by the national official media and in mass rallies incited by the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" accusation.^[257]

On January 30, the Shanghai Municipal Religious Affairs Bureau organized an afternoon mass rally at the Tianxian Stage Grand Hall, after which all units in Shanghai notified church members to attend a study session and accuse Nee and other church leaders. More than 2500 people attended.^[258] The meeting was presided over by Luo Zhufeng (1911–1996), Director of the Shanghai Municipal Religious Affairs Bureau, who was then followed by Lu Boming, Deputy Director of the Municipal Public Security Bureau, who briefed on the crimes of the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group," announcing the recent "capture" of the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" and mentioning for the first time the charges against Nee when he was arrested on April 10, 1952. Then, Deputy Mayor Xu Jianguo^[259] elaborated on the state's religious policies and called on Christians to follow the path of "loving the country and loving religion."^[260]

After the deputy mayor's speech, a student from the Second Medical College of Shanghai who attended the meeting at Nanyang Road, Lily Hsu (1933–), was specially arranged to make public

accusations against Nee and the leaders of the church in Shanghai.^[261] Immediately, the Party's Liberation Daily published the full text of Hsu's accusation on February 2 and the Party-controlled *Tianfeng* magazine on February 20.^[262] After Hsu's accusation, others also stood up to accuse, including Chen Jianzhen and Liu Liangmo.^[263] While the accusation meeting was held in the afternoon of January 30th, Shanghai public security personnel entered the meeting hall at 145 Nanyang Road, inspecting the believers' address books, account books, documents, and records in the deacon's office and examining the publications in the Gospel Book Room. At the same time, Shao Luoyang (1917–2016), the head of the "Shanghai Pharmaceutical Factory Anti-Inspection Team," arrived with the "Shanghai Christian Assembly Anti-Counter-Inspection Team," which included members of the Public Security Bureau, the Religious Affairs Bureau, and the TSPM.^[264]

On February 1st, the Shanghai Party newspaper Liberation Daily published the official report of Nee's arrest for the first time.^[265] On the same day (February 1st) and the following two evenings, the Jing'an District of the Shanghai Municipal People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) held expanded meetings, with more than 800 people attending. At the meetings, the crimes of the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" were condemned by speakers including Liu Yuxiu, Director of the Jing'an Branch of the Shanghai Public Security Bureau, and Duanmu Xinmin (1912–1995), Principal of Peijin Girls' Middle School. At the meetings, the church members Zhang Zhenhua and Chang Qi angrily "exposed" many crimes of the Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group, including sabotaging the TSPM, undermining land reform, and poisoning the youth.^[266] On the afternoon of the 2nd, the Changning District Committee also held a symposium, in which more than 40 people expressed unanimity in favor of the government's legal arrest of counter-revolutionaries and called for harsh punishment.

On the same day (February 2), more than 800 people attended the Shanghai TSPM Committee's expanded meeting at the Huai'en Church, presided over by Chen Jianzhen, Chairman of the Shanghai TSPM and President of the Chinese Episcopal Divinity School. At the meeting, Jia Yuming, Dean of the Shanghai Spiritual Formation Institute, and Zhu Guishen, Supervisor of the Shanghai Spiritual Work Group, gave speeches, and a resolution to "eliminate the Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" was passed.^[267] On the evening of February 3rd, the government and TSPM representatives held a sizable accusation meeting at the Nanyang Road meeting hall. In addition to more than two thousand local believers being required to attend, there were also about four thousand people, including clergy from various regions and denominations and Three-Self workers, etc. The officers allowed ten people to make accusations on stage, including Liu Yohan, Lily Hsu, Zhang Zhuhuai, Zuo Furu, Guo Haizhen, Qiao Jingwen, Fan Zaijia (a factory worker), Chen Shuoru, Zhang Zhenhua, and Zhang Xikang. Those considered to have made effective accusations were absorbed into the "Believers' Learning Committee" (BLC).^[268]

From February 1st to the 5th, the Party newspaper Liberation Daily in Shanghai repeatedly published accusation articles signed by some church members in Shanghai, accusing the church and their leaders, even though many of the accounts were not factual.^[269] Since February 5th, all pastors and evangelists in Shanghai have been organized into many study groups to propagate "Watchman Nee's crimes" to Christians everywhere. All gatherings at Nanyang Road meeting hall were suspended except for the Sunday worship, awaiting special instructions from authorities.^[270] To guide the masses in their

studies, the editorial titled "Drive Out the Cruel Wolves in the Church" was published in the February 6th issue of *Tianfeng* magazine, using 11 pages to promote the Nee case.^[271] From February onwards, several nationwide issues of *Tianfeng* weekly have extensively reported on the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" and reprinted many accusation articles.^[272] The Shanghai Three-Self has also irregularly published "Study Newsletters" since February, conveying and reporting on the government's handling of the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group."

The government's thought-reform work targeted both deacons and members of the church in Shanghai. On the one hand, on February 9th, Director Luo Zhufeng of the Shanghai Religious Affairs Bureau hosted a "General Deacon Group Study Session" at the Nanyang Road meeting hall, emphasizing the government's policy of "completely separating deceived believers from counter-revolutionaries" and encouraging deacons to "dispel concerns" and "courageously expose" the crimes of counter-revolutionaries to demonstrate their patriotism.^[273] On the other hand, the government organized all church members into "study groups" under the direction of the Shanghai Three-Self personnel to study government-provided materials.^[274] Then, on February 22nd, an accusation meeting by general church members against the Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" was held at the Nanyang Road meeting hall, with a total of three thousand attendees from both local and out-of-town areas. Deputy Director Chen Yiming spoke at the meeting, reaffirming the government's position and the policy of "leniency for confession, severity for resistance."^[275] These successive propaganda offensives and thought-reform efforts confirm the earlier internal documents of the government outlining months of preparation and meticulous planning for the struggle.

To further attack the personal integrity of the "upper leaders" of the church, especially Nee, the Shanghai Public Security Bureau held an "Exhibition of Evidence of the Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" starting on February 8th. In addition to organizing believers from the city, believers from out-of-town were also organized to attend. The authorities claimed that more than 13,000 people attended the exhibition.^[276] At the exhibition, books and publications purportedly belonging to Nee were displayed as "evidence" of his crimes. According to Zhang Xikang, who had visited the exhibition and was familiar with Nee's handwriting as well as being responsible for managing Nee's library, Zhang said:

The main piece of "evidence" is a small piece of paper with handwriting that resembles crab tracks and is obviously not Nee's handwriting, on which brother Nee allegedly confessed to his crimes. I immediately reported to my superiors that this was not brother Nee's handwriting. The officers responded that Brother Nee wrote it during his illness. I replied that even when he was sick, his handwriting did not look like this. Having spent some time in the pharmaceutical factory, I am very familiar with Brother Nee's handwriting, and at a glance, I could tell it was not his. In addition, some Chinese books were displayed at the exhibition, signed with the name "Nee Tuosheng [倪柝聲]." I immediately recognized that this was not brother Nee's handwriting, either. Because I personally organized brother Nee's books, and he always signed them as "Nee Shuzu [倪述祖]," never as "Nee Tuosheng." As for the obscene picture books mentioned in the newspapers, I never saw them, and the so-called obscene film was just small, an unidentifiable negative without a head, so it was impossible to determine who it depicted.^[277]

After the victory of the Pacific War in 1945, the United States, in an effort to help China recover, set up the "United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration" (UNRRA) in Shanghai, which brought in a lot of supplies, both food and goods. Shanghai is a port city, and many American soldiers came and went. Many of them would visit brothels at night, and there were also many unscrupulous merchants selling obscene English-language books on the roadside to American soldiers. There were even stalls selling such books near the biochemical office on Jiangxi Road. This was most prevalent in 1947, but when I joined the pharmaceutical factory office in 1948, I did not see any of these types of obscene books in Nee's room. As for the obscene books displayed at Nee's exhibition in February 1956, they were all old Chinese books with signatures on them. Where did these old, obscene books come from? I often visited old bookstores, but I never saw these books.^[278]

From January 30 to February 7, 1956, the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) convened its second plenary session in Beijing, while the church in Shanghai launched the counter-revolutionary campaign. During the conference, Dong Biwu (1886–1975), Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC, reported on the progress of the nationwide struggle to purge all counter-revolutionaries. Dong specifically addressed the achievements of the counter-revolutionary campaign within the religious sector, stating that these counter-revolutionaries "cloak themselves in religious guise, using religious organizations as cover to engage in various counter-revolutionary activities."^[279] Caleb Yan from Beijing appeared at this conference, serving as a member and attendee. He was the sole representative originally from the local church after the counter-revolutionary campaign was launched and was listed among the representatives of the "religious sector."^[280] Yan also spoke at the meeting, conducting self-criticism. He acknowledged his past deception by Nee and his co-workers and expressed his gratitude for the government's patient re-education. He praised "Chairman Mao being lovely" and stated that he had "awakened" and now could "see everything clearly."^[281]

D. A Model of Active Participants in the Accusation Campaign (February–April 1956)

Beginning in the second half of 1951, as the local church in Shanghai initiated the accusation movement, the government secretly observed and selected individuals who could actively participate in the movement. During the nationwide counter-revolutionary campaign, under various threats and inducements from the government, they drew clear lines with the so-called "counter-revolutionaries" and took the lead in making accusations. Most of these activists were young members who were still attending universities at the time and had participated in or were still attending church meetings.^[282]

Following the launch of the counter-revolutionary campaign, the government deliberately "promoted" them to replace those "counter-revolutionaries" as the church's new "leadership" in Shanghai.^[283] Among these activists, Lily Hsu (1931–) was the one who took the lead among the young members of the church at the time and was the most active participant in the campaign. She became nationally renowned for accusing Nee and those who had ministered to her. Cao Shengjie (1931–), the later Vice Secretary-General of the TSPM, praised Hsu as a "model of accuser."^[284] Hsu's role has special reference and research value for the Nee case.

Hsu's mother, Wang Yunxian [汪韵仙], was a believer who often attended services at St. Peter's Church.^[285] According to Hsu, she herself was baptized and joined the church in Shanghai on September 27, 1947, at the age of 16 (in the second year of high school).^[286] She exhibited a strong desire for performance and liked to be in the spotlight. During junior high school, she was already involved in organizing drama performances in their neighborhood, showing the characteristics of an activist; during high school, she served as the chairperson and host of the International Chapel of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA); and in college, she was a leader in the Christian group from 1949 to 1951^[287] during her time at St. John's University.^[288] In the 1952's restructuring period of colleges and universities, St. John's University in Shanghai and Shanghai University's medical colleges were merged to form the Second Medical College of Shanghai. She stated that after entering the Second Medical College of Shanghai in 1952, she served in the church's work with youth spiritually.^[289]

In July 1955, when the nationwide counter-revolutionary campaign began, Hsu was isolated for investigation immediately after completing her hospital internship at the Second Medical College of Shanghai.^[290] She claimed that during the several months of isolation and investigation, when she saw various "evidences" of Nee put forth by the cadres, she was unable to control her inner struggle and her anger, which caused a complete change in her thought.^[291] At the end of January 1956, when the government launched the counter-revolutionary campaign within the church in Shanghai, she cooperated with the Chinese Communist government in accusing the church and Nee and even participated in the accusation meeting against Elder Xia Xiling at the church in Tianjin.^[292] In early 1957, she announced her abandonment of faith, thereby successfully graduating, and stayed to work at a hospital in Shanghai, being assigned to work as a physician in the pediatrics department of Xinhua Hospital.^[293] Subsequently, her application to join the Communist Party was not approved, possibly due to her association with the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" and the matter of her father being in Taiwan.^[294]

According to a peer familiar with Hsu, prior to the counter-revolutionary campaign, she was engaged to a Christian classmate named Gao Bingheng.^[295] After renouncing her faith, Hsu, due to her "positive ideology" (meaning actively advocating the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist guiding ideology of the Communist Party), broke off the engagement with this fiancé who was in Hong Kong and married another non-Christian classmate. However, she later divorced him due to the incompatibility of temperament.^[296] Zhang Xikang also pointed out that during the counter-revolutionary campaign in the church in Shanghai, there was a polarization among believers, with some focusing only on spiritual matters and ignoring politics while others focused solely on politics and disregarded spirituality. Hsu was a typical example of the latter. Zhang commented, "Lily Hsu, who led the accusations, later married an unbeliever, divorced, remarried, and divorced again, abandoning her faith for twenty-four years and leading a miserable life."^[297] Hsu attributed the failure of her first marriage to the "tragedy of the times." She remarried in 1974, but this marriage also ended in failure.^[298] Lin Xiangtu believes that if one considers Jesus' words that divorcing one's wife and marrying another constitutes "adultery" (see Matthew 19), then Hsu's divorces and remarriages should also fall into the category of "adultery."^[299]

In the 1980s, Hsu immigrated to the United States and resumed her medical work.^[300] After denying Jesus for twenty-four years, she claimed to have restored her faith but blamed her past weakness on Nee and his co-workers.^[301] She quoted without permission Zhang's unpublished manuscripts that

Zhang had lent her, and in March 2011 self-published her own book, *My Unforgettable Memories*. In the book she defended her betrayal and continued to accuse Nee. This incident led Zhang to officially publishing his memoir the following year. In February 2018, at the age of 85 and without any previous background in history or theology, Hsu published another book, *For Whom the Siren Wails*, supplementing her own personal history with a large amount of so-called historical data to further accuse Nee and the local churches. One cannot help but admire her self-learning ability to finish her work if she did not steal or receive help from someone else.^[302] Hsu's works have received public praise and endorsement from Cao Shengjie, former national TSPM secretary and former chairman of the Shanghai TSPM (1997–2002), and Leung Ka-Lun, former president of Hong Kong Alliance Bible Seminary (2005–2018). Cao praised Hsu for actively participating in numerous committees and meetings during the accusation and counter-revolutionary campaign, "courageously" accusing the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group," and expressing her "anti-imperialist patriotic" stance.^[303] At least four of Hsu's speeches were published in Shanghai and national newspapers from February to April 1956. However, due to some unknown reasons, she did not include any of her own talks in her two memoirs.^[304] (See Appendix B for the full text of the four articles.) [However, she did not include any of her talks in her memoir. One wonders if perhaps she regrets what she did. A truthful memoir should include both personal successes and failures.]

In one of her accusatory speeches titled "I Accuse," Hsu's key points of accusations are as follows: (1) expressing joy and satisfaction over the government's crackdown on the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group"; (2) claiming to be the most deeply poisoned Christian youth in the group and becoming an accomplice in poisoning other young people; (3) accusing Watchman Nee and Witness Lee of encouraging a group of young people to move to Taiwan before the liberation to engage in sinful activities because they were Chiang Kai-shek's lackeys; (4) accusing Watchman Nee of instructing believers not to participate in the Korean War, hoping that imperialism would once again enslave the Chinese people; (5) accusing Watchman Nee of instructing believers to appear obedient on the surface but privately spreading poisonous counter-revolutionary thoughts and resisting patriotic education; (6) accusing the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" of making her become cold-hearted towards her homeland, even feeling guilty when seeing the red star on the tower; (7) accusing the local church of showing panic at the beginning of the counter-revolutionary movement to cover up their counter-revolutionary crimes; (8) expressing gratitude for the patient re-education from the organization, which eventually led to her awakening; (9) blaming counter-revolutionaries for throwing young people into the "icebox," making them feel suffocated and uncomfortable; (10) expressing support for the government's arrest of these counter-revolutionaries and calling on those who were once with them to expose their crimes and mercilessly fight against counter-revolutionaries.^[305] Undoubtedly, in the eyes of the government, Hsu is a successful model of thought reforming work among the youth.

E. From Post-Counter-Revolutionary Period to Joint Worship

(February 1956–August 1958)

Tang Shoulin and Ren Zhongxiang, who publicly criticized Nee and later joined the TSPM, led the church in Shanghai after the restructuring by the government and the TSPM.^[306] Immediately after the

accusation meeting on February 3rd, the "Shanghai Su-fan Group" requested the activists to organize and participate in a "Believers' Learning Committee" (LBC), which also included some individuals who had openly renounced their faith during the counter-revolutionary period.^[307] This committee was established on March 4th at the Nanyang Road meeting place with the task of providing political and ideological education to the congregation of the local churches after the counter-revolutionary campaign in accordance with the instructions of the Shanghai TSPM Patriotic Movement Committee, and reporting periodically to the TSPM. Twenty-three people joined this committee, including: Liu Yueli (Chairman), Lily Hsu (Vice Chairman and Secretary), Zhang Xikang (Office Director), Zuo Fur, Qiao Jingwen, Zhang Zhuo Huai, Fan Zaijia, Zhou Yimin, Wang Zhang, Zhang Zhenhua, and Wang Rongzhu, among others.^[308]

On March 7th, the BLC convened deacons and believers from various districts for a symposium to educate the masses. During the meeting, the leader of the Su-fan Group, Shao Luoyang, praised the believers for their struggle against the Watchman Nee counter-revolutionary group but emphasized the need for further education by the BLC to dispel their concerns about faith and conscience before formally joining the TSPM.^[309] On the afternoon of March 11th, the BLC held a general meeting at the Nanyang Road meeting hall; in this general meeting a number of items were carried out: they accused Nee and Peace Wang, expressed their desire to join the TSPM, and agreed to release an open letter to the local churches across the country and to send a letter of praise to Mao Zedong.^[310] Starting from May of the same year, the BLC began putting out a publication named Shanghai Christian Assembly Newsletter, which was packaged spiritually but politically driven.^[311]

Lily Hsu, one of the "activists" during the Su-fan period in the church in Shanghai, was also a member in the "toxins purification" group in the church, in addition to participating in the BLC. Under the leadership of the government's Su-fan effort, the church initiated this group with the primary task of eliminating "any thoughts harmful to the interests of the people and the motherland" from all publications in the Gospel Book Room, including the Bible, hymns, and other spiritual publications, with the aim of "purifying the toxins of the Watchman Nee counter-revolutionary group." Examples of the publications include *The Glorious Church* and *Streams in the Desert*.^[312]

In March 1956, the second gathering of the First Plenary Session (Expanded) of the National Committee of the TSPM was held in Beijing from the 15th to the 23rd. At the time of this meeting, the government had already dealt with the Wang Mingdao Counter-Revolutionary Group in Beijing and the Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group in Shanghai. To demonstrate that the TSPM had achieved greater unity, one of the main themes of this meeting was to expand "unity" to the local churches that went through the Su-fan campaign. Caleb Yan from Beijing and Zuo Furu from Shanghai were elected to the standing committee of the National TSPM in a by-election and three attendees and sixteen observers were added to show a broader unity than what was in the previous Beijing meeting in 1954.^[313] Four representatives from the post-Su-fan local church in Shanghai attended the meeting: Zuo Furu, Liu Yueli, Lily Hsu, and Qiao Jingwen.^[314] At the meeting, Yan, Zuo, Hsu, and Li Gengxin all spoke, criticizing the crimes of the Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group, engaging in self-criticism, and expressing support for the TSPM.^[315]

In April 1956, in preparation for joining the TSPM, the BLC held a study session, and Zuo, Liu, Qiao, and Hsu gathered all believers to convey to them that the BLC would convene a meeting on the morning of April 15th to request to join the Shanghai TSPM. In the afternoon of that day, Tang formally read an open letter requesting to join the Shanghai TSPM in front of the national and Shanghai TSPM representatives as well as the representatives from the Religious Affairs Office.^[316] Under the leadership of the BLC, the church in Shanghai officially joined the TSPM. At the end of the same month, *Tianfeng* published a poem titled "Christian Assembly Standing Up"; it was attributed to a believer named Huang Shoufeng from the Nanyang Road meeting hall. The poem thanked Mao Zedong and the Communist Party for leading the church in clearing the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group," praising the greatness of Mao and the Party.^[317]

After the Su-fan campaign, the activists who had been thought-reformed, such as Tang, Ren, Zuo, and Hsu, immediately received significant political rewards under the cloak of religion. For example, in April 1956, during the second plenary session of the first Shanghai Municipal Political Consultative Conference, Hsu was also invited to attend and even to speak. Her speech mainly focused on "confessing her heart to the Party" by praising the government's crackdown on counter-revolutionary groups and ensuring her love for Chairman Mao and the party-state. Her speech was subsequently published in the *Shanghai Liberation Daily* (see Appendix C).^[318] In May of the same year, the second delegate conference of TSPM in Shanghai was held, where Zuo was elected as the Vice Chairman of the Shanghai TSPM, becoming one of the new leaders after the Su-fan campaign.^[319]

In July of the same year, the Shanghai TSPM hosted a city-wide Christian youth conference at the Nanyang Road meeting hall. More than 1,700 representatives of young believers from various Christian groups in Shanghai attended, with those from the local church, totaling 72, being the largest number. As an activist, Lily Hsu also delivered a speech.^[320] Only thirty young people were allowed to speak at the conference, and they all "spoke about how their [outstanding] achievements being inseparable from the education and nurturing of the Party and at the same time, faith also generated positive strength, so patriotism and love for the church matched each other."^[321] In 1957, during the third plenary session of the second National Committee of the CPPCC, Caleb Yan, a representative of the church in Beijing, was also given the opportunity to speak. His speech was titled "Chinese Christians on a Bright and Grand Road," published in Beijing's *People's Daily* on March 19, 1957.^[322]

Since the start of the Su-fan campaign in January 1956, the church in Shanghai has existed in name only because government-backed and TSPM-supervised "puppet-activists" took the place of the previous leadership. By August 1958, the government officially required all Christian groups in Shanghai to hold joint worship services.^[323] The Nanyang Road meeting hall, which was constructed less than 10 years ago and able to accommodate the most believers in Shanghai, was forcibly "donated" to the state and later converted into Jing'an Sports Center. The church in Shanghai formally ceased to exist in both name and reality.

Nee, who disappeared in April 1952, reappeared at the Shanghai Higher People's Court on June 21, 1956 for trial. The trial was publicly announced but conducted behind closed doors, lasting for five hours. During the hearing, it was announced that he had been expelled by his own church and sentenced

to fifteen years of imprisonment (at the Tilanqiao Prison in Shanghai) and labor reform, counting from April 12, 1952. The reasons for his conviction included forming a counter-revolutionary group within the religious community and violating economic regulations through the pharmaceutical factory.^[324] The moral accusations in the indictment, newspapers, and TSPM publication *Tianfeng* were not included in the verdict, indicating that these charges were apparently unverifiable. The *Golden Lampstand* magazine believed that the so-called "Nee's counter-revolutionary group within the religious community" actually referred to their refusal to join the TSPM and accept government-mandated changes, which turned their faith into a subsidiary of the political establishment. As to the economic issues, the company's prior financial management were investigated based on the new regulations, even retroactively applying the new tax laws to the factory's finances during the Nationalist government.^[325] About a hundred people attended the court as observers, but only 12 local church members (all from the "Believers' Learning Committee" post-Su-fan) were allowed. Hsu stated in her book that she was a "young believer" at the time, so why was she allowed to attend the trial as one of the few observers? Hsu's permission to observe might be attributed to her membership in the "Believers' Learning Committee," a status she did not disclose to readers in her book.^[326]

V. Brainwashing, Memory, and Martyrdom

A. Totalitarian Brainwashing Strategies and Techniques

The modern history of thought reform (or brainwashing) originates from behaviorism in psychology, which emerged during the Russian Revolution and later found its widest application in the political realm.^[327] To consolidate the newly established regime, the CCP authorities employed various means during the mass campaigns, including the widespread use of violence (both verbal and physical), resulting in millions of deaths, and implemented measures such as forcing individuals to confess in group settings and participate in public trials, which caused immense physical and psychological trauma to tens of millions of people.^[328] The "suppression of counter-revolutionary," "Three-Anti Five-Anti," and Su-fan campaigns resulted in numerous wrongful convictions, executions, and suicides.^{[329][330]}

Simultaneously, extensive brainwashing strategies and methods were employed, as seen in nationwide group "learning" sessions and mass accusation meetings. Even survivors experienced the aftermath of brainwashing, with some having the memories of the brainwashers planted into them while others had their original memories erased. Therefore, we must exercise particular caution in selecting historical materials or testimonies when studying the history of contemporary Christianity in China. One crucial factor to consider is thought reform, including whether the historical materials were provided by the brainwashers to cause the change in individuals, whether the witnesses underwent thought reform and what type of thought reform they experienced, and their condition after the thought reform.

Early in the 1950s, the CCP combined its thought reform of the entire population with political campaigns like "resisting US aggression and aiding Korea," "land reform," "suppression of counter-revolutionaries," and "Three-Anti Five-Anti." Mao's theory of brainwashing dictates that people's thoughts must be re-made before being guided to make public accusations. Only after a person's thoughts were remade could he take a correct action. One of the main ways to remake one's thought is through

mandatory, closed, collective "learning sessions" under the psychological threat of violence (both physical and verbal). For anyone, especially Christians, accusing someone else requires breaking many moral boundaries and conscience, which naturally entails a lot of ideological struggle. However, once their thoughts become "clear" and they "awaken," they can engage in accusations with relieved or completely abandoned moral boundaries and conscience, experiencing a sense of "happiness" in the accusation.^[331]

In his work *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of Brainwashing in China*, American psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton (1926–) studied the brainwashing techniques used in China between 1954 and 1955. He conducted interviews with 25 Westerners and 15 Chinese individuals who had undergone thought reform in labor camps following their arrest by the Chinese communist government. Lifton analyzed the content of these interviews to identify eight key elements of brainwashing, which can be simplified into six:

1. Environmental control: Isolation not only disrupts the brainwashed individuals' access to external information and interpersonal contact but also interferes with their internal thought processes. Political doctrine takes precedence over all other truths.
2. Mystical manipulation: Party agents appear before the brainwashed individuals in a manner distinct from ordinary people, emitting a mysterious and solemn atmosphere akin to the influence of religious leaders. This aura arises from an unwavering belief in a lofty "mission" (such as building a great socialist China).
3. Demand for purity: Brainwashers of totalitarianism maintain a binary view of good and evil, often subjecting brainwashed individuals to feelings of guilt and shame. They learn to self-criticize for not being pure enough and purify themselves through self-criticism.
4. Confession: Brainwashed individuals rush to confess their past "crimes" in order to purify themselves and promote secret solidarity with other brainwashed people.
5. Ideology over experience: brainwashed individuals regard ideology as supreme, transcending personal experience, and it is unquestionable. Brainwashers restrict the brainwashed individuals' use of vocabulary, subtly controlling their values and thoughts through slogans.
6. Totalitarian brainwashers wield the power of life and death over the brainwashed individuals; they execute "evildoers," and the only means of survival is through thought reform and the development of a personality that aligns with their ideology.^[332]

For thought reform to succeed, the willingness of the brainwashed individuals themselves is also a factor. The powerful force behind the thought reform will attract brainwashed people if they feel threatened in a fearful environment or tempted by rewards.^[333]

B. Moral Charges Imposed on the Target during Struggle

This perspective on brainwashing may help us better understand the nature of moral charges imposed by the CCP on those who resisted or opposed the reform of Christianity during the 1950s. During the CCP's remaking of the Chinese churches, public security and religious affairs departments incited hatred among the masses towards the targets of struggle (referred to as "corruptists" or "counter-revolutionaries," etc.) through methods such as holding accusation campaigns, exhibitions of

evidence of crimes, and propaganda in the party-state-controlled media. To further damage the reputation of the targets of struggle, they often fabricated and imposed other crimes, economical or especially moral charges. During the accusation campaign, the government frequently accused leaders who refused to join the TSPM of being "loyal lackeys of imperialism," subjected them to character defamation, and accused them of leading corrupt lives, particularly in terms of assets or money and morality (usually male).

These moral accusations sometimes included many details, with the aim of increasing the credibility of the government's accusations among the masses. However, these accusations were always made by a third party (usually an official or an appointed accuser), not by the "victims" themselves, and once the accusation campaign ended, there was often no further news about these "victims." Frequently, accusation documents made by the brainwashed contained the following four elements: (1) first, they would "introspect" and express regret for being "misled" and "deceived" by these leaders in the past, thus misunderstanding the party and the government; (2) but after patient "education" from the government and the Three-Self organization, they "awakened"; (3) then they bravely began to "expose" the crimes of these leaders and expressed "hatred" towards them; (4) finally, the accusers would express some "gratitude," including gratitude to the great Mao Zedong, the government, and the TSPM for their education, and they would request them to "remove harm" and "purify" the church for the people. The same pattern also appeared in the Nee case.

Li Wenwei, who claimed to be a former member in the church in Beijing, posted an article online. The author observed that during the Su-fan campaign in the church, the Communist Party wanted to bring down many people, and they hated some people far more than they did Watchman Nee. Yet, they did not label them, for instance, Gong Pinmei, Wang Mingdao, and so on, with similar charges as they did with Nee. Li Wenwei's point was that Nee must have committed the crimes. However, decades later, historians are better able to study the history of the CCP's 1950s reform of Christianity from a "God's view" and find that this is not the case. Government crackdowns targeted Gu Ren'en, a free evangelist from Shanghai, as early as the Beijing Conference in April 1951, labeling him as one of the four "church scums." Besides facing political charges, Gu was also accused of economic and moral offenses. The government had already employed various methods of ideological reform during the Beijing Conference, including group studies, "exhibitions of crimes," and mass accusation, which failed to turn Gu around. As a result, the government viewed the "Gu Ren'en counter-revolutionary case" as a model for the Christian accusation campaign. Since the start of the accusation campaign in the summer of 1951, many Christian pastors have had their moral issues "exposed" due to varying degrees of resistance to the Three-Self Reform Movement. Several individuals faced accusations of moral corruption as well, including Jiandian Ying of the Jesus Family,^[334] Huang Yushen from the Zhabei Church of the China Christian Council,^[335] Xu Chaochen from the Christian Students Association,^[336] Lu Shaoduan from the Hanyang Chinese Evangelical Church,^[337] Ma Zhaorui from the Fengfu Road Lutheran Orphanage,^[338] Dong Zicheng from the Zhengzhou Christian Baptist Church,^[339] Wang Keji from the Tai Dong Orphanage in Nanjing,^[340] and others. If the "Gu Ren'en counter-revolutionary case" of 1951 was regarded as a model, then the above mentioned names would be "replicas" of the model. It then follows that the moral charges against Nee could also be a "replica."^[341]

To further examine whether the moral accusations against Watchman Nee could also be considered a "replica," one can observe the experiences of those who accused Nee of moral wrongdoing. In order to conduct the accusation campaign smoothly in the remaking process, the CCP first divided the targets or groups, identified "activists" among them, isolated them, and then subjected them to forced education. Under the continuous influence of compulsory learning and political inducements, brainwashed individuals had no opportunity to access external information. The brainwashers imposed immense environmental pressure, suppressed the brainwashed individuals' ability to think independently and prevented them from freely examining the truthfulness of any information they provided. After continuously participating in struggles and self-criticism, the inner change of thought of the brainwashed individuals eventually occurred, and they accepted the government's perspective, successfully undergoing "re-education."

Following the "re-education," the brainwashed not only underwent rapid moral degradation but they also became fanatical accomplices of authoritarianism or apathetic bystanders in political campaigns.^[342] The changes in thought, heart, and even morality, within these brainwashed by the brainwashers reflected a form of psychological control and social manipulation in totalitarian authorities. For example, in Li Wenwei's article, he described the prolonged isolation for over six months and subsequent inner change of the "activist" Lily Hsu; even Hsu herself made detailed disclosures about her own brainwashing experiences.

Since the summer of 1955, Hsu has been isolated and under investigation on campus for six months, unable to see anyone. During the period of isolation and investigation, she remained confident and resilient. It wasn't until the end that the authorities presented evidence of Nee's moral corruption to her. She was greatly shaken, feeling as if her own family had committed an ugly act and been caught, leaving her unable to hold her head up. She felt deceived by her most revered spiritual elders, which caused her to lose her spirituality.^[343]

As early as the end of July 1955, I began to be isolated and investigated, unable to step out of the school gates. The school authorities appointed a political worker to handle my "case." Anytime, day or night, he could summon me for a "conversation." I could only go whenever summoned. They also assigned a Communist Youth League member from my class to constantly "accompany" me. Whenever the political worker wanted to talk to me, she had to go with me. When I returned to the dormitory, I had to write down what was discussed.^[344]

Under immense pressure, I spent all my time pondering and constantly thinking. Then, officials from the Shanghai Religious Affairs Bureau intervened. ... They threatened me several times, saying they would send me to prison. They said, Many people confess as soon as they enter prison. Why do you insist on waiting until that day? But I confessed everything; I just don't know how to criticize [note: accuse] or if I can't "acknowledge my mistakes."^[345]

[I] was like a swollen balloon, but now it had been punctured, and it quickly deflated. I felt like a lump of mud, unable to lift myself up. I couldn't think; my whole body was numb. Although I continued to eat, bathe, and walk as usual, I felt like an emotionally and intellectually lifeless vegetable.^[346]

Both Li Wenwei's description of Hsu and her self-description fit the typical description of thought reform in brainwashing theory.^[347] Hsu was unable to contact the outside world when she was in the "isolation and inspection" period that lasted several months and coincided with the "Campaign to Eradicate Hidden Counter-revolutionaries." As she was isolated from any community and subjected to psychological pressure and personal threats, her thoughts gradually wavered. After struggling and dispelling her concerns, she eventually believed in the "evidence of moral corruption" provided by the government, feeling "as if a close relative had done something shameful and was caught, unable to lift her head again." Subsequently, to obtain political rewards from the brainwashers, these brainwashed individuals "courageously" joined the accusation campaign as a "certificate of loyalty." As a result, the articles accusing Nee of moral misconduct during the "Campaign to Eradicate Hidden Anti-revolutionaries" mostly repeated the same allegations, even the same phrases, without providing any substantive evidence or any testimony from "victims."

With such a lack of sufficient evidence, regardless of whether it is according to today's Western political and judicial standards or in the political context of the 1950s, the moral accusations against Nee cannot be substantiated. It is obvious that historians who rely on such information from the totalitarian authorities and statements made by brainwashed people (accusers) as "evidence" are acting unethically and biasedly, even in violation of academic ethics and morals. For example, Dr. Syh Yueh Wang, a Ph.D. in Church History from the Fuller Theological Seminary in the United States, uses Leung Ka-Lun's "evidence of accusations against Nee"^[348] as an example of subjective judgment by a historian.^[349] Wang emphasizes that Leung primarily based his evidence on the government's indictment and official newspaper editorials. However, Leung, who studied history as well, maintained that the official judicial materials' evaluation is "more cautious, with fewer fabricated elements, and therefore more credible," and party-state-controlled newspaper editorials are "more rigorous."^[350] As a self-proclaimed historian, this kind of historical "research" that ignores the political context of ideological reform and is based on personal positions is generally not accepted in Western academic circles. It is understandable why many of Liang's academic peers have questioned his work and even immediately condemned it.^[351]

C. Reliability of Brainwashed Memories

Brainwashing techniques not only successfully change the brainwashed individuals' thoughts, values, and behaviors, but also deeply change their inner consciousness and memories, implanting self-blame in their minds. Such practices can be remarkably successful in influencing an individual's memory, often without the need for powerful or high-pressure suggestions. Therefore, even individuals subjected to brainwashing techniques by totalitarian regimes often fail to recognize their own brainwashing and may mistakenly accept certain memory fragments as genuine events.^[352] Psychologist and memory research expert Elizabeth Loftus (1944–) has documented a disturbingly successful experiment: merely through suggestion, participants recorded a fabricated event, successfully implanting false memories.^[353] People may not have internal psychological pathways or external neural pathways that can distinguish between truth and falsehood once they have created such stories or memories with vivid sensory images and strong emotions.^[354]

More than sixty years after the "Elimination of Counter-Revolutionaries" campaign, Lily Hsu once again made moral accusations against Nee. The only evidence came from her memory of a conversation with an interviewer, which, according to Hsu's recollection, took place during the "Elimination of Counter-Revolutionaries" campaign in February 1956. If the conversation indeed took place, Hsu had already given herself to the government, publicly accused Nee and the church, and was on the verge of joining the "Believers' Learning Committee" under the direct control of the government and the TSPM. The different years in which Hsu attributed the same event in the two books show that her memory is unreliable, perhaps as a result of having spent eight months being brainwashed and over sixty years of memory reconfiguration. Furthermore, Hsu appears to have deliberately forgotten her personal involvement in the accusation campaign before joining the TSPM, portraying herself as a bystander.^[355] However, both Li Wenwei and Leung Ka-Lun believed Hsu's account and attempted to construct other historical events by speculation to "confirm" it. This is not aligned with academic historiography, as the veracity of Hsu's words remains fundamentally elusive. Li and Leung are convinced of Nee's misconduct, based only on their trust in the credibility of the Chinese Communist government and Hsu herself. Li, who was also under the political environment of the time, could not have escaped the thought reform. As for Leung and others, the true reasons behind their selective belief in and repetition of Hsu's statements may only be known to themselves.

In addition, Hsu's motivation for "recalling" events sixty years later is highly questionable. The CCP launched a massive remaking project within Christianity in 1950, but by the end of 1951, most believers in the church in Shanghai showed resistance to the accusation campaign. Out of Christian faith and conscience, Nee and other church leaders ultimately decided not to participate in the TSPM. Their decision obstructed the government's progress with the campaign, making them immediate targets for government crackdowns. The government then adopted a mass approach, dividing the leadership such as winning over Tang Shoulin and Zuo Furu while promoting young activists such as Lily Hsu. These methods, combined with the nationwide political movements and law enforcement agencies, ultimately "exposed" the "counter-revolutionary clique of Watchman Nee" and replaced the original leadership with these activists. These new leaders underwent government's ideological reform, confessed their loyalty to the government, and accused their "spiritual parents"; some of them after forsaking their faith even led the local churches, which existed in name only by that time, to join the TSPM. They also received varying degrees of political rewards. Many believers criticized the conduct of these accusers, Hsu included, for their actions, likening them to be "Judas" for their betrayal.

After years of hiding, Hsu and others, including Li Wenwei, have recently made strenuous efforts to absolve themselves of their past accusations and blame Nee for leading local churches into the TSPM after the "Elimination of Counter-Revolutionaries" campaign. This is a clear distortion of historical facts. The February 1952 government document stated clearly that the main reason for the suppression of Nee, his co-workers, and the leaders of the local churches was their "refusal to register [with the TSPM]." The August 1955 document also revealed the same reason for the suppression. This resistance to join the TSPM persisted until most leaders of the church in Shanghai were arrested and replaced by the "activists" during the 1956 Su-fan campaign. Hsu appeared to have forgotten that the BLC, which was run by the party-state and of which she was one of the key committee members, actually orchestrated joining the TSPM and that they successfully carried out this government-mandated task. Furthermore, it was

precisely because of the accusations made at the time that led to the martyrdom of Nee and other church leaders (even though Nee and others were prepared for it). Not only did these activists evade suffering for their faith at the time, they also received political rewards (though the rewards might not have met their expectations). By portraying themselves as victims now, rather than as accomplices in their past actions, they are displaying behavior that is non-Christian and extremely unethical.

Although Li Wenwei claimed that Hsu had "repented before God and received forgiveness and acceptance from other members [in the Body]," there is no record online or in the libraries of Hsu publicly confessing her crimes to her victims, nor have the victims' families "forgiven" her and "accepted" her testimony. If Hsu had truly repented, she would not have published her book by using Zhang Xikang's unpublished manuscript without his permission and heavily quoting Zhang's content to continue accusing Nee in an attempt to clear her own name, which led Zhang to have to publish the revised manuscript the following year. The motivation behind Leung's endorsement of Hsu is beyond the scope of this study, and this article does not speculate, leaving it to the reader's own interpretation.^[356] However, if, under authoritarianism, what brainwashed individuals did to cause harm on martyrs can be considered as what political philosopher Hannah Arendt (1906–1975) called the "banality of evil," then today, in a relatively free world, continuing to use the words of brainwashed individuals to harm martyrs for certain hidden reasons is worse than the "banality of evil."

D. Manifestations of the Life of Christ and Characteristics of Christian Faith

In the Red China era, faithful Christians faced religious persecution under the guise of politics, similar to the predicament early Christians faced under the rule of the Roman Empire. This harsh reality was difficult for many Christians who grew up in Western environments with religious freedom, especially those less familiar with the history of Communist China. The series of political movements in the 1950s seemed to serve as a test of martyrdom for believers, not only testing their loyalty to the Christian faith but also challenging the moral bottom line of human nature. The New Testament records that Jesus' earthly life was one of suffering, from birth in a manger to death on the cross; suffering was a hallmark of His life (see Luke 2:7, 12). Jesus also prepared those who wished to follow Him, making them understand and calculate the cost of following Him and preparing them to face suffering on their way to the cross and into the glory of God's kingdom (Luke 14:25–35). The Acts of the Apostles and their Epistles document the Church's persecution and provide guidance to believers on how to prepare for it (see Acts 14:22; 1 Peter 4:1). For the apostles, Christian martyrdom was seen as filling up what was lacking in Christ's afflictions, to produce and build up the church (Colossians 1:24), as early Church Father Tertullian (160–240 AD) famously said, "The blood of martyrs is the seed of the church."^[357] According to Pinckaers, the "spirituality of martyrdom" that permeated the early Church was not due to the extraordinary heroism of the martyrs themselves, but rather because Christians saw in the martyrs the same pattern as Christ's death, which changed the world.^[358]

Watchman Nee's martyrdom occurred in a thought-reform environment that undermined the human nature. After twenty years of imprisonment and forced labor, he passed away in the labor camp on May 30, 1972, leaving behind his final words: "Christ is the Son of God, who died for the redemption of humanity and rose again on the third day. This is the greatest truth in the universe. I die because of my

belief in Christ." His story exemplifies his strong and steadfast faith in Christ, successfully resisting the totalitarian attempts to brainwash people and change religious policies in Christianity. He transcended the pain of persecution spiritually, triumphing in martyrdom, finishing his race on earth, and keeping the faith (2 Tim. 4:7).^[359] This kind of martyrdom was not romanticized heroism or a passionate sacrifice, nor was it a dramatic death.^[360] Instead, it entailed confronting overwhelming and prolonged pressure on the brink of collapse while allowing divine power and glory to shine through fragile humanity, a humanity in sharp contrast to all those involved, the brainwashers, the brainwashed, and other mockers. According to Nee's faith, the power of Christian martyrdom did not come from himself but from Christ, who lived within him and was always with him throughout his imprisonment, echoing the words of the Apostle Paul that Nee often quoted: "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels that the excellency of the power may be of God and not out of us" (2 Cor. 4:7). This is both divine and human. Nee was not a perfect person, but rather an earthen vessel among many that were constituted with Christ and through whom Christ could manifest Himself. Despite being engulfed in various afflictions such as the loss of loved ones, illness, false accusations, humiliation, and imprisonment, yet because of the precious Christ living within him, he could still proclaim in his letters from prison, "I maintain my joy," in his final days.^[361] This is precisely what Nee considered the characteristics of Christian life and faith:

[T]his is the distinctive feature of Christianity, that "we have this treasure in earthen vessels." Here is a man who is afraid and yet determined; he is encompassed by foes and yet he is not bound; he seems about to be overcome and yet he is not destroyed. It is plain enough that he is weak, and yet he declares that just when he is weak he is strong.

It must ever be a cause for great gratitude to God that no merely human weakness need limit divine power. We are apt to think that where sadness exists joy cannot exist; that where there are tears there cannot be praise; that where weakness is apparent power must be lacking; that when we are surrounded by foes we must be hemmed in; that where there is doubt there can be no faith. But let me proclaim strongly and with confidence that God is seeking to bring us to the point where everything human is only intended to provide an earthen vessel to contain the divine treasure. Henceforth, when we are conscious of depression, let us not give way to that depression but give way to the Lord; when doubt or fear arises in our hearts, let us not yield to these but to the Lord, and the treasure will shine forth all the more gloriously because of the earthen vessel.^[362]

^[1] 在中國基督教的語境中指「新教」，即「更正教」，全文同。

^[2] 「三自」原則與「三自愛國運動委員會」在意義上所指不同。「三自」原則是指由19世紀的來華宣教士所提倡「自治」（獨立於國外的教會）、「自養」（經濟獨立）、「自傳」（傳道是自立自養的）這三點在宣教事業上的原則。「三自愛國運動委員會」是指在中華人民共和國成立後，在政府指示和監察之下所成立的組織，以推動政府的政治運動和宗教政策。這個委員會的領導人絕大多是「現代派」，來自「青年會」，主張自由神學和社會主義，因此與共產主義思想容易產生思想連接（上野正彌，pp173-4）

^[3] Wikis, 倪，倪反革命集團, 南阳路聚會所

[4] 亦被外界稱「小群」、「聚會處」或「聚會所」註：；地方教會在中國大陸時期，先；地方教會在臺灣，有時候被稱為「教會聚會所」，是於1947年經由大陸來臺的移民建立的，早於李常受被倪柝聲差遣到台灣的時候（1949年）。賴恩融（Leslie T. Lyall），《卓識之士—倪柝聲》（p.246, www.found-treasure.org/library%20pdf/nec.pdf）。因此，

[5] 今時代神聖啟示的先見註：人數和數量

[6] 參Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, “Watchman Nee and the Little Flock Movement in Maoist China,” *Church History* 74, no.1 (2005): 68–95, and “Dying for Faith, Transforming Memories: Chinese Christian Martyr Watchman Nee (1903– 1972),” *Journal of the Macau Ricci Institute* 6 (2020): 37–47. 倪柝聲在上海市提籃橋監獄服刑十五年期滿後（1967），原該刑滿出獄，卻被政府關在「青東」和「白茅嶺」勞改農場，繼續改造將近五年之久，直至1972年離世，並未獲釋。參《白茅嶺農場舊事》（劉文忠 李昭牛隱編著）澳門：崇適文化，2021。

[7] 李樹熙、周翠珊，〈毛澤東治下對基督教的洗腦〉，收《洗腦：毛澤東和後毛時代的中國與世界》，宋永毅、夏明編（美國華憶，2023），頁167。

[8] 對1950年代中國教會內部被控訴人物的研究，有畢範宇（Frank Wilson Price, 1895–1974）、陳崇桂、王明道、倪柝聲等。關於他的傳記的有許多，比較詳細而可靠的早期有：《中流砥柱》（中國主日學協會，）、《中國教會三巨人》（橄欖基金會，）等。有張錫康、聚會處或地方教會。Life & Testimony of Mary Shu (“Open Windows”, LSM webcast); 另一類是林榮洪的《屬靈神學：倪柝聲思想的研究》（三版）（香港：建道，2003）、梁家麟《倪柝聲的榮辱升黜》（增修版）（香港：巧欣，2004）、邢福增的《反帝·愛國·屬靈人：倪柝聲與基督徒聚會處研究》（香港：基督教中國宗教文化研究社，2005）等。

[9] 許梅驪2011年3月，她出版了《難混歲月—我和上海地方教會及倪柝聲》，為自己當年的出賣行為辯護，並繼續控訴倪柝聲和渲染當時控告倪柝聲的官方“證據”，引發了不少爭議。2018年2月，她又將其補充並取名為《警鐘長鳴——倪柝聲與中國地方教會》出版，此書是《難混歲月》的增訂本。

[10] 〈倪柝聲事奉生命中的缺失對今日傳道人的鑑戒〉教牧博士論文
<https://wp.ces.org.tw/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/DM036.pdf>

[11] 吳國傑，《真貌重尋：教會歷史研究導引》（香港：基道，2005），30-33。在史學上，「一手資料」是直接由研究對象或事件留下的文獻物品。「二手資料」為從一手資料而來的間接重述、歸納或研究；「三手資料」泛指一切未經詳細考究一手資料而寫成的作品。（頁31）

[12] 王嗣岳，〈基督教歷史研究中的史論〉，《神學方法論》，陳俊偉編（香港：天道書樓，.2013），113-116。

[13] 本文已盡力根據史料呈現事實，然而一提是，因為某些事件可能超出了研究者的能力範圍、沒有實質的證據去確定，或是根本已無法確定，本文無法對所有事件做出結論或最終定論。

[14] 「全能主義政治」（Totalism）的概念，指「社會中沒有一個政治權力機構不能侵犯的領域」，參鄒謙（Tang Tsou）：《二十世紀中國政治：從宏觀歷史與微觀行動角度看》（香港：牛津大學出版社，1994），頁7。

[15] 宋永毅：〈洗腦和中共—研究的新突破和新開端〉，載《洗腦—毛澤東和後毛時代的中國與世界》宋永毅、夏明編（美國華憶），頁1。

[16] Edward Hunter, *Brianwashing in Red China*. New York: Vanguard Press, 1991.

[17] *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism* (New York: Norton, 1969)

[18] 宋永毅：〈洗腦和中共—研究的新突破和新開端〉，載《洗腦—毛澤東和後毛時代的中國與世界》宋永毅、夏明編（美國華憶）。

[19] 歷史與啟示，第十篇。

[20] 歷史與啟示，第十篇。

[21] // 1949年5月27日，陳毅（中共開國十大元帥之一）率領的中國人民解放軍第三野戰軍（簡稱三野）攻占上海。陳毅擔任第一任上海市市長。//（1950年代上海 - 維基百科）

[22] 1949年3月至7月期間，原訂於鼓嶺山的訓練施設進行。//第二期訓練進行至第二週，山上治安惡化，全員移往福州城內海關巷繼續訓練課程，八月中旬，集訓甫畢，中共第三野戰軍第十兵團，以鉗形之勢，五日之內攻陷福州。其時台北小群同工正起首聚會。（<https://ct.org.tw/html/news/3-3.php?cat=47&article=1396649>）//（林子龍，《福音見證（六）神恩浩大》（臺北：臺灣福音書房，XXXX），第8章，頁XX。）

[23] 李常受：《歷史與啟示》（上）（臺北：臺灣福音書房，2005），頁229-230。

[24] 李常受，《今時代神聖啟示的先見—倪柝聲》，頁361。

[25] 魏光禧，〈序〉，《倪柝聲弟兄三次公開的見證》，頁XX。

- [26] *CWWN*, vol. 4, 347-349.
- [27] *CWWN*, vol. 10, 455.
- [28] *CWWN*, vol. 44, 869.
- [29] 〈殉道〉，收《倪柝聲文集》第60冊：鼓嶺訓練記錄（卷二），第54篇，頁XX。
- [30] *CWWN*, vol. 60, 453-454.
- [31] *CWWN*, vol. 60, 454.
- [32] 〈殉道〉，收《倪柝聲文集》第55冊：鼓嶺訓練記錄（卷二），第54篇，頁XX。
- [33] *CWWN*, vol. 52, 29, 36, 39.
- [34] 參《倪柝聲文集》第61冊：主恢復中成熟的帶領（卷一），一九四九年港穗同工談話記錄（1949年8月29至31日）。
- [35] 江守道，《倪柝聲生平簡史》
- [36] 魏光禧寫於1973年8月1日。《倪柝聲弟兄三次公開的見證》的〈介言〉，收《倪柝聲文集》第27冊：通問彙刊（卷二），頁XX。//一九五〇年初，倪柝聲弟兄來到香港，不久李常受弟兄也來了。已往兩位弟兄同時在一地教會帶領聚會，是罕有的事。他們的職事給香港教會帶進大復興。原來只有三百多人的聚會，在短期內增至二、三千人，這是香港教會特別蒙恩的地方。//
- [37] 李常受，《今時代神聖啟示的先見—倪柝聲》，頁126, 359-360。// 次年二月，有第二次同工聚會，交通到去留的問題。一开头倪弟兄就重復他前次聚會的宣布，大意是说我必須離開中國大陸。這一次，在有些禱告之後，他向其餘的人宣布，他的感覺是他與大家必須留下，預備要為主的工作犧牲一切。// 李常受，《歷史與啟示》，頁XX。
- [38] Witness Lee, *Watchman Nee: A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*, softbound ed. (Anaheim, CA: 2007), 123. See also 江守道，《倪柝聲生平簡史》
- [39] Lee, *Watchman Nee*, 123.
- [40] Lee, *Watchman Nee*, 121.
- [41] 〈基督徒對國家社會的態度〉，收《倪柝聲文集》第46冊：特會、信息、及談話記錄（卷六），附錄一，頁247-263。
- [42] 〈基督徒對國家社會的態度〉，收《倪柝聲文集》第46冊：特會、信息、及談話記錄（卷六），附錄一，頁247-263。
- [43] 〈等候主的降臨〉（1948年9月23日），收《倪柝聲文集》第54冊：鼓嶺訓練記錄（卷一），第29篇，頁。
- [44] 〈為華北、東北局勢禱告〉（1948年6月3日），收《倪柝聲文集》第54冊：鼓嶺訓練記錄（卷一），第9篇，頁83-84。
- [45] 〈基督徒對國家〉，收《倪柝聲文集》第55冊：鼓嶺訓練記錄（卷二），第52篇，頁XX。
- [46] 〈同工聚會（十八）—身體的事奉〉，頁505-506；〈今後工作的路〉，頁119。倪於1948年期間的一句「把全中國打下來」（即藉著逼迫而移民出去，將福音傳遍了中國），是倪「福音移民」工作路線的口號，後來成了倪被控訴為「反革命分子」的罪狀之一。（邢福增，《反帝·愛國·屬靈人—倪柝聲與基督徒聚會處研究》〔香港：基督教中國宗教文化研究社，2005〕，頁26-27）
- [47] 倪柝聲，〈抓住機會〉（講於1950年7月19日於上海），《敞開的門》第21期（1950年9月15日），載《倪柝聲文集》（第55冊：執事報、復刊敞開的門），頁XX。「時間是常有的，而機會不是常有的。機會是在時間裡。時間是長遠不斷的。但機會有的時候有，有的時候沒有，所以我們要抓住機會。我們今天一有機會就要覺得，一有機會就要頂上去。」（頁XX）；「一個機會一來，靈魂來了。一個機會一來，工作來了。門才開啟一點，就得進去。但難處在機會不等我們。」（頁XX）；「我們一面注重傳福音，一面要注重屬靈的團體；我們不是要一個一個的得著他們，乃是要整個的得著他們。各地負責的弟兄要看這是不是神今天要我們作的。」；「我們如果把所有愛主的團體帶到同樣的路上，除了耶穌家庭之外，還有許多零碎的屬靈的團體。需要全體弟兄姊妹起來去得著他們。要把他們全體變過來。」（頁XX）
- [48] *CWWN*, vol. 55, "The Open Door (1950-1951)," 200-201.
- [49] 倪柝聲，《敞開的門》（第24期）（教會的合一—一次同工談話聚會的記錄），載《倪柝聲文集》（第57冊：復刊敞開的門（卷二）、復刊復興報），頁71-143。
- [50] Phyllis Thompson, *China: The Reluctant Exodus, the Story of the China Inland Mission's Withdrawal from Communist China* (Littleton, Co.: OMF International, 2000), 97-99. 甚至「耶穌家庭」也是倪希望爭取合一的對象。（倪柝聲，〈抓住機會〉，頁237）

[51] *Report on the Little Flock...*, op. cit., 11, 20–21. Cited by Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, “Politics of Faith: Patterns of Church-State Relations in Maoist China (1949-1976),” *Historia Actual Online*, 17 (2008), 131-132.

[52] *Ibid.*, 18–21. Cited by Joseph Lee, 131-132.

[53] 江守道, 《倪柝聲生平簡史》

[54] Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, “Politics of Faith: Patterns of Church-State Relations in Maoist China (1949-1976),” *Historia Actual Online*, 17 (2008),

[55] 〈與港穗同工談話記錄(三)〉, 載《倪柝聲文集》第61冊: 主恢復中成熟的帶領(卷一), 頁37, 引自邢福增, 《反帝·愛國·屬靈人—倪柝聲與基督徒聚會處研究》[香港: 基督教中國宗教文化研究社, 2005], 頁28。

[56] 〈與港穗同工談話記錄(三)〉, 載《倪柝聲文集》第61冊: 主恢復中成熟的帶領(卷一), 頁XX。

[57] 王禁, 《新中國成立以來的宗教政策研究》(碩士論文, 廣東海洋大學, 2011), 頁12。

[58] 劉建平, 〈周恩來與建國初期中國基督教反帝愛國運動的發起〉, 《宗教學研究》(2012年第1期), 頁208-209。

[59] 即「洗腦」(brain washing)。Edward Hunter, *Brainwashing in Red China: The Calculated Destruction of Men's Mind* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1951); *Brainwashing: The Story of Men who Defied It* (New York: Farrar Rauscudahy, 1956); Robert Jay Lifton, *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism* (New York: Norton, 1969)。

[60] 馮客, 《解放的悲劇》, 頁195。早在1950年6月, 毛澤東就提出, 要在知識界開展自我改造的教育運動(參李楊, 〈建國後第一次思想改造運動的前前後後〉, 《中國社會導刊》[2004年第11期])。

[61] 馮客(Frank Dikötter), 《解放的悲劇: 中國革命史1945-1957》(*The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution*), 蕭葉譯, 初版(新北: 聯經, 2018), 頁172-73, 189-190。「整風運動」, 又稱作「延安整風」、「搶救運動」、「搶救失足者運動」。

[62] 高華, 《紅太陽是怎樣升起的: 延安整風運動的來龍去脈》(香港: 中文大學出版社, 2000), 頁XX, 引自馮客, 《解放的悲劇》, 頁172-73。

[63] <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/中共中央總學習委員會>, CREATING the INTELLECTUAL EDDY U CHINESE COMMUNISM AND THE RISE OF A CLASSIFICATION, <https://www.luminosoa.org/site/books/10.1525/luminos.68/download/2721/>

[64] 這些手段在1930年代肅AB團時已開始使用(陳永發, 《延安的陰影》, 頁3-5)。馮客, 《解放的悲劇》, 頁173。

[65] 陳永發, 《延安的陰影》(臺北: 中央研究院近代史研究所, 1990), 頁82-94。US Joint Publication research service. (1979). *China Report: Political, Sociological and Military Affairs*. Foreign Broadcast information Service. No ISBN digitized text March 5, 2007。崔敏, 《刑訊考論: 歷史現狀未來》Paperback – 31 Aug. 2011 Chinese edition

[66] 「洗澡」這個詞見於1952年1月22日發布的官方文件《關於宣傳文教部門應無例外地進行「三反」運動的指示》, 其中要求對於校長、教師, 「一般地說, 使這些人物在群眾鬥爭中洗洗澡, 享受自我批評的鍛煉, 拿掉架子, 清醒過來, 對他們和今後的工作都是有利的。」(《建國以來重要文獻選編》第3卷第49頁), 後又見於3月13日發布的《關於在高等學校中進行三反運動的指示》, 其中規定: 「每個教師必須在群眾面前進行檢討, 實行『洗澡』和『過關』。」; 另參徐來, 〈「洗澡」「紅色」知識話語的建構與推行: 以1951-1952年知識分子思想改造運動為例〉(博士論文, 香港浸會大學, 2016); 楊絳, 《洗澡》(人民大學出版社, 2004)。

[67] 陳輝, 〈1952年中國高等院校的院系調整——「以蘇聯為師」的後果〉, 《當代中國研究》, 第3期(2003) (<https://www.modernchinastudies.org/us/issues/past-issues/82-mcs-2003-issue-3/1309-1952-.html>)

[68] 毛的發言刊在, 〈中國人民政治協商會第一屆全國委員會第三次會議的開會詞〉, 《人民日報》(1951年10月24日), 第1版 (<https://cn.govopendata.com/renminribao/1951/10/24/1/#76001>) (http://big5.www.gov.cn/gate/big5/www.gov.cn/test/2008-02/20/content_894341.htm)。在毛發言的同一天, 《人民日報》發表短評, 〈認真展開高等學校教師中的思想改造學習運動〉 (<https://cn.govopendata.com/renminribao/1951/10/23/1/#75962>)。自此, 知識分子的思想改造運動進入高潮。

[69] 中共中央黨史研究室著: 《中國共產黨歷史》(第二卷)(1949-1978)(北京: 中共黨史出版社, 2011), 頁XX。 <https://www.dswxyjy.org.cn/BIG5/n1/2016/0122/c244520-28077377.html>

[70] 《建國以家毛澤東文稿》第2冊, 頁448、526(北京: 中央文獻出版社, 1988)

[71] 〈時任中央人民政府公安部長羅瑞卿, 把這毛澤東發動三大運動的目標和關係說得最清楚: 「抗美援朝是要打敗帝國主義的侵略; 土地改革是要徹底打倒封建勢力, 解放廣大農村的生產力; 而鎮壓反革命則是爭取抗美援朝、土地改革勝利的必要條件, 也是保衛國家和人民、鞏固政權和鞏固革命勝利、準備建設的必要條件」, 見〈有關堅決鎮壓反革命

的幾個認識問題（1951年4月4日），收入《羅瑞卿論人民公安工作》，頁59。原為〈堅決鎮壓反革命：羅瑞卿在中央人民政府所屬各機關幹部大會上的報告〉。

[72] 邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教<革新宣言>〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁116。

[73] 齊德學、鄧禮峰：〈抗美援朝運動的組織領導與開展〉，收入全國政協文史資料委員會編，〈支援抗美援朝紀實〉（北京：中國文史出版社，2000），頁4-6。引自邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教〈革新宣言〉〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁116-117。

[74] 邢福增：《基督教在中國的失敗？—中國共產運動與基督教史論》，增訂版（香港：道風書社，2012），頁78。

[75] 〈中央關於在全國進行時事宣傳的指示〉（1950年10月26日），載《中國共產黨宣傳工作文獻選輯（1949-1956）》，頁139。賀寶玉，〈抗美援朝戰爭初期北京的愛國主義教育運動〉，《河北民族師範學院學報》（2021）第3期。為了配合宣傳教育運動的展開，中共宣傳部門專門編寫了一本名為《怎樣認識美國（宣傳提綱）》的小冊子，刊在《人民日報》（1950年11月5日），第5版。（<https://cn.govopendata.com/renminribao/1950/11/5/5/#61637>）

[76] 馮客（Frank Dikötter），《解放的悲劇：中國革命史1945-1957》（*The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution*），蕭葉譯，初版（新北：聯經，2018），頁161-166。3月8日，外交部長周恩來發表〈嚴重抗議美國政府使用細菌武器屠殺中國人民、侵犯中國領空的聲明〉，指控美軍自1952年1月28日在朝鮮發動了大規模細菌戰，自2月29日起至3月5日止，先後以軍用飛機68批，448架次侵入中國東北領空，並在撫順、新民、安東、寬甸、臨江等地撒布大量傳播細菌的昆蟲，對臨江、長甸河口進行轟炸掃射。

[77] 〈嚴重抗議美國在朝鮮進行細菌戰的罪行〉，《天風》總303號（1952年3月1日），頁2。

[78] 馮客（Frank Dikötter），《解放的悲劇：中國革命史1945-1957》（*The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution*），蕭葉譯，初版（新北：聯經，2018），頁162-168。+《天風》

[79] 〈教育救濟機關及宗教團體的方針——郭副總理的報告〉，《協進月刊》第9卷第5期（1951年1月），頁5。〈接受外國津貼及外資經營之文化教育救濟機關及宗教團體登記條例〉，《協進月刊》第9卷第5期（1951年1月），頁6-7。// 一九五〇年十二月二十九日政務院第六十五次政務會議通過，根據一九五〇年十二月三十日《人民日報》刊印，<https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hant/中央人民政府政務院關於處理接受美國津貼的文化教育救濟機關及宗教團體的方針的決定。> //

[80] 〈擁護政務院處理方針——滬基督教界發表宣言〉、〈穗基督教界發表宣言〉，《協進月刊》第9卷第5期（1951年1月），頁8-10。

[81] 張錫康，〈張錫康回憶錄——上海地方教會六十年來的回顧〉（香港：光榮，2012），頁177-178。

[82] 例子有天津津沽天學三名天主教傳教士以間諜罪被捕，參〈天津逮捕三個美國間諜〉，《人民日報》（1951年4月6日）。

[83] 劉建平：〈虐嬰還是育嬰？——1950年代初育嬰堂問題〉，《二十一世紀》，107期（2008年6月）：67-77。〈調查聖嬰院收養棄嬰情形〉，廣州社會局（1946年9月10日）。

[84] 〈廣州聖嬰育嬰院殘害我兒童的罪行〉，《天風》總261號（1951年4月28日），頁9。

[85] William Buntain，參《聚會的生活》、《工作的再思》

[86] 江漢文：〈參加上海郊區土改中的幾點體會〉，《天風》總283-284號（1951年9月30日），頁10-13，20。

[87] 〈革新宣言簽名已近九萬〉，《天風》總247號（1951年1月20日），頁11。天風社：〈關於「中國基督教在新中國建設中努力的途徑」宣言簽名故事〉，《天風》總255號（1951年3月20日），頁12。

[88] 陳福中編，〈汪佩真傳〉，第十七章〈鼓嶺執事之家結束〉（黃得恩著），頁XX。

[89] 〈福州基督教抗美援朝三自革新運動委員會籌備處關於鼓嶺「基督教執事之家」破壞土改問題的調查報告〉，《天風》總298號（1952年1月19日），頁9。

[90] 楊奎松，〈新中國「鎮壓反革命」運動研究〉，《史學月刊》，期1（2006年），頁45-61。程昱豪，〈「鎮壓反革命」運動之研究（1950-1953）〉，碩士論文（國立中央大學，2016）（<https://etd.lib.nctu.edu.tw/cgi-bin/gs32/ncugswb.cgi/ccd=QI7U25/fulltextstdcdr?dbid=veVbHYaLHQX&dbpath=/opt/fb32/db/ncu/ncucdrf/&fuid=01&dbna=>）//「劉少奇與周恩來曾先後下令鎮壓「反革命」，但並未得到毛澤東的公開支持。直到1950年10月，毛澤東決定出兵抗美援朝，遂抓緊機會正式發動「鎮壓反革命」運動。運動初期，毛澤東尚強調鎮壓與寬大相結合的統戰策略，但是到了1951年1月，毛澤東不滿於各地鎮壓「反革命」的進度落後，特別是上海、南京等大、中城市執行不力，遂下令須按比例大殺一批。毛澤東下令，各地開始「鎮反」殺人競賽，部分地區甚至出現超額殺人，並反過來要求毛澤東提高比例。毛澤東驚覺運動失控，才下令將捕人批准權收回到地專一級，殺人批准權收回到省級，

並緊急召開第三次全國公安會議以貫徹命令，不過仍有部分地區出現趕殺的情況。1952年的第五次全國公安會議，羅瑞卿指示將「鎮反」重點轉向「反動」會道門。」//

[91] 〈中共中央關於鎮壓反革命活動的指示（1950年10月10日）〉，收入中共中央文獻研究室、中央檔案館「黨的文獻」編輯部編，《共和國走過的路——建國以來重要文獻專題選集》（北京：中央文獻出版社，1991），頁235-237。

[92] 1951年2月21日，政務院出臺《中華人民共和國懲治反革命條例》，指明鎮壓對象包括「匪首、慣匪、惡霸、特務、反動會門頭子」。

[93] 楊奎松，〈毛澤東與「鎮壓反革命」運動〉，收入陳永發主編，《兩岸分途：冷戰初期的政經發展》（台北：中央研究院近代史研究所，2006），頁31-76。引自邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教<革新宣言>〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁116。

[94] 羅瑞卿，〈必須堅決，準確地執行中央鎮壓反革命的指示〉（1950年10月19日），收公安部「羅瑞卿論人民公安工作」編輯組編，《羅瑞卿論人民公安工作》（北京：群眾出版社，1994）頁31。引自邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教<革新宣言>〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁117。

[95] 〈中華人民共和國懲治反革命條例〉，收《建國以來重要文獻選編》，冊2，頁44-46，引自邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教<革新宣言>〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁117。

[96] 毛澤東，〈關於對鎮壓反革命分子必須打得穩打得準打得狠的電報〉（1951年1月17日），收《共和國走過的路——建國以來重要文獻專題選集》，頁237-238，引自邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教<革新宣言>〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁117。

[97] 至1951年8月，上海市共登記了26896人。易慶瑤（主編），《上海公安志》（上海：上海社會科學院，1997），第二編懲治反革命罪犯，第二章鎮壓反革命運動，第一節（<https://www.shtong.gov.cn/difangzhi-front/book/detailNew?oneId=1&bookId=4476&parentNodeId=58351&nodeId=46220&type=-1>）。《上海公安志》由官方出版，按照歷史的軌跡，記述上海近百年以來警察歷史與現狀的專志。（<https://www.shtong.gov.cn/n87419/20210701/132990.html>）

[98] 毛澤東，〈關於鎮反部署給上海市委的電報〉（1951年1月21日），收《建國以來毛澤東文稿》，冊2，頁47。

[99] 易慶瑤（主編），《上海公安志》，第二編懲治反革命罪犯，第二章鎮壓反革命運動，第四節（<https://www.shtong.gov.cn/difangzhi-front/book/detailNew?oneId=1&bookId=4476&parentNodeId=58351&nodeId=46223&type=-1>）。

[100] 易慶瑤（主編），《上海公安志》，第二編懲治反革命罪犯，第二章鎮壓反革命運動，第五節（<https://www.shtong.gov.cn/difangzhi-front/book/detailNew?oneId=1&bookId=4476&parentNodeId=58351&nodeId=46224&type=-1>）。

[101] 〈徐子榮關於鎮反以來幾項主要數字的統計報告〉（1954年1月14日），轉引自楊奎松《中華人民共和國建國史研究》（1）（江西人民出版社，2009），頁217。

[102] 楊奎松，〈新中國「鎮壓反革命」運動研究〉。程昱豪，〈「鎮壓反革命」運動之研究（1950-1953）〉。

[103] 羅瑞卿，〈在第二次全國公安會議上的報告〉（1950年10月16日），收《羅瑞卿論人民公安工作》，頁27，引自邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教<革新宣言>〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁118。

[104] 〈上海宗教界擁護各黨派宣言，為爭取和平不惜犧牲一切，對帝國主義利用宗教進行反革命活動的罪行將及時予以揭露〉，《人民日報》（1950年11月12日）。，引自邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教<革新宣言>〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁118。

[105] 劉良模，〈帝國主義分子怎樣利用宗教侵略中國〉，《天風》總257號（1951年3月31日），頁3。，引自邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教<革新宣言>〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁118。

[106] 邢福增，《倪柝聲與基督徒聚會處研究》，頁32-36；關於吳耀宗起草革新宣言的過程，參邢福增：〈三自愛國運動的起源與發展（1949-1957）〉，收邢福增、梁家麟：《五十年代三自運動的研究》（香港：建道神學院，1996），頁32-39。

[107] 〈中共中央關於天主教、基督教問題的指示〉（1950年8月19日），載中共中央文獻研究室編：《建國以來重要文獻選編》（北京：中央文獻出版社，1992），第1冊，頁408-412：「在上述基本方針之下，我們正鼓勵基督教中有愛國心的分子吳耀宗等，簽名發表宣言，號召以逐漸脫離帝國主義的影響與經濟關係等，實行自治、自傳、自養為教會今後的目標。對於這個簽名運動，各地的黨政機關和人民團體應從旁予以適當的贊助，經過適當關係，組織有愛國心的教徒，簽名響應，並在教徒中進行宣傳。」（頁XX）。

[108] 19人包括：吳耀宗、鄧裕誌、劉良模、塗羽卿、崔憲詳、艾年三、趙紫宸、陸誌韋、江長川、王梓仲、高鳳山、龐輝亭、趙復三、凌俞秀、陳文潤、劉維誠、楊肖彭、鄧錫三、霍培修。吳耀宗：〈展開基督教革新運動的旗幟〉，羅冠宗編：《中國基督教三自愛國運動文獻（1950~1992）》（上海：中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會，1993），頁10。原文刊於《天風》第233-234號（1950年9月）。〈吳耀宗〉：〈基督教訪問團返滬〉，《天風》第217號（1950年6月），頁12。

[109] 又或簡稱作〈基督教宣言〉、〈三自宣言〉，參邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教〈革新宣言〉〉，《中央研究院近代史研究集刊》第56期（2005年6月），頁92。王禁，《新中國成立以來的宗教政策研究》（碩士論文，廣東海洋大學，2011），頁12-13。

[110] 在這三個主要團體之中，以耶穌家庭對新政權的態度最為積極。1950年，敬奠瀛帶領381名耶穌家庭成員和崔憲詳、朱大衛等一起簽名擁護《三自宣言》，人數居各宗派之首。該團體又積極參與政府組織的愛國運動，在韓戰中組織「中國基督教抗美援朝醫療隊」支援前線而獲得巨大聲譽。然而，儘管如此，它仍逃不過政府於1952年的取締。//其中耶穌家庭對新政權的態度最為積極，敬奠瀛帶領381名耶穌家庭成員和崔憲詳、朱大衛等一起簽名擁護「三自」宣言，人數居各宗派之首。又積極參與政府組織的愛國運動，在韓戰中組織「中國基督教抗美援朝醫療隊」支援前線而獲得巨大聲譽。//（註：<https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/耶穌家庭>）// 1950年，敬奠瀛帶領381名耶穌家庭成員和崔憲詳、朱大衛等一起簽名擁護《三自宣言》，人數居各宗派之首。//（註：<https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/敬奠瀛>），但縱然如此，仍逃不過政府於1952年的取締。

[111] 邢福增，《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁34-35。

[112] 田景福，〈有關宣言簽名的三個問題〉，《天風》總242號（1950年12月2日），頁2-3、朱友漁著，陳錫麟譯，《朱友漁自傳》（香港：基督教文藝出版社，1972），頁226-227，引自邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教〈革新宣言〉〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁107-108。

[113] 周福慶，〈控訴美國侵略工具趙世光〉，《天風》總270號（1951年6月30日），頁11；陸傳芳，〈在學習中認識三自，在工作中理解三自〉，收入上海市基督教兩會編，《上海基督教紀念三自愛國運動50週年神學思想建設研討會專輯》（上海：中國基督教兩會，2000），頁15-16，引自邢福增，〈反帝愛國與宗教革新-論中共建國初期的基督教〈革新宣言〉〉，《近代史研究集刊》第56期，頁108-109。

[114] 基督教聚會處編：〈我們的立場〉、〈對三自革新宣言〉。並見原省宗教處檔案157-2-56。黑龍江省地方志編纂委員會編：《黑龍江省·宗教志》（哈爾濱：黑龍江人民出版社，1999），頁270。網上版（<http://shuju.zglz.gov.cn/BookRead.aspx?BookID=201708230084>）

[115] 《吳耀宗日記》，1950年12月14日，12月29日，收全集（第四卷）？（<http://jloverseas.org/yzwu/>）

[116] 〈上海教會概況〉（1951年10月），甲件，頁3。引自《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁83註146。

[117] Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, "Politics of Faith: Patterns of Church-State Relations in Maoist China (1949-1976)," *Historia Actual Online*, No. 17 (October, 2008), 131. 李樹熙、周翠珊：〈毛澤東治下對基督教的洗腦〉，《洗腦——毛澤東和後毛時代的中國與世界》，宋永毅、夏明編（美國：華憶，2023），頁168。

[118] 邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁49。

[119] 中共中央文獻研究室編：《周恩來年譜（1949-1976）》上卷（北京：中央文獻出版社，1997），頁110。

[120] 〈中共中央關於積極推進宗教革新運動的指示〉（1951年3月5日），中共中央文獻研究室編：《中共中央文件選集》（北京人民出版社，2013），頁238-239。

[121] 〈中共中央關於積極推進宗教革新運動的指示〉（1951年3月5日），中共中央文獻研究室編：《中共中央文件選集》（北京人民出版社，2013），頁242。

[122] 朱越利主編：《今日中國宗教》（北京：今日中國出版社，1994），引自邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁49註50。當代中國研究所編：《中華人民共和國史編年》，1951年卷（北京：當代中國，2007），頁183，引自宋軍：《變局中的抉擇——中華全國基督教協進會歷史的終結（1949-1951）》（香港：基督教中國宗教文化研究社，2017），280。

[123] 邢福增：《基督教在中國的失敗？——中國共產運動與基督教史論》，增訂版（香港：道風書社，2012），頁81，85。

[124] 邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁50。

[125] 中流砥柱，第十一章新的歷程，181個差會的領袖開會。另有資料（德溶？）指31個教派的154名教會領袖參加會議。

[126] 《王明道日記》，1951年3月10日，14日，4月7日，4月13日，14日。王於4月7日收到政務院的邀請函。王長新，《又四十年》（多倫多：加拿大福音，2001），頁12-14。王長新指倪不僅來到了北京，還起草了一份通知，由北京協

和印刷局承印，通知聚會處的信徒都要擁護「三自會」。實際上，這並不準確，因為在全國基督教會議開始前，「三自會」（三自革新運動委員會）還未正式成立。作者的目的是引導出王明道接著對指控倪違背自己的教導去參加宗派的教會（頁XX-XX）。然而，作者誤解了「三自會」的性質，它並非一個宗派的教會而是一個由政府主導和監察，以宗教為名來完成政治任務為目標的組織。倪是以基督教團體代表的身份應邀。三自會成立後，倪也從沒有加入過其組織。作者引用王明道的評論是為了凸顯王才是真正反對三自會的「英雄」。事實上，當時與政府衝突的焦點，在於是否願意配合政府去執行不久由三自會所推動的全國性控訴運動。

[127] 邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁52。

[128] 〈出席會議代表名單〉，《人民日報》（1951年4月18日）。《天風》，總262-263期（1951年5月8日），頁3-5。

[129] 《天風》，總262-263號（1951年5月8日），頁1，6-10。

[130] 《天風》，總262-263號（1951年5月8日），頁1，6-10。

[131] 《天風》，總262-263號（1951年5月8日），頁2-3。

[132] 王禁碩論，頁12-13

[133] 《天風》，總262-263號（1951年5月8日），頁1-2。

[134] 趙天恩、莊婉芳，《當代中國基督教發展史（1949-1997）》，修訂初版（臺北：中福，2010），頁72。

[135] 沈德溶：《在三自工作五十年》，頁81。

[136] 這18個人是：崔憲詳（中華基督教會全國總會總幹事）、邵鏡三（南京中華基督教會總幹事）、沈德溶（《天風周刊》主編）、施中一（江浙基督教鄉村服務聯合會幹事）、施如璋（中華基督教女青年會全國協會學生部主任）、江長川（衛理公會華北年議會會督）、李牧群（重慶中華路德會牧師）、王重生（青島基督教聯合會書記）、王志堃（天津）、謝頌三（中華監理公會）、鈕志芳（杭州基督教協進會副會長）、陳見真（中華聖公會主教院主席主教）、胡翼雲（廣東基督教協進會總幹事）、胡祖蔭（廣學會義務總幹事）、王梓仲（華北公理會佈道牧師）、陳崇桂（重慶神學院院長）、江文漢（中華基督教青年會全國協會副總幹事）、喬維熊（天津基督教革新推進委員會）。

[137] 〈出席處理接受美國津貼的基督教團體會議的代表，控訴帝國主義利用宗教侵略中國〉，《人民日報》（1951年4月24日）<https://web.archive.org/web/20160304124152/http://libproject.hkbu.edu.hk/trsimage/christian/er00337.pdf>

[138] 沈德溶：〈參加一九五一年「北京會議」始末〉，氏著：《在三自工作五十年》（上海：上海市基督教兩會，2000），頁6-7。《天風》，總262-263期（1951年5月8日），頁30-31。趙天恩、莊婉芳，《當代中國基督教發展史（1949-1997）》，修訂初版（臺北：中福，2010），頁72-73。

[139] 顧十五歲中學畢業後，在上海當演員，1930年歸信基督，任自由傳道。（趙天恩、莊婉芳，《當代中國基督教發展史（1949-1997）》，頁73註74。）于力工：〈顧仁恩先生〉，《西方宣教運動與中國教會之興起（附中國傳道人史館）》（臺北：橄欖，2006），頁367-371。// 不少年前，遇到譚雅各牧師。他送我一本書，是他的自傳。附有見證，說他曾為海員，在將臨絕境的時候，經顧仁恩引他信主的。當然我不認識顧仁恩其人，但聽說是多年前上海電影界的英俊演員。濫姘了個女演員藍苹，後來被她丟棄，就起意投江自盡；忽然聽到教堂的歌声，被吸引走進去，听道信主得救悔改，奉獻成為佈道家高舉十字架，引領了不少人歸信基督，不少還作了傳道人。那位老牧師就是蒙恩者之一。而那藍苹呢，由藍變紅，成為毛主席的夫人，後來為“四人幫”的女幫主，努力迫害教會；結果幫了教會的大忙，信徒分散各處，造成了復興。江青被使用，像是神大計畫之中的小幽默，顯出神的全知和全能。//（〈神的仆人〉于中曼）

[140] 張樂：〈樣板：1951年基督教控訴運動中的顧仁恩事件〉，《華大史學研究》2016年2期：58-78頁。

[141] 〈顧仁恩事件的輿論反應〉，《天風》，總261期（1951年4月28日），頁12。〈短評—嚴懲特務〉，《天風》，總256期（1951年3月24日），頁2-3。〈青島市公安局逮捕顧仁恩〉，《青島日報》（1951年3月15日），轉載於《天風》，總256期（1951年3月24日），頁6-7。〈本刊邀請上海教會同道座談顧仁恩事件〉，《天風》總259號（1951年4月14日），頁6-7。該座談會於4月7日下午在上海基督教青年會舉行，由《天風》週刊主編沈德溶任主席，聲稱是旨在使一部分不明白的上海信徒，認識「顧仁恩的過去歷史」和表達對顧的「個人看法」。

[142] 〈短評：肅清宗教界的敗類〉，《北京日報》（1951年3月27日）收《對顧仁恩事件的評論》，《天風》總258號（1951年4月7日），頁8：「青島市顧仁恩事件教育了廣大的宗教信徒，使大家再一次地認識到：在宗教界中，確實還有些人，披着宗教的外衣，為帝國主義特別是美帝國主義作侵略工具。這是宗教界的取辱。從去年八月起，廣大愛國的基督教徒提出了自治、自養、自傳的革新行動綱領，決心斬斷與帝國主義的一切聯繫。一向利用教會作侵略工具的帝國主義者，特別是美帝國主義者和它們的走卒，自然不會甘心，他們想盡一切卑鄙的辦法，企圖破壞這個愛國運動。顧仁恩正是受他主子的指使來進行這個破壞活動的。」。宋軍：《變局中的抉擇—中華全國基督教協進會歷史的終結（1949-1951）》（香港：基督教中國宗教文化研究社，2017），278。

[143] 張樂：〈樣板：1951年基督教控訴運動中的顧仁恩事件〉，《華大史學研究》2016年2期：58-78頁。

- [144] 李常受：《今時代神聖啟示的先見—倪柝聲》，第18章，頁126。江守道，《倪柝聲》(pp.357-8, www.found-treasure.org/library%20pdf/ncc.pdf)。
- [145] 邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁101。
- [146] 〈開展基督教對美帝國主義的控訴運動〉，《人民日報》(1951年4月24日)，第1版。引自邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁59。
- [147] 〈中國基督教抗美援朝三自革新運動委員會籌委會第一次會議記錄〉，《天風》，總262-263期(1951年5月8日)，頁31。是次會議另一個議決是以《天風》為該會的機關刊物。(引自趙天恩、莊婉芳，《當中國基督教發展史》，頁74註98)。
- [148] 〈中國基督教抗美援朝三自革新運動委員會籌委會第一次會議記錄〉，《天風》，總262-263期(1951年5月8日)，頁31。是次會議另一個議決是以《天風》為該會的機關刊物。(引自趙天恩、莊婉芳，《當中國基督教發展史》，頁74註98)。
- [149] 吳耀宗：〈中國基督教的新生—出席「處理接受美國津貼的基督教團體會議」的感想〉，《天風》，總266期(1951年6月2日)，頁2。原載於《人民日報》(1951年5月25日)，第3-4版。
- [150] 劉建平：〈抗美援朝時期中國基督教界的控訴運動〉，《二十一世紀》，121期(2010年10月)，頁126。
<https://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/21c/media/articles/c121-200911011.pdf>
- [151] 如：應元道：〈控訴的宗教意義〉，《天風》，總265號(1951年5月26日)，頁248；陳崇桂：〈我控訴美帝利用宗侵略中國〉，《天風》，總264號(1951年5月19日)，頁229-31；陳崇桂：〈為甚麼要控訴？〉，《天風》，總267號(1951年6月9日，頁277-79)。(引自劉建平：〈抗美援朝時期中國基督教界的控訴運動〉，頁126註24。
- [152] 劉良模曾著《我所認識的美國》(上海：青年協會書局，1950)，此書周恩來總理當面的稱讚，以及《美國怎樣利用宗教侵略中國》(上海：青年協會書局，1951)。
- [153] 劉良模：〈怎樣開好教會控訴會？〉，《天風》，總264號(1951年5月19日)，頁5。劉文亦刊登於5月21日的《人民日報》(引自邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁59註81。)
- [154] 吳耀宗：〈全國基督教抗美援朝三自革新運動近況〉，《天風》，總270號(1951年6月30日)，頁314；〈中國基督教抗美援朝三自革新運動委員會籌備委員會成立後兩個月的工作報告〉，《天風》，總274號(1951年7月31日)，頁2；〈繼續展開並深入控訴運動〉，《天風》，總276號(1951年8月6日)，頁1。
- [155] 以50上海為例，第三章
- [156] 〈繼續展開深入控訴運動〉，《天風》，總276號(1951年8月11日)，頁1。
- [157] 劉建平：〈抗美援朝時期中國基督教界的控訴運動〉，頁128-9。
- [158] 〈中華全國基督教協進會控訴大會特輯〉，《天風》，總267號(1951年6月9日)，頁4-14。
- [159] 劉建平：〈抗美援朝時期中國基督教界的控訴運動〉，頁128-9，表1。〈上海基督教會及團體揭露美帝利用基督教侵略中國罪行控訴大會特輯〉，《天風》，總268-269號(1951年6月21日)，頁1-17。〈基督教舉行萬人控訴大會〉，《解放日報》(1951年6月12日)。
- [160] 萬人控訴大會由吳耀宗帶頭，然後各教派的教會領袖逐一上台控訴，參與者有：江長川(衛理公會)、鄧裕志(女青年會)、胡祖蔭(廣學會義務總干事)、徐華(安息日會會長)、吳永泉(基督徒學聯會)、賈玉銘(長老會)、楊紹唐(內地會)、竺規身(靈工團監督)、崔憲詳(中華基督教會)、吳高梓(中華全國基督教協進會)等人。
- [161] 吳耀宗：〈對美帝國主義利用基督教侵略中國的罪行的控訴〉，《天風》，總268-269號(1951年6月21日)，頁3-4。
- [162] 〈上海教會及團體舉行控訴大會—揭露美帝利用基督教侵略我國的罪行〉，《天風》，總268-269號(1951年6月21日)，頁2。
- [163] 〈我們要控訴！〉，《天風》，總268-269號(1951年6月21日)，頁1。
- [164] 《中流砥柱》，第17章，頁。參陳希曾：《曬熟的美果—倪柝聲的詩歌及其源考》，修訂版(美國：活道，2015)，頁309。
- [165] 張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》(香港：光榮，2012)，頁177。
- [166] 倪柝聲：《我是怎樣轉過來的？》(上海：上海教會，1951年10月)。張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》(香港：光榮，2012)，頁177-178。註：張的年分或許有誤，控訴運動的展開並非1950年而是1951年。
- [167] 倪柝聲：《我是怎樣轉過來的？》(上海：上海教會，1951年10月)。

- [168] 這三篇話題目是：（一）〈我是怎樣轉過來的〉（1951年8月20日），（二）我們對於政治所應有的態度（1951年8月2日），（三）走那一條路（1951年9月12日）。
- [169] 倪柝聲：《我是怎樣轉過來的？》（上海：上海教會，1951年10月）。
- [170] 張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》（香港：光榮，2012），頁177-178，510。
- [171] 張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》（香港：光榮，2012），頁177-178。
- [172] 張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》（香港：光榮，2012），頁178。
- [173] 根據吳維傳，蔡昭修的太太是虯江路第廿二家的一位家負責姊妹。吳維傳：《中國的以巴弗》，張雲妍、徐嘉徽編（台北：中福，2002），頁102-103。
- [174] 吳維傳：《中國的以巴弗》，張雲妍、徐嘉徽編（台北：中福，2002），頁103。
- [175] 《中流砥柱》，第17章：
- [176] 吳維傳：《中國的以巴弗》，張雲妍、徐嘉徽編（台北：中福，2002），頁101-105。張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》（香港：光榮，2012），頁178，511。
- [177] 吳維傳：《中國的以巴弗》，張雲妍、徐嘉徽編（台北：中福，2002），頁105-106。
- [178] 吳維傳：《中國的以巴弗》，張雲妍、徐嘉徽編（台北：中福，2002），頁108-112。
- [179] 倪柝聲：《我是怎樣轉過來的？》（上海：上海教會，1951年10月）。吳維傳：《中國的以巴弗》，張雲妍、徐嘉徽編（台北：中福，2002），頁111。
- [180] 沈德溶：〈發動信徒群眾，搞好控訴運動〉，《天風》，總280號（1951年9月8日），頁2。
- [181] 〈教會革新必須發動信徒群眾〉，《天風》，總299號（1952年1月26日），頁1。引自邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁60。
- [182] Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, "Politics of Faith: Patterns of Church-State Relations in Maoist China (1949-1976)," *Historia Actual Online*, No. 17 (October, 2008), 130.
- [183] 張錫康回憶錄，510。
- [184] 1957年，毛澤東將社會主義社會中的矛盾分為兩類：敵我矛盾和人民內部矛盾。敵我矛盾是對抗性矛盾，例如被剝削階級和剝削階級之間的矛盾；人民內部矛盾則是非對抗性的。按照處理是否得當，對抗性矛盾和非對抗性矛盾可能互相轉換。
- [185] 政務院文委宗教事務處編：〈基督徒聚會處「簡況」〉，《宗教情況通報》17號（1951年11月12日），頁1-3。轉引自邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁95註184。參政務院文委宗教事務處編：〈關於基督徒聚會處及倪柝聲的各種活動〉，《宗教情況通報》第23號（1952年4月17日），頁1-2。轉引自邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁86註157，96註186。
- [186] 〈福州基督教抗美援朝三自革新運動委員會籌備處關於鼓嶺「基督教執事之家」破壞土改問題的調查報告〉，《天風》，總298號（1952年1月19日），頁8-10。
- [187] 見在1951年9月，四名自稱「小群」的成員在南京大會上譴責倪柝聲是「反革命分子」、1951年10月30日《天風》，發表出一位署名南京「小群」教會信徒的攻擊倪個人的文章
- [188] 中流砥柱，第17章
- [189] 〈一零五二首詩歌〉（上海：上海福音書房，1952），第645首。參陳希曾：《曬熟的美果—倪柝聲的詩歌及其源考》，修訂版（美國：活道，2015），頁309-311，472。
- [190] 〈祝第一屆三自革新運動幹部學習班〉，《天風》，288（上海，1951年11月3日），頁2-3
- [191] 〈三自革新運動幹部學習班學習內容提要〉，《天風》，288（上海，1951年11月3日），頁4。
- [192] 〈中國人民政治協商會議全國委員會常務委員會關於展開各界人士思想改造的學習運動的決定〉，中共中央文獻研究室編：《建國以來重要文獻選編》第3冊（北京：中央文獻出版社，1992），頁11-13。
- [193] 該文件註1稱：「中國人民政治協商會議全國委員會常務委員會一九五二年一月五日通知內容如下，根據本會一九五一年十二月二十九日的指示，茲決定目前全國各界社會人士的思想改造的學習，即以反貪污、反浪費、反官僚主義為內容，以配合實際鬥爭，清除舊時代的遺毒，樹立新社會的道德，並為今後的經常學習奠定基礎。此項學習的時間定為兩個月。學習方法為學習文件、組織報告、展開批評和自我批評（包括檢舉和坦白）。學習文件定為《毛澤東同志論反對貪污浪費》，《人民日報》一月四日社論《在反貪污、反浪費、反官僚主義的偉大鬥爭中，發動群眾的關鍵何在？》和各大行政區各省市首長關於反貪污、反浪費、反官僚主義的報告。參加學習的人數愈多愈好，尤其要努力吸引工商界的廣大人士參加。務望各地協商機關迅速成立學習委員會，領導這個偉大的學習運動。」

- [194] 《建國以來毛澤東文稿》第2冊（北京：中央文獻出版社，1988），頁448，526。
- [195] 馮客 (Frank Dikötter)，《解放的悲劇：中國革命史1945-1957》 (*The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution*)，蕭葉譯，初版（新北：聯經，2018），頁179-182。
- [196] 張鳴，〈執政的道德困境與突圍之道—「三反五反」運動解析〉，頁48。
- [197] 張鳴，〈執政的道德困境與突圍之道—「三反五反」運動解析〉，《二十一世紀》，92期（2005年12月），頁47。
- [198] 〈對中華人民共和國懲治貪污條例草案說明稿的批語和修改〉，收入中共中央文獻研究室編：《建國以來毛澤東文稿》，第3冊，頁411。
- [199] 〈中共中央關於精兵簡政、增產節約、反對貪污、反對浪費和反對官僚主義的決定〉（1956年12月1日），收入中共中央文獻研究室編：《建國以來重要文獻選編》，第2冊，頁471-485。〈中共中央於「三反」鬥爭必須大張旗鼓地進行的指示〉（1956年12月8日），收入中共中央文獻研究室編：《建國以來重要文獻選編》，第2冊，頁500-501。
- [200] 張鳴，〈執政的道德困境與突圍之道—「三反五反」運動解析〉，頁48。
- [201] 《洗腦的歷史》，157-159。
- [202] 馮客 (Frank Dikötter)，《解放的悲劇：中國革命史1945-1957》 (*The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution*)，蕭葉譯，初版（新北：聯經，2018），頁182-83，185。張鳴，〈執政的道德困境與突圍之道—「三反五反」運動解析〉，頁48。
- [203] 謝泳：〈1949年至1976年間中國知識分子及其它階層自殺現象之剖析〉，《當代中國研究》，2001年第3期。
<https://www.modernchinastudies.org/cn/issues/past-issues/74-mcs-2001-issue-3/582-19491976.html>
- [204] 鄭維偉：〈權力轉移與組織調適：上海「五反」運動淺析〉，《二十一世紀》，頁84。
- [205] 〈上海部分區五反中曾發生左傾混亂現象 市委發現後已很快予以糾正〉，《內部參考》，第80號（1952年4月11日），頁99。轉引自鄭維偉：〈權力轉移與組織調適：上海「五反」運動淺析〉，《二十一世紀》，頁78，85。
- [206] 〈愛國愛教的基督徒積極參加「三反」與「五反」運動〉，《天風》，總300號（1952年2月9日），頁1。
- [207] 〈在發動信徒參加「三反」「五反」運動中的思想問題〉，《天風》，總301號（1952年2月16日），頁1。〈上海各教會積極發動信徒投入「三反」與「五反」運動〉，《天風》，總301號（1952年2月16日），頁2。
- [208] 〈上海伯特利醫院發現「大老虎」〉，《天風》，總302號（1952年2月23日），頁1。〈上海才記鋸木廠資本家李能才腐蝕和陷害工人〉，《天風》，總302號（1952年2月23日），頁2。
- [209] 〈上海伯特利醫院發現「大老虎」〉，《天風》，總302號（1952年2月23日），頁1。
- [210] 《五十年代控訴運動研究—以上海為中心》，第四章，頁73-74。
- [211] 《五十年代控訴運動研究—以上海為中心》，第四章，頁74。
- [212] 郭榮剛、張恩強，〈生化藥廠與抗日戰爭〉，《佳木斯教育學院學報》05（2014），頁420-421。
- [213] 郭榮剛、張恩強，〈生化藥廠與抗日戰爭〉，《佳木斯教育學院學報》05（2014），頁420-421。參上海市地方志辦公室--專業志--上海醫藥志--第一編行業--第二章化學製藥行業--第二節企業
- [214] 李常受：《今時代神聖啟示的先見》，頁98-99。見倪內弟張宜綸（倪妻張品蕙的弟弟）的見證，張是惟一在倪作生意期間從始至終和倪一起的人（從1938至1949年）（頁99-101）。
- [215] 李常受：《今時代神聖啟示的先見》，頁99。1950年4月，倪以教會名義集資舊人民幣8.6億元，在漂陽路開辦翠華化工廠有限公司（上海市地方志辦公室--專業志--上海化學工業志--第二篇行業企業--第二章企業--第三節中型企業）
- [216]
- [217] 〈詭詐的盜竊〉，上海市基督教三自愛國運動委員會編：《學習通訊》第3期（1956年2月29日），頁1。陳說如：〈他們壓迫我們工人〉，上海市基督教三自愛國運動委員會編：《學習通訊》第3期（1956年2月29日），頁2。轉引自邢福增：《反帝·愛國·屬靈人》，頁92-93。
- [218] 《中流砥柱》，第17章。
- [219] 〈上海市人民檢察院起訴書〉，《天風》總498號（1956年2月6日），頁9-10。原載2月1日上海《解放日報》。
- [220] 丁抒：《陽謀—反右派運動始末》（開放雜誌社，2006）Cerritos Library 43 miles from your current location. 18025 Bloomfield Ave, Cerritos, CA, 90703 8578, United States
- [221] 〈中南局宣傳部關於中南各級學校三反運動問題給中央的報告及中央批示〉（1952年5月23日），收中共中央文獻研究室編：《中共中央文件選集》（第8冊），頁364。<https://banned-historical-archives.github.io/articles/422ec55e18>

- [222] 《中流砥柱》，第17章，頁239。轉引自《50年代控訴運動》，頁75。
- [223] (A brief introduction to the Virgin Mary's Army and the Way of the Celestial Masters is provided below.)
- [224] 〈中南局宣傳部關於中南各級學校三反運動問題給中央的報告及中央批示〉（1952年5月23日），收中共中央文獻研究室編：《中共中央文件選集》（第8冊），頁364。<https://banned-historical-archives.github.io/articles/422ec55e18>
- [225] 〈中央批轉華東局宣傳部關於上海第二批高等學校「三反」運動情況報告〉（1952年7月）。內部報告。
<https://banned-historical-archives.github.io/articles/99b55bae22>
- [226] 〈中央關於教會革新運動不用三反作口號的指示〉（1952年8月）。內部報告。
<https://banned-historical-archives.github.io/articles/2a941ec063>
- [227] Melissa Wei-Tsing Inouye, *China and the True Jesus: Charisma and Organization in a Chinese Christian Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 191.
- [228] 有學者認為，肅反運動的起始時間，應該是1951年5月，而不是1955年7月。至於大規模肅反運動從1955年7月正式發動，於1960年9月結束，可分為以下三個階段：（一）肅反運動的發動（1955年7月—1956年12月）、（二）肅反運動的高潮（1956年12月—1958年12月），以及（三）肅反運動的結束（1958年12月至1960年9月）（王小平，〈五十年代肅反運動的來龍去脈探究〉，西部學刊）
- [229] 「1955年7月1日，中共中央發出《關於展開鬥爭肅清暗藏的反革命分子的指示》。《指示》基於當時對國內階級鬥爭狀況的嚴重估計，認為“在很多部門，在很多地方，大量暗藏的反革命分子是還沒有揭露和肅清的”，決定在全國範圍內開展一場肅清暗藏反革命分子的運動，同時要求將審干工作與肅反鬥爭密切結合進行。按照中央的部署，全國黨政機關和群眾團體機關，高等學校和幹部學校，中小學（不包括學生），軍隊，國營、合作社營和公私合營的企業，均須進行肅清暗藏反革命分子的運動。從1955年下半年起，內部肅反運動在全國範圍內展開，分批進行，到1957年底基本結束。」（中國中共黨史學會編，《中國共產黨歷史系列辭典》[中共黨史出版社、黨建讀物出版社，2019]）（<https://baike.baidu.com/item/內部肅反運動（1955年7月1日—1957年底）/56666957>）
- [230] 〈關於展開鬥爭肅清暗藏的反革命分子的指示〉（1955年7月1日）。
- [231] 〈關於徹底肅清暗藏的反革命分子的指示〉（1955年8月25日），《建國以來重要文獻選編》（第七冊）（中央文獻出版社，1993），頁141。
- [232] 沈志華主編：《俄羅斯解密檔案選編·中蘇關係》（東方出版中心2015年1月出版）。《尤金與陸定一會談紀要：介紹中國政治運動的狀況》（1955年10月22日）的附件《與中共中央宣傳部部長陸定一的會談紀要》（見第六卷，第73～80頁，下同），引自朱正：〈陸定一和尤金談肅反運動〉，載《炎黃春秋》第9期（2015）。
- [233] 《天風》周刊26 - 27期社論：《加強團結，明辨是非》，1955年7月11日。
- [234] 〈中央十人小組轉發山西省委十人小組對基督教「小羣」分子政策界限的解釋〉（1956年6月9日），收《肅反運動政策界限文件彙集》（缺出版地，1956），21。
- [235] 〈中央十人小組轉發山西省委十人小組對基督教「小羣」分子政策界限的解釋〉（1956年6月9日），收《肅反運動政策界限文件彙集》（缺出版地，1956），22。
- [236] 沈志華主編：《俄羅斯解密檔案選編·中蘇關係》（東方出版中心2015年1月出版）。《尤金與陸定一會談紀要：介紹中國政治運動的狀況》（1955年10月22日）的附件《與中共中央宣傳部部長陸定一的會談紀要》（見第六卷，第73～80頁，下同），引自朱正：〈陸定一和尤金談肅反運動〉，載《炎黃春秋》第9期（2015）。
- [237] 中華人民共和國公安部編：《反革命分子和其他刑事犯罪分子罪證展覽會材料彙編》（缺出版地，1957年10月），頁2。
- [238] 主管全國公共安全工作的組成部門。公安部前身是1949年10月成立的中央人民政府公安部，1954年9月改為現名。
- [239] 於1955年8月由「中華人民共和國公安部第一局（政治保衛局）」編印的內部文件（共21頁）。文件上面有署名「羅」，可能為時任公安部部長羅瑞卿（1906-1978）。羅為中國人民解放軍十大將軍之一。1949年10月15日至1954年9月29日期間任政務院政務委員，兼北京市公安局局長，1954年9月29日至1959年9月17日任中華人民共和國公安部部長、公安軍司令員兼政委。1955年9月27日獲授「公安軍大將」。（參<https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/羅瑞卿>，[183](https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/中國人民解放軍大將、《羅瑞卿傳》編寫組. 羅瑞卿傳. 北京: 當代中國出版社. 2007. 羅瑞卿—新中國第一任公安部長 羅瑞卿. 陶駟駒 主編 群眾出版社）</p>
<p>[240] 中華人民共和國公安部第一局編，〈基督徒聚會處（小群）概況〉，1。</p>
<p>[241] 中華人民共和國公安部第一局編，〈基督徒聚會處（小群）概況〉，3。</p>
<p>[242] 中華人民共和國公安部第一局編，〈基督徒聚會處（小群）概況〉，4。</p>
<p>[243] 中華人民共和國公安部第一局編，〈基督徒聚會處（小群）概況〉，5-6。</p>
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- [244] 中華人民共和國公安部第一局編，〈基督徒聚會處（小群）概況〉，9-16。
- [245] 中華人民共和國公安部第一局編，〈基督徒聚會處（小群）概況〉，16-21。
- [246] 中華人民共和國公安部第一局編，〈基督徒聚會處（小群）概況〉，21。
- [247]
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- [252] 參《徹底肅清潛藏在「基督徒聚會處」內反革命分子》。沈德溶：《在三自工作五十年》（上海：上海市基督教兩會，2000），頁77-78。
- [253] 參張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，190。
- [254] 張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，212-213。
- [255] 〈破獲隱藏在「上海基督徒聚會處」內倪柝聲反革命集團〉，《天風》總498號（1956年2月6日），頁5。張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，188。
- [256] 俞崇架：《俞成華醫生軼事》，376-377，引自邢福增，131-132。
- [257] 左弗如：〈神在我的軟弱上顯明了祂的大能〉，原刊於《上海基督徒聚會處通訊》第1期（1956年5月），由南陽路聚會處「信徒學習委員會」出版，收張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，191-195。據張錫康記述，左弗如患了癌症，臨終時表示：「我很後悔，我給弟兄姊妹領錯了路。」（頁195）。
- [258] 張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，189。
- [259] 易慶瑤（主編），《上海公安志》（上海：上海社會科學院，1997），第二十編人物，第一章人物傳略，許建國：「1952年1月後，許建國任公安部副部長、華東軍政委員會公安部部長兼上海市公安局局長、中共中央華東局常委、中共上海市委常委、副市長、政法部部長、上海市人民檢察署檢察長、上海警備區政委。1956年，任中共上海市委書記處書記，分管政法、黨群、外事等工作。許建國在上海工作期間，十分重視提高公安幹警的政治素質，要求搞好警風和警民關係。1952年夏，他領導開展整頓組織和警風的工作，對犯有利用職權敲詐勒索、包庇犯罪分子、腐化墮落、侮辱婦女等「六害」的人員進行集中清理，純潔了組織。同年7月，許建國兼任上海市肅清毒品委員會主任，開展禁煙肅毒運動，消除了舊社會遺留下來的煙毒禍害，使上海成為無毒的城市之一。許建國在貫徹執行中央的指示中，十分重視嚴格依法辦事，力求把保護人民的合法權益和穩、準、狠地打擊犯罪分子結合起來。他在幹部中反復強調「要做到防錯防漏，不枉不縱」；「政法幹部手中握有生殺予奪之權，決不允許草率辦案」。1956年夏，他根據中央部署，親自檢查清理積案的工作，糾正了一批錯案，從而減少和避免了冤錯案件的發生。「文化大革命」中，許建國遭受迫害，被關押秦城監獄。由於長期關押和摧殘，1975年5月出獄時已身心憔悴，1977年10月4日病逝於安徽省合肥市。1980年3月，中共中央為許建國平反昭雪。」（<https://www.shtong.gov.cn/difangzhi-front/book/detailNew?oneId=1&bookId=4476&parentNodeId=58550&nodeId=46545&type=-1>）
- [260] 易慶瑤（主編），《上海公安志》（上海：上海社會科學院，1997），第二編懲治反革命罪犯，第四章打擊以宗教作掩護的反革命分子。
- [261] 〈上海市二千五百基督徒集會揭露倪柝聲反革命集團〉，《天風》總498號，11-13，18。邢福增，《》，132。張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，189。
- [262] 《解放日報》（2月2日）第X版。許梅驪：〈我控訴〉，《天風》總499號（1956年2月20日），11-12。
- [263] 張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，189。
- [264] 張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，189。
- [265] 《解放日報》（2月1日）第1版。張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，189。
- [266] 《解放日報》（2月3日）第1版。
- [267] 《解放日報》（2月3日）第1版。張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，189。
- [268] 張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄》，200。
- [269] 包括：2月3日〈解放日報〉又登載所謂「交出來」運動是一個大騙局。這篇文章是一個筆名「阿章」的人寫的。弟兄姊妹看了文章都知道這是知道內情的人寫的，或者就是我們自己的弟兄，但是許多記載都不符合事實。2月5日登載何廣明的母親李蟠珠一篇控訴稿〈還我被騙去台灣的兒子〉。

[270]

[271]

[272] 邢福增, 133。

[273] 〈解除顧慮, 勇敢揭發!〉, 《學習通訊》第2期(1956年2月22日), 頁1。引自邢福增, 133。

[274] 〈消息〉, 《學習通訊》第1期(1956年2月8日), 頁1。引自邢福增, 133。

[275] 〈本市基督徒聚會設全體信徒集會, 控訴倪柝聲反革命集團罪行〉, 《學習通訊》第3期(1956年2月29日), 頁1。引自邢福增, 133。

[276] 上海市地方志辦公室編, 《上海公安志》, 第二編, 第四章:

<https://www.shtong.gov.cn/difangzhi-front/book/detailNew?oneId=1&bookId=4476&parentNodeId=59921&nodeId=46226&type=-1>。〈全市同道參觀倪柝聲反革命集團罪證展覽會〉, 《學習通訊》第2期(1956年2月22日), 頁1。〈外埠同道來上海, 參觀倪柝聲反革命集團罪證展覽會〉, 《學習通訊》第3期(1956年2月29日), 頁1。

[277] 張錫康: 《張錫康回憶錄》, 199。

[278] 張錫康: 《張錫康回憶錄》, 513。

[279] 董必武, 〈关于肃清一切反革命分子问题的报告〉(1956年1月31日)

https://www.gov.cn/test/2008-02/20/content_894766.htm, 刊登在《人民日报》(1956年2月1日)第4版。

[280] 《人民日報》(1956年2月2日), 第3版 <https://cn.govopendata.com/renminribao/1956/2/2/3/#135890>

[281] 《人民日報》(1956年2月7日), 第7版 <https://cn.govopendata.com/renminribao/1956/2/7/7/#136202>

[282] 包括: 當時上海第二醫學院的許梅驪、上海交通大學的張主懷、上海中山醫院的劉約翰、上海生化藥廠的范在甲、翠華化工廠的顧吉成, 以及以琳印刷所的陳說如。(張錫康: 《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》, 第19章, (四), 頁XX)

[283] (邢)

[284] 曹, 70。

[285] 曹, 70。

[286] 根据许梅骊在《警钟长鸣》一书中自述, 她是1947年9月27日在上海的文德里受浸, 参加地方教会的, 那时她高中二年级。(第一篇: 关于许梅骊和她的两本书) <http://www.jdt365.net/post/1408.html>

[287] 林向途

[288] 《曹聖潔的口述》, 28。根据曹口述, 圣约翰大学(St. John's Christian Fellowship, 简称SJCF)的学生中也有由基督徒聚会設的青年骨干组成的团契。这个团契的活动场所是借用了SJCF的活动室, 它没有具体的名称, 也没有张贴公告, 而是透過個別通知。这团契的负责人主要是医学院的学生, 男负责人是俞崇信, 他是上海教會長老俞成華的儿子, 女负责人是许梅驪, 她后来在控诉运动中「揭发」了许多事情。

[289] (許, 第十章)

[290] <http://www.jdt365.net/post/1408.html>

雖然《中华人民共和国宪法》第三十七条规定: “中华人民共和国公民的人身自由不受侵犯, 但「隔离审查」是中华人民共和国司法在1994年之前对公职人员的一种措施, 完全限制了人身自由, 。此措施在“文化大革命”中到处盛行。之後, 「隔离审查」逐渐被“双规”取代。(<https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-hant/隔离审查>)

[291] 難混歲月

[292] <http://jdt365.net/post/183.html> 第二十三章「文化大革命」时期弟兄姊妹的情况(1966年到1976年) (張錫康: 《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》, 光榮出版社, 2012, 10初版, 第257-286頁。)

[293] <http://jdt365.net/post/183.html> 第二十三章「文化大革命」时期弟兄姊妹的情况(1966年到1976年) (張錫康: 《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》, 光榮出版社, 2012, 10初版, 第257-286頁。)

[294] 林向途

[295] 陳福中, 頁XX。許梅驪向秉衡解除婚約後, 高娶了陳福中的二妹陳秀美為妻。<http://jdt365.net/post/183.html> 第二十三章「文化大革命」时期弟兄姊妹的情况(1966年到1976年) (張錫康: 《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》, 光榮出版社, 2012, 10初版, 第257-286頁。)

[296] <http://jdt365.net/post/183.html> 第二十三章「文化大革命」时期弟兄姊妹的情况(1966年到1976年) (張錫康: 《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》, 光榮出版社, 2012, 10初版, 第257-286頁。)

- [297] 张锡康：《张锡康回忆录—上海地方教会六十年来的回顾》，光荣出版社，2012，10初版，第213页。
- [298] 《難民》第十二章
- [299] 林向途
- [300] 林向途
- [301] 曹，70，林向途
- [302] 許在該書中，雖然沒有明確標明引用梁的研究，全書卻處處包含了與梁的著作極度吻合的研究依據。
- [303] 曹，70。
- [304] 見於 (1)：〈我控訴〉《天風》(總499號)(1956年2月20日)，第11-12頁，原載上海《解放日報》(1956年2月2日)；(2)〈起來，揭露這批豺狼！—上海基督徒聚會處信徒憤怒控訴倪柝聲反革命集團—〉《天風》(總499號)(1956年2月20日)，第12-14頁；(3)〈訪許梅驪〉《天風》(總500號)(1956年2月29日)，第8-10頁；〈許梅驪在中國人民政治協商會議上海市第一屆委員會第二次全體會議上的發言〉，載《解放日報》(1956年4月15日)。
- [305]
- [306] 1950年代上海 - 維基百科
- [307] <http://jdt365.net/post/187.html> 第十九章 上海基督徒聚會處經過肅反運動的情形 (張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》，光榮出版社，2012，10初版，第187-227頁。) (四) - (六) 頁XX。
- [308] 〈本市基督徒聚會處信徒們組成了學習委員會〉，《學習通訊》第4期(1956年3月19日)，頁1。
<http://jdt365.net/post/187.html> 第十九章 上海基督徒聚會處經過肅反運動的情形 (張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》，光榮出版社，2012，10初版，第187-227頁。) (四) - (六) 頁XX。
- [309] 張錫康、左弗如、張主懷：〈上海基督徒聚會處近訊〉，《天風》總504號(1956年5月14日)，頁28。
- [310] 本市基督徒聚會處信徒們組成了學習委員會，《學習通訊》第4期(1956年3月19日)，頁1。
- [311] 南陽路聚會處「信徒學習委員會」一共出了八期《通訊》，從5月24日第一期到1957年12月29日第八期止。
- [312] 1939年12月，上海福音書房出版了唐醒(唐守臨)和袁周潔民翻譯的節譯本，受到中國基督徒的歡迎。到1947年已經增印到第8版。(https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E8%8D%92%E6%BC%A0%E7%94%98%E6%B3%89)〈李更新同道的發言(摘要)〉，《天風》總502號(1956年4月16日)，頁13。(《天風》)
- [313] 〈補選委員名單〉，《天風》總502號(1956年4月16日)，頁16。〈中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會第二次全體委員(擴大)會議出席名單〉，《天風》總502號(1956年4月16日)，頁17。〈中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會第二次全體委員(擴大)會議列席名單〉，《天風》總502號(1956年4月16日)，頁18-20。
- [314] 其中劉約翰是中山醫院的醫生，新的長老：許梅驪是青年代表；喬靜文是家庭婦女，信徒代表(曹，78-79)
- [315]
- [316] 張錫康、左弗如、張主懷：〈上海基督徒聚會處近訊〉，頁28。引自邢，136。
- [317] 黃守奉：〈基督徒聚會處站起來了〉，《天風》總503號(1956年4月30日)，頁33。
- [318] 《解放日報》(1956年4月15日) (https://digital.lib.hkbu.edu.hk/newsclipping/search.php?language=sc&categories=NCB*&starts=1050) 1
- [319] 上海宗教志 >> 第五編基督教 >> 第二章 團體 >> 第二節 上海市基督教三自愛國運動委員會，頁460。〈上海基督教三自愛國運動委員會〉，1955年3月17日，上海市基督教三自愛國運動委員會籌備委員會成立，同年4月25日至29日舉行上海市基督教第一屆代表會議，正式成立上海市基督教三自愛國運動委員會(以下簡稱“上海三自”)。第一屆三自主席為陳見真、秘書長為羅冠宗，第二屆主席為謝永欽、秘書長為羅冠宗。
https://mzzj.sh.gov.cn/2021jdt_shjdszagydywh/index.html
- [320] 張錫康在大會後寫了一篇文章〈我參加了上海市基督教青年大會的體會〉，刊登在「信徒學習委員會」的〈通訊〉第四期中。<http://jdt365.net/post/187.html> 第十九章 上海基督徒聚會處經過肅反運動的情形 (張錫康：《張錫康回憶錄—上海地方教會六十年來的回顧》，光榮出版社，2012，10初版，第187-227頁。) (六) 頁XX。第二十一章 上海基督徒聚會處南陽路會所捐獻給國家，並入懷恩堂成立聯合禮拜(1958年) <http://jdt365.net/post/185.html>
- [321] 曹，57。
- [322] 閻迦勒，〈中國基督徒在一條光明的康莊大道上〉，《人民日報》(1957年3月19日)
- [323] 張化：〈聯合禮拜：中國基督教會兩次抉擇的成果〉《金陵神學志》2019年02期，58-81。
<http://www.juqk.net/tougao/qikan-46954.html>

[324] 審理過程登載在《通訊》第三期中，由《天風》雜誌的記者“井谷”署名的報道標題為《審理倪柝聲旁聽記》，載於XX期，第28-29頁。

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[326] 難民歲月、警鐘長鳴

[327] 《當「洗腦」統治了我們》，173。謝泳：〈思想改造運動的起源〉。

[328] 邢福增：〈三自愛國運動的起源與發展（1949-1957）〉，收邢福增、梁家麟：《五十年代三自運動的研究》（香港：建道神學院，1996），頁53-54。// 據統計，在「鎮壓反革命運動」被判死刑者約二百萬人；在「五反運動」中五百名資本家判死刑，三萬多人判徒刑（頁53，註110-111）//；肅反？

[329] // 期間，造成了諸多冤假錯案，有許多資本家和商人被迫害自殺，亦有許多人士被處決或折磨致死，中國大陸資產階級走向消亡，僅在上海一地，從1月25日至4月1日的不完全統計，因運動而自殺者就達到了876人，平均每天的自殺人數幾乎都在10人以上//。[12][13]，<https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-hans/三反五反运动>，[3][10][12][13][14]

楊奎松，《中國人民共和國建國史研究》（江西人民出版社，2009）

[330] //期間全國共造成140多萬知識分子和幹部被迫害，21.4萬人被捕，2.2萬人被槍決，總共死亡5.3萬人。// 註：

<https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-hans/肅清暗藏的反革命分子運動>[13][4][5][6][7][10]。肅清暗藏的反革命分子運動，簡稱「肅反運動」），是中國共產黨在1955年發動的一場政治運動，目標是肅清中共、政府、軍隊中的反革命分子。潘漢年案

[331] 控訴者（被洗腦者）的自我描述經歷，可參崔憲詳：〈我對於控訴的一點經驗和體會〉，《天風》，總261期（1954年5月19日），頁4。劉清芳：〈我認清了顧仁恩的反動面目〉，《天風》，總265期（1951年5月26日），頁1，3。朱光朝：〈我參加政治學習後的感想〉，《天風》，總265期（1951年5月26日），頁5。

[332] 《當洗腦統治了我們—思想控制的技術》（），193-196。

[333] 《當洗腦統治了我們—思想控制的技術》（），255。

[334] 〈上海耶穌家庭革新經過〉，《天風》總號366（1953年5月18日），頁287。

[335] 《天風》（總號364）（1953年5月4日）〈掃除污穢 潔淨聖殿〉，253-5。

[336] 〈教會消息〉，《天風》總268-269號（1951年6月21日），頁19。

[337] 〈教會消息〉，《天風》總268-269號（1951年6月21日），頁19。

[338] 邵瓊：〈揭露馬兆瑞的罪惡〉，《天風》總286號（1951年10月12日），頁8-10。

[339] 〈鄭州市基督教浸禮會教友控訴美帝暴行及其走狗董子成罪行大會宣言〉：《天風》總286號（1951年10月12日），頁11。

[340] 〈南京市泰東孤兒院孤兒控訴教會惡霸王克己—人民法院接受人民要求，將王犯予以逮捕〉，《天風》總291號（1951年11月24日），頁4。

[341] 李文蔚相信政府對敬的性道德指控也是真確的：「當時被揭露有淫亂罪名的，只有兩個，就是聚會處的倪柝聲和耶穌家庭的敬慕瀛。原因無他，就是因為這兩個人確實都有這樣的行為，而倪的犯罪情節尤較敬為嚴重。」，然而，許卻是不相信敬，但相信倪（《難民》）：「」。

[342] 宋永毅，《洗腦》，IV。

[343] 亦稱「雙規」，是中國共產黨在進行紀律檢查方面調查的一個措施，是指共產黨黨員在接受檢察機關調查前的黨內調查和限制人身自由。根據《中國共產黨紀律檢查機關案件檢查工作條例》中第二十八條第一款第三項，“要求有關人員在規定的時間、地點就案件所涉及的問題作出說明”，期間不能和外界聯繫。然而，雙規對象沒有限制為黨員，只要跟案件有關的黨員和非黨員都可以進行雙規調查。直到2005年發布《7號文件》和《28號文件》，才進一步明確雙規對象必須是黨員。（中國行政評論 第26卷第1期 The Chinese Public Administration Review Vol.26 No.1 March 2020.71-101, DOI:10.6635/cpar.202003_26(1).000471, <中國大陸反腐措施問題與改革之研究—從雙規到留置>, 陳銘聰）

[344] 難民歲月，頁99。（A better retranslation from original Chinese）

[345] 難民歲月，頁104。

[346] 難民歲月，頁105-106。

[347] 比較的例子，《》，頁

[348] 梁時為建道神學院副院長，院長為張慕愷，討好院長和中國共產黨（Sam Nee's Interview, 01/24/2024）

[349] 于中旻、倪徐恩秀、陳終道、吳主光、周子堅，《對再批鬥倪柝聲的平議》（香港：金燈臺，2004）。https://goldenlampstand.org/books/GL129/GL129_Nee_Full.pdf

[350] 梁家麟：《倪柝聲的榮辱升黜》（2003），頁31。

[351] 參于中旻、倪徐恩秀、陳終道、吳主光、周子堅：《對再批鬥倪柝聲的平議》（香港：金燈臺，2004）。

[352] 參David F. Bjorklund (ed.), *False-Memory Creation in Children and Adults: Theory, Research, and Implications* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000)和Martin A. Conway (ed.), *Recovered Memories and False Memories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)。

[353] Elizabeth Loftus and Katherine Ketcham, *The Myth of Repressed Memory: False Memories and Allegations of Sexual Abuse* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1994)。

[354] 奧立佛·薩克斯 (Oliver Sacks) 《意識之川流：薩克斯優游於達爾文、佛洛伊德、詹姆斯的思想世界》 (The River of Consciousness) ，楊玉齡譯 (2018) 。<https://bookzone.cwgv.com.tw/article/13541>

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[356] 梁任建道神學院的上一任院長為張慕暄牧師 (1980-2005) ，梁於2005年9月開始接續張任建道院長至2018年。

[357] Tertullian, "Apology," ch. 50, in *Anti-Nicene Fathers*, trans. Sydney Thelwall, edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, N.Y.: Christian Literature Publishing, 1885), 3:55.

[358] Clark M. Patrick, "Translator's Preface," in Servais Pinckaers, OP, *The Spirituality of Martyrdom...to the Limits of Love* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000), xviii.

[359] 李樹熙：〈为信仰而死，转变的记忆：中国基督教殉道者倪柝声 (1903-1972) 〉，〈澳門利氏學社學刊〉 (2018) ，

[360] Craig Hovey, *To Share in the Body: A Theology of Martyrdom for Today's Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2008), 133.

[361]

[362] *CWWN*, vol. 40, "What Shall This Man Do?", 52, 55.

**POLITICS OF FAITH: PATTERNS OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS
IN MAOIST CHINA (1949-1976)**

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Abstract: This article examines the role of Protestant Christianity in relation to the rise of the Maoist state. It focuses on the interactions between Christianity and state power, and the state's influence on the religious and political identities of Chinese Christians. In particular, it discusses how the state exploited Christianity to claim legitimacy and establish ideological control over the Christian population, and how ordinary Christians, in turn, drew on their religious resources to strengthen themselves in the competitive arena of politics.

Keywords: Chaozhou, Maoism, Little Flock, Three-Self Patriotic Movement.

INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century was a period of growth, suppression, and revival for the Protestant churches in China. Arising from the growing interest in the history of Chinese Christianity, this article presents two cases of church-state conflicts during the Maoist era (1949-1976). These cases are chosen to illustrate how ordinary Protestants responded to the political encounter between Maoism and Christianity, and what survival strategies they employed to protect themselves against the socialist regime. The first case concerns the Christian Assembly (jidutu juhuichu), known in the West as the Little Flock (xiaoqun), a fast-growing indigenous Protestant movement founded by Watchman Nee in the early twentieth-century. After 1949, the Christian Assembly transformed itself into a diffused network of religious groups for mutual support and expanded into many remote areas not yet reached by the missionaries. The second case concerns the Chaozhou-speaking Baptist and Presbyterian congregations in Guangdong province along the South China coast.

While the urban church leaders succeeded in mediating conflicts with the local government, the rural congregations drew on longstanding kinship and lineage networks to create autonomous worshipping communities across the countryside. In both cases, the Protestant communities refused to be subjected to the control of the Maoist state. Neither did they subscribe to the anti-imperialist ideology of the state-controlled Three-Self Patriotic Movement (sanzi aiguo yundong): self-rule autonomous from foreign missionary and imperialist control, financial self-support without any foreign donations, and

self-preaching independent of any missionary influences. As the overarching organization of the one-party state, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement sought to ensure that all Chinese Protestants would submit to the socialist order. By rejecting the Maoist vision of church-state relations, these Protestants adhered to the belief in the autonomy of the church, proclaiming that each church should become an autonomous body, governing its affairs and remaining independent from state control. However, the Communist state perceived ideological identification as synonymous with absolute loyalty to the new socialist nation. Therefore religious conversion was viewed as a challenge to the state. This pattern of Christian activism highlights the role of popular resistance against state-imposed modernity and throws light on the complexities of church-state relations in Maoist China.

1. MAOISM AND THE THREE-SELF PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT

What was Communist religious policy in the Maoist era? As with the imperial states of the past, the Communist state continuously pursued a “united front” policy of engaging China’s Protestant communities. The purpose was to sever their ties with foreign missionary enterprises, to place the diverse Protestant denominations under the control of a Leninist mass organization, and to purge reactionary forces and class enemies from the church. Underlying the Communist religious policy was the ideological conflict between state and religion. C. K. Yang argues that Maoist ideology was a non-theistic “faith” that manifested distinctly religious characteristics. Two aspirations of the Chinese nation express the essences of its idealistic nation: nationalism and materialistic progress. All reforms, revolutions, and radical movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought to promote materialistic progress and establish a strong nation. The Maoist state made the same claim, but demanded from its people the unconditional subordination of all personal concerns. This appeal by the state was based on the premise that Maoist ideology offered the only guide to China’s ultimate destiny, the only means to national independence and modernization.[1] Determined to emancipate the common people from religion and “superstition,” the Communist state propagated a secular, scientific, and rationalistic worldview. It denounced religion as “the opiate of the people” and an obstacle towards the socialist revolution.[2] Its effort to control Catholics and Protestants led to a coercive assimilation of all Christian institutions into the Maoist state.

Against this backdrop, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement is to be discussed. The term “Three-Self” was originally coined by Rufus Anderson of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission and Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society in the nineteenth century. “Three-Self” describes a mission policy that organized native Christians in Africa and Asia into self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches. After the Communist Revolution, the Chinese government replaced the “Three-Self” slogan with “Three-Self Patriotic Movement” in order to legitimize the state’s takeover of the Protestant church. Politically, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement was a mass organization along the lines of the Communist Party’s united front policy. It was launched by the one-party state to politicize the religious sphere and control the Protestant communities. On June 28, 1949, Wu Yuzong, general secretary for Publications of the National Committee of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) in China, acted as a middleman between the Communist Party and the National Christian Council. He urged church leaders to support the Communists. Many leaders of the YMCA and Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) assisted Wu Yuzong in pursuing a

pro-Communist agenda in the Protestant circle. The collaboration between the Communist Party, YMCA, and YWCA dates back to the revolutionary movement between the 1920s and 1940s, when the Communist Party had successfully co-opted some of the YMCA and YWCA leaders.[3]

In July 1950, Wu Yuzong led a delegation of nineteen Protestant church leaders to meet with Premier Zhou Enlai and draft a statement known as “The Christian Manifesto,” which expressed Chinese Christians’ loyalty to the Communist state. At that time, the Korean War broke out and anti-American sentiment ran high. The Manifesto called on Christians to fight imperialism, to make known the political stand of Christians in China, and to build a Church under the management of Chinese themselves. It marked the beginning of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. On the surface, the Movement called for the indigenization and ecclesiastical autonomy of Chinese churches. But its fundamental goal was to force the Chinese Christians to sever their institutional ties with foreign missionary enterprises in particular and foreigners in general.

Change in global politics affected Christians in China. After the outbreak of the Korean War, the government expelled all foreign Catholic and Protestant missionaries. The expulsion was a nationalistic act and symbolized the end of foreign imperialism in modern China.[4] In the midst of the Korean War, the “Preparatory Committee of the Oppose American and Aid Korea Three-Self Reform Movement of the Christian Church” was founded to denounce Western missionaries. After a series of denunciation campaigns, the Preparatory Committee sponsored the first National Christian Conference, held in the summer of 1954, in which Wu Yuzong was elected Chairman and was assigned to organize the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. The officials of the Bureau of Religious Affairs served as “advisors” to the Movement. According to Beatrice Leung, the Bureau of Religious Affairs was initially established to handle religious affairs under the Bureau of National Minorities, and in 1951 it was transferred to the Educational and Cultural Section of the Home Affairs Department. In addition, the United Front Department of the Communist Party’s Central Committee set up a Religious Section to implement Communist religious policy. The majority of religious cadres were Communist Party members, who kept an eye on religious activities.[5] Within less than a decade, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement ended the missionary era in China and marked the beginning of the Communist takeover of churches.[6] Clearly, the leaders of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement had served as mere agents of the state to reshape Christian churches according to the Communist Party’s designs. Under tremendous pressure for absolute loyalty to the Maoist state, political neutrality was not an option and the churches could only exist in limited scope.

2. WATCHMAN NEE AND THE LITTLE FLOCK MOVEMENT

The Christian Assembly originated from the teaching and ministry of Watchman Nee (1903–1972), who was probably the most influential Chinese Protestant preacher in the early twentieth century.[7] Born in 1903, Watchman Nee grew up in a third-generation Anglican family. While studying at an Anglican mission school in 1920, Nee underwent an emotional conversion experience and decided to become a full-time evangelist. Under the influence of Brethren ideas, Watchman Nee rejected the hierarchy that he saw in the Catholic Church and most of the Protestant denominations in China. He urged Chinese Christians to develop strong laity and to break away from their dependence on Western missionary enterprises for doctrinal instruction and administrative support. He saw a church or an

assembly as “a spiritual body” composed of a group of Christians who were called out of this world -a concept derived from his interpretation of the Book of Acts in the New Testament. Strongly in favor of autonomous and independent churches, he maintained that there should be “one church in one locality.”[8] He emphasized the necessity to maintain independent local churches because on a doctrinal level, a local church could serve as a guardian of Christian teaching. He saw no religious and practical reason for a group of Christians to divide themselves into different denominations. What he sought to promote was a locally autonomous and nondenominational church independent of any external control. Throughout the late 1920s and 1930s, Watchman Nee encouraged Christians to break away from the well-established denominational churches to join the Little Flock Movement. It is estimated that by 1949 the Little Flock had as many as seventy thousand followers.[9]

In the post-1949 era, their reluctance to affiliate with the state-controlled Three-Self Patriotic Movement raised the problem of political identification with the Maoist state. In affirming their Christian identity, the Little Flock Christians found themselves divided between preaching the divine or affirming the Maoist ideology, and opting for political stability by submitting to the state or resisting the state in endless political campaigns. Some Little Flock members chose to collaborate with the state, whereas other members refused to do so, but either way, they were embroiled in politics. The degree of tension and conflict with the state made them an easy target of attack throughout the Maoist era.

In the midst of the Korean War, Watchman Nee was determined to strengthen and expand the Little Flock activities. In January 1951, he launched the “Ecumenical Campaign” (jiaohui heyi) to integrate other Protestant communities into the Little Flock. He supported those churches facing financial difficulties due to the expulsion of their missionaries and employed their ministers and evangelists. This decision was well received by some foreign missionary enterprises. Prior to their expulsion, a number of the China Inland Mission (CIM) and American Presbyterian missionaries handed over their church properties to the Little Flock because Watchman Nee had decided to continue his evangelistic work in China. As a result, the Little Flock expanded into Yunnan province in western China, and absorbed into its hierarchy as many as ten CIM congregations and their ministers in Zhejiang province in central China.[10] In order to accommodate these Christian communities, Nee allowed them to maintain their different forms of church management and worship.[11]

In structure, the Little Flock’s “Ecumenical Campaign” bore resemblance to the Communist Party’s bottom-up policy of coalition building, which was to ally with groups and individuals sharing similar interests in the revolutionary movement and to integrate them into the Party. By appropriating this Communist guerrilla tactic for evangelistic purposes, Watchman Nee was determined to build an alliance among other Christians and churches.[12] Because of financial constraints and political isolation, many mission churches and local denominations did not have the ability to maintain their institutions, but forming a coalition with the Little Flock would enable them to survive in the post-1949 era. They created these alliances for the purpose of survival, and the goal was to save these local churches from being taken over by the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. When these churches realized that foreign missionaries would never be permitted to return to China, they had to affiliate with the Little Flock permanently. The early years of the People’s Republic presented a golden opportunity for the Little Flock to remap the landscape of Protestant Christianity across the country.

The Communist state viewed the rapid development of the Little Flock with suspicion and resentment, and plotted against Watchman Nee. In September 1951, four Little Flock members in the Nanjing Assembly denounced Watchman Nee as a reactionary. In response, Nee launched a counter-denunciation campaign and disciplined those pro-government Little Flock members.[13] But one year later, he was arrested. In 1956, he was accused as a counterrevolutionary and charged with a series of crimes against the state. He was sentenced to fifteen years in prison and died in a labor camp in 1972.[14] The Little Flock political denunciation in 1951 was clearly an effort to get rid of Watchman Nee's influence from within, but once made, the Communist state exploited it to undermine his credibility and to take control of the Little Flock congregations.

Following the arrest of Watchman Nee in 1952, the Little Flock leaders adopted several strategies to respond to the state persecution and to rebuild the Christian Assembly. The first strategy was to consolidate the internal unity of the Little Flock congregations by expelling the pro-government members. In 1953, the leaders of the Fuzhou Assembly expelled three members who had been involved in a local political campaign against Watchman Nee, and in 1955, the leaders of the Nanjing Assembly denounced the four members who had staged the mass campaign against Watchman Nee in 1951. The second strategy was to challenge the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. In July 1953, Yan Jiale and Fang Aiguang, leaders of the Beijing Assembly, publicly condemned the Three-Self Patriotic Movement as an instrument of the Communist state to take over the church, and therefore withdrew from the Three-Self on the basis of religious conscience. Yan also urged the Little Flock congregations in the northwestern provinces of Inner Mongolia and Shaanxi to denounce the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. Fang visited the assemblies in Wuhan, Changsha, Guangzhou, Jinan, and Qingdao and explained to them the reasons for the Beijing Assembly's decision.[15] By 1954, over thirty assemblies across China, including all the eleven assemblies in Fujian province, withdrew from the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. They all refused to attend religious services and political meetings held by the Three-Self Patriotic leaders.[16] This anti-Three-Self campaign undermined the legitimacy of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement and threatened the Communist government's united front policy. The third strategy was to recruit members from all social sectors across the country. Because many Little Flock members graduated from Christian high schools and universities, they occupied important medical, educational, industrial, business, and government positions in the pre-1949 years. According to their professional skills, the Communist state classified them into three segments of the urban population: intellectuals and technicians, bureaucrats and urban administrators left over from the Nationalist regime, and the national bourgeoisie (i.e. privately owned industrialists, shopkeepers, and handicraftsmen). They were largely untouched by the Communist state in the early years and were encouraged to offer their services for the new political order. For example, in Shanxi province, forty-three teachers at universities, high schools, and elementary schools were affiliated with the Little Flock. In Fujian province, many Little Flock physicians and nurses continued to work at state hospitals. The Little Flock leaders called on these urban professionals to evangelize among their friends and colleagues.[17]

In addition, the Little Flock evangelized among victims of Mao's land reform and mass campaigns, mainly the gentry, landlords, capitalists, and officials of the Nationalist regime, because the Little Flock members could easily appeal to them with a promise of salvation and an explanation for their suffering. As a result of this recruitment policy, large numbers of the former Nationalist Party members

and government officials, capitalists, and landlords joined the Little Flock Movement. From 1954 to 1955, the members of the Anyang Assembly in Hunan province increased by more than half from 1563 to 2467. In 1954, all the eleven assemblies in Fujian province saw a triple increase of their church membership.[18] As far as these new converts were concerned, their religious conversion coincided with their desires for emotional support in the midst of political and social upheavals. In the short term, this phenomenon of mass conversion was solidifying an ideological resistance to the state.

Equally important was the strategy to educate the younger Little Flock members and to organize them into youth groups in support of each other. Because the government monopolized the educational institutions and constantly propagated its Communist ideas, the Little Flock leaders sought to counter the state's education of youth. Besides Bible study sessions, Sunday schools, and youth meetings for teenagers, they mobilized younger church members to create Christian fellowships in universities and schools and to evangelize among non-Christian students. The Little Flock members were found to be studying at twenty-three universities, twenty-six medical colleges, and many vocational schools. In July 1954, when the Shanghai Assembly organized a summer camp for university and high school students, as many as one thousand students from Shanghai, Beijing, Wuhan, and Zhejiang province attended the event.[19] This evangelistic strategy was very effective in recruiting more young people into the Little Flock Movement in the early 1950s. The final strategy was to establish new strongholds in areas with relatively weak Communist control. Some Little Flock assemblies took advantage of Chairman Mao's land reform and collectivization campaign for evangelistic purposes. In January 1954, Ye Meiliang of the Xiamen Assembly organized twenty-eight Christian families into a rural production unit in the Eighth District of Lungxi District, the purpose of which was to create a Christian village in the mountainous region. A similar example can be found in Jiangsu province where the Wujiang Assembly successfully established a Christian stronghold in the interior. Eighteen of the twenty-two households in Heshan Village Production Unit in Laichang district joined the Wujiang Assembly, and all the production supervisors and accountants were Little Flock members. These two Little Flock outposts were deeply rooted in the longstanding village networks in southeastern China. The Urumqi Assembly in Muslim-dominated Xinjiang province recruited evangelists from eastern China and helped them to obtain the government's permission to migrate and settle there. The Little Flock members in Gansu province followed the seasonal merchant networks migrating to Tibet.[20] By 1955, the Little Flock had developed into a nationwide movement expanding into many remote areas and frontier provinces not yet reached by Christianity.

However, these initial successes were short lived. The Communist state launched an aggressive nationwide campaign against the Little Flock during the late-1950s. In January 1956, Watchman Nee was accused of espionage, licentiousness, and stealing of church funds.[21] Meanwhile, extra effort was made to purge the Little Flock members from educational institutions, industrial enterprises, and government departments. Most of the Little Flock leaders across the country were arrested and charged with crimes against the state.[22] The campaign against the Little Flock was steeped in political discourse and revealed the increasing politicization of Chinese society. By the Great Leap Forward in 1958, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement had successfully taken over the Little Flock institutions and integrated them into its hierarchy. Most of the Little Flock members appeared to distance themselves from Watchman Nee's teaching, but they carried on their activities. In 1958, reports of their activities came in

from Inner Mongolia and Yunnan provinces, where the Little Flock established cell groups outside the Three-Self Patriotic churches.[23] Ironically, during the turbulent period of the Cultural Revolution (1967–76), all the bureaus of public security and religious affairs ceased to function, which in turn opened some space for the Little Flock and other Protestant groups to operate at the grassroots level. It was not until the opening of China to the outside world in 1978 that the Little Flock had begun to resume their activities in public.

Notes:

[1] Yang, C. K., *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967, 381-387.

[2] Smith, Steve A., “Talking Toads and Chinless Ghosts: The Politics of ‘Superstitious’ Rumors in the People’s Republic of China, 1961-1965”. *The American Historical Review*, CXI-2 (April 2006), 405-427.

[3] Wickeri, Philip L., *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China’s United Front*. Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1988, and *Reconstructing Christianity in China: K. H. Ting and the Chinese Church*. Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 2007.

[4] Ling, Oi-Ki, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China*. London, Associated University Presses, 1999, 148-180.

[5] Leung, Beatrice, “China’s Religious Freedom Policy: The Art of Managing Religious Activity”. *The China Quarterly*, 184 (December 2005), 894- 913.

[6] Wickeri, Philip L., *Seeking the Common Ground...*, op. cit., 117-153, Ling, Oi-Ki, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China...*, op. cit., 122-180, and Yeo, K. K., *Chairman Mao Meets the Apostle Paul: Christianity, Communism, and the Hope of China*. Grand Rapids, Brazos, 2002, 152- 162.

[7] The term “Christian Assembly” refers to a community of Christian worshippers rather than a church institution. The term “Little Flock” comes from Jesus’ words to his followers in the Gospel of Luke 12:32: “Do not be afraid, little flock, for your Father has been pleased to give you the kingdom.” Wickeri, Philip L., *Seeking the Common Ground...*, op. cit., 162.

[8] Lu, Luke Pei-Yuan, *Watchman Nee’s Doctrine of the Church with Special Reference to Its Contribution to the Local Church Movement*. Doctoral Dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1992, 248-251, and Watchman Nee, *The Open Door*, no. 20. *The Collected Works of Watchman Nee*, vol. 55, Anaheim, California, Living Stream Ministry, 1994, 179, cited from May, Grace Y., *Watchman Nee and the Breaking of Bread: The Missiological and Spiritual Forces that Contributed to an Indigenous Chinese Ecclesiology*. Doctoral Dissertation, School of Theology, Boston University, 2000, 272.

[9] The Shantou Municipal Archive, Shantou City, Guangdong Province, China, *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo gong’anbu diyuju* [The First Department of the Bureau of Public Security of the People’s Republic of China] (ed.), *Jidutu juhuichu (xiaoqun) gaikuang* [Report on the Christian Assembly (Little Flock)] (hereafter Report on the Little Flock), 1-21. The Chinese government claimed that the Little Flock had as many as 870 assemblies with eighty thousand adherents in 1955, but other scholars estimated the Little Flock adherents to be seventy thousand. See also Guest, Kenneth J., *God in Chinatown: Religion and Survival in New York’s Evolving Immigrant Community*. New York, New York University Press, 2003, 92–94.

[10] *Report on the Little Flock...*, op. cit., 11, 20–21.

[11] *Ibid.*, 18–21.

- [12] Wou, Odoric Y. K., *Mobilizing the Masses: Building Revolution in Henan*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1994, 187-211.
- [13] *Report on the Little Flock...*, op. cit., 14–15.
- [14] Bays, Daniel H., “The Growth of Independent Christianity”, in Kaplan, Steven (ed.), *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity*. New York, New York University Press, 1995, 124–143.
- [15] *Report on the Little Flock...*, op. cit., 14–15.
- [16] *Ibid.*, 16, and *Xin Hunan bao* (New Hunan Newspaper), 17 January 1956, 3.
- [17] Library of the Universities Service Center, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, *Neibu cankao* (Internal References), 8 February 1955, 107.
- [18] *Report on the Little Flock...*, op. cit., 16–17.
- [19] *Ibid.*, 17–18.
- [20] *Ibid.*, 20.
- [21] “The Editorial”, *Jiefang ribao* (Liberation Daily News), 1 February 1956, 1 and 3.
- [22] *Fuzhou ribao* (Fuzhou Daily News), 2 February 1952, “The Editorial”, *Xin Hunan bao* (New Hunan Newspaper), 17 January 1956, 1, 3, and “The Editorial”, *Zhejiang ribao* (Zhejiang Daily News), 27 January 1956, 2.
- [23] Library of the Universities Service Center, Chinese University of Hong Kong, *Neibu cankao* (Internal References), 13 October 1958, 18–20.

Appendix Two

CONSECRATION

Speaker: Watchman Nee

Date: November 17, 1935, afternoon

Place: Chuenchow

Source: Excerpt from Collected Works of Watchman Nee, The (Set 2) Vol. 41

Consecration based on God's saving grace

Romans 12:1 says, "I exhort you therefore, brothers, through the compassions of God." The word "compassions" is plural in number; it refers to the multifarious grace mentioned in Romans 1 through 8. According to the sequence of teaching in the book of Romans, chapter twelve should immediately follow chapter eight. Hence, the compassions mentioned in chapter twelve refer to the things covered in chapters one through eight. The Son of God has died for our sins. He has died for us and saved us from the punishment of sin. He is now living for us and delivering us from the power of sin. God has shown all of these compassions toward us. Paul was not commanding us but exhorting us to present our bodies. In the first eight chapters, we are told that we were sinners and that the Son of God shed His blood to redeem us from sin. Chapters three and four speak of the blood, chapter five speaks of forgiveness, and chapters six through eight speak of the cross crucifying our old man and releasing us from sin. The Lord died for us once, and He is now living for us. Once we believe in the Lord's death and resurrection, we become the Lord's. Many people are willing to be delivered from hell, but unfortunately they are not willing to be separated from the world. They are willing to be delivered from sin, but they are not willing to be sanctified and separated absolutely to the Lord.

God has saved us, and we have believed in this saving fact. There was once a Christian girl from Abyssinia, Africa, who was sold as a slave. At the beginning of the auction, three men were bidding fiercely for her. All three were evil, and the girl knew that she would suffer greatly no matter whose hand she fell into. She was weeping and full of sorrow. Finally, a fourth man came and made the highest bid. As soon as he bought her, he sent for a blacksmith to break her chains, and said to the girl, "You are free." Then he turned around and walked away. At first the girl did not understand. Later she came to her senses and shouted, "He has bought me! He has bought me. From this day forward until the day I die, I will follow him." This story is happening to us today. The Lord's love has constrained us, and we must tell Him that we will follow Him from now on.

A brother was once riding on a train and was invited to participate in a card game. He told those who invited him, "Sorry friends, I have not brought my hands along with me today." The others looked at him in surprise. He went on, "My two hands are the Lord's. The hands that once sinned and played card games are now crucified with the Lord." He saw that since he had consecrated himself to the Lord, his hands were the Lord's and no longer his own.

Once while waiting for a bus ride, I saw a book of a questionable nature in a shop, and I was tempted to look at it, but the Lord forbade me and I dared not open the book. My eyes have been consecrated to the Lord; they are no longer mine.

Today we need such a realization. We need to know that the Lord has purchased us and that we belong to Him. This feeling is indeed sweet and wonderful. Some may criticize us for being too narrow or stubborn, but while their mouths criticize us, their hearts admire us. Such Christians are the happiest people. Nothing can give us greater joy than consecrating ourselves absolutely to the Lord, for we are consecrating ourselves to the Lord who loves us most dearly.

Appendix Three

**THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE FORWARDED
THE RELIGIOUS WORK COMMITTEE'S REPORT
CONCERNING THE ISSUE OF CRACKING DOWN ON
COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES HIDDEN IN THE "CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY"**

1955. 12. 25

Shanghai Bureau, provincial and municipal party committees, autonomous regional party committees, party groups of state organs, central ministries and commissions, people's organizations, party committees of state organs, and party committees of the CCP Central Committee:

I hereby transmit to you the report of the Central Committee on Religious Work on cracking down on counterrevolutionaries hidden in the "Christian Assembly," which the Central Committee agrees to and hopes to comply with immediately.

Central Committee

Attach:

Report of the Central Committee for Religious Work to the Central Committee on the Issue of Cracking down on Counterrevolutionaries Hidden in the "Christian Assembly "

Central Committee:

The following report is made on the fight against counterrevolutionaries hidden in the "Christian Assembly":

1. "Christian Assembly," also known as "Little Flock" (hereinafter referred to as "Little Flock," has a history of activities in our country for more than 30 years. This is a sect established under the direct influence and support of imperialism for counterrevolutionaries. It has always flaunted itself as an "independent church" and a "local church," and in fact has close political, economic, and organizational ties with the imperialist elements; with Shanghai as the seat of its headquarters, it has more than 10 central churches throughout the country, directing church activities in various places, and has also scattered and established many religious enterprises as an economic basis for supporting its activities. Its internal organization is extremely tight. At present, there are more than 870 "Little Flock" meeting places throughout the country, with more than 80,000 believers spreading across 23 provinces among cities and counties, and some places are developing quite rapidly. Much of the leadership of the churches everywhere is in the hands of counter-revolutionists, and there are also a considerable number of counterrevolutionaries hidden among the believers. The core of the leadership of the "Little Flock" has in fact become a counter-revolutionary clique cloaked in religion that opposes the people's government, undermines national construction, and cloaks itself.

Over the past few years, they have actively consolidated their internal power, developed their organization, strengthened the poisoning of young people and children, infiltrated our state sections, schools, hospitals, and industrial and mining enterprises by various methods, and extended them to rural areas and border ethnic minority areas where our work foundation is weak. They often spread rumors and counter-revolutionary speeches, viciously attacked the Communist Party and the people's government, sowed discord, sabotaged successive social reform movements, obstructed believers from participating in socialist construction, and conspired to disintegrate our Party and the grassroots organizations. In Shanghai and other places, it was also found that they directly carried out espionage activities for imperialism and the gang of Chiang Kai-shek [translator's note: the leader of the Republic of China and the Nationalist Party, KMT]. The "Little Flock" of the Jinhua Special District of Zhejiang Province colluded with bandits to organize the so-called "Zhejiang Provincial People's Anti-Communist National Salvation Army" in an attempt to carry out armed rebellion. They were very ambitious and once put forward the arrogant slogan of "laying down all of China within 10 years" and plotted to expand counter-revolutionary forces throughout the country by means of so-called "migration." It can be seen from this that the activities of this sect have obvious counter-revolutionary conspiracies; they are imperialist and are the tools used by Chiang to wage struggle against us are the enemies of socialist construction.

In particular, during the "Five-Anti" Campaign period (translator's note: 1952), Watchman Nee, the leader of the "Little Flock" nationwide, was arrested for the crime of "five poisons" and took over eight factories, including the Biochemical Pharmaceutical Factory, its largest religious enterprise. However, in the past, these struggles were limited to fragmentary parts, and the counterrevolutionaries in the "Little Flock" had not yet dealt a serious blow, and their counter-revolutionary activities were still rampant.

The present situation of nationwide suppression of counterrevolution is extremely conducive to our planned struggle to purge the "Little Flock" of counterrevolutionaries. Because the masses have been mobilized, the enemy has shown some vacillation. We have obtained much evidence of their crimes. We have formed a patriotic force in Christianity, and we have gained some experience in fighting against the enemy who has pulled out the cloak of religion. These are favorable circumstances for us to carry out and win the struggle. Of course, the enemy ["Little Flock"] must still be fully estimated. The situation over the past few years has shown that it [this enemy] knows a set of counter-revolutionary tactics of struggle, is good at using religion to deceive the masses, and is indeed a rather insidious and cunning enemy. Therefore, our struggle against this enemy remains long and complex, and it is wrong to despise and paralyze the idea that a single collective blow can solve the problem once and for all and to ignore the idea of a long struggle.

2. In order to organize this struggle, on August 27 of this year we summoned comrades in charge of religious work and reconnaissance work in several key provinces and municipalities to Beijing to report on the situation, study this issue, and determine to actively carry out preparatory work. From November 15 to 18, relevant comrades from 14 localities were called to a meeting to inspect the preparatory work in various localities, holding that all localities have made certain preparations (although they are not yet very sufficient) and intending to launch a nationwide planned and focused attack on

counter-revolutionary elements in the "Little Flock" in late December this year, with a view to ending it by the end of January next year.

The general task of our struggle is to completely destroy the "Little Flock," a counter-revolutionary leading group, and eliminate all counter-revolutionary elements hidden in the "Little Flock." It is necessary to expose the crimes of counterrevolutionaries in the "Little Flock" with great fanfare, extensively and deeply carry out patriotic education among believers, vigorously win over the upper strata and unite the broad masses of believers, and gradually turn churches controlled by counterrevolutionaries into patriotic churches engaged in legitimate religious activities. Of course, these tasks cannot be accomplished in a single struggle but require a long and complex process of struggle, which may require several steps or several blows to achieve. But the struggle before the people must still be seen as a crucial struggle. We should strive to: first, completely destroy the "Little Flock" of counterrevolutionary leading groups; second, check and deal with the "Little Flock" believers within us; and third, strengthen our understanding of the enterprises operated by the "Little Flock" and deal with the situation separately. All these must be vigorously won over with the support of the masses of believers and the patriotic upper echelons through propaganda and education work.

3. The main targets of arrest and crackdown are: (1) the spies of imperialism and the Jiang bandits; (2) counterrevolutionaries in five aspects hidden in the "Little Flock"; and (3) counterrevolutionaries who persist in their reactionary stance and carry out the current sabotage activities. In mastering policies, it is necessary to strictly distinguish between counter-revolutionary issues and religious issues, and when cracking down on counterrevolutionaries, we should not get involved in the issue of religious beliefs. It is necessary to distinguish between counterrevolutionaries and backward elements, as well as the elements that are used by counterrevolutionaries. It is also necessary to have a flexible strategy in cracking down on counterrevolutionaries, arresting and prosecuting fast counterrevolutionaries, and not arresting counter-revolutionaries who can be arrested or not. Arrest can be dealt with by means of summoning and waging mass struggles, and those who have committed little evil and have shown signs of wavering repentance should be divided and fought for as much as possible. It is not necessary to hunt down all the counterrevolutionaries who should be arrested in one operation; one group can be arrested, one group can be kept, one group can be kept, one group can be kept, the struggle should be seen, and the struggle should be carried out in batches. This will be more proactive and conducive to dividing the enemy and winning over the upper echelons and the masses of believers.

4. The focus of the struggle is as follows: (1) the cities where the "Little Flock" center churches are located, such as Shanghai, Fuzhou, Wenzhou, Changchun, Shantou, Beijing, Xi'an, Lanzhou, Wuhan, Chongqing, etc.; (2) the main areas in which the "Little Flock" operates, such as Zhejiang, Fujian, and other coastal provinces; (3) state organs, schools, hospitals, industrial and mining enterprises, and other departments. The struggles in these localities play a very important role in striving for national victory, and we must do a good job. In terms of timing, the struggle should take place concurrently in key areas such as Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian in late December. The struggles in other regions follow.

5. The "little flock" of believers in state organs, schools, hospitals, and industrial and mining enterprises must be checked in this struggle and gradually dealt with according to the specific situation. First, we should mobilize the masses to extensively expose the reactionary activities within the "Little Flock," carry out full reasoning struggle and ideological disintegration, and strive for their internal uprising. We will concentrate on cracking down on a small number of resolute counterrevolutionaries and vigorously do a good job of winning over the majority of backward believers.

With regard to the "Little Flock" of ordinary believers, except for a few who adhere to the reactionary stance and those who are in key departments and who should be transferred immediately, the rest remain in the raw water post to continue to investigate and use. "Little Flock" of backbone elements that have indeed changed can remain in the general sector and continue to be used. We should resolutely eliminate the backbone elements of the "Little Flock" who still adhere to the reactionary stand; some of them can be re-educated through labor, but the high-ranking technical personnel who are really needed among them can be supervised and used. The counterrevolutionaries in the "Little Flock" who are cleared out should be dealt with according to the internal method of eliminating counter-revolutionaries. After these checks, we should strictly prevent "Little Flock" from carrying out organized and improper religious activities within our country.

6. The "Little Flock" elements who infiltrate into Yunnan, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, and other ethnic minority areas to carry out activities should be severely cracked down on and squeezed back into the hinterland. The "Little Flock" churches in Fujian, Zhejiang, Guangdong, and other areas of national defense fortresses should be eliminated. The "Little Flock" churches in complex coastal areas should be under control, and the bad elements within them should be eliminated if they cannot be controlled so as to gradually control the churches. When eliminating them, pay attention to ways and methods to keep them from scattering on the spot and carrying out hidden activities.

7. The struggle against religious counterrevolutionaries is a complex political and ideological struggle. To win victory in this struggle, we must vigorously win over and unite the broad masses of believers and strive to divide the elements at the top. The key to winning over the vast number of believers is to earnestly guarantee freedom of religious belief and to distinguish, in fact, the issue of cracking down on counter-revolution from the issue of freedom of religious belief. Therefore, the struggle must be waged without interruption to normal religious life. It is necessary to systematically win over some elements at the top of the leadership, either the aggressive ones or the weak ones. We should firmly support the patriotic upper-class elements in the "Little Flock" church and the upper-class elements who are willing to get close to us and come forward to preside over religious activities. If there are no such people, even the backward upper echelons in the middle should be allowed to come forward to carry out legitimate religious activities. The sooner this problem is solved and the better it is solved, the better it will be for us. At the same time, it can promote internal division. Under the momentum of the nationwide suppression of counter-revolutionary campaigns (translator's note: beginning in 1950), especially the counter-revolutionary clique of Wang Mingdao and Ignatius Kung Pin-Mei (translator's note: the contemporary Catholic Bishop of Shanghai), there has been vacillation within the "Little Flock," and certain elements at the top have expressed their desire to stand on the side of patriotism and draw closer to the government.

8. In the course of struggle, good propaganda work for the broad masses inside and outside the church must be well done. It is necessary to extensively mobilize society and theories, fully expose the evils of the enemy, refute all rumors and theories that may arise, and vigorously publicize the religious policy and the anti-corruption policy, so as to gradually clarify the confused thinking of the masses of believers, enhance their patriotic consciousness, and draw a clear line between the enemy and us. It is necessary to mobilize the pastors and believers of the Christian churches to participate in this struggle and play their respective roles as patriotic forces among them, while they should be prevented from becoming involved in sectarian disputes.

9. In order to systematically and secretly control the leadership of the "Little Flock" churches and meet the needs of protracted struggles in the future, it is necessary to strengthen the building of secret reconnaissance work for the "Little Flock." This work will be drawn up separately by the public security departments.

10. To ensure the complete victory of the struggle, we propose that all major regions should form temporary command bodies under the unified leadership of party committees, strengthen close cooperation between the public security departments and religious affairs departments, and mobilize all relevant organs to participate in this struggle. All localities must keep this operation absolutely secret. The plans and preparations for this struggle must only be communicated to the personnel directly involved and not be made known to unrelated personnel. All personnel participating in the work must strictly observe the secret; they must not disclose it, and if they violate it, they should be subject to strict discipline.

The above comments, whether they are appropriate or not, please comment.

November 24, 1955

LILY HSU'S ACCUSATIONS IN THE 1950S

"I Accuse"

Lily Hsu (Hsu Meili)

Published originally on (Shanghai) Liberation Daily on February 2, 1956

Tian Feng, Issue 499 (February 20, 1956), pp. 11-12

Recently, the government uncovered the counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee which was long clothed with religion but undertook counter-revolutionary activities. My heart is filled with indescribable joy and relief. I would like to thank our government heartily for removing such a great evil for us.

I am a Christian youth who has been severely poisoned by the counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee. I am a student at Shanghai Second Medical School. Under their poison and blindfold, I became an accessory for them, poisoning many young people and children in high schools, universities, and medical schools. I am awake now, and I accuse them. I will uncover the criminal activities of the counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee.

When the people of Shanghai awaited joyously to be liberated, counter-revolutionaries Watchman Nee and Witness Lee (who had fled to Taiwan) enticed a group of young people to go to Taiwan to be the core members of their criminal activities in Taiwan. 'Why were Watchman Nee and Witness Lee so interested in Taiwan? It was because they were all lackeys of Chiang Kai-shek. In 1950, when the American imperialists invaded Korea in a frenzy, Watchman Nee openly asked us not to participate in the



Anti-America-Support-Korea movement in a special meeting of the core members in Shanghai. At that time, I was poisoned by Watchman Nee's counterrevolutionary speech; I thought even if the American imperialists came to Huangpu River [note: the river passing through Shanghai], it was none of my business. Countless believers were poisoned by him and did not want to resist American imperialism. Watchman Nee's hope was that imperialism would return to enslave the Chinese people.

The counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee taught us to use a two-way tactic. On the one hand, we should be "good students," studying hard and following the rules of the school, so that we may gain support among the people. On the other hand, we should utilize every possible way to spread the counter-revolutionary poison. They also asked me to spread the concept of "do not use your heart" and "do not use your mind" among the young believers. For several years, they grasped me tightly and poisoned my heart. They filled my mind with many negative and hostile counter-revolutionary thoughts against the new China, so that I would not dare to be patriotic. Whenever I heard a political report concerning the splendid achievements of our country, how our country cared for the next generation, and how the Communist Party opened a beautiful way forward for the young people, I was moved, and there was a struggle in my mind. Whenever I watched some movies (organized in the school for all of us), I was also moved to tears in secret. However, I was often reminded of the words spoken by the counterrevolutionary group of Watchman Nee, and I was bothered by my own reaction, feeling as if I had sinned. I endeavored to use the counter-revolutionary speaking of the group infused into me to cover the struggle in my mind. Under their harmful poison, I became a completely cold and scheming person toward my country and my people, without any sense of patriotism. I was indifferent and unmoved toward the new China that was emerging. Ever since the liberation of Shanghai until the end of last year, I have never visited the First Department Store of Shanghai. I dared not even glance at it when I passed by its windows, fearing that I would lose my spirituality if I did. When I was attending service at the Nanyang Road church, I would always pass by the Sino-Soviet Building. I wanted to look at the red star on the top of the building because the star was beautifully red. However, I had no courage to do so, lest I be tempted. I would even feel that I had sinned if I caught a glimpse of it.

After the Su-fan movement [lit. "purging counter-revolutionary elements." Translator's note: A political campaign launched by the Chinese Communist Party in 1955 to purge all the counter-revolutionaries in all sectors of the country. The movement ended at the end of 1957. According to statistics, the campaign resulted in hundreds of thousands of arrests and 53,000 unnatural deaths] began, the counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee was very frightened. Peace Wang, a counter-revolutionary member, came to talk to me several times. She said, "From now on, gospel is preached with blood" and "This will be a test to you." She further maliciously accused the government of being an enemy and asked me not to fear them. She urged me to resist the Su-fan re-education and resist giving confession. If they were so pure and clean, why would they be so nervous during the Su-fan? Why did they ask us to resist confession? Why did they ask us to shed blood and die? They did so to cover their counter-revolutionary background.

For several months, the officials patiently educated me. I have finally become awake; I abhor them [Translator's note: refers to the counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee], and I will uncover their many ugly counter-revolutionary details. I feel deeply that the counter-revolutionary group of

Watchman Nee is not a group of "senior brothers and sisters" but a group of ferocious wolves in sheep skin, chief criminals who are poisoning our young people. If they killed me, it was only one young person. However, this was not what they did. They asked me to maintain the shell of a normal young person, the shell of a "saint," and yet they poisoned my heart and utilized me to poison the hearts of many others. Our country is filled with sunshine and freedom, but the counterrevolutionary group sent all of us, the young people, into a refrigerator, stuffed our nostrils with cotton wool, and asked us to live suffocating lives, while we felt bothered all the time, suffered all the unnecessary pains, and followed the anti-people pathway to a dead end. Now that the government has arrested all the members of this counterrevolutionary group, it is such satisfying news! As one who was with them and who was blinded by them to participate in many anti-people activities, I hope that you all will thoroughly confess all your faults and join the side of the people, to uncover the ugly criminal acts of the counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee and to ruthlessly struggle against all counterrevolutionaries.

“Rise Up! Expose This Batch of Jackals!
The Believers in the Christian Assembly in Shanghai
Angrily Accusing the Counterrevolutionary Group of Watchman Nee

Published originally on (Shanghai) Liberation Daily on February 2, 1956
Tian Feng, Issue 499 (February 20, 1956), pp. 12-14

The counterrevolutionary group of Watchman Nee has deceived many good believers. However, along with the exposure of the counterrevolutionary group of Watchman Nee, many brothers and sisters have begun to awaken and gradually clearly see the true face of Watchman Nee's counterrevolutionary group. They angrily accused Watchman Nee's counterrevolutionary group of the crimes. Now, let us listen to the accusations of our brothers and sisters, who have been poisoned and deceived by these counterrevolutionaries:

... [Omitted]

Destroying the Future of Youth

Lily Hsu (Xu Meili), Zhang Liangdong, Liu Hanfen, and Zhang Zhuhuai were students at Shanghai Second Medical College, First Medical College, and Jiaotong University, and the

起來，揭露這批豺狼！

——上海基督徒聚會處信徒憤怒控訴倪柝聲反革命集團——

倪柝聲反革命集團曾經欺騙了許多善良信徒。但是，隨着倪柝聲反革命集團的被揭露，許多弟兄姊妹已開始有了覺悟，逐漸看清楚了倪柝聲反革命集團的真面目。他們憤怒地控訴了倪柝聲反革命集團的罪惡。現在，讓我們聽一聽被這批反革命分子所毒害、所欺騙的弟兄姊妹們的控訴吧：

欺壓剝削工人

七十二歲的沈榮泉控訴說：十多年來，我一直給倪柝聲反革命集團的“聚會處”做雜工。他們把我當作牛馬，每天早晨四點鐘就要起床，收拾房間，拖地板，給他們疊被頭，倒馬桶……。他們“聚會”很多，我差不多天天要給他們搬凳子，搬進搬出，每天總要忙到晚上十點鐘以後才能困到床上。我這個老頭子常常忙得頭昏眼花，精疲力盡。倪柝聲反革命集團各地來來往往的人很多，這些“客人”到了上海，我還要幫他們到火車

站去把行李挑回來，離開上海的時候，又要把行李挑到火車站去，百來斤重，一二十里路，挑得我這個老頭子渾身冒汗。這些“客人”在“聚會處”我又要服侍他們，給他們洗被頭，吃飯時給他們裝飯，有一個黃昏我給他們洗了十幾條被單。我這個老頭子終於被他們弄得吐過幾次血。

我為他們做牛馬，可是他們是怎樣對待我的呢？十多年來，他們每個月給我幾斗米的工錢，自吃飯，連衾箕、掃帚都是我自己拿錢出來買的。我拿這些錢勉強養活我自己一個人，老太婆我也養不活她，靠她自己做小生意養活自己。我多少苦呢！這還不算，1948年，倪柝聲反革命集團搞“交出來”運動的時候，他們“号召”每個信徒都要把財物交出來，我這個老頭也被他們欺騙了。第一次，我把我和老太幾十年的積蓄合十多担米的錢都交出來了；第二次，我沒有什麼好交了，就把一件駱駝毛的棉襖也交出來了。

counterrevolutionary clique of Watchman Nee used them, wooed other young people through them, and carried out sabotage activities in schools. What is even more hateful is to poison their hearts and turn these vigorous young people into cold people. However, the young people came to their senses, and Lily Hsu (Xu Meili) and Liu Hanfen said: "The counter-revolutionaries deceived us and stuffed our hearts into the ice, and today Jue and the government help us, so that our hearts can be warmed up and warmed up under the caresses and warmth of the motherland and the people!" Let this heart love our dear motherland and people! We thank the government for caring for us like parents and saving us. We promise: In the future, we will study hard and strive to build the motherland! We will reject these counterrevolutionaries completely!"

... [Omitted]

God is righteous. He sees everything. The people are not to be bullied. Whoever deceives and poisons our good brothers and sisters will be duly punished. This is the end of the counterrevolutionary group of Watchman Nee!

“Interview with Xu Meili”

Reported by Wei Zhen

In *Tian Feng*, Issue 500 (February 29, 1956), pp. 8-10

After launching the “Su-fan” (purging counterrevolutionary) campaign in Shanghai to purge Watchman Nee’s counterrevolutionary group, I interviewed Lily Hsu (Xu Meili), one of the leaders of the youth gathering of the Christian Assembly in Shanghai. She is a graduate student at Shanghai Second Medical College and has recently devoted herself to this Su-fan campaign.

On February 7, I met her at Shanghai Second Medical College. She was wearing two long braids, round eyes, cheerful spirits, and simple clothes. After I explained my intentions, we shook hands warmly, sat down in a room full of sunlight, and began to talk.

The question I posed was: How did she come to know the true face of Watchman Nee’s counterrevolutionary group?

She pondered for a moment and then smiled and said, "I think the main key here is 'position.' In the past, I have always stood on the counterrevolutionary position of Watchman Nee, and the judgment of all issues is based on Watchman Nee's arguments, so my views and practices are wrong."

Comrade [Tongdao, 同道] Xu Meili (also known as “Lily Hsu”) continued: “After I went through the help and education provided by the organization [of TSPM], I began to look at the problem from the people's standpoint. At the first light, I saw that I was wrong, such as: "I can't love the country and love

it", "I can't study hard", "I have a distance from progressive classmates"... And I realized the seriousness of the situation, so I went to the root cause. When I chased me down, I found that I was not doing this independently and spontaneously, but that I was poisoned by the counterrevolutionary group of Watchman Nee. As I recalled all the words and deeds of the counterrevolutionary group of Watchman Nee and then looked at their words and deeds in light of the current situation and political problems at that time and analyzed them, I found many problems. For example, in every [political] campaign launched by the government they are found to have a set of destructive activities. This series of activities cannot be explained by 'coincidence' or 'accident.' These cannot be excused by 'their intentions are good, but their results are bad,' and so on. The biblical words are right, 'A good tree cannot bear bad fruit,' and it is possible for a good tree to occasionally produce bad fruit, but a good tree will never bear all bad fruit. The more I analyze, the more I look at the facts, the more flaws I find, and in the face of countless uninvited facts, I can only draw one conclusion." At that time, she [Lily Hsu] looked at me and said in an affirmative tone: "What they did was indeed related to a political issue, not a matter of faith."

She also said, "The key to change lies in our position, and it depends on whether we look at the problem from the standpoint of the people or from the old anti-people standpoint. It depends on whether we think for the people. Do we have feelings for the people?" She said, "There was a time when I didn't have a strong position, and the pain was not deep, and I just hated that the minutes passed. When I stand firm, I can see the facts clearly through their cloak and analyze their intentions. Considering the results of these facts, I hate them very much.

After listening to the ideological and cognitive changes explained by Comrade Lily Hsu, I continued to ask her a question: I asked her to talk about her experience of how the counterrevolutionary group of Watchman Nee poisoned the young people during this Su-fan campaign.

She happily continued to answer my question:

"Their poisoning of young people is systematic and planned. For the average young believer, they deliberately misinterpret the sutra 'Don't love the world.' When we feel that there are just and beautiful things in the world (such as studying well and contributing to the construction of the motherland in the future), they say distortedly: Be careful not to love the world; He also said that everything in the world is small and worthless, life is short, let others do these good things, we don't have to pay attention to these. They also specifically proposed not to love the future, school, parents, lovers, children, etc., so that young people feel that everything that attracts our hearts is the 'world' and cannot be loved."

"This is how they viciously control the feelings of young people, turning us into those who are isolated from the people, cold and heartless to the people and our loved ones. They rob us of our zeal for the Lord. They also go a step further by using 'don't give reasons', 'don't analyze', 'obey authority', and other arguments to control the minds and will of some young people who are interested in pursuing the Lord. Let us become prisoners of this counter-revolutionary breakup in our feelings, thoughts, and wills. On the other hand, they would pretend to say to us: 'Be patriotic.'" At this time, the hearts of our young people are as cold as death, and where can patriotism still be loved? The 'patriotism' flaunted by the counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee is nothing more than teaching young people to put on the

cloak of 'patriotism.' They pay lip service to our being patriotic, but they do not allow us to be moved by what is right. This has poisoned young people, turning them into duplicitous individuals who are ostensibly patriotic but in reality, unmoved by anything. And their conspiracy is not only to poison the youth and become cold people and make them become cold become. They [the counter-revolutionaries] further makes those of us who are cold to the people develop into people who betray the motherland and the people. They maliciously create contradictions between patriotism and love of religion and take advantage of the enthusiasm of young people to love the Lord, making us falsely believe that it is impossible to be patriotic in pursuit of the Lord, and everywhere they think that there is a contradiction between patriotism and our love of religion, and therefore they are tired of all progressive activities. Under their insidious and accumulated provocations and slander, the minds of young people have been corrupted. Young people have become corrupt in nature. Their positions have changed: from young people with a sense of justice, right and wrong, and love for the motherland to young people who hate the new progressive society and carry out their activities from an anti-people standpoint. Gradually, the young people have changed from loving the Lord to becoming counter-revolutionaries, being far from God's will; from being deceived and used to deceiving and using people; from unconsciously being counter-revolutionaries to consciously embarking on the desperate road of opposing the people, being the successors of this group of counter-revolutionaries, and consciously engaging in counter-revolutionary activities. This is the ultimate goal of these counter-revolutionaries to poison the youth. This is also what I am most sad and resentful about!

"Some people say that although Watchman Nee is a counter-revolutionary, he speaks well.' I think that is completely wrong. Counter-revolutionaries such as Watchman Nee distorted the Bible and used the Bible to deceive brothers and sisters, such as in the matter of 'handing over.' According to the book of Acts, the believers gave their things to everyone for common use, but the Bible also said that the things should be distributed to everyone according to their needs. The Bible also says, 'Give all you have to the poor.' Therefore, those who need it should be taken care of after 'handing it over'. However, counter-revolutionaries such as Watchman Nee used the first half of the biblical record (handing it over) yet they did not practice the second half concerning distributing the things to those in need. It is right that we give everything to God, but in the past, everything we put was handed over to the counter-revolutionaries. As for our criticism of the evil of counter-revolutionaries in misinterpreting the Bible, are we criticizing the Bible? No. We are criticizing the poisons spread by counter-revolutionaries. As for the truth in the Bible, I think every word in the Bible is the truth, and the truth is not limited by time and space, and it will never change. Just as criticizing the Hu Feng [胡風] counter-revolutionary clique for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities in the guise of Marxism-Leninism is not the same as criticizing Marxism-Leninism." (Translator's note: An incident in China in the 1950s, from literary controversy to political trial, named after the main figure, Hu Feng, is widely regarded by civil and academic circles as a large-scale literary prison that occurred after the founding of the People's Republic of China. After the reform and opening up, the CPC Central Committee determined that the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary group case was wrong, and the Hu Feng case was completely rehabilitated.)

"On the question of not loving the world and its things, I think it refers to what the Bible calls the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eyes, and the pride of this life, which I do not love. However, I don't think everything in the world is bad or untouchable. Didn't God also create beautiful lilies and beautiful

landscapes in the world for us to enjoy? Otherwise, why doesn't God make the world like hell?" She said it with a smile.

"In the past, I was afraid of looking at beautiful things, and I thought that flowers and greenery were all sins. In the past, I was afraid to watch movies, sing, and dance, thinking that it was a crime. Recently, I went to see a performance by the Shanghai Song and Dance Troupe, and I thought that the Xinjiang dance performed was very beautiful, which made me miss the ethnic minorities who lived far away in the frontier. When I heard the song praising Chairman Mao, I deeply felt the people's love for the leader, which made me feel how happy I was growing up in New China! In the past I didn't go to department stores, but recently I did, and I watched them all; I see many people buying things, and from here I can see the increase in the purchasing power of the people of the motherland, which makes me love the motherland even more! Is this thought a crime or lust? No, this kind of thinking is healthy. Later, she emphatically explained: "I am still strict with 'lust' and 'pride' now, and I am not willing to indulge myself."

Then, she calmly continued:

"Give everything to God, and I will continue to do so." Now I feel that there is no contradiction between loving the country and loving religion. I recently helped my brothers and sisters to learn, to distinguish right from wrong, and to stand firm, for the sake of loving the Lord and for the sake of patriotism. In the future, I will devote more time and strength to the cause of the people, and I think this will be valuable before God. I think that loving God and loving people, loving the country and loving religion are consistent. This is also the teaching of the Bible, and doing so is the practice of love."

At this point, I interrupted Comrade Lily Hsu's excited conversation and asked her to continue talking about her recent religious life. Lily Hsu said: "The day before yesterday, the first week after the government arrested the leaders of the counterrevolutionary group of Watchman Nee, I continued to go to the meeting because the God I believe in and His words have nothing in common with the counterrevolution, and I am meant to uphold a pure religious life."

Then, in a rhetorical tone, she said, "Can religious life be relaxed?" Then she replied resolutely, "No, my heart is still toward God. I still read the Bible. I pray, and more recently, I can see the holy truth that I didn't pay attention to before." "When I read the Psalms, I paid special attention to God's righteousness, and I also saw my own unrighteousness, because in the old days, the people of the whole country were toiling selflessly, and I was sitting back and enjoying it." What a debt and what a shame! She continued, "On the other hand, I also saw how much God loved the world, and the Bible tells us that God loves not only His blessed children but also all people, such as the widow of Nain, who was grieving the death of her son, and she was not a follower of the Lord, but the Lord also had mercy on her. How indifferent we used to be to non-Christians, and how different this is from the Lord's loving heart! She said silently: "In the past, although we paid the price to pursue the Lord, we went against the Lord's will, and this responsibility should be borne by counter-revolutionaries such as Watchman Nee."

Then, Lily Hsu said with regret, "In the past, we thought we were spiritual, but now we know that we are deeply poisoned. Because in the past we were completely deceived and deceived by counterrevolutionaries. Now my faith is still the same, and it has been cleansed. In the future, I am still willing to love the Lord and move forward on the road of loving the country and religion. I believe that by walking on this path, life will go longer. In the future, I will continue to believe in the faith, I believe in every stroke of the Bible, and I am willing to absorb the light of other churches before God. In the past, we were cut off from other churches, and in the future, we should strengthen our unity and learn from other churches. She smiled and said, "The door cannot be closed anymore, and closing it costs us both spiritually and politically."

Finally, she said happily and confidently: "The Shanghai Christian Meeting House has purged the hidden counter-revolutionaries this time, and brothers and sisters will definitely advance on the road of patriotism and love for the church; I believe that the church will prosper and have a future." Speaking of which, it was almost lunch time, and I took my leave. When she stood up, she pointed to the Tian Feng (translator's note: A Three-Self Patriotic Church's organ publication) and said, "We hated the Tian Feng; we even hated every person who expressed their impressions on the Tian Feng." Then, we both laughed. We seem to have a common experience: today, under the banner of anti-imperialism and patriotism, we are closely united. We are all determined to give all our strength to fight against the counterrevolutionaries hidden in the church! Finally, we shook hands and said goodbye with this shared



本刊記者 惟真

在上海開展肅清倪柝聲反革命集團的運動以後，我訪問了上海基督徒聚會處青年聚會負責人之一的許梅驪同道。她是上海第二醫學院畢業班的学生，最近正以全力投入这一次的肅反運動。

2月7日，我到上海第二醫學院會見了她，她梳着兩根長辮子，圓大的眼睛，精神愉快充沛，穿着一身朴素的衣服。當我說明了來意以後，我們熱烈的握着手，在一間充滿陽光的房間里坐下來，開始了交談。

我提出的問題是：她是怎樣認清倪柝聲反革命集團的真實面目的？

她沉思了片刻後微笑地說：“我認為這裡主要的關鍵是‘立場’。過去我一直是在倪柝聲這一幫人反動的立場上，一切問題的判斷都是以倪柝聲他們的論調為依據的，因此看法和做法都錯了。”

許梅驪同道繼續說：“當我經過組織上的幫助教育以後，我開始站在人民立場上來看問題。首先，我看到自己的不對，如：‘愛國愛不起來’，‘不起勁讀書’，‘與進步同學有距離’……並且也發覺這種情形的嚴重性，因此，我就追究根源。當我追下去時，我發現我所以如此，並不是獨立的自發的，而完全是由於受了倪柝聲反革命集團的毒害所致。我再把我所記得的倪柝聲反革命集團所有的言行活動擺開來看，把他們的言行和當時的時局和政治問題配合起來看，再加以分析就發現出很多問題。例如，在每一次政府所發動的中心運動中發現他們都有一套破壞的活動，而這一系的活動是無法用‘巧合’‘偶

然’來解釋的，也不能用‘他們的用心是好的，結果却是壞的’等話來加以辯護。聖經的話是不錯的，‘好樹不能結壞果子’，好樹偶然結出一個壞果子還有可能，但好樹絕對不會全結出壞果子來的。愈是分析下去，愈是拿出事實來看，就愈發現破綻，在數不清的事實面前，我只能得出一個結論。”這時她眼睛看着我，用肯定的語氣說：“他們的確是政治問題，絕不是信仰問題。”

她又說：“轉變的關鍵是在於立場，要看我們站在人民立場上，還是站在老的反人民的立場上來看問題。要看我們有沒有替人民着想一下？我們對人民有沒有感情？”她說：“我曾有一段時間，因為立場不穩，痛恨他們不深，只恨幾分鐘就過去了。當我站穩立場時，我就能透過他們的外衣，看清楚事實，分析他們的用意。考慮這些事實的結果，我就對他們非常痛恨。”

我听了許梅驪同道所講的思想認識轉變經過後，我繼續向她提出一個問題：要求她談談在这次肅反運動中對倪柝聲反革命集團毒害青年的體會。

她愉快的繼續回答我的問題說：

“他們對青年的毒害是有步驟、有策劃的。對一般的青年信徒，他們故意謬解‘不要愛世界’這個經訓。當我們覺得世界上有正義和美好的事情時（如好好讀書，將來為建設祖國而貢獻自己等），他們就歪曲地說：要留心不要貪愛世界；又說世界上的事都是渺小沒有價值的，人生短暫，讓別人去做這些好事好了，我們不必注重這些。他們又具體

地提出不要愛前途、學業、父母、愛人、兒女等等，叫青年感到一切吸引我們心的事，就都是‘世界’，都是不能愛的。

“他們就是這樣惡毒地控制了青年的感情，使我們變成與人民隔絕，對人民和自己的親人冰冷無情的人，而他們卻攫取了我們向着主的熱誠。他們還更進一步的用‘不要講理由’，‘不要分析’，‘要服從權柄’等論調控制一些有心追求主的青年的思想和意志。使我們在感情、思想、和意志上都成為這批反革命分子的俘虜。另一面他們還會假惺惺地對我們說：‘你們要愛國’。這時我們年青人的心已冷如死灰，愛國那里還能愛得起來呢？倪柝聲反革命集團所標榜的‘愛國’不過是教青年穿上‘愛國’的外衣罷了。他們口頭上要我們愛國，但又不許我們在正當的事上動心。這使青年人也受毒害成為兩面派的人，成為一個表面上愛國，而實際上是一切都不動心的人。而他們的陰謀不止是使青年受毒害成為冷酷的人而已，卻是更進一步的使我們這些對人民冷酷的人，發展成為背叛祖國背叛人民的人。他們惡意的製造愛國愛教間之矛盾，利用青年愛主的熱誠，使我們錯覺地認為追求主，就不可能愛國，處處認為愛國和我們的愛教有矛盾，因此就厭煩一切進步活動。在他們陰險的、日積月累的挑撥污蔑下，青年人的思想被腐蝕了，青年在本質上趨於腐朽，立場上起了變化——從有正義感是非感愛祖國的青年墮落成為恨惡進步恨惡新社會的人，而站在反人民的立場上來進行活動。逐漸地，從愛主變成愛反革命，遠離了神的心意，從受蒙蔽受利用，發展成為蒙蔽人，利用人；從不自覺的發展成自覺地走上反人民的絕路，做這批反革命分子的接續者，自覺地從事反革命活動。這就是這批反革命分子毒害青年的最終目的。這也是我最痛心最感憤恨的！”

“有人說倪柝聲雖然是反革命分子，但道

理講得還不錯。我認為這是完全錯誤的。倪柝聲等反革命分子歪曲聖經、利用聖經來欺騙弟兄姊妹，如‘交出來’的問題，根據使徒行傳，是把自己的東西給大家公用，但聖經上同時說要照大家所需要的分給各人；聖經上又說：要把你所有的分給窮人。因此，‘交出來’後應照顧那些需要的人。但是，倪柝聲等反革命分子却是利用了聖經上記載的前一半（交出來），而沒有實行後一半——把所有的分給有需要的人。我們把一切交給神是對的，但是，過去我們一切都擺上却是交給了反革命分子了。至於我們批判反革命分子曲解聖經的罪惡是否就是批判了聖經呢？不是的。我們批判的是反革命分子所散佈的毒素。至於聖經中的真理，我覺得聖經中每一句話語都是真理，真理是不受時間、空間的限制的，而且又是永不改變的。這正如批判胡風反革命集團披着馬列主義外衣進行反革命活動，並不等於批判馬列主義一樣。

“關於不要愛世界和世界上的事的問題，我覺得這是指着聖經中所說的肉體的情慾、眼目的情慾并今生的傲驕，這些，我是不愛的。但是，我認為並不是世界上一切都是不好的，都是不應動心的。神不是也在世界上造了美麗的百合花、美麗的風景給我們去欣賞嗎？要不然，為什麼神不把世界造成像地獄一樣呢？”她微笑地說。

“過去我怕看美的東西，我認為花花綠綠都是罪。過去我不敢看电影、歌舞，認為這是犯罪。最近，我去看了上海歌舞團的演出，我認為演出的新疆舞很美，使我懷念着遠居邊疆的少數民族。當我聽到頌讚毛主席的歌時，我深深地体会到人民對領袖的熱愛，使我感覺到自己生長在新中國是多麼幸福呀！過去我不去百貨公司，但最近我去了，而且都看了；我看到許多人在購買東西，從這裡使我看出祖國人民購買力的提高，使我更熱愛祖國！這種思想是犯罪是動情慾嗎？不，

这种思想是健康的。”然后，她又着重说明一下：“我现在对于‘情慾’‘驕傲’还是严格的，我並不願意放縱自己。”

接着，她又从容地说下去：

“把一切献给神，我今后也还是如此的。现在我感到爱国爱教是不矛盾的。我最近帮助弟兄姊妹们学习，明辨是非，站稳立场，这是为了爱主，也是为了爱国。今后我将拿出更多的时间、力量去贡献给人民事业，我觉得这样在神面前是有价值的。我认为爱神爱人、爱国爱教是一致的，也是圣经的教训，这样做，才是爱的实践哩。”

这时，我插断了许梅骧同道兴奋的谈话，要求她继续谈谈她最近的宗教生活。许梅骧同道说：“前天是政府逮捕了倪柝声反革命集团首恶分子后的第一个礼拜，我继续去聚会了，因为我所信的神和祂的话语与反革命没有丝毫共同的地方，纯洁的宗教生活我是要坚持的。”

接着，她用反问的口吻说：“宗教生活是否可以放松呢？”然后，她肯定地回答道：“不能，我的心仍然向着神，我还是读经、祷告，而且最近读经时更能看到从前所不注意的圣经真理。”她举例说：“在我读诗篇的时候，我特别注意到神的公义，我也看到自己的不义，因为在过去的日子里，全国人民正在忘我地劳动着，而我却是坐享其成。这是多么亏欠和羞耻！”她继续说：“另一面我也看到神是何等的爱世人，圣经中告诉我们，神不只爱祂已蒙恩的儿女，而且也爱所有的人，如拿因城的寡妇因儿子死了悲恸，她并不是跟随主的人，但主一样对她动了怜悯的心。过去我们对非基督徒却是冷漠无情的，这与主爱人的心是有何等的不同呀！”她又默默地说道：“过去我们虽付出了代价追求主，但却与主的心意背道而驰，这个责任应该由倪柝声等反革命分子来负的。”

接着，许梅骧同道惋惜地说道：

“过去我们自以为是属灵的，现在才知道，我们中毒很深。因为过去我们完全是受了反革命分子的蒙蔽欺瞒。现在我的信仰还是一样的，而且是蒙了洁净了。以后，我还是愿意爱主，在爱国爱教的道路上前进。我相信在这条道路上走，生命会更长进。今后，我仍持守信仰，我相信圣经的一点一划，我也愿意吸收别的教会在神面前的亮光。过去我们与其他教会隔绝了，今后，应该要加强团结，向其他教会学习。”她微笑着说：“门不能再关了，关门使我们在属灵情形上及政治认识上都蒙受损失。”

最后，她愉快自信地说：“上海基督徒聚会处这次肃清了暗藏的反革命分子，弟兄姊妹们一定会在爱国爱教的道路上前进；我相信，教会是会兴旺，是有前途的。”

谈到这里，已将近午饭时刻，我就告辞了。她站起来时，指着“天风”说：“过去我们恨‘天风’，甚至恨‘天风’上发表感想每一个人。”然后，我们两人都笑了。我们似乎有共同的体会：今天在反帝爱国的旗帜下，我们紧密的团结起来了。我们都有决心，要贡献自己所有的力量与暗藏在教会内的反革命分子作斗争！最后，我们在这个共同的意愿下欣然握手告别。

“新舊約經文彙編”

特 价

布面精裝 每本 五元五角（原價九元）

紙面平裝 每本 四元（原價六元五角）

銷 售 處

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電話 一九六六〇號

Speech at the second plenary meeting of the first Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

Lily Hsu

Venue: Sino-Soviet Friendship Building (renamed Shanghai Exhibition Center in 1984).
Originally published in Shanghai's Jiefang Daily (April 15, 1956).

This time, I was able to attend the second plenary meeting of the first Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. I felt very excited and honored in my heart. I am a student and a young Christian who has been deeply poisoned and usurped for many years by the counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee who hidden in the Christian Assembly. Looking back, although the motherland was liberated for 6 years, I became a person who lost my affection for the motherland under their poison. I even dared not look at the red star on the spire of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Building (I feared to see it because I felt like committing a sin.) But today, I have the opportunity to say the words from the bottom of my heart in the Sino-Soviet Friendship Building: "I love the motherland!" What a joy!

Being able to attend such a meeting today as an observer, I deeply felt how the government and the people cared for me and many of those who have been poisoned and damaged by the counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee. The people welcomed us standing up. Although we stood up a little late, we still stood up in the face of imperialists who wanted to poison us and control us.

In January of this year, after the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau cracked the counter-revolutionary group of Watchman Nee, many Christians recognized the truth and broke up with these counter-revolutionaries who dressed in the cloak of religion. We also recognize that the actions of these counter-revolutionaries are fundamentally against our religious beliefs, and they are fundamentally against the interests of the people. We resolutely got rid of the yoke that had bound us for many years and embarked on the road of loving our motherland.

Under the education of many facts, the vast majority of Christians have also become clearer about the government's policy of unwaveringly eliminating all counter-revolutionaries and unwaveringly protecting the freedom of religious belief. For example, on the first Sunday after the revelation of Watchman Nee's counter-revolutionary clique, district cadres encouraged Christians to continue to live their religious lives. Solidarity meetings have been held in each major college, which is a celebration and unity between school administration, party members and Christians. Solidarity meetings have been held in each major college, which is a celebration of unity between school administration, party members, and Christians. All major colleges and universities have held solidarity meetings separately, which is learning School administration, party members, and Christians are united together. Not only in Shanghai First Medical College, Shanghai Second Medical College, and Fudan University, where there are many Christians, but even the East China Branch of the Central Conservatory of Music, where there are fewer Christians, held a general meeting. All this shows that the government is resolute in protecting the freedom of religious belief and is doing everything it can to protect it to strengthen the unity between

Christians and fellow students. Now, as one young man said, we are no longer wild children outside the revolutionary family.

The vast majority of Christians are patriotic. We young Christians are also patriotic. After recognizing the truth about the counter-revolutionary clique of Watchman Nee, who was carrying out counter-revolutionary activities under the cloak of religion, the patriotic fervor of our Christians has been aroused, and the young Christians are actively engaged in the battle to eliminate all counter-revolutionaries. Some of the enlightened young Christians wrote certificates of guarantee and resolved to cooperate with the government to save all the poisoned young people at the Shanghai Christian Assembly [translator note: i.e., the Church in Shanghai]. Some young Christians have signed a joint pledge to the school to respond with concrete actions to Chairman Mao's three good calls. Today, we have also truly realized that patriotism and love of religion are consistent. We love and uphold our religious beliefs, and we love our motherland from the bottom of our hearts. We Christians must fight for the elimination of all counter-revolutionaries, for the construction of the socialist motherland, and for the liberation of Taiwan. We will contribute all our strength to the defense of world peace! That is our determination.

在中國人民政治協商會
議上海市第一屆委員會第
二次全體會議上的發言

許梅驪的發言

1956. 1. 5

這次我能够列席政協上海市第一屆委員會第二次全體會議，心里感到非常興奮和光榮。我是一個學生，也是一個基督教青年，多年來深受隱藏在基督教內的倪柝聲反革命集團所毒害所利用的。回想過去，雖然祖國解放了6年，但我在他們的毒害下，成爲一個對祖國喪失了感情的人，甚至連中蘇友好大廈尖頂上的紅星都不敢看（因為怕看了動心，就感到觸犯了罪一樣）。而今天，我却能有机会在中蘇友好大廈說出我心底裏的話，我是熱愛祖國的！這是多么高興的事啊！

今天能列席這樣的會議，我深深感到了政府和人民對我，對許多受過倪柝聲反革命集團毒害、摧殘的基督徒的關懷。人民歡迎我們站起來。我們雖然站起來遲了一點，但還是站起來了，在妄想毒害我們、控制我們的帝國主義面前站起來了。

今年一月間，上海市公安局破獲了倪柝聲反革命集團以後，許多基督徒都認清了真相，和這些披着宗教外衣的反革命分子一刀兩段。我們也認清了這些反革命分子的所作所爲，根本違反了我們的宗教信仰，也根本違反了人民的利益，我們就毅然決然地擺脫了他們的多年來束縛我們的枷鎖，走上了熱愛祖國的道路。

在許多事實的教育下，廣大的基督徒也更明確了政府堅定不移地肅清一切反革命分子的政策和堅定不移地保護宗教信仰自由的政策。例如在揭發倪柝聲反革命集團以後的第一個星期日，地區里的幹部都鼓勵基督徒仍去過宗教生活。各大專學校里都曾分別召開過團結大會，就是學校行政、黨團員和基督徒在一起的聯歡團結。不僅在基督徒較多的上海第一醫學院、上海第二醫學院、復旦大學，連基督徒較少的如中央音樂學院華東分院也召開了團結大會。這都說明政府是堅決地保護宗教信仰自由的，並且想盡一切辦法來加強基督徒和廣大同學之間的團結。現在，正如一位青年所說，我們再也不是革命大家庭以外的野孩子了。

我們廣大的基督徒是愛國的。我們青年基督徒也是愛國的。在認清了披着宗教外衣進行反革命活動的倪柝聲反革命集團的真相後，我們基督徒的愛國熱情激發起來了，青年基督徒積極地投入了肅清一切反革命分子的鬥爭。有些覺悟過來的青年基督徒寫了保證書，決心協助政府把上海基督徒聚會處裏受過毒害的青年都挽救過來。有的青年基督徒向學校聯名保證，要以具體行動響應毛主席的“三好”號召。在今天，我們也真正体会到了愛國愛教是一致的。我們熱愛、持守我們的宗教信仰，我們也從心底裏熱愛祖國。我們基督徒要爲肅清一切反革命分子，爲建設社會主義祖國，爲解放台灣，爲保衛世界和平而貢獻出我們的一切力量！這是我們的決心。

Appendix Five

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU

Decision

Zhang Pinhui, female, born in 1902, resident of Fuzhou City, Fujian Province, unemployed. Formerly residing at No. 88, Lane 200, Yueyang Road, she died in November 1971 after a long illness.

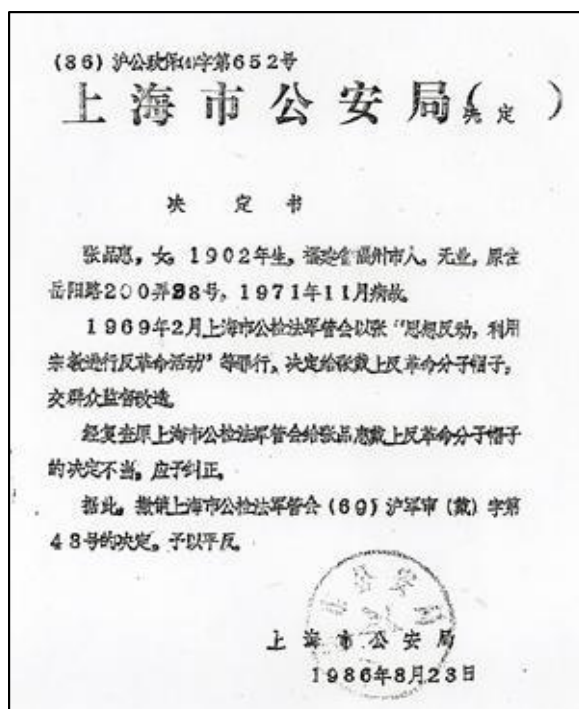
In February 1969, the Shanghai Municipal Public Prosecutor's and Law Enforcement Commission decided to label Zhang a counter-revolutionary for the crimes of "reactionary ideology and counter-revolutionary activities through the use of religion", and to hand her over to the public for supervision and rehabilitation.

After reviewing the decision of the former Shanghai Municipal Public Prosecution and Law Enforcement Commission to label Zhang Pinhui as a counter-revolutionary, the decision was improper and should be corrected.

Accordingly, the decision of the Shanghai Municipal Public Prosecution and Law Enforcement Commission (69) Shanghai Military Trial (Dai) No. 48 is hereby revoked and reversed.

Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau
(official seal)

August 23, 1986



A DISCUSSION OF THE ACCUSATION CONCERNING WATCHMAN NEE'S MORALITY

Andrew Yu

Introduction

Watchman Nee's personal morality became a controversial issue in the 1980s. The reason can be traced back to the 1950s when the Chinese Communist Party criticized the Watchman Nee counter-revolutionary group with propaganda materials to achieve their purpose. As the reform began in the 1980s, the door to China was opened and all the materials gradually became available overseas. Concerning the matter of Nee's morality, people in different camps have made different assertions and all are firm in their attitude and consider their evidence valid. Nevertheless, most of the assertions tend to be literature in nature, either with harsh or touching terms and not objective or scientific in essence. This article is an attempt to try to analyze this matter from another angle.

A Most Scientific Exploration

In today's society as human beings pursue accurate language expression, the best means is none other than the modern legal proceedings. Legal proceedings are used to pursue the truth of a matter. The focus is not whether the presentation of this party or that party is the most moving or whether the written document is attractive; it is not even that the presentation is persuasive. Rather, all the presentations are meant to seek the truth. A legal expert once said, in the realm of human communication in language, the method of seeking evidence in a legal procedure is the closest to the experimental method in science.[1] This means that in legal procedures, or we can say in the law court of a free society, the proving, sifting, and selecting of evidences and the legality and reasonableness of witnesses, together with the demand on the sense of justice of the jurors and the removing of all not meeting the standard are the closest to the pursuit in science.

First of all, the legal procedure requires that every case must consist of a plaintiff and a defendant.[2] This simple fact states a purpose, that is, to sufficiently provide testimonies from different angles and viewpoints so that the law court and the jury have the opportunity to find out the truth. No matter how reasonable a case may be for the plaintiff, it must provide the defendant an opportunity to reply. Historically, there have been some cases where only a plaintiff was present without the defense. By today's standard, that kind of legal procedure cannot be justified. In actual fact, this principle can be applied in all areas of information transmission. If an article expects its readers to accept only one viewpoint without giving the opposite side an opportunity, it is equivalent to the law court not giving the defendant an opportunity to provide its defense; the law court will be seen as at fault. Any reasonable legal procedure must offer the opposite side an opportunity to adequately represent itself for the jurors to come to an independent judgment. As to whether the defendant desires to present its argument, it is up to the defendant. If the defendant does not reply or chooses not to reply, it does not necessarily mean the

defendant is guilty. Under such a circumstance the legal procedure still needs to be carried out. One cannot reach a judgment simply because the defendant is absent or silent.[3]

Ordinarily once a case begins its legal proceeding, the first thing the judge does is to remind all jurors of their responsibility to maintain justice. This reminder includes that the jurors must exercise to exclude their own personal feelings, preferences, prejudices, assumptions, and imaginations. The judge also reminds them to be aware of the eloquence, logic, arguments, and assumptions of the lawyers on both sides and that the jurors should not use them as the basis of their decisions; instead, they should make decisions based on facts presented. Furthermore, during the legal proceedings, the jurors should not be affected by any information outside of the law court; all information, including news reports, public comments, private opinions, and even personal specific information, must be excluded. In other words, the decision process should not be influenced or harassed by anything other than the facts admitted.

The criminal procedure law of US #270.40 points out, “After the jury has been sworn and before the people’s opening address, the court must instruct the jury generally concerning its basic functions, duties, and conduct. Such instructions must include, among other matters, admonitions that the jurors may not converse among themselves or with anyone else upon any subject connected with the trial; that they may not read or listen to any accounts or discussions of the case reported by newspapers or other news media; that they may not visit or view the premises or place where the offense or offenses charged were allegedly committed or any other premises or place involved in the case; that prior to discharge, they may not request, accept, agree to accept, or discuss with any person receiving or accepting, any payment or benefit in consideration for supplying any information concerning the trial; and that they must promptly report to the court any incident within their knowledge involving an attempt by any person improperly to influence any member of the jury. “ [4]

Many times the judge in his opening word will point to the most important principle in the legal procedure, the presumption of innocence; that is, every person accused of a crime is presumed to be innocent unless and until his or her guilt is established beyond reasonable doubt. Hence the responsibility of proving the guilt is on the plaintiff and not on the defendant. The plaintiff must prove that his accusation is reasonable whereas the accused does not need to prove his own innocence; he only needs to disprove the evidence provided by the plaintiff. For this reason the lawyer on the defense side is obligated to question and place doubt on all the evidence provided by the plaintiff side. This is also the basic attitude that the jury must hold, that is, the innocence of the accused until it is 100 percent proven otherwise. This is the most basic concept in the legal system in a free society; however, most people who are not in the legal field are not aware of the details. [5]

What is considered evidence?

The "evidence" mentioned above is the most fundamental basis for seeking the truth in legal procedures. In the legal context, the term has a very specific definition and is not as broad as its general usage. Evidence that is acceptable in court is called admissible evidence and has a strict definition. In 1972, the U.S. Supreme Court laid down detailed rules, which were passed by Congress in 1975, defining what evidence is admissible in court and what is inadmissible [6]. Mainly speaking, the evidence must be

1) relevant; 2) reliable. Unacceptable evidence not only cannot determine the judgment of the case, but cannot even be presented, so as not to subconsciously affect the psychology of the decision-makers. Lawyers on both sides have the responsibility to temporarily stop the legal process to prevent such unqualified evidence from being introduced blindly. In an ordinary case, this kind of mutual stop is common. Often in court, there is the phrase "objection, your Honor", which means that one party believes that what the other party said constitutes unqualified testimony. According to U.S. law, the following types of speech fall into this category [7]: 1) contradictory, confusing, misleading, vague, and unclear; 2) arguing law; 3) argumentative. Often, lawyers will reach a set of logical arguments based on some evidence. These arguments attempt to string together a set of rational explanations from the lawyer's perspective. An argumentative statement is different from a factual statement. A factual statement is about presenting evidence, while an argumentative statement is about adding one's own argument while presenting evidence. Sometimes this argument is coupled with assumptions and speculations that the lawyer considers reasonable. Lawyers on both sides of almost every case do this, and many reasonable arguments turn out to be completely different from the facts. 4) Asked and answered; 5) ask the jury to prejudge the evidence; 6) exclude a certain juror; 7) assume facts not in evidence; 8) badgering witnesses; 9) best evidence rule; 10) beyond the scope; 11) calls for a conclusion; 12) calls for a speculation; 13) compound question; 14) hearsay, that is, testimony from a third party rather than the parties involved; 15) incompetent, that is, the witness is not qualified due to physical, mental or relationship with the parties; 16) leading question, which implies or suggests the answer; 17) narrative instead of stating specific facts; 18) privilege, in which the witness may be protected by law for some issues to be brought to court that may incriminate himself; 19) irrelevant information not directly related to the case; 20) misleading a witness or evidence; 21) counsel is testifying, that is, a lawyer's argument is misleading or argumentative or a lawyer is making an unsworn statement as to a fact without separate evidence. In addition to the above twenty-one items, the evidence presented in court may be unqualified due to the following reasons: 1) unknown origin; 2) illegal collection process; 3) incomplete, taken out of context, partially hidden; 4) rumors; 5) any materials that the judge considers likely to cause prejudice [8].

The purpose of establishing the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is to ensure that its citizens have the right to seek legal redress for themselves. This concept originated from the British Magna Carta in 1215 AD. It was originally intended to prevent the monarch from having the final say and later was used to deal with any attempt to monopolize speech. It is a basic human rights concept in modern Western society. It states plainly: "No person shall, except on a report of a grand jury or an indictment, be tried for a capital crime or other felony...shall be compelled in any criminal case to incriminate himself, his life, his liberty or property" [9] Later, the Fourteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution, which dealt with civil rights and equal protection of the laws. Its first item reads: "No State shall...deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. [10]"

Analysis of Watchman Nee's Case

The accusations and debates about Watchman Nee's morality have been discussed in different articles in the past, including some who wrote books. If we judge them from the above legal point of view, the majority of them should be categorized as speculative literature. As literary creations or

speculative literature, these articles or books have their own freedom of expression. However, from the legal perspective, they can all be denied according to the third item, argumentative speech, of the above-mentioned twenty-one items. For example, some articles analyzed in detail the psychological condition of the parties involved, which belong to argumentative literature, just as detective stories do. Also belonging to this category are *The Honor and Disgrace of Watchman Nee* written by Kalung Leung and *My Unforgettable Memories* written by Lily Hsu. Whether their arguments are reasonable or not, their statements are inadmissible evidence and will not stand up in court. The evidence that can really be presented in a legal proceeding are three kinds: 1) the original documents that accused Nee's conduct, that is, the official materials provided by the Chinese government in 1956 during the anti-Nee movement; 2) Nee's own confession by his hand or his mouth; and 3) the statements made by other parties involved. The rest of this paper will discuss the "evidence" under these three categories from the legal point of view.

The Original Material Accusing Nee's Conduct

First, let us look at the material provided by the Chinese government. This type of information appears to come from three sources. The first is the Public Security Bureau, the second is the courts, and the third is the media. In a free society, freedom of speech and judicial independence make the above three units independent. But in China, especially in the early days of liberation, these three units were not separate. This is a fact known to everyone and a fact recognized by the Communist Party itself. The founding mission of the Chinese Communist Party is to govern the country through the Party. The Party's function is not only in political elections but also extends to all administrative areas. Therefore, the above three independent units in practice in the West are actually merged into one unit in China, that is, "Party leadership."

The Chinese Background

Before analyzing the moral accusations against Nee, we must first have a reasonable discussion about the authenticity of all the materials from mainland China during this period. The Chinese Communist Party practiced party-based governing, which was pointed out above. For this reason, all policies and measures are mainly aimed at achieving political goals, and seeking objectivity is not the main purpose. For this reason the accusations made by Chinese law enforcement agencies and the verdicts issued by judicial agencies are full of wrongful convictions. This is a well-known fact, and even the Chinese government itself frankly admits this fact. According to the official website of the Communist Party, "Chinese Communist Party News", [11] as of 1985, "the CCP has redressed and corrected the unjust, false and wrongful convictions of approximately 3 million cadres across the country, more than 470,000 Communist Party members have been restored to party membership, and tens of millions of cadres and people who were unjustly implicated have been freed." Note that the three million mentioned here are only the unjust, false and wrongful convictions of government officials, that is, the unjust, false and wrongful convictions of officials. If the number of officials wronged is three million, the unjust, false and wrongful convictions of ordinary people will be many times greater than this number. In addition to the cases that have been filed for review, there are also cases that have not yet been filed but were prosecuted. The number is shockingly large: "Although some cadres were not put on file for review, they

were also persecuted by mistake. In addition, before the "Cultural Revolution," due to the errors of the Party's leftist guiding ideology, political movements continued, which also resulted in a large number of wrongful cases. [12]". The above report alone is sufficient to question the legality and reasonableness of all official information.

According to the "Handbook about Intellectuals" compiled by the Intellectuals Office of the Organization Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, there is a topic with explanations on how to "implement Party's policies concerning intellectuals and solve the problems left over by history." From 1978 to 1983, the Thirteenth National Congress redressed more than 6.8 million unjust, false, and wrongful cases among intellectuals. According to incomplete statistics, as of 1985, a total of more than 3 million cadres across the country had suffered from unjust, false, and wrongful convictions [13]. The magazine, *Oriental Outlook Weekly*, reported, "In the past ten years, there have been as many as 200,000 well-documented unjust cases (that is, sentences changed to acquittals and direct acquittals) across the country..."[14]. Such an overwhelming number of unjust, false and wrongful convictions would definitely be classified as inadmissible evidence in Western courts. Stanley Lubman, a well-known scholar at the Center for Law and Society at University of California, Berkeley, once said: "China's so-called 'political and legal system was nothing more than a tool of the Party in the 1950s' [15].

The entire case from beginning to end

Watchman Nee was detained by the Public Security Bureau (PSB) in 1952 when the Three-anti movement was in action where PSB cooperated with the government who was conducting investigations on various organizations. PSB arrested Nee under this name but no information was released publicly. The earliest report concerning Nee was known in December 1955, when the Religious Affairs Department came forward to disclose Nee's crimes, create public opinions, and held an exhibition to expose Nee's crimes. Then on January 29, 1956 a good number of the core members of the Christian Assembly were arrested and a public criticizing meeting was held the next day, on January 30, by the Religious Affairs officials with 2500 in attendance. In this critique meeting, Nee and his cohorts were judged and the Shanghai Municipal People's Procuratorate's indictment was announced. This was the first public document convicting Watchman Nee [16]. Note that this document is not a court verdict, only an indictment. However, it was immediately published as front-page news in major newspapers and media the next day on February 1. On February 3, an internal critique meeting was launched in Christian Assembly. On the 8th, the exhibition was moved to a public school and opened to the outside public. At the same time, a government unit moved into Christian Assembly, reorganized the serving staff, and held study sessions. This series of actions were all carried out before the court pronounced its verdict. During this period, in addition to the indictments and exhibitions, there were also newspaper reports and collected testimonies, as well as testimonies from several accusation meetings. As for the court, it did not open the case until June 21 and issued a verdict. Throughout the entire process, the leading unit was the "Shanghai Christian Assembly Su-fan Inspection Team" which was jointly organized by the Public Security Bureau, the Religious Affairs Bureau, and the Three-Self Patriotic Committee. The leader was Shao Luoyang [17]. In other words, none of them operated independently but they were commanded by a single unit. Moreover, this command unit was established in conjunction with the 'Su-fan Movement,' the hottest political movement at the time.

Su-fan Movement (the Counter-Revolutionary Movement)

What exactly was the Su-fan Movement? If it was the main unit that accused Nee, then Nee's case was just one among many during Su-fan. Since Nee's case took place during such an environment at the time, there is a reasonable and legal ground to study Su-fan. In order to understand what Su-fan movement is, Wang Xiaoping's writing, *An exploration of the origins of the Su-fan movement in the 1950s* [18], or Zhu Zheng's book, *The summer of 1957: From the contention of a hundred schools of thought to the contention of two schools of thought*, Chapter 9 titled, "The fight against counter-revolutionaries and against the rightist struggle" [19] are good references. The Su-fan movement was a political movement that was "unprecedented" and "sweeping through all classes in the whole country." It took place from July 1955 until December 1956. On July 1, 1955, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a document "Instructions on Launching a Struggle to Eliminate [Su] Hidden Counter-Revolutionary [fan] Elements"; it stated that the struggle aimed to eliminate all hidden counter-revolutionary elements. "Counter-revolutionaries," nominally anti-government elements, were actually all those who did not actively support the government at that time. Anyone who did not actively support the government might be labeled as a counter-revolutionary and may become a target of counter-revolutionary purges [Su-fan]. In accordance with the provisions of the "July 1st Instructions," various places successively launched counter-revolutionary campaigns by combining high-profile propaganda education with strict organizational control. This document vigorously promoted the movement based on Mao Zedong's words of "strict censorship" and "thorough clean-up" on June 15. On July 3, the People's Daily pointed out: "It is precisely because many people have these extremely dangerous right-leaning ideas that many of our departments have adopted a preferential approach, that is, 'right, not left approach,' in intra-party struggle, ideological struggle, cadre work, and personnel work. This tendency caused many among us to lose their political awareness and the ability to discern hidden counter-revolutionaries, such that they did not even realize they have slept with tigers for a long time, or that they dared not conduct firm struggle against the the counter-revolutionaries and their thoughts even though they were being detected. This is the main danger and leanings on the path of our revolution. On July 4, Mao Zedong sent out an instruction to all provinces and cities, saying, "You must pay attention and correct it should you have the similar leaning in your place." On July 25, the People's Daily criticized sternly, "Some of our leaders...are tied up and dare not boldly mobilize the people, expose counter-revolutionary speeches and actions, and instead attempt to use judicial means to replace the mass movement and arrest a few counter-revolutionaries to get over it. There are also some departments that do not seriously carry out the struggle on the excuse that they are busy...The struggle against hidden counter-revolutionaries in many places and departments is still limited to a small number of leaders and specialized agencies fighting alone. The scope of the struggle is very small and cannot form a huge momentum. "On August 25, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued the "Instructions on the Complete Elimination of Hidden Counter-revolutionary Elements." The document pointed out that the following organizations must all carry out campaigns to eliminate hidden counter-revolutionary elements without exception: the Party, the government, people's organizations (excluding federations of industry and commerce), colleges and universities and cadre schools (including all faculty and staff and students), primary and secondary schools (including faculty and staff, excluding students), the military, and state-owned, cooperative-run, and joint public-private enterprises (including technicians, clerks and workers) . In other words, we should not relax, rather go too far and not be

soft-hearted, and rather go left than right. If our approach harmed innocent people, it is inevitable; and we could even openly defend the so-called "inevitability theory" [20]. In this atmosphere, not to mention objective review, even saying a fair word may lead to death. After receiving the above instructions, each province and city successively formulated plans to carry out counter-revolutionary campaigns and reported the situation of the campaign and the problems that occurred during the campaign to the central government. On October 25, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued the "Instructions on ensuring the healthy development of the Su-fan movement to eliminate hidden counter-revolutionaries after the movement has launched among the people." This instruction pointed out that after the counter-revolutionary struggle is launched, each organization conducting the movement should go through five stages: (1) Preparatory stage, establishing a Su-fan team, conducting thorough investigations, preparing materials, mobilizing the masses, and explaining policies. 2) During the group struggle stage, if there were people who have counter-revolutionary issues but have not confessed, upon approval an investigation can be mobilized among the masses to pursue after them within a certain range. 3) Special project group stage. For cases with major problems, an ad hoc team would be set up to review them. (4) Screening and finalization stage. Those who were considered to be counter-revolutionaries with other bad elements during group struggles and special case reviews would be screened and dealt with by the public security, courts, procuratorial, disciplinary inspection, and organizational departments. For example, concerning the legal punishment of counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements, after the procuratorate carried out the prosecution, the law court would determine the sentence. The final decision on administrative sanctions shall be made by the government's supervision department or the chief executive. (5) Review stage..."

"At the beginning of the movement, each department must follow the unified deployment and establish a unit called a "five-person group" to lead the department's Su-fan movement. The five-person team selects a group of "tigers" in advance based on a certain percentage, such as five percent of the total number of personnel in the department. These tigers are usually those with a complicated history. If the department does not have so many people with complicated histories, it can find some people with less complicated histories to make up the number." This paragraph points out that Su-fan did not set targets based on people, but used indicators and percentages as targets. If there were not enough targets, they could find some people to make up the numbers.

One month after the Su-fan movement began, Wang Mingdao was arrested on August 7, 1955 and charged with counter-revolutionary crimes [21]. Another month later, on September 8, Catholic Cardinal Gong Pinmei was arrested and also charged with counter-revolutionary crimes [22]. Both organizations associated with them were called "counter-revolutionary groups.". Four months later, on January 30, 1956, Nee's case took place when the Su-fan movement was in full swing. Nee's group was also positioned as the "Watchman Nee counter-revolutionary group."

From the winter of 1955 to the spring of 1956, more than 420,000 counter-revolutionaries and other criminals surrendered to the People's Government across the country [23]. In April, the government began to prepare for the end of the Su-fan movement. On April 10, a document titled, "Instructions to carry out the campaign to eliminate hidden counter-revolutionaries well, quickly, and cost-effectively to the end" was issued. The instruction stated that departments that launched the Su-fan movement in 1955

should take various specific measures to end the movement by the end of June 1956. It is worth noting that Nee's trial happened to be held on June 21, which coincided with the government's designated date. In September 1956, when the Chinese Communist Party held its Eighth National Congress, the Party considered the counter-revolutionary forces had become increasingly smaller and fragmented, and that a policy of leniency should be implemented towards counter-revolutionaries. Thus the Su-fan movement began to cool down. From the above, it can be seen that Nee's Case is undoubtedly a product of this movement.

How many people were involved in the entire Su-fan movement? On July 18, 1957, the editorial of People's Daily, titled, "Rebuking the Rightists on the Issue of Su-fan" put forward some figures. According to the report, "more than 81,000 counter-revolutionaries have been identified." In addition, "more than 190,000 counter-revolutionaries surrendered." In addition, "more than 1.3 million people have cleared up various political issues." [24] In other words, these more than 1.3 million people were arrested by mistake during Su-fan after the government figured out their issues. This means that if we exclude those who surrendered, "in the 1955 Su-fan movement, wrong convictions accounted for approximately 94 percent, and correct convictions accounted for approximately 6 percent." [25] From another perspective, during those two years, not counting the number of surrenders, there have been more than 1.38 million Su-fan cases. It means there were 1,891 Su-fan cases every day, 94% of which were incorrect. Of course, among those so-called cases that were correct, many were later vindicated and considered to be incorrect. The most obvious examples were the Hu Feng case and the Pan Hannian case that triggered the entire Su-fan movement. They were considered to be ironclad cases at the time, but were later vindicated as unjust, false and wrongful convictions. Nee's case was one of more than 1,891 such cases per day during this period [26].

The purpose of listing the above information is to provide both a general and a specific background related to Nee's case. The general background refers to the general environment in the early days of China's liberation, and the specific background is the specific environment of the Su-fan movement during this period. Generally speaking, the Chinese Communist Party did not have an independent judicial system during this period, and the number of unjust, false and wrongful convictions was extremely high. Specifically speaking, the Su-fan (counter-revolutionary) movement that planned and moved Nee's case was a large-scale political movement that implicated many innocent people.

Watchman Nee Counter-revolutionary Group

Nee's charges fell into three categories: 1) economic crimes, 2) political crimes, and 3) moral crimes. Political crimes were the main ones among them. Therefore, it is called the Watchman Nee "counter-revolutionary" group. Although it was for financial reasons that he was arrested in 1952, the prosecution and sentencing were mainly based on political reasons, followed by financial reasons. As for the accusation concerning morality, it was not listed in the judgment, only in the indictment. The reason may be that moral crimes cannot be considered as crimes legally. In any case, the moral accusations against Nee were raised rather suddenly within a short period of one month, from the end of 1955 to the beginning of 1956, at the height of the Su-fan movement. As for why this issue was not included in the court's verdict in June 1956, some people believed that this was an accidental discovery during the

investigation process, which was a legal argument. Another possibility was that since Nee was a religious leader, moral issues would be more sensitive than political or economic issues; hence, the authorities deliberately framed him in order to achieve their purpose. Of course, this was another legal argument. In any case, according to the court verdict, moral crimes were not one of the crimes.

The Material Evidence of Nee's Crimes

Let us temporarily put aside the legality of China's official information in the 1950s and focus on the analysis of the "material evidence" related to Nee's moral crimes raised during the anti-Nee movement, to evaluate the reliability and trustworthiness of these individual pieces of information, and thereby assess their admissibility in court today. The charges of Nee's moral crimes first came from the indictment issued by the People's Procuratorate on January 30, 1956. This was provided by the Shanghai Public Security Bureau where Nee was detained, and the evidence presented included Nee's personal confession and some "material evidence" collected by the Public Security Bureau. The "material evidence", together with alleged Nee's signed confession, was displayed at a concurrent "exhibition." The "material evidence" included: 1) Nee's signed confession, 2) a camera, 3) films of sexual intercourse with female coworkers, 4) pornographic publications with Nee's signature. Today we cannot see this physical evidence with our own eyes, so they cannot be presented before the law. Assuming that such evidence can be presented to the court, the defense should have the right to bring witnesses who have visited the exhibition and let them testify about their impressions of the evidence. The following is a personal testimony of Zhang Xikang (aka Samuel Zhang), manager of Nee's Shanghai CBC Laboratory. Zhang was also a member of the re-education group [that was formed during the Su-fan movement].

"I also went to the exhibition. In the exhibition some "evidence" accusing Nee of counter-revolutionary crimes, economic crimes, and moral corruption were displayed. The 'evidence' is mainly based on a small piece of paper, which is said to be Nee's personal confession of his crime. The handwriting is like crab crawling and is not Nee's handwriting at all. I reported to my comrades at work that this was not Nee's own handwriting. The comrade at work replied that this was written when Nee was ill. I said even in his illness he did not have such handwriting. I worked in the CBC Laboratory for a while and was very familiar with Nee's handwriting. I could tell at a glance that it was not written by Nee himself. In addition, there were some Chinese books on display in the exhibition, which were signed with the name "Watchman Nee." I recognized at a glance that that was not Nee's handwriting either. I personally organized Nee's books and he always signed his name as "Nee Shuzu" and never as "Watchman Nee." As for the pornographic publications mentioned in the newspaper, I have not seen them; and the so-called pornographic film, it was just a small negative of someone's back with no head. I can't tell who it was. "[27]

Zhang Xikang gave a personal testimony concerning three of the four categories of material evidence. [Below is a summary and analysis by category.]

1) Nee's signed confession - Zhang Xikang said that it was "a small piece of paper, which said it was a signed confession written by Nee confessing his crime. The handwriting looked like a crab crawling, and it was not Nee's handwriting at all. I reported it to my comrades at work at that time. He

replied that it was written when Nee was ill. I replied that I have worked in his CBC Laboratory for a while and was very familiar with Nee's handwriting. You can tell by looking at it that it was not written by Nee himself. "

2) Films of adultery with female co-workers - Zhang Xikang said: "The so-called pornographic film was just a small film with a person's back with no head, and you can't tell who it is." Another witness who attended the exhibition, Zhang Yuzhi's son-in-law, testified: "The same photo of a headless woman later appeared in the evidence exhibition of Chen Pixian, the second secretary of Shanghai City. This headless photo was circulated everywhere and has no credibility whatsoever. "[28]

3) Pornographic publications signed by Watchman Nee - Zhang Xikang said: "There were some Chinese books on display at the exhibition, and they were signed with the name "Watchman Nee" on them. I recognized at a glance that this was not Nee's handwriting. I personally organized Nee's books and he always signed them as "Ni Shuzu" and never as "Watchman Nee." As for the pornographic publications mentioned in the newspaper, I have not seen it. "

4) Camera - There was a camera on display in the exhibition, but there was no physical evidence showing who the camera belonged to, nor any physical object showing what the camera has been used for, or what films it has taken. The portable cameras of that era were not as capable as modern cameras in that they could not immediately show what they were photographing. Instead, they used films as a base which needed to be developed before they could be shown. Wu Youqi, a fellow inmate who was in prison with Nee, testified that he once asked Nee in prison about the camera. Nee frankly said that he bought a camera when he was in the UK but he only used it to shoot ordinary family life and did not use it to record anything indecent.

Confession Made by Nee Himself in Writing or in Speech

Having discussed the "evidence" in Nee's case, let us look at the second type of "evidence," which is the confession made by Nee himself in writing or in speech. In addition to the above-mentioned personal confession that was attributed to Nee by the investigating authorities, Nee himself appeared in court on June 21, 1956, and personally admitted the charges against him, including his moral crimes, and generally admitted that "his personal morals were very poor." This confession came from his own mouth and was seen and heard by witnesses who appeared in court. There is no doubt about it. This was his only public appearance since his arrest, and it was also his last. He has not been released since and has never been seen in public again.

Reliability of Confession

Usually in a case, when the defendant admits guilt, the case is probably over. A defendant's confession is usually considered the most reliable evidence. However, the fact is not that simple. When the defense lawyer has reasons to believe that the defendant's confession was not absolutely spontaneous or made under completely free conditions, he has the right and status to raise doubts. Ordinarily people believe that it is impossible for a normal person to admit to something that would make him guilty but has

not happened to him at all. However, as it turns out, in many so-called free courts in the West, there have been many examples of defendants admitting to things that did not happen at all, and the number of cases is quite a few. In 2012 the University of Michigan Law School established a wrongful conviction database, which recorded 1,880 cases of wrongful convictions in the United States since 1989. Many of them are examples in which the defendant's own confession has been overturned, and more than 10 percent are so-called false confessions [29]. That is, the defendant admits that he did something but actually that something did not happen at all. W.S. White pointed out in his 2003 book, *Confessions in Capital Cases*, [30] that in 20 to 25 percent of cases where DNA results cleared them the defendants admitted that they had committed the crime. In other words, one out of four or five people who have been proven not guilty by DNA has publicly stated in court that he was guilty. Drizin & Leo even claimed that this number represents only a small piece of the iceberg [31]. It should be noted that this is a figure obtained in a Western country with a so-called free and civilized society under the rule of law. In a country where totalitarian rule and torture is frequent, the number and proportion will definitely be much higher.

Analysis of Evidence

We cannot find out the circumstances under which Watchman Nee made his confession. Nevertheless, according to a book commonly used in the U.S., *Criminal Interrogation and Confession*, written by Fred E. Inbau and published in 1962, we can see what kind of general environment where false confessions are produced. Usually a suspect is isolated in a simple, crude, and soundproof small room, so that the suspect is far away from acquaintances and away from any informational support. In such an unfamiliar environment, the interrogator then strongly and harshly insists on the crime committed by the detainee. This process continues until the detainee begins to feel hopeless. During the process, the interrogator often interrupts the detainee's speech, denies any statements of not being guilty, accuses the detainee of lying, and refutes any protests, without giving the detainee a chance to make any rebuttal. During this period, the interrogator may also provide some true or false tips and information to further undermine the detainee's self-confidence, so that the detainee may feel that there is no benefit in continuing to hold on. At this time, the interrogator begins to provide the detainee with some ideas to help the detainee make reasonable acceptable arguments. The interrogator also begins to change attitude, becoming kind and sympathetic, to encourage the detainee to cooperate and to provide some face-saving alternatives to the detainee to cause the detainee to accept the interrogator's ideas. In this way the detainee becomes more anxious about not pleading guilty, more despair about the situation, and more acceptable to the idea of confessing. Finally, the interrogator asks the detainee to write down his own confession, adding some imaginary plots, so that the detainee's testimony appears to be voluntary and reasonable [32]. What is described here is what happens in the United States. In China this kind of method of extorting confessions is common and is usually much more aggravated. If such a method of seeking confessions in the United States can produce false confessions, it is much more likely to occur in China.

According to Kassir's analysis, this phenomenon follows a fixed pattern and can be divided into five steps: 1) the detainee is exposed to extreme environments, such as pressure, isolation, sleep deprivation, etc.; 2) the interrogator provides the detainee with some seemingly credible evidence, such as other witnesses, polygraphs, physical evidence, etc.; 3) under the interrogator's suggestion, the detainee

begins to doubt his memory; 4) the detainee begins to initially admit; 5) the detainee further confirms his own crime and adds some plots that he himself comes up with [33].

Testimonies of Other Parties Involved

The above is a simple analysis of Nee's personal testimony. As mentioned above, there is a third type of evidence, that is, the testimony of other parties involved. The other parties mentioned here do not include the testimony based on what others heard and retold; that is, it does not include testimonies of the third parties. This kind of testimonies of what one has seen and heard can only be considered as hearsay and cannot be accepted by the court as admissible evidence [34]. The only testimonies that can be truly accepted are from those directly related to Nee's case. There were only two people that fell into this category, namely two female co-workers who were said to be raped by Nee. In the original indictment of the Public Security Office in February 1956, only two co-workers were mentioned and named, Zhang Qinian and Miao Yunchun. However, Miao Yunchun was the only one who actually gave her personal testimony. Below is an analysis of Miao Yunchun's testimony.

Miao's personal testimony was made in February 1956 after the public critique of Nee was held. It was obtained by Lily Hsu and Zhang Xikang who went to visit Miao as representatives of the Su-fan team's re-education group. There was no recording available of her testimony and hence a lack of the original material. What is available is Lily Hsu's report in her own words.

We will not put aside the accuracy of Lily Hsu's report for the time being but focus on the credibility of Miao Yunchun's testimony. First of all, it must be pointed out that Nee's indictment stated that Nee confessed to raping his two co-workers and recorded the process on camera. In Miao's testimony, there was no mention of Nee's rape; instead, it is said that the two had a consensual affair. According to Lily Hsu's report, Miao also mentioned the camera and said that it happened in 1931 [35].

It was pointed out earlier that Nee said he bought his camera while he was in England. Nee's first visit to England was in the summer of 1933. Based on the objective data, Nee had never been to Britain before 1933. His first visit to England was due to the invitation of the British Taylorites, a closed Brethren group, who noticed Nee and organized a group of eight people to visit Shanghai at the end of 1931 [36] and invited Nee to visit later. For this reason Nee visited Britain and the United States for the first time in the summer of 1933. During this trip, he also visited Austin-Sparks in London and he returned to China in the same year. The second trip Nee made to England in which he visited Austin-Sparks was in 1938 and he returned to China the following year, in 1939. He visited England only twice in his life. Based on this fact, Nee was never in England in 1931, so there was no possibility of buying a camera, not to mention using it to make a film. Miao's testimony was inconsistent with the facts. Either her testimony was wrong or Lily Hsu's report was wrong.

In addition, according to Lily Hsu's report, Miao witnessed that the incident happened in Wuxi. Miao had moved to Shanghai since 1928 and lived in Wendeli with Ruth Lee [37]. The only time Nee could have lived in Wuxi was before 1928. Nee moved to Shanghai at the end of 1927. From the beginning of 1928 to the summer of 1933, Nee had lived in Shanghai and was bedridden for a long time.

According to the 22nd issue (December 1931) of *The Present Testimony* published by Nee [38], Nee was in Shanghai during this period. Miao's testimony was inconsistent with the historical data.

To further analyze this testimony objectively, we must first ask the following questions: 1) under what kind of context, the big environment, did Miao say this? 2) before Miao made such a statement, were there rumors that Miao was involved? 3) Was Miao in contact with the Public Security Bureau before making the statement? 4) What was Miao's view concerning these two representatives of Su-fan re-education committee?

The Su-fan movement in the early 1950s in China was introduced previously. It is worth noting that within one and a half years, from July 1955 to the end of 1956, the number of people implicated in the movement was officially recognized as 13.8 million, and the number of people who surrendered themselves, from the winter of 1955 to April 1956 alone, was 420,000 [39], which means that on average, 2,300 people voluntarily admitted to the government that they were counter-revolutionaries every day. These people were not forced to confess by the government; it was done completely spontaneously. This number alone showed the tense state of the society and the nervous atmosphere among the people at that time. The first half of 1956 was the climax of the struggle against Watchman Nee; it was also the intense period of the Su-fan movement. Nee's case had been publicly criticized but had not been concluded in court during this period. Miao Yunchun's testimony was also given during this period. This was the context, the big environment at that time.

Before Lily Hsu and Zhang Xikang visited Miao, everyone knew that the female co-workers involved in Nee's case were Miao and Zhang, including Miao herself. And it was not possible that Miao herself did not know that this information was officially released by the government. In those days, questioning any information provided by the government could lead to the peril of death. No one, including Miao, knew this. Lily Hsu and Zhang Xikang with their re-education committee did not interview others, but focused on interviewing Miao. This fact itself proved that Hsu, Zhang, and Miao all knew that Miao was involved in Nee's case. Miao was not interviewed without any preparation and a preconceived standing.

We do not know whether Miao had had any contact with the Public Security Bureau before this interview. But it was unbelievable that the public security unit never contacted Miao herself when it was during the climax of Nee's case and Miao herself was named in the case.

Though we do not know how Miao herself felt about the visit of Lily Hsu and Zhang Xikang, these two people nevertheless represented the re-education group of Su-fan movement, and the re-education group represented the government. Hence, these two people actually represented the government, or at least they were on the side of the government. Everything Miao said to them was equivalent to a confession to the government. She had reason to believe that anything she said would go to the ears of the government.

Based on the above facts, we can conclude that Miao's testimony could not have been spoken in a state of complete freedom. This is very important, as it is a key condition for the admissibility of a

testimony. It does not determine whether the testimony was true or not, but whether the testimony was made in a state of complete freedom and autonomy without any external influence.

Necessity and Possibility

Some people said that it was unnecessary and impossible for Miao to give false testimony. First let us see if it was necessary for her to give testimony. We cannot determine whether it was necessary for her. But under that situation, could she deny anything? If she denied having a relationship with Nee, would the government allow her the freedom to deny the government's propaganda? Was it really unnecessary for her to give testimony? Some people said that she could choose not to speak. However, should she choose not to speak before the re-education committee and it was reported back to the government, what would be the consequences? Anyone who went through the history of that period knew the consequences of not making a stance actively in any political movement.

We have discussed much above about the possibility of Nee himself making a false confession. As for whether Miao might have told lies that were detrimental to herself, in Nee's case it was under the pressure of confinement but with Miao's case it was under an environment without confinement.

Character Testimonials and Conclusion

Elizabeth F. Loftus, a well-known American psychologist and professor at the University of California, Irvine, has conducted research and experiments on the fragility of human memory for many years. Her biggest discovery is the possible response of human memory to false information, the so-called eyewitness memory, and the study of the occurrence and nature of false memories. Her work is recognized throughout the world and is often cited in court. She has personally testified in more than 250 cases in court. She was ranked 58th among 100 most influential psychological experts in 2002 [40].

She discovered that human memory changes depending on the information provided to it. Memories are not completely accurate but are made up of past experiences plus other governing factors. The questions others ask, and even the way they are asked, will directly affect the memory of the person being asked. She has used experiments to demonstrate how eyewitness memories can be altered by misinformation. This phenomenon became the most widely publicized new discovery in psychology, and her experiments spurred hundreds of related studies and experiments.

Her most famous experiment is the so-called lost in shopping mall experiment, in which some adults were reminded that they had been lost in a shopping mall as children. These accidents had never happened, but because of the experimenter's prompts, 25 percent of them thought they had been lost in a shopping mall, and some even added details to the created story. This experiment has been used in courts many times. As a result, some state courts began to reject testimonies provided from memory, and insurance companies also began to reject child abuse cases induced by psychotherapists [41].

D.J. Bem published an article in 1966, pointing out that human language can change human beliefs, and the words are more effective especially if they come from trustworthy people or reliable sources. Usually spoken words will strengthen the confidence of those who hear them. He said, "Saying becomes believing only when we feel the presence of truth, and certainly only when a minimum of inducement and the mildest and most subtle forms of coercion are used" [42] Another expert, Edwin Driver, pointed out in 1968 that when a criminal suspect is forced to confess his crime several times, he will automatically believe what he confesses [43]. Henkel and Coffman pointed out in their 2004 study that real or hypothetical people, things, and objects are sometimes mistakenly interspersed in personal experiences; furthermore, the more vivid, simple, repetitive, and familiar this phenomenon of confusion is to a person, the easier it is for that person to accept it. This is especially true when identifying a suspect; a face that has been seen can easily be confused and interspersed with unrelated scenes [44]. Porter, Spencer, & Birt in 2003 further proved that the more negative and emotional the imagined situation, the easier it is for a person to believe it to be true [45]. To sum up, people can come up with things that have never happened under mental pressure. Experiments have proved that the thought "it is possible" will produce another thought "a firm belief", and the thought "a firm belief" will produce the further thought "memory fantasy".

The above examples all occurred without any police pressure. In reporting Nee's incident, Lily Hsu stated that Miao Yunchun spoke quietly and eloquently on her own initiative, and hence, it was impossible that Miao was lying in this situation. Nevertheless, the examples in the research cited above point out that human memory can be changed without any threat or pressure. When we discussed Nee's personal testimony earlier, one of the factors considered was external pressure. In discussing memory change in Miao's case here, we must consider external prompts as a factor. Experiments cited above have proven that memory change and imagination do not require intimidation or pressure, only prompts. Experts point out above that memory may not only change under certain circumstances, imagining things that have not happened, but also these imaginations can be expanded, which is called Imagination Inflation in professional terms, and can even produce memories that are impossible to occur at all, called "impossible Memories." [46] Loftus pointed out that the testimony of acquaintances and friends is a powerful prompt for the forming of false memories. Their presentation of a matter may lead to a misleading admission of guilt. [47] Sometimes if the affected person is given some time to consider the memory or given prompts, the affected person may begin to unknowingly come up with answers that he thinks will satisfy the other person. In the first few times the affected person may not be successful in making the other person satisfied, which will further motivate him to try harder. As the struggle continues, the affected person begins to produce false illusions [48].

This article quotes the testimony of many experts, because expert testimony is clearly designated by law that can be presented in court [49]. Although the studies cited above are all examples from the United States, if such incidents are so common in the United States, they are more likely to occur in China.

Character Evidence

This article discusses three aspects of 'evidence' that can be considered, namely, 1) the material evidence provided by the government, 2) Nee's own confession, and 3) the testimony of an involved party, Miao Yunchun. As for other news or reports, regardless of whether they were reasonable or unreasonable, they would not be acceptable in court because they were all indirect information and were legally defined as hearsay. Not only should they not be considered, but they could not even be presented in court; this is to avoid affecting the jurors' neutrality [50]. On the other hand, some positive testimonials about Nee's character, which were criticized by opponents as self-flattering or self-embellishment, would be recognized in court as admissible evidence. Section 404A item (2) of the U.S. Federal Evidence Act (FRE) explicitly permits character evidence [51]. And it specifies that the so-called character evidence refers to the defendant's "good" character in support of the defendant's innocence. Contrarily, testimonies that accuse the defendant of "bad" character are not acceptable [52]. The reason is that testimony of "bad" character will negatively influence the jurors and cause prejudice. Testimonies of "good" character only need to be general and do not need to be specific examples. Since the purpose of such testimony is to testify to the defendant's general character, specific examples would distract the jury from the evidence.

There were many positive testimonies to Nee's character. The person closest to him was his wife. His wife Zhang Pinhui (Charity Zhang) has always insisted on his innocence [53]. There were also many others who have given positive testimonies about him [54]. Even Miao Yunchun and Zhang Qinian, together with 10 others, testified positively about Nee's character in 1950 [55]. These testimonials would be admissible evidence in court under [the US] Federal Law.

On the other hand, concerning those who slander others, the law allows the questioning of the character of the slanderer [56], and even the slanderer's personality and habitual style can be used as an accusation. In other words, if someone makes a speech that slanders others, the person who was slandered or his lawyer has the right to call into question the character of the slanderer.

The above is a discussion of the three aspects of evidence that can be considered in Nee's case. As for the information that does not fall into these three categories, it is basically information that cannot be used in court and can only be used as casual remarks after dinner. Most of the above information comes from the US society where the rule of law is upheld and it demonstrates a rigorous approach to handling situations. However, as we can see from the above, even with such careful measures to prevent erroneous information, many unjust, false and wrong cases still occur. If a judicial system is without these protections, the likeness to make mistakes will be even more conceivable.

Conclusion

As a conclusion, this article draws on the proceedings that will take place in the court when a case comes to an end. Usually when a case comes to an end, when the lawyers on both sides have finished saying what they want to say and all the evidence that can be presented in court has been presented, the judge will then turn to the jury and give them words of reminder [57]. The most important of these words is to remind the jurors of their responsibility to remain impartial and to remind them that their judgment is based on the facts of the evidence, not the eloquence of the lawyer. Their responsibility is to discard all arguments and emotion and base their judgment solely on facts. The judge will further remind them that

all evidence presented must be beyond the shadow of a doubt. That is, there is no possibility of error. If there is any room for challenge, it cannot be established. The judge usually also reminds the jurors of the basic principle of law, that is, the principle of presumption of innocence, which means before being found guilty the defendant must be presumed to be completely innocent. Usually the judge will also repeat the relevant laws to the jurors in detail and clearly, and tell the jurors that each one must make his/her own judgment independently and not be influenced by other jurors. The jurors then make independent judgments based on the information presented. The final verdict is not based on the opinion of the majority of the jurors, but on the unanimous judgment of all jurors. As long as one juror has a contrary opinion, the verdict cannot be established.

In the past few years, there have been many opinions on Watchman Nee's personal moral issues. This article attempts to analyze and discuss the case in the most rigorous information transmission process known to mankind and invites readers to make objective, independent, and fair judgments as jurors.

Notes:

[1]

[2]

[3] <http://www.judicial.state.sc.us/summaryCourtBenchBook/HTML/CriminalH.htm>

[4] <http://codes.findlaw.com/ny/criminal-procedure-law/cpl-sect-270-40.html>

[5] <https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/%E9%A6%99%E6%B8%AF%E5%88%91%E4%BA%8B%E8%A8%B4%E8%A8%9F%E7%A8%8B%E5%BA%8F>

[6] Federal Rules of Evidence, 简称FRE; 见<https://www.law.cornell.edu/rules/fre>

[7] <http://criminaldefense.homestead.com/CondensedObjections.html>

[8] [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_objections_\(law\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_objections_(law))

[9] https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/fifth_amendment

[10] <https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxiv>

[11] <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64156/64157/4512071.html>平反冤假错案工作

[12] 同上。

[13] http://blog.boxun.com/hero/200808/guoguoqing/7_1.shtml

[14] 同上

[15] Stanley Hubman, *The Study of Chinese Laws in the United States: Reflections on the Past and Concerns about the Future*; *Global Studies Law Review*, Washington University, Vol2, No.1, 2003.

[16] 此前于1955年8月出现公安部内部文件“基督徒聚会处（小群）概观”一文。但主题并非倪柝声。

[17] 张锡康, 《张锡康回忆录》, 189页, 光荣出版社

[18] <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/49592c2fb0717fd5370cdc30.html?re=view>

[19] http://www.yxjedu.com/li_shi_shun_jian/fan_you_zhuan_ji/1957_xia_ji/1957nian_xia_ji_9.htm

[20] 朱正反右派斗争全史（上册）, 79-80页

[21] <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E7%8E%8B%E6%98%8E%E9%81%93#.E5.85.A5.E7.8B.B1>

- [22] <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E9%BE%9A%E5%93%81%E6%A2%85%E8.A2.AB.E6.8D.95.E5.92.8C.E5.88.A4.E5.88.91>
- [23] 王小平,<五十年代肃反运动的来龙去脉探究>;
<http://www.xuehuile.com/thesis/e4c4be3a52254e18bc47457860b95a35.html>
- <建国以来公安工作大事要览>编写组.建国以来公安工作大事要览 (1949年10月至2000年) [K].北京:群众出版社, 2003
- [24] 这是朱正一书引1957年7月18日<人民日报>的数字.这数字显然是过低的,它报导自首人数自1955年7月至1957年7月两年间只有19万.但上文王小平引官方2003年<建国以来公安工作大事要览>编写组报导,自首人数仅1955年冬至1956年4月半年间即已有42万.若2003年公安的报告是比较准确,则真正数字比<人民日报>57年报导的数字至少大7-8倍.
- [25] 130万与8.1万是94%与6%之比。
- [26] 1956年12月7日,中央十人小组向中央作了《中央十人小组关于肃反运动的当前情况和一九五七年的工作向中央的报告》。该报告说,“1955年,第一批肃反运动中的中央和省、市级党政军领导机关,已经基本结束。参加运动的580多万人,查出反坏分子37000多人。第二批肃反运动的县区机关、厂矿、企业、基层文教卫生、财经等单位正在进行,至1956年底,有800万人参加,初步查出2万多名反坏分子。[32]此外,该报告还指出,1955年开展的第一批肃反运动,已经在全国范围内基本结束。根据1956年10月的统计,全国参加运动的有5,864,238人,经过反复检查,最后定案的反革命分子和其他坏分子共37,288名。”以上报告中第一批和第二批加起来,共有1380万人参与运动。
- [27] 张锡康回忆录,199页,光荣出版社
- [28] <http://bbs.fuyin.net/forum.php?mod=viewthread&tid=16274>
- [29] 参: <https://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Pages/about.aspx>
- [30] White, W.S. (2003). Confessions in capital cases. *University of Illinois Law Review*, 2003, 979–1036.
- [31] Drizin, S.A., & Leo, R.A. (2004). The problem of false confessions in the post-DNA world. *North Carolina Law Review*, 82, 891–1007.
- [32] FRED E. INBAU, ET AL., CRIMINAL INTERROGATION AND CONFESSIONS (Jones & Bartlett Pubs. 2004) (1962)
- [33] 见上文, Kassin, Internalized False Confession.
- [34] 见联邦证据法Federal Rules of Evidence, FRE Article VI WITNESSES.特别第602条 Need for Personal Knowledge;
<https://www.law.cornell.edu/rules/fre>.
- [35] 许梅骊, 难泯岁月, 137页。
- [36] 张锡康回忆录, 51页。
- [37] 同上, 21页
- [38] 倪柝声文集第9册《复兴报》。
- [39] 见上文
- [40] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elizabeth_Loftus
- [41] 同上
- [42] Bem, D. J. (1967, June). When saying is believing. *Psychology Today*, 1, 23-24.
- [43] Driver, E. D. (1968). Confessions and the social psychology of coercion. *Harvard Law Review*, 82, p.53.
- [44] Henkel, L. A., & Coffman, K. J. (2004). Memory distortions in coerced false confessions: A source monitoring framework analysis. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 18, 567–588.
- [45] Porter, S., Spencer, L., & Birt, A. R. (2003). Blinded by emotion? Effects of the emotionality of a scene on susceptibility to false memories. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 35, 165–175.
- [46] 同上
- [47] 同上
- [48] 张锡康回忆录里转载了左弗如,周静梅,倪规箴,周逸民等见证,与上述描写心理现象完全吻合,见191-199页。
- [49] 见联邦证据法Federal Rules of Evidence, FRE Article VII Opinions and Experts Testimony. 第702条;
<https://www.law.cornell.edu/rules/fre>.
- [50] 见联邦证据法FRE Article VIII Hearsay; 同上。

[51] <https://www.law.cornell.edu/rules/fre>

[52] S.M. Kassin and L.S. Wrightsman, *The Psychology of Evidence and Trial Procedure*, p. 151-152

[53] 倪妻甥女万小玲见证倪妻曾亲口否定所有政府对倪指控. 见<反驳梁家麟著的倪柝声的荣辱升黜>,56页

[54] 如吴有琦,陈终道,李常受,陈则信,张宜纶,张悟晨,张郁岚,金弥耳等,尚有网上许多其他名字.

[55] “几句不得已的话”, 敞开的门第22期, 倪柝声文集第3辑第9册, 314-315页

[56] Martin F. Kaplan, *Character Testimony*, *The Psychology of Evidence and Trial Procedure*, 153页

[57] 见美国律师公会American Bar Association提供的How Courts Work, Instructions to the Jury;

<http://www.americanbar.org>

[/groups/public_education/resources/law_related_education_network/how_courts_work/juryinstruct.html](http://www.americanbar.org/groups/public_education/resources/law_related_education_network/how_courts_work/juryinstruct.html)

本文链接: <http://www.jdt365.net/post/411.html>

Section Four:

A Response to the Untruthful Narratives by Ka-lun Leung, Lily Hsu, and Lian Xi

Abraham Ho

Watchman Nee's life can be expressed in a hymn that he wrote, titled "Let us contemplate the grape vine" (Hymn #635). Stanza 15 says: Not by gain our life is measured, / but by what we've lost 'tis scored; / 'Tis not how much wine is drunken, / But how much has been outpoured. / For The strength of love e'er standeth / In the sacrifice we bear; / He who has the greatest suff'ring / Ever has the most to share. He is the only Christian minister in Chinese history that we know of who, because he was unwilling to give up his faith, was imprisoned for twenty years. He was not released after serving his sentence and eventually died in a labor camp. He and his wife had been separated for nineteen years, and even when she fell seriously ill and before passing away he was not allowed to see her for the last time. For his whole life Watchman Nee lived out what the Lord Jesus said to his disciples in the Gospel of Matthew in the Bible. The Lord said, "If anyone wants to come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me" (16:24), and "narrow is the gate and constricted is the way that leads to life, and few are those who find it" (7:14).

Among all Christians today, thousands of God's children were inspired by Watchman Nee's testimony and have received spiritual help from him. However, there are also a few (five or so), social figures and so-called scholars, who wrote books attacking Watchman Nee openly, claiming that he was immoral. We cannot recognize these people as Christians because what they did is not the life and testimony that Christians should have at all. Ephesians 4:29-31 says: "Let no corrupt word proceed out of your mouth, but only that which is good for building up, according to the need, that it may give grace to those who hear. And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, in whom you were sealed unto the day of redemption. Let all bitterness and anger and wrath and clamor and evil speaking be removed from you, with all malice."

1. Ka-lun Leung

Among these five people, the one who wrote the most, the longest, and most viciously was Ka-lun Leung of Alliance Bible Seminary (Jiandao) in Hong Kong. In 2003 he wrote a book *The Honor and Disgrace of Watchman Nee* [which viciously attacked Watchman Nee]. This book was published by Alliance Bible Seminary which was directly under China Alliance Press. The president of China Alliance Press, Xu Chaoying, was the receiver of the 5th Hong Kong Golden Book Award [in 2011]. Before China Alliance Press began to handle all publications of Alliance Bible Seminary directly, Watchman Nee's nephew, Sam Nee, visited Ka-lun Leung and inquired of him the reason he wrote about Watchman Nee. Leung's answer to Sam Nee was that he "wanted to do justice on behalf of heaven." People who read

Leung's book will easily find that Ka-lun Leung's writing is full of bitterness, hatred, and slander. Most of his attack on Watchman Nee came from quoting Wang Mingdao's diary, but Wang Mingdao's diary was based on other people's hearsay without any factual evidence. As Leung's book used such narratives extensively, to quote his own statements, his writing was "using slightly acceptable facts", "putting together of a reasonable story", "with a low possibility of error", "due to lack of information... We are not sure but a reasonable inference is...", "Watchman Nee's confession in court is said to be this...", "based on all the information, we are probably certain of the following story...", "We have reasons to question the reason why Watchman Nee's ministry was suspended... based on common sense...".

According to the rule of law in today's society, if you want to accuse a person of committing a moral crime before a judge, you cannot use expressions such as "slightly acceptable facts", "a combination of facts and speculations", "lack of information", "inference", "allegedly", "and "probably certain." Your complaint will be dismissed before it even goes to court. In today's academic world, however, people such as Ka-lun Leung can accuse Watchman Nee as he pleases without any restraint? Moreover, the Bible gives us, God's children, a higher legal constraint: "But let your word be, Yes, yes; No, no; for anything more than these is of the evil one" (Matthew 5:37). In Matthew 12:34-37, the Lord also rebuked the Pharisees. He said, "Offspring of vipers, how can you, being evil, speak good things? For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks. The good man, out of his good treasure, brings forth good things, and the evil man, out of his evil treasure, brings forth evil things. And I say to you that every idle word which men shall speak, they will render an account concerning it in the day of judgment. For by your words you shall be justified, and by your words you shall be condemned."

2. Lian Xi: *Redeemed by Fire—The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China*

Lian Xi is a history professor in the Divinity School at Duke University in the United States. Generally speaking, the standards in academic publishing in the U.S. are very high and any statements made must directly describe the facts. On April 21, 2018, Lian Xi was interviewed by Zhang Min, the host of Radio Free Asia's "Spiritual Journey" talk show, about his book published in March of 2018. This book was titled *Blood Letters: the Untold Story of Lin Zhao, a Martyr of Mao's China*. The book was about a Chinese dissident, Lin Zhao, who wrote letters with her blood. During the interview, Lian Xi boasted of his own writing standards many times:

"Let me say a few words about the content of the book. In terms of nature, my book should be a scholarly work. For example, the total number of pages in this book is more than 330 pages, but the main text of the book is only 252 pages. In other words, more than 80 pages... are footnotes and quoted materials. Hence, the characteristic of the book is that it is a scholarly work."

"On this basis...you also know that for historical research, one cannot only use one kind of historical material but must combine historical data from all aspects. So over the years, starting from 2013, I have returned to China every year to collect data, locating some people who could provide direct historical information about Lin Zhao, including her ex-fiancé Gan Cui."

"There are many commentaries about Lin Zhao in China, especially on the Internet, which mainly focus on Lin Zhao's thoughts. These are of course very important. In historical research, however, I need to put her thoughts in a historical framework as well as a bigger, narrative framework of her life. For this reason I have to pay attention to some historical facts and clarify them."

Since the total number of pages in the book is more than 330 pages while the main text is only 252 pages, with about 80 pages of footnotes and quoted materials, Lian Xi must have spent a lot of time working on giving a clear presentation of the historical facts concerning people, events, and objects. We can indeed see that Lian Xi is rigorous in his studies with this book and worthy of being a tenured professor at Duke University Divinity School in world christianity research. Nevertheless, if we look at his previous book *Redeemed by Fire* and at how he talked about Watchman Nee's moral issues, we cannot but notice his lack of research standards, because he cited many documents issued by the First Bureau of Public Security Affairs of the People's Republic of China, without verifying these documents with other sources. If you want to accuse someone today of a moral crime, you will need detailed evidence from witnesses as well as physical evidence. By citing rumors as facts Lian Xi condemned a minister who was imprisoned for 20 years because of his faith. Lian Xi's conduct is not only unacceptable as a researcher but is even more egregious as a person. Matthew 23:23 says, "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you give a tenth of the mint and the anise and the cummin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law – justice and mercy and faithfulness. But these you should have done and not neglected the others."

It is common knowledge that during Mao Zedong's period of rule, many people were accused of "counter-revolution" on fabricated crimes. In the 1980s, when Deng Xiaoping came to power, these cases were overturned as unjust, false, and wrongful. Watchman Nee's wife, Charity Chang, whose charge of being a counter-revolutionary was also overturned. The material from the Public Security office that was used by Lian Xi was not included in the court's indictment later. Lian Xi has studied Lin Zhao's case; he should know better how "credible" the documents from the Public Security office were in an era where it was very easy to find something to accuse someone if so desired.

3. Lily Hsu

Recently I read Ms. Lily Hsu's nearly 700-page masterpiece *For Whom the Siren Wails*, which was an updated version of her first book *My Unforgettable Memories*. In the first book, Ms. Hsu recounted her own feelings from the perspective of a former member of a local church. The second book was doubled in length. In addition to the self-narration of the first edition, she included a section criticizing Watchman Nee's teaching and practice concerning the church, and moreover, she stressed her own claim of Nee's immorality by using history. Lastly with a pastoral tone she admonished the believers in the local churches to repent. Thus her second book became an amalgamation of ecclesiology, history, and pastoral studies. She even used the history in the Old Testament as an example, urging believers to "take history as a lesson and remove any hindrances." Regrettably, Ms. Hsu's "history" cannot be compared with the proper Old Testament canon in any way. At best, her book can be considered a novel adapted from the apocrypha and is similar in nature to a gossip magazine. She used "Watchman Nee" and

the “local church” in the subtitle to attract the attention of curious readers. However, readers with a slight discernment can easily detect its suspicious content. With such suspicious content, it is also very incredible that a number of Christians would consent to write a preface for such a book.

A. Source of Her Book

Ms. Hsu became clear of her salvation in 1947 through the gospel preaching of Witness Lee. She was 16 years old at the time, a student in the second year in high school. The first five chapters of her second book, which contained a description of Watchman Nee’s marriage in 1934 as if she were present, were therefore something that was pieced together from other people’s works, relying on some at best second-hand information. In her description, she questioned whether Nee was forced into the marriage under pressure, and on the other hand, she accused Nee of being behind the scenes and putting the blame on others. Ms. Hsu was only three years old when Nee got married. How did she come to such a conclusion? Similarly, Hsu criticized Nee’s letter to the Brethren in London (“A Reply to a Meeting in London”, CWWN, vol. 26) in 1935 as arrogant and hypocritical (p. 88), and strongly questioned Nee’s morality; she further described Nee’s resumption of his ministry in 1948 as Nee’s secret manipulation behind the scene for more power (p. 125) and so on. There are a number of things that even happened before Lily Hsu was saved. Where did Hsu obtain such impressions and draw these conclusions?

It was common knowledge that Watchman Nee stopped ministering in 1942 and his ministry was not resumed until 1948. Brother Nee was not in Shanghai when Hsu was saved. At that time, the turmoil against Watchman Nee in the church in Shanghai had not yet ended, and it might be unavoidable for some gossip about Nee to go around. Hsu was a young person who had just been saved. She had never seen anything about Nee with her own eyes and therefore had no way of telling whether it was true or false. After brother Nee resumed his ministry in 1948, he only participated in a few co-workers’ meetings in Shanghai and then went to Kuling, Fuzhou to hold a training. In 1949, the political situation changed. Nee first went to Hong Kong for a conference and then returned to China to arrange the affairs of the Gospel Book Room. We do not know how many times Hsu met Watchman Nee, but it is safe to say that whatever Ms. Hsu knew of the Watchman Nee she must have heard from others, or it was other people’s impressions of Nee plus Hsu’s own imagination.

From 1949 to 1956, the Christian faith was put under much trial and test in China. With the instability of the new political situation and the implementation of new religious policies, leaders of many churches and work were groping for a way forward, and Nee was one of them. Although he had tried to obey the secular regime and its religious policies, he, like many other religious leaders, was labeled a "counter-revolutionary" and became the main target of the government's crackdown. Such cases were not uncommon at that time. Lily Hsu herself also testified in her book that she saw an exhibition of evidence of crimes committed by another Christian group, the Jesus Family, which was extremely exaggerated. But when it came to Watchman Nee, Hsu accepted all the evidence without any doubt. The government’s use of propaganda policy could not have been more successful with Hsu. Not only did she fully believe the evidence, but she also publicly accused Watchman Nee in those accusation meetings and in newspapers. When the church went through trials and those who loved the Lord faithfully laid down their lives for their faith, Hsu was appointed as a member of the education committee for ideological reform in the

church in Shanghai because of her good political performance, assisting the Communist Party in reforming other believers in the church in Shanghai. Because of her active political performance and her vigorous accusations against the "Watchman Nee counter-revolutionary group," many older brothers and sisters who had served her were imprisoned for decades or even martyred. Hsu was not, as she claimed, a victim who was led astray by Watchman Nee. On the contrary, Hsu successfully completed her medical school studies at the expense of Watchman Nee's and other people's lives. Sixty years later, those who loved the Lord and were martyred are no longer here, but those who have lived an ignoble life are engaging in writing and speaking about history. Actually, history has already made a conclusion concerning Watchman Nee. Perhaps Lily Hsu has a hidden motive to rewrite this part of history.

B. Author's Character

Lily Hsu's book seems to focus on her personal experience in a local church. However, from the time of her salvation to brother Nee's imprisonment there was only four years, but the section on the history of the local churches that she wrote covered more than fifty years, and more than 90% of this section was not her personal experiences at all. This is especially true with the portion related to Watchman Nee personally. Hsu used the evidence presented by the government to accuse Watchman Nee of financial and moral crimes. She also cited Zhang Xikang's "Memoir" (unpublished manuscript), Ren Zhongxiang's *A Brief History of the Local Church*, Li Wenwei's "Reference Materials Proved to Be Contrary to the Historical Facts in Newman Sze's Book *The Martyrdom of Watchman Nee* (abridged version)" and Yu Chongen's "personal information" as an "insider's" point of view. As we all know, the first three of them, together with Lily Hsu, all participated in the accusation meetings, speaking against Watchman Nee in the 1950s, and among them only Zhang Xikang repented in his later years. Yu Chongen harbored resentment toward Watchman Nee because his father, Yu Chenghua, died of illness in prison when he refused to accuse Watchman Nee. Yu Chongen has always attributed his father's death to Watchman Nee. When Lily Hsu described Watchman Nee's immorality, she cited a large amount of "Yu Chongen's personal information" as evidence, but did not explain where the information came from and in what form it existed? This "personal information" could be rumors that Yu heard from others or Yu's own opinions. If the source of this information was credible and sufficient to serve as evidence, why did Yu Chongen not publish it himself but provide the information to Lily Hsu under the pseudonym Nenzi [in Chinese the name means "a young child"]? If Yu Chongen did not have the peace to use this information to accuse Nee directly, why did he use Lily Hsu's hand to do it? In any case, the authenticity of this so-called "personal information" remains to be investigated and is not sufficient as a basis for charges.

Another source of information for Lily Hsu was the memoir of Zhang Xikang, the son of Zhang Guangrong, an elder in the church in Shanghai at that time. Zhang Xikang once worked in Nee's CBC Laboratory and had first-hand knowledge of Watchman Nee. Lily Hsu knew nothing about Watchman Nee himself, the CBC Laboratory, the suspension and reinstatement of Nee's ministry, or Nee's personal life. The narration of the history of the local churches in her book almost all came from the history section of Zhang Xikang's memoir, and then based on her own speculations and imagination she drew negative conclusions. After the publication of *My Unforgettable Memories* in 2011 (Chinese version), Zhang Xikang made a public clarification, directly criticizing Hsu for copying some historical processes from his

book without his consent and "adding some false rumors and summoning everything up to her own negative conclusion with words that I had never said before. Furthermore, Zhang said that Hsu "committed the shameless mistake of plagiarism and modification" (see Zhang Xikang's "Clarification about the CBC Laboratory"). In 2012, Zhang Xikang supplemented and updated his own memoir which Hsu plagiarized and distorted and published it as *Zhang Xikang's Memoir - A Review of the Local Church in Shanghai in the Past Sixty Years*. In the preface, Zhang clearly stated that the previous version of his memoir was supervised by the government during the writing process. Now, twenty years after leaving that environment, his views and opinions were relatively free and objective, so he felt that some information needed to be revised. In spite of Zhang's own clarification, Lily Hsu was not only not ashamed of being exposed for plagiarism but continued to plagiarize the contents of Zhang Xikang's memoir in her second book, *For Whom the Siren Wails*. Not only so, she even used 17 more pages to criticize and lament over Zhang Xikang. The fact is, Lily Hsu's malicious quotation of Zhang's unpublished manuscript in her first book already violated copyright laws. Zhang only sent a letter of warning to Lily Hsu and did not seek after Lily Hsu for her violation because he regarded Hsu as a child of God. However, Lily Hsu became angry from shame and intensified her criticism of Zhang Xikang's personality. Her conduct follows what the Bible says of hypocrites, that they "strain out the gnat but swallow the camel" (Matthew 23:24).

C. A Hidden Motive

As Zhang Xikang said, Xu's "history" is to copy multiple historical events from different books, and then add her imagination and some false rumors to draw a negative conclusion that she has preset in advance. Xu's first edition is like this, and the second edition is more than that. Not only did she continue to fabricate criticisms of Watchman Nee, she also further commented on Nee's views on the church and made various distorted interpretations of Watchman Nee's teachings and writings. I wonder where Xu is qualified to comment on this? Why not tell readers that the source of the content in her book comes from Liang Jialin, who collaborated with her and wrote in the same way? Liang and Hsu quoted each other, with Liang using the fake history copied by Hsu to criticize Watchman Nee's ministry, and Hsu using Liang's criticism of Nee as an argument in her own book. Liang started from doctrine and Xu started from morality, both with the purpose of overthrowing Watchman Nee and causing people to abandon his ministry.

Lily Hsu criticized the local churches for exalting Watchman Nee and covering up his sins. This is absolutely not true. The Lord Jesus clearly taught his disciples in the Gospel of Matthew: "Do not judge, that you be not judged. For with what judgment you judge, you shall be judged; and with what measure you measure, it shall be measured to you" (7:1-2). After Hsu accused Watchman Nee at the accusation meetings, Hsu's own life experience that was measured out by God to her testified to the Lord's words as true. The apostle Paul also told us that the Lord is the one who examines man. Paul said, "So then do not judge anything before the time, until the Lord comes, who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness and make manifest the counsels of the hearts, and then there will be praise to each from God" (1 Cor. 4:5). Charity Chang, Watchman Nee's wife, also said, "There is a higher judgment in the future." Before the judgment seat of Christ, everything will be manifested. Why was Lily Hsu so anxious to crucify Watchman Nee? (Luke 23:21; John 19:6, 15)

Hsu kept telling believers to "see no one except Jesus"; but after reading more than 700 pages of Hsu's work, one will instead see "no Jesus but only one person." Sixty years have passed; yet Lily Hsu still clung to her blame on Watchman Nee. This author would like to encourage Hsu herself to first practice "seeing no one except Jesus" and forget about Watchman Nee; she would do well to focus on Christ and not linger in the past. It is better for her to use the time to write something nutritious to supply God's children, and thus produce fruits worthy of her repentance (Matt. 3:8, Luke 3:8).

In Lily Hsu's two books, *My Unforgettable Memories* (2011, Chinese) and *For Whom the Siren Wails* (2018), all she did was play the characters of both a clown and an evil woman. Proverbs 6:23-24 tell us clearly, "For the commandment is a lamp, and the teaching a light, and the reproofs of instruction are the way of life, to keep you from the evil woman, from the smooth tongue of the adulteress."

Brother Philip Hsu was also in the church in Shanghai and was one year behind Lily Hsu. The two entered the same medical school and became classmates a year apart. When the government was after Watchman Nee and the related believers in the church in Shanghai, Lily Hsu provided the government with a detailed list, which resulted in the arrest of eight elders, responsible brothers, and co-workers overnight in January 1956. During that time, Lily Hsu gave up her faith and fully cooperated with the government's persecution and its political activities in ideological reform. As a result, she rose to prominence. Not only did she become a core member of the ideological education committee in the church in Shanghai, she also successfully completed her medical school. She came to the U.S. later and was accomplished in her profession. Perhaps due to her uneasy conscience, she wrote two books after her retirement to explain why she betrayed the Lord in order to seek glory, and blamed all her evil deeds on Watchman Nee in an attempt to gain understanding and sympathy.

Lily Hsu and Ka-lun Leung recommended each other and copied each other. As a contrast, Philip Hsu was sentenced to 18 years in the labor camp because he refused to cooperate with the government in giving up his faith. He never completed medical school. What Lily Hsu did was just like what is said in Matthew Chapter 27, "Then Judas, who betrayed Him, seeing that He was condemned, regretted and returned the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in betraying innocent blood. But they said, What is that to us? You see to that yourself! And he threw the pieces of silver into the temple and departed, and he went away and hanged himself" (vv. 3-5). The eight elders and co-workers did not give up their faith until their death; among them was Philip Hsu's father-in-law, Zhang Yuzhi. Brother Zhang Yuzhi was sentenced to death and died in the execution ground. He was modeling after the Lord Jesus with His life of the cross. The Gospel of Matthew chapter 26 says, "A woman came to Him, having an alabaster flask of ointment of great value, and she poured it on His head as He reclined at table. But when the disciples saw it, they were indignant, saying, Why this waste? For this could have been sold for much and given to the poor. But Jesus, knowing it, said to them, Why do you trouble the woman? She has done a noble deed to Me" (vv. 7-10). The footnote on verse 8 of the Holy Bible Recovery Version says, "The disciples considered Mary's love offering to the Lord a waste. Throughout the past twenty centuries thousands of precious lives, heart treasures, high positions, and golden futures have been 'wasted' upon the Lord Jesus. To those who love Him in such a way He is altogether lovely and worthy of their offering. What they have poured upon Him is not a waste but a fragrant testimony of His sweetness."

Lastly, I would like to conclude this response by a US Congressional record made on April 29, 2014 by Congressman Joe Pitts. Mr. Pitts affirmed Watchman Nee's and Witness Lee's ministries and considered these two faithful servants of the Lord to the glory of the Chinese people. He said the following:

[Watchman Nee and Witness Lee] labored tirelessly in China from 1932... Today the story of Watchman Nee is somewhat well known, given his numerous writings that have become Christian classics, such as *The Normal Christian Life* and *Sit, Walk, Stand*... Although Nee was the clear leader when they labored together in China, it was left to Witness Lee, at Nee's direction, to preserve and continue their work for the Lord outside of China and to spread it far beyond the Chinese-speaking world...

Witness Lee did not confine his work to Asia. In 1962 he came to North America and began to minister from Los Angeles, where he established Living Stream Ministry, the publisher of Watchman Nee and Witness Lee in English and over fifty other languages. Witness Lee's speaking and writing continued to emphasize "Christ as life" and God's desire to "build His church" on the basis of the oneness of God's people, rather than on any ethnic or cultural differences. This was the same message that he had learned from his spiritual mentor, Watchman Nee. Since the early 1960s the spread of the local churches under Lee's ministry throughout the North and South America, Europe, and Africa has been remarkable. There are more than 4,000 churches and 400,000 believers meeting on every inhabited continent, including 200 churches and several thousand believers in Russia and the Russian-speaking world.

Today the local churches have spread to all continents on the whole earth. The development of the churches and the vast number of believers are the strongest confirmation from God to the ministry of these two, Watchman Nee and Witness Lee. There is no need for other men to publicize. The believers and the churches produced by Nee's and Lee's ministries expound the truth of the Bible according to the pure teaching of the Bible for the goal of God's eternal economy to establish God's kingdom which consummates in the New Jerusalem to reach God's heart's desire.

Grace Nee's (Enxiu Hsu Nee) Account of History Related to CBC Laboratory and the Resumption of Watchman Nee's Ministry

August 26, 2003

My husband, Xingzu Nee, was the fifth younger brother of Watchman Nee. When Watchman Nee was saved in 1920, he practiced fully what he had believed and preached. He experienced many misunderstandings and slanders but he steadfastly held on to what he had received before the Lord, willing to take the way of the cross and never vindicating himself. After he went to be with the Lord in 1972, there have been many books published concerning him in these years. Whether they were good or bad, as members of the Nee family we have honored our brother's heart toward the Lord when he was alive and never made any comment about them. However, the intention and motivation of the author of the book, *Glory and Dishonor of Watchman Nee*, have gone far beyond attacking and slandering a servant of God. Its effect has caused great damage to the faith of many innocent saints and readers. For this reason after much prayer I have received the burden to write this letter. Much of the material in this letter came from direct testimonies of the members of our family in Shanghai from 1942 to 1956. I have also included the testimony of my nephew Philip Hsu as well as the direct correspondences of some who were listed in *Glory and Dishonor of Watchman Nee*. As to things related to the running of the pharmaceutical company, I have asked four brothers, including my oldest son Sam and the nephew of my brother-in-law, to pay a visit with my second sister Fengxian in Shanghai. Fengxian is the wife of Huaizu Nee, the second brother of Watchman Nee. She had once served as the overseer of the pharmaceutical company.

The churches were flourishing in various places during that time, and the needs of co-workers were also growing day after day. According to what brother Nee taught and practiced from the revelation of the Bible, there was no fund solicitation among us nor did we have any support from any foundations or missions. For many years, brother Nee often blamed himself for the fact that his co-workers lived in poverty because they lived by faith, and as a result many of them suffered from chronic diseases due to malnutrition and their children had to give up on further education due to poverty. Under such a situation Nee was compelled to begin the business of setting up the pharmaceutical laboratory. Brother Nee even gave CBC laboratory a banner: "Make alive those who are not living. Convert those who can not be converted".

Brother Nee's older cousin, Shuzu Nee (倪树祖), whom we call "Peter Nee", was a business tycoon in Shanghai at that time and used to be the president of the Bank of China in Shanghai. He was the main investor and served as the general manager in CBC Laboratory. I remember there were also quite a few bank loans. The second oldest brother, Huaizu Nee (倪怀祖), was a well-known chemist who had his own inventions. He was initially the director of the laboratory. Later, brother Liu from Cheeloo University in Shandong took the position of director, so that Huaizu could focus on his research. Many brothers and sisters worked in the factory, and I served as the director of the packaging department. At that time, we were all young and knew nothing except loving the Lord and working hard. Every day, we prayed before starting our work. The business of CBC was booming; although we all got paid little, the factory still had

good profits. Later, the houses for Kuling training and the house on Haiguan Lane were purchased with the financial support from CBC. Brother Nee never lived a good life. In everything he always thought about others and planned for others. What he had shouldered and endured could not be understood by outsiders; but those who were close to him could all testify that he was a person who practiced what he believed. Not only did he teach the lessons of the cross, but he also pursued and accepted the dealings of the cross. He never made plans for himself. Even if there were misunderstandings or false accusations, I have never seen him defend himself even once. Everyone who knew him personally could testify to this. (There are many who are still alive today.) Nevertheless, I believe that this fact is incomprehensible to those who have not known him or approved of His teaching.

Because of the problems in CBC, a turmoil arose in the church. It started with doubting whether CBC should have been started and then the criticism intensified. The rumors, coupled with unreasonable and malicious slander, turned into a serious personal attack on brother Nee. This turmoil became so big that almost all the co-workers and elders were involved in it. Only brother Yu Chenghua insisted on the teachings of the Bible and believed that the church should not take any action based on rumors alone and must verify it in person before handling it. Unexpectedly, most people opposed it and Yu's plan was given up, resulting in brother Nee being unable to minister for a long time.

British missionaries in Shanghai, sister [Elizabeth] Fischbacher and sister [Mary] Jones, whom we were all very familiar with and close to, together with a few other sisters from the West had stopped meeting for a long time because of the situation in the church in Shanghai, and their spirits were very dry. One day they had no choice but to go to brother Nee for fellowship, and it seemed that he talked with them concerning the revelation of the kingdom. (I cannot remember clearly.) After the fellowship, these sisters received great help and were extremely joyful. They said, "Whether brother Nee is right or wrong in running the pharmaceutical company, we know that he has treasures in his spirit, and the light within him is something that others do not have." So they fellowshiped with many other brothers and sisters, and this was the beginning of restoring brother Nee's ministry.

Brother Nee was living with us at that time. He had no children of his own, and he loved our children very much. I still remember that morning when he was about to go out, my second son Tianci saw his first uncle and demanded to be hugged. Brother Nee took the child from my hands with a big smile on his face. Not long after, he said to me: "Grace, take the child over quickly. I have to go to the meeting. I'm running late." Unexpectedly, the child held onto his uncle's neck tightly with his two small hands and refused to let go, so I had to force the child to let go. I saw that brother Nee was very happy, so I boldly asked him: "Brother, Can I go to the meeting with you?" He replied: "Okay." We got in the jeep together and arrived at the meeting hall on Hardong Road, Wendi Lane. When we entered the hall, I was shocked. It turned out that it was a national gathering of elders and co-workers on that day and I was not qualified to attend. After a while, brother Nee stood up. With a very heavy heart and tears in his eyes, he spoke softly and slowly: "I started the pharmaceutical business out of necessity. It was like a widow with children who was forced to remarry. Seeing that my co-workers' children have all grown up and need tuition for school, and some co-workers became ill or passed away due to malnutrition, I feel very sad. Also, every time we bought a meeting hall, the old widow sisters would come up with the money. So I said to the Lord, 'Next time I will come up with the money when we are purchasing a meeting hall.'" At

this point, all the brothers and sisters in the audience wept with tears. Sister Ruth Lee stood up and asked brother Nee to forgive her. She said: "Shenghua is shenghua." [note: in Chinese, CBC (Shenghua) has the same pronunciation as rumor-making (shenghua).] To me, I have heard too many such speakings for a long time. It is really frustrating.

Since that day forward, the Lord brought in a great revival to the church in Shanghai. Every one wrote and handed over themselves completely to the Lord in consecration. When we purchased the meeting hall on Nanyang Road, the total amount of 300 bars of gold was quite a large sum but at that time everybody offered the most valuable and most beloved possessions to the Lord for this purpose. A tailor brother donated his sewing machine, which he could not live without, and everyone was deeply moved by him. Later brother Yu Chenghua bought the sewing machine and returned it to this tailor brother. This was how on fire everyone's heart was toward the Lord. The church was greatly blessed. Later brother Nee went to Yantai [Chefoo] for a period of time and then returned to Shanghai with brother Witness Lee. When Nee released a message, it was strong and powerful and the saints were supplied by the rich word and the Spirit. Blessings flooded the church in Shanghai bountifully. The whole church was filled with joy, the joy on earth as in heaven. Brother Zhang Yuzhi was filled with the power of the Spirit of the gospel and 500 people were saved through his gospel in one day. This was unprecedented. Everyone was overflowing with joy and ecstasy.

This is not my personal testimony only but also the testimony of many saints who went through the great revival in the church in Shanghai. We experienced the resurrection and the bountiful blessing of life from the Lord after we went through death and dryness. This was a spiritual fact that the saints in the whole church passed through together. Until today, thousands and ten thousands of saints in China and outside of China have directly and indirectly received the influence and benefit that came to the church in the revival at that time. This is a spiritual fact that cannot be denied. I hope that this fact will not be insulted or trampled down by others so easily.

The above was my personal experiences concerning the pharmaceutical business and how brother Nee's ministry was resumed. They are still very fresh before my eyes today. This is especially true regarding the resumption of brother Nee's ministry. What the saints who were there at that time experienced was an extremely glorious period of God's work on earth. The power of the Holy Spirit, the flow of blessings, the saints' love for the Lord, and the stories of being touched by the saints' love toward the Lord were countless. I am just reliving the most memorable period of my life before the Lord. I have no intention to make a statement, let alone defend the resumption of brother Nee's ministry.

Regarding the circulated rumor of the relationship of my brother-in-law, the elders of the church in Shanghai had never received any complaint from any involved person. All those tales were from the third party. Because of this, a statement was put out on October 22, 1950, by the responsible brothers of the church in Shanghai and the 2 sisters that was involved in this rumor, Ruth Lee and Peace Wang; titled "A Necessary Word of Clarification":

Recently some outside publications have criticized our testimony and attacked our co-worker, Brother Watchman Nee. We have remained silent about these publications because we do not like to argue. On the one hand, we wanted to learn the lessons before the Lord, and on the other hand, we wanted to allow the Lord Himself to vindicate us. In the final analysis, the thoughts and desires of everyone's heart will be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ. May the Lord have mercy on us so that we would always fear Him! With respect to the person of Brother Watchman Nee, however, we can testify in one accord before the Lord that he is one of God's faithful servants. Although he engages in some form of business, his goal has never been to gain anything for himself. We are all in one accord with him in the matter of the truth, in the matter of the service, and in the matter of his business. We respectfully announce this to all the brothers and sisters who care for us, and we ask you to pray for us.

*Tang Shou-ling, Yu Cheng-hua, Chang Kuang-rong,
Stephen Kaung, Tu Tsong-chen, David Hsu, Chu Chen,
Chang Yu-zhi, Miao Yun-chun, Ruth Lee, Peace Wang,
Phoebe Chang*

October 22, 1950

I personally think that the teaching of the Bible should be the standard of our Christian walk. Furthermore, the statement made by the elders of the church in Shanghai represents God's authority on locality. The comments of the outsiders and the unbelievers should not be the subject for us to address.

Interview with sister Fengxian Hsu Nee, wife of Huaizu Nee

Date: June 17, 2003

Location: Home of sister Nee in Shanghai

Present during the Interview: Sister Nee (X), Nee's relative (R), Nee's nephew Sam (S), Abraham Ho (H), and Paul Wu (W)

Interview Record: part of this interview was published in a book, *Review and Comment on Critical Appraisal of Watchman Nee*, pages 45-56. This is a record of the original interview. Interview was not reviewed by the speakers.

H: Brother Nee was taken by the Public Security in 1952 but was not tried and sentenced until 1956. Have you heard any news about him during the four years?

X: That was entirely an attack from Satan who was not willing to lose. Brother Nee has been for the Lord, altogether for the Lord. So that situation was completely the work of Satan because he was not willing to lose. Since ancient times, how many people have been martyred for the Lord, right? For instance, John the Baptist was killed, and Peter was nailed on the cross upside down, right? This is what will happen when someone takes the way of the Lord, which way is persecution. Satan is unwilling to see those who take the Lord's way, so he will try his best to attack them. Peter was crucified upside down and John's head was displayed on a platter. What sin had they committed? Paul was also for the Lord, right? From ancient times until present, before the Lord Jesus returns, more things will happen, because Satan is not willing to lose and he will not stop.

When I was just saved and the meeting had only started in our city, I was still very young and I was studying at a Methodist school. My father was originally a medical doctor and later he became a minister serving God at China Inland Mission. My mother also loved the Lord very much. My older sister was the first who went to the meeting in Wende Lane. She heard brother Watchman Nee's messages, gospel preaching, and the truth and felt that it was completely different. So she called me and asked me to come to the meeting as well. At that time I already finished school and began working. She called me and asked me to come. As soon as I heard brother Nee's speaking, I knew it was completely different. When I was in school, I was with the Methodist. But when I began meeting in Wende Lane, my teachers and my principal all disagreed, because they were Methodists. Nevertheless my feeling was that there was life in the messages which caused me to be saved clearly. What is the Lord Jesus? Who is the Lord Jesus? The Lord Jesus is the Son of God who died on the cross and who resurrected from the dead. Whoever believes in Him will have eternal life. This kind of truth I have never heard spoken in the Methodist meetings. When I was studying in the Methodist school, every morning we had worship and then we would begin our classes after the worship. I never heard of such things. So when I was in the meeting in Wende Lane, as soon as I heard the message, I had a feeling inside that I believed. So I began to meet there and I was baptized later. Every time I attended the meeting, when brother Nee was speaking on the platform, I would take notes. Why did I take notes? Because I had a very good friend who was studying at Fudan University. She could not

come to the meeting on Lord's Day. So I took notes and rode the bus to Fudan University to share my notes with her. I treasured every word brother Nee spoke. I always took notes.

- S: In March of 1952, brother Nee was arrested and he was not sentenced until 1956. There was a period of 4 years. What was the situation during that time?
- X: Oh, this was the situation. It might have been 1955. I cannot remember clearly because I am old. Without God I cannot live. I think it was 1955 that I received a notice. The notice was sent to Bao Xianlin's home, asking that I would bring some things [to prison for brother Nee]. Bao Xianlin is the daughter of Charity Chang's older sister. Charity Chang is Watchman Nee's wife, my sister-in-law. So the notice went to the home of Charity's older sister. She lives on Yuanyang Road, which is near here. She brought the note to me and asked me to bring a washbasin and a hot water bottle to brother Nee. Where should we send the things to? to a place on Huaihai Road. I forgot the address. So we did. When we brought the things to that place, they took them. I asked them if brother Nee could write a short note to me. But they said no. Later I heard people say that that place was a detention center. Afterwards we never saw him and every day we were very concerned and worried. Then it was around 1956, we received a notice that he was put into Tilanqiao Prison. So I went with Charity, my sister-in-law, to see him. When we saw him, we were separated by a window with iron bars. We brought some simple things [for him], and they examined it. After examining, they asked the prisoner to come out. Sat behind one window was a young man, and behind this other window was our brother. He was sitting there and we were standing here. We could only see him sideways. He was very thin. If it were not because we were family, I would not have recognized him. He was very very thin. We talked for 10 minutes but he did not say much. He was sitting there very quietly. There were two policemen, one here and one there. He did not say much. He asked Charity, "How are you?" Charity said, "You see, my hair has all turned gray." Her black hair all turned gray, but he did not turn around to look. He asked the two policemen behind him, "We have not seen each other for a long time. Could you give us a little more time?" One policeman was very rough. He said, "Visiting time is up." Then brother Nee did not say too much. They pushed him and he went inside. After that we went to see him once a month. When we saw him, what did we bring? We brought simple things, for example, four salty eggs, two bottles of soy bean paste, bottles in this size, and three toothbrushes.
- H: There is a problem that was mentioned in the book by Ka-lun Leung. He said that brother Nee agreed to work with Three-Self [TSPM] and used the twenty thousand signatures by brothers and sisters to support TSPM. But those signatures were originally intended for the meeting hall on Nanyang Road. Watchman Nee used those signatures for another purpose, claiming that our brothers and sisters agreed to join TSPM. Who did this? Was it Tang Shoulin or brother Nee? Leung said it was brother Nee.
- X: Tang Shoulin's wife was a good friend of mine, originally. But after that incident, I never had any contact with her anymore. The story, according to what I know, is this. TSPM wanted brother Watchman Nee to join them, but he did not agree. I can state this before God. God knows all things. In the future perhaps many more people would know it too. What I know is that Watchman Nee did not agree. He did not agree. TSPM said to him, "If you agree to join TSPM, we will set you as the leader." Brother Watchman Nee did not agree. He did not join them. Perhaps it was because of that he

was punished. I do not know for sure, but God knows all things. Ever since then, one day he disappeared and there was no news about him. After we sent some things to him at the place on Huaihai Road, we lost contact again.

When Tang Shoulin wrote that article in *TianFeng* magazine, I stopped going to the meetings and I have never returned. When he wrote that article, I felt he had changed. His wife used to be a good friend but I stopped contacting her afterwards. One day his wife came to my home, asking me to go to the meeting. I refused. I never went even once. From that time onward, I did not have any contact with her.

- S: There is one more thing we would like to ask you. In that exhibit [about Watchman Nee's crimes], there was a photo. Could you share something about that? You also went to see it, right?
- X: This was what took place. After the trial and sentencing, the *Liberation Daily* newspaper announced the exhibit and mobilized all the neighborhoods to go. Hence, many people went. Thank the Lord our local police station did not force me to go. He came to my home and said, "Have you read the newspaper?" I had a very weak heart at that time. He could see that I was in poor health. He said, "Have you read the newspaper?" I said, "I only read the main titles, not all of them." He said, "What is your impression?" I replied, "What are you referring to?" I thought because of my poor health I did not read the whole newspaper, only the main titles. I said, "What are you referring to?" He pointed to the exhibit. I said, "If this is not about someone in my family, I will say the same. I do not believe what they publicized. It is all false. My impression is that it is all fake. But since it is on the *Liberation Daily*, the national newspaper, I could not say anything more. My first impression is that I do not believe it. I do not believe that Nee would do these things. I can tell you now that I am not speaking as someone from his family but as a spectator. He would not do such things, absolutely not." That was what I said to him. Then he said, with a rather good attitude, "You are not feeling well. We will come again in two days." But he never came again.
- S: Did you go and see the exhibit later?
- X: I did and saw the exhibit. The local official did not come to compel me. I went by my own will. When I saw the photo, in my heart I was thinking, "O God, this is how Satan attacked! It is altogether from Satan." It was a photo of a woman but without her head and was naked. I thought to myself, "Who would be so stupid if he wanted to keep such a picture? How could he be so stupid, even to leave some evidence for others to arrest him? This photo would cause a person to be shot. Is there such a fool?" That was my thought at the time: "Is there such a fool?" Also there were many small pornographic booklets that even a trishaw driver would despise, very cheap ones. There was another sister that went to see the exhibit with me. She said to me, "Brother Watchman Nee will never read this kind of book." Let me tell you two brothers. You do not know because you have not lived in Mainland China. The Communist Party is able to bring forth anything they want to because they have everything. Even during the Cultural Revolution when people's homes were ransacked, the red guards were able to bring out many gold bars when the homes did not have any. They claimed that they obtained them from ransacking the homes. Actually the gold bars were taken from someplace else.

When I went to see the exhibit, I was sorrowful because our brother's head was completely shaved, all shaved. I felt that he must have suffered a lot in that place, probably a lot of sufferings. I was reminded of a hymn about the story of enduring the cross. "I am willing to endure any cross." [note: English Hymn #626] He was like that when we went to see him in prison. Brother Huaizu [note: Fengxian's husband] had stomach bleeding, so there was blood in his stool, all blood; and I had a heart disease. Every month when I went to see brother Nee, perhaps when he saw me it was as if he saw Huaizu. One time Watchman Nee asked me, "Is Huaizu doing okay?" I said, "He has stomach bleeding." When I went to see Nee, he could tell that my heart was full of sorrow. He said to me, "You should have joy." He always said, "I maintain my joy." What he said really comforted me. He was able to have joy in that kind of environment. God gave him joy. If a person has done many bad things, would he be able to say such words? Will he say it? If he were truly a bad guy, would he say he was "very joyful"? Therefore, it is true that all will be manifested before God one day. We do not need vindication; instead, we do not want to lose God's blessing.

H: Is it possible to find a copy of the indictment by the People's Government about him?

X: I had one before. When he was sentenced, they did not ask Huaizu to attend, neither did they ask me. But Lin Buji, husband of Charity's sister, did go. He went to be with the Lord now. He went and brought back a copy, about this size, two sheets of paper. After he brought it back, I hid it somewhere. Later I reconsidered this matter. The government was behaving very erratically. If they came to ransack my home and found it, they would say that I schemed to turn the case over. So I eventually destroyed it. If I had kept it, during the Cultural Revolution, both of us would have been arrested and accused of attempting to turn the case over, meaning that the copy was our capital.

H: What about the CBC Laboratory, when the company was started, who put forth the investment? Was it brother Nee's own family members or as the rumor said, that Austin Sparks from Great Britain gave him a thousand pounds?

X: No, no, absolutely not.

H: Austin Sparks did not invest in a thousand pounds?

X: No, absolutely not.

S: Leung's book said that before CBC was established, Huaizu Nee opened a pharmacy but did not run it well. So brother Nee helped him and asked him to run another one with him.

X: Huaizu never opened anything. He never did. We did not have money. Huaizu was a scientist. He worked with a very low wage. Later I also joined the workforce at CBC. Both of us received very low wages.

S: The houses that were bought at Kuling for the training were all given to the church, correct? Leung's book said that those houses were not given to the church. But my mother (Grace Nee) knew that they were given to the church. Not only the houses at Kuling but also all Nee family's properties, the personal properties, were all given to the church, right?

X: Our own properties, the family's properties, were all offered to the church, including the house in Fuzhou. I would like to make this clear. The house in Fuzhou was Nee's family heritage, a property left by our ancestors. One day brother Watchman Nee called me and Huaizu, even his mother, together and said, "Do you want this house? Who would want this house?" We all said, No, we will offer it. That was the way. He asked for our opinion. Brother Huaizu said he would not want it. We did not want it. Our sister-in-law [Charity] also said no. Everyone said we would offer it to God. Please think carefully if there is anything else you want to ask me. Brother Huaizu has always been paid wages.

S: Who had shares of CBC Laboratory?

X: Grace Nee would know it the best. She worked in CBC. The problem with CBC was that many brothers and sisters were not employed. I am very clear about it. These brothers and sisters went to work in CBC. Why? because they were jobless.

S: Did CBC have branch offices?

X: No, absolutely not. During the War, the factory was moved to Chungking [or, Chongqing]. That was because of the war, the only reason.

S: I can take you all to the address in Shanghai, on Jiaozhou Road. The factory is still located there in Shanghai.

H: Do you know Newman Sze? How old was he at that time?

X: Was he older than me?

H: The way he spoke about these things, it came across as he knew everything.

X: No, this person can not be trusted.

S: He was not a responsible brother at that time, right? He was young, in his 20s.

W: Newman Sze is probably younger than sister Nee. He is about 90 years old, younger.

S: Then he is younger, perhaps the same age as my mother, Grace Nee, in his 20s.

H: He spoke as if he knew everything.

X: He talked nonsense, nonsense.

W: Do you know brother Yu Chenghua?

X: I knew Yu Chenghua very well.

W: What about Yu Chenghua's son? Do you know him well?

X: His son's name is Yu Chongen. I also know him well. My mother-in-law, sister Nee, went to have her eyes examined. I accompanied her to brother Yu's home. His son came to greet us. But I did not talk to his son as closely as we are talking now. I do know that brother Yu Chenghua loved the Lord very much. He gave his all for the Lord.

W: We are not sure if what he said was true. He said Watchman Nee joined TSPM.

X: Who?

W: The son, Yu Chongen.

H: Yu Chongen said that it was because Watchman Nee joined TSPM, many brothers and sisters became weakened and the number in the meeting decreased as a result.

X: No, no. There is absolutely no such thing. No. He never had any relationship with TSPM. If brother Watchman Nee had joined TSPM, there would not be all these [sufferings].

W: Before brother Nee was officially sentenced, that is, during 1952 to 1956, we did not know where he was detained. We knew about Tilanqiao prison. You just mentioned the detention center on Huaihai Road. During those years, we now have documents written by brother Nee which said that brother Nee agreed that the brothers and sisters should register the church with TSPM.

X: No, absolutely not.

W: Since these documents said that we should obey the government's regulations, it means brother Nee agreed to register. His agreeing to join was a change from his previous position of opposition. There is a conflict in his change of positions. For this reason those who coordinated with him previously, such as Ruth Lee and Peace Wang, became weakened and then they stood against him. They felt that brother Nee did not stand firm but they stood firm. This was why they were arrested and died in prison. Is that true?

X: No, absolutely not. There was no such thing.

W: That was some of the things that were spread outside.

X: I have always said that all these came from Satan; Satan is the liar. He is still doing it today. Why does Satan do this? I think his reason is to confuse the brothers. Our brothers and sisters are still walking on the way of truth today. Satan sees it, so he is trying to divide the brothers and sisters. There is absolutely no such thing. I am surprised at what I just heard. No such thing, absolutely not. I can only say that it came from Satan. Satan is doing it to divide the brothers and sisters.

H: They even said that brother Nee was an agent of the Nationalist Party, a colonel in ranks.

X: No, no, no. If it were true, he would not have been arrested and imprisoned. Every month I went to see him once. He maintained his joy and he even said to me, You should have joy.

- S: Leung's book also mentioned Watchman Nee and Huaizu Nee, my 4th uncle, saying that Watchman Nee gave government information to Huaizu Nee?
- X: No, no such thing, no such thing. Anyone with a brain can tell before God that this is false. It is false. If you stand before God and read this kind of statement, you will know that it is false, because Satan is a liar, right? If Satan does not lie, he will not write this kind of thing.
- R: Let me tell you something. We have grown up here. The way they ran a movement was that they would tell you what he said, this and that, and then they would tell him what you said, this and that. That has been the way from that time until the Cultural Revolution. I will not say anymore. You can ask Mrs. Nee here. During the Cultural Revolution, they told Mrs. Nee who said what and she had to agree. After she agreed, then they could declare all the statements. The author of that book had too little knowledge and no experience at all. He did not know what a movement was like. Why were there so many who jumped to death or killed themselves? That was the way.
- X: There was a sister whose husband was outside, like us here. The husband was outside and the wife was inside. They persecuted them and interrogated them in isolation, without letting them see each other. They came to me and said, "Huaizu already confessed. Why do you not confess?" Then they went to my husband and said, "Huaizu Nee, your wife has already confessed." All were lies, trying to deceive people.
- S: They even said that my second uncle Huaizu already died. They could even tell such lies.
- X: If Satan does not do this, he would have been cast into the lake of fire. Why did you ask about Yu Chenghua? Was it because of what his son Chongen said?
- W: Yes, Yu Chongen gave some testimonies. He said that brother Nee compromised later, willing to cooperate with TSPM. Yu Chongen was one of those from Shanghai that left China earlier; he is also the son of Yu Chonghua. People tend to trust his words.
- X: If brother Yu Chenghua were here, he would have denied it.
- W: We have some documents that we would like to verify if they were true.
- S: These documents gave us doubts because if Watchman Nee was willing to join TSPM, he would not have been imprisoned. In 1953 there were two of them. I just finished junior high and started high school. One was Bishop Gong Pinmei of the Catholic church and the other was Watchman Nee. Both were arrested by the government, accused of immorality and anti-TSPM.
- W: I have read something about it, saying that brother Nee agreed to join TSPM but brother Nee was not accused of religion or counter-revolution but of the pharmaceutical company with tax evasion, hoarding, and buying low and selling high. He was convicted of that crime. I cannot remember clearly. Of course we read but we do not believe it. We are not very clear overseas about brother Nee's exact conviction, because there are several theories.

X: You can say that it was totally unclear.

W: Right, totally unclear. We can accept that he was criminalized because of his standing regarding the church. We are able to accept this. This is equivalent to being martyred for the Lord. We can accept it. As to the other accusations, such as tax evasion or morality and others, we cannot accept them.

S: There were two government documents, an indictment and a sentencing document. Do you remember any content in them?

X: I cannot remember because most of the things written on them were totally false, all false. If our brother joined TSPM, he would not have been sentenced.

S: The Communist Party is very tricky. They can arrest you on one charge but eventually convict you on another charge. (H: Sam spent four years looking for materials regarding it.) I mentioned just now that after he was arrested in March of 1952, no one knew where he was until 1955. There was no information. It was until 1955 when she went to the detention center, they brought him something. After that it was in 1956 he was sentenced and sent to Tilanqiao. The two of them were able to visit him there. At first, only Charity Chang was allowed to visit, but because Charity had a heart disease, later they wrote in two names for visitation. So each visit only two of them, Charity and Fengxian, were allowed to visit. Some brothers and sisters said that only one visitor was allowed. Actually each time it was the two of them who went in. It was the two of them on every visit.

X: Why two of us? It was because Charity, my sister-in-law, had high blood pressure and a heart disease. So she wanted to register my name on the visitor's list and ask for permission. One time when I went to visit with some things, an official asked me, he said, "You are not family. How can you bring things in?" I said because my sister-in-law had a heart disease with high blood pressure, so we put my name on the list and it was approved by your boss. So he accepted the things I brought. Later on I went to see brother Nee by myself a lot of times, by myself. This was so until the Cultural Revolution when brother Nee was moved to Baimao Hill. We were not able to see him there. But who went during that time? Charity's older sister, Pinzheng Chang. Pinzheng has gone to be with the Lord now. She was the one that went to Baimao Hill to see him. Charity also went to see him at Baimao Hill once. I was not able to go because my husband Huaizu was not well. That was the situation. During the Cultural Revolution I received a letter from brother Nee requesting for medicines for his heart. I mailed the medicines to him. That was the only communication we had.

This morning as I was listening to what you are saying, I realize that Satan is still not giving up today. He is not giving up. Why do I say this? It is because some brothers and sisters seem to be shaken by him. This is Satan's purpose, to influence the faith of brothers and sisters. Satan is still working, not giving up. From time to time I would think about our brother Nee. If it was not for the Lord's sake, he was so capable and so smart. He was very smart and also very honest. He would have been able to achieve a great deal, right? But for the Lord's sake, he gave up everything.

He was like Saul; Saul met the Lord on the way to Damascus and he became Paul for God. Paul was very smart. But he turned and served God and even gave his own life to serve God. Brother Nee was

the same, the same. He was very smart. How smart Paul was! When he was on the way to Damascus, the Lord Jesus called him, "Saul, why are you persecuting me?" Saul was arresting those who believed in the Lord Jesus. He arrested those who believed in the Lord Jesus. These believers were not bad guys. They were not bad people, but Saul was happy to persecute them. In the end the Lord Jesus called him in Damascus and you can see that for the Lord's sake Paul gave everything. He consecrated everything. He was very smart, but once he met the Lord, he turned and consecrated everything. Our brother Nee was also very smart. We often wondered if he had not consecrated himself to God, he could have achieved a great deal in society. Is it not so?

So today as I was talking with my nephew, I said the enemy Satan is still not giving up. The Cultural Revolution proved it; it separated people. During that time, they separated us. They told me, "Oh Huaizu said this and that; he has confessed everything. Why are you still not confessing? Why are you protecting him?" And they told Huaizu that I have already confessed, "She already told us everything about you. Why are you still shielding her? still protecting her? Are you going to die protecting her?" I said, No, no. He then replied, "No? Are you still protecting him? You should help him by confessing." This went on for more than a year. This was what they did.

Where is my picture? Right there...My eyesight is not well now. I am afraid of too much light. So they put a lamp right here. In my room they put a lamp here, a lamp with 50 watt, day and night. Then a person sat here and a man sat there. There were eight of us in my home. I did not confess. I never confessed. I said no. They went to my husband Huaizu and said that I had confessed and they told me that Huaizu had confessed.

H: So they kept a 50 watt lamp on with eight people in your home and then a person kept asking you?

X: They kept asking and asking. They put me on the floor and pulled my clothes from the back; so I knelt down right there in our guest room with the door facing here. For a whole year. They stayed in the guest room for more than a year. More than a year. I was emaciated and very skinny. I still have a picture here. I was skinny to the bones. They let us go and said that my husband and I should take a picture and bring it to them. We were afraid that they were going to sentence us. But later they returned the picture to us and said that they did not want it.

H: What year was this? Which year did they do the sentencing?

S. Cultural Revolution began in 1966. When was this that you went through?

X: I do not remember clearly. Perhaps it was in early 1970s.

H: I cannot imagine the kind of suffering brother Nee went through during those four years. They could have said anything and everything.

R: We went through these things ourselves. That is why when we read Leung's book we laughed. He does not deserve any visiting or talking from us at all.

X: Tang Shoulin had no conscience. His wife could not do things well. So Tang Shoulin did everything himself, things like cooking. I did not read what was in *Tian Feng* magazine, but I heard that he wrote something for *Tian Feng*. I thought to myself, how could he do such a thing? so mean and shameless like the others. So when his wife asked me to attend the meetings I did not go.

In 1952, there was the Three-Anti and Five-Anti movement. I remember we were all caring for Tang Shoulin. I used my own money to buy some food and asked others to cook for Tang Shoulin. He was not well; he was sick. He kept some tropical fish. He climbed onto a boiler for something and fell down and hurt himself. His wife could not cope with the household. So I went grocery shopping with her. When we were in the market, somebody jumped from a building down. Sam was with us and he said to me, "Auntie, please walk faster; otherwise, somebody may jump down on my head and kill me instead." During the Cultural Revolution, many people were accused of being counter-revolutionaries; together with three-anti and five-anti, there were many many prisoners.

S: Since 1956, Tang Shoulin changed his speaking. Some people said if I agreed with TSPM, I would be jailed, but if I did not agree with TSPM, I would still be jailed; now Tang Shoulin agrees with TSPM and even on their pay row; he has been on government's pay row until now, until he died. Auntie has not had any contact with the Tangs since 1956.

H: So those letters that brother Nee wrote with positive comments concerning TSPM, was he compelled to write them while he was detained from 1952 to 1956?

X: He was forced to write those letters in jail. There was a small window in every cell. If you put your hand out, they would press your finger on a piece of paper. They could do anything they wanted to do, things against our conscience. They did not have God. If they had God, they would not dare to do it. But Satan, the devil, has everything, right? I saw with my own eyes when ransacking a house, they took out a few gold bars, small ones, and said these were found from your home. The owner said, "No, I do not have them." The red guard said, "We excavated it from the walls of your home." It was obvious there was nothing in that home but the red guards could find anything they wanted. Whatever they showed, they claimed it was from your home. We have suffered so terribly here. The Cultural Revolution caused so much suffering!

Prayer of the Hsu Feng-xian, wife of Huai-zu Nee, June 17, 2003 in her Shanghai residence

Dear Lord, no matter in what environment, we still thank You and praise You, because You are the Lord, the Head of heaven and the earth. You rule over everything and You know everything. Lord, we truly thank You for the brothers visiting today, for giving us a sweet fellowship. Oh Lord, how sweet it is to have fellowship in the Lord! This is something that people in the world cannot understand. Oh Lord, I believe that You know all that we have talked about, what are facts and what are lies, and what are schemes with the enemy in it. O Lord, Satan will go to the abyss only when you return; he will go to the lake of fire full of sulfur. O Lord, he is still rampaging today, still working to divide men's hearts. O Lord, this is how he works to shake within the brothers and sisters, to shake their faith. Lord, we declare that

You are God. Our brothers and sisters must stand on Your side, not on Satan's side. Satan is the liar. He has lied from the beginning. O Lord, he has been persecuting brothers and sisters, persecuting those who believe in God, God's children. O God, please keep your children from being affected by all these things, from being affected by the lies of the enemy, and from being shaken within.

O Lord, Satan has failed and our Lord our God has victory forever and ever. Our Lord is always victorious. Dear Lord, you have heard everything today. All that we talked about today you have heard. O God, you know all things. Whatever we spoke, the words we said, you know it all and you are in our midst. You have promised that whenever two or three pray together in one accord, you are in our midst. O Lord, there are five of us here and you are in our midst. What we have talked about, you heard it all. O Lord, we ask you to judge this matter according to your righteousness. You judge by yourself and you judge according to your righteousness. O Lord, we are living in your hand. O Lord, brother Watchman Nee is in your bosom now. O Lord, he will have a crown of glory in the future. Lord, O Lord, he gave everything for you; he was willing to bear any kind of cross to please you. O Lord, thank you, because of him we have gained profit. I can still come before you today because of him. I would have departed far away from you because of so much persecution. O Lord, we are weak and not dependable. But thank you for guarding us. You have guarded me until today. Thank you dear Lord. O Lord, we give you everything we have talked about today. We give it in your hand. O Lord, I ask that you will enable all the brothers and sisters to see clearly that God will not change. God never changes. Thank you Lord. Thank you brother Nee is with you. He is in your bosom. Because of him we are still here. If he had not believed in you, if he had not given everything for you, he could have obtained the best things of the world today. He gave you everything. He bore the cross. He was willing to bear all kinds of the cross. O Lord, thank you. Thank you dear Lord. Thank you for leading us until today. We would really like to know you fully. Keep us, Lord. Be with us. Dear Lord, though we may part with one another but our prayer will never part. Our prayers will not be limited by space or by the hindrances in our environment. O Lord, we thank you. Be with us as we part. Keep the brothers. Bless the brothers. Whenever they go, be with them and guard them. Thank you Lord. We bow down and worship you. We are your children. If we do not worship you, who will? Thank you dear Lord. We pray in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Facts Concerning the Stopping of Watchman Nee's Ministry from 1942 to 1948 and the Running of the CBC Laboratory^[1]

Brother Nee's ministry was stopped for six years (1942-1948). Regarding this matter, Lily Hsu mentioned two main reasons in her second book *For Whom the Siren Wails* (2018).[2] The first cause, which occurred near this period of time, was that there were many complaints and criticisms from people working in the CBC Laboratory, and the distant cause was Nee's moral problem. According to Lily Hsu's description, many people who worked in the CBC Laboratory went to complain to Ruth Lee. As a result, Zhang Qinian, a female co-worker who had lived with Ruth Lee for many years, "unintentionally uttered a Southern slang that cursed Watchman Nee" (pp. 320- 321). Lily Hsu said that Ruth Lee was "very surprised" and "questioned [Zhang] closely". According to Lily Hsu, the incident that Zhang Qinian's was humiliated by Nee happened between 1933 and 1934 (p. 322). Because of this "hidden incident," Lily Hsu said that brother Nee wrote a letter to Yu Chenghua, an elder of the church in Shanghai, asking to be removed from the church (p. 323).

This article is to verify whether this particular claim made by Lily Hsu in her two books was accurate; especially in the second book, she stressed that Nee's ministry was stopped for 6 years because he committed a moral crime. For this reason this article also provides a review of the factors behind Watchman Nee's ministry being stopped and later resumed.

The key point in Lily Hsu's book was to link moral matters with Nee's suspension from his ministry. She insisted that the moral sin was true. Although there was no reasonable connection between the suspension of Nee's ministry with the moral issue in terms of timing (there was a gap of 8 or 9 years even if the incident actually took place), she was still determined to link them together. Lily Hsu's persistence on this point can be seen from her narrative later. The Su-fan movement in 1956 and the government's accusations against Watchman Nee's morality all made Lily Hsu "feel relieved." From that time forward, she clung to this line closely. Whatever she has encountered, regardless of whether it was reasonable or not, she would add to the blame on Watchman Nee and accuse him of moral sin.

Regarding the stopping of Nee's ministry,, the most reasonable cause was related to the general environment at that time. Perhaps the most important event related to this incident was a meeting called by Yu Chenghua in 1942; Yu was an elder in the church in Shanghai. In addition to the elders of the church, some responsible co-workers were also present in that meeting. Ren Zhongxiang and Zhang Xikang described this meeting respectively.

Ren Zhongxiang's narrative was published the earliest (1996). In *A Brief History of Christian Assembly in Shanghai* Ren Zhongxiang said:

Since the early 1940s, Watchman Nee used foreign funding as well as solicited shares from Chinese believers to establish the "China Biochemical Laboratory." He himself serves as the chairman of the board, which aroused a lot of criticism from believers. In June 1942, Ruth Lee

learned that Nee had committed adultery; she wrote a secret letter to three elders, including Yu Chenghua, and requested that Nee be secretly dismissed. The elders were worried that it might lead to a division in the Christian Assembly and did not dare to make a decision. This caused Ruth Lee's indignation and she immediately quit the meeting in Shanghai and went to live in seclusion in Suzhou.

On May 2, 1943, Watchman Nee sent a letter to the elders and deacons; the letter said: "I am not entrusted by God for too much and now there is very little left. I think that if this continues, it will not be of any benefit to the church. Dear brothers, please remove my name from the book to calm the hearts of many and to avoid bringing shame on the Lord's name (Copied from deacon's office notebook of the Christian Assembly in Shanghai) (p. 9).

Lily Hsu's description of this meeting in her book (2018), especially about Ruth Lee and her later move to Suzhou, is clearly a quote from Ren. In addition, Lily Hsu added many other details, including Zhang Qinian's loud words, the elders firmly advocating the removal of Watchman Nee, Ruth Lee's angry accusation, and finally she took Zhang Qinian to Suzhou. Lily Hsu said that her source of these details came from Yu Chonggen's "personal information" (p. 323). Yu Chonggen is the son of Yu Chenghua, the elder who called the meeting.

Zhang Xikang clearly stated in his memoirs (2016) that he was present at that meeting. He said:

Brothers who made trouble in the CBC Laboratory often went to Ruth Lee's house to complain. Ruth Lee also couldn't bear the annoyance and often issued orders to expel guests. Later she went to Suzhou to recuperate. The co-worker in charge in Shanghai at that time was Yu Chenghua. One time he convened a meeting with co-workers, elders, and deacons, and he also invited Ruth Lee, who was in Suzhou, to come. Ruth Lee came with an angry look, said only one sentence, "For the sake of the brothers and sisters, it is better for me not to say anything" and left. Everyone was guessing what happened. My father didn't know about it, nor did the elders in the church. I attended that meeting and heard Dr. Yu say, "Brother Nee asked the church to remove his name from the list, but the fact is that the church in Shanghai does not have a list of believers, only information cards. Moreover, brother Nee does not belong to this local church because he is a co-worker, and his name is not on the cards. We don't know the real situation anyway. Since he would like to withdraw on his own, let him withdraw." Everyone agreed with Dr. Yu. That's how things ended.

Zhang Xikang then expressed his opinion on Ren Zhongxiang's record:

There are currently some articles commenting on Brother Nee's suspension from ministering in 1942. None of the commentators were present in person, and all they wrote down were hearsay they heard from third parties. I was a witness who was there. When the responsible brothers in Shanghai discussed this matter, I was present. Many of the rumors are just rumors and interpretations made years after the fact, and are not what those who were there at the time saw and heard. Ren Zhongxiang claimed in his writing, *The History of the church in Shanghai*, that

Nee wrote a letter of resignation to the elders that year. But I personally have never seen this so-called letter of resignation in the documents and files stored in the deacons' office, which Ren Zhongxiang was a manager before. I don't know where he got such a letter (p. 100).

In Lily Hsu's description, she first quoted Ren Zhongxiang's words. However, Ren was not present in the meeting and what he said cannot be accepted as facts. In addition, Lily Hsu's account contains two details that are inconsistent with Zhang Xikang's records. First, Hsu emphasized that the elders had different opinions on the handling of Nee's affairs, and many among them advocated the removal of Nee. This must have come from Yu Chongen's so-called "personal information." Yu Chongen was about 16 years old in 1942 and was not present in the meeting. Where did his information come from? Lily Hsu also added some other unverified stories. She claimed that some elders went to Yu's home to force Yu Chenghua (Yu Chongen's father and an elder in the church in Shanghai) to oust Watchman Nee. Even if this were true, the reason for removing Nee was not likely due to the moral issue that might have occurred eight years ago; rather, it was more likely related to the CBC Laboratory at that time. The running of the CBC Laboratory was the most obvious and direct issue. Interestingly, in citing Yu Chongen's personal information, Lily Hsu emphasized that Watchman Nee's lack of morality was the reason for his suspension, but the quotation from Yu Chongen did not state so. Not only was this emphasis far-fetched, but from Hsu's statement later, she had other purposes. For this reason she suddenly brought forth the matter of morality to make a big fuss. Second, Lily Hsu said that Ruth Lee left Shanghai for Suzhou in anger because of Nee's crime. Though it was a small matter, but according to Zhang's records, Ruth Lee had already gone to Suzhou and only came back for the meeting because of Yu Chenghua's call.

Among these accusations and complaints related to Watchman Nee, the most important matter was probably the underlying environment; that is, Nee's decision to run the CBC Laboratory to meet the urgent needs of his co-workers. Furthermore, due to the social unrest caused by the Sino-Japanese War, the CBC Laboratory had moved to Chongqing for a time and then returned to Shanghai. Running the CBC Laboratory required dealing with the government. In addition, there were all kinds of people working in the company, not only brothers and sisters in the church life, but also members of the Nationalist Party as well as the Communist Party. The management might not have carefully considered all aspects of issues, as a result causing dissatisfaction among the employees. Zhang Xikang in his book mentioned a man named Shi Jiurong, who loved to spread talks about who was right and who was wrong; Shi was also one of those who frequented Ruth Lee's home. Zhang described how the operation of the CBC Laboratory caused Ruth Lee's home to be filled with all sorts of complaints:

When the CBC Laboratory first began, all doctors liked to use our products because they were of high quality with good efficacy and low prices. So the business was good and we made some money. But later on, there were situations with the brothers. Some brothers wanted to gain a higher position in the company because of their ambitions; some thought brother Nee was too authoritative and should not apply his spiritual authority in the company; some were dissatisfied with the work and some were dissatisfied with the wages. All of these created misunderstandings among the brothers in the church. The misunderstandings had a snowball effect, growing bigger and bigger; as a result there was a lot of gossip in the church. A deacon, Shi Jiurong, was involved in the middle. He was working in the CBC Laboratory and he just could not keep his

mouth shut. If something in the company happened, he would go to the church and talk about it, saying that brother Nee did not know this or did not know that. He even pointed fingers at the managers of the company, saying that they could not do anything. Later, he stopped being a deacon but he still worked in the company. The brothers working in the CBC Laboratory often went to Ruth Lee's home to complain. This gave Satan a hole to drill into. We know that the devil's name in the original language is diabolos, which means he divides people by spreading slanders. The devil's usual method is to sow discord. He accuses us before God day and night. He wants to get into the church and spread slanderous accusations. This is his plan, his way to destroy the church (p. 99).

From the above description, it is not difficult to picture that whether you work in the CBC Laboratory or not, you are extremely susceptible to all kinds of gossip. Sister Ruth Lee was certainly not immune to the influence and even left Shanghai. She even publicly expressed her dissatisfaction with Watchman Nee. Such negative rumors and gossip was the reason that brother Nee stopped serving. Sister Ruth Lee's dissatisfaction at that time was directly related to Nee's running of the CBC Laboratory. Later, when brother Nee's ministry was resumed, the motivation for running the CBC Laboratory was explained clearly, and she publicly admitted her mistake (see the excerpt of her admission below). If Nee's suspension was related to a lack of moral integrity, how could Ruth Lee admit her mistake to Nee's face when he resumed his ministry without mentioning a word of his immoral conduct?

The business of the CBC Laboratory was not entirely negative. According to a study by Guo, Ronggang and Zhang, Enqiang (2014), Nee's CBC Laboratory stressed research and development, established research laboratories and hired well-known domestic expert chemists at the time to actively produce drugs to replace imported ones so that various needs during the Sino-Japanese War could be met. During the War, the CBC Laboratory was famous for producing one of the "three famous drugs" in China. Ronggang Guo also mentioned that there were Communist Party members among the employees in the company, confirming that the CBC Laboratory basically supported the government and should not have been charged later with the "Watchman Nee Counter-Revolutionary Group" during the Su-fan campaign. The company's business later declined. According to Guo's research, it was due to changes in the market on the one hand and changes in the political situation on the other. The medicines needed during the Sino-Japanese War were different from those needed by the market later. Furthermore, since members of both parties worked in the company, when the government changed, the internal atmosphere became rather tense and discordant due to the change in government policies.

After the war was over, there were many subsequent situations concerning the operation of the CBC Laboratory, which are not the focus of our discussion here. I will end with just a portion of the testimony of Samuel Chang, Watchman Nee's brother-in-law, regarding Watchman Nee's business. The full text of his testimony can be found in the book referenced..

I believe that I am the only person who was with Watchman Nee from beginning to end during his time in business. I can testify that his motive was definitely not to get rich. He was completely gained by the Lord. Although some people criticized him for his business, I must testify that he did not spend any of what he earned on his own enjoyment. All the money he

received was for the Lord and was spent according to the Lord's will (p. 100, *Watchman Nee--A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*).

Let us look at what Lily Hsu said concerning Watchman Nee's resumption in 1948.

According to Lily Hsu, after China won the Sino-Japanese War in 1945, Watchman Nee began to "secretly plan for reinstatement" (p. 125). How did he plan it? Hsu cited a few examples. First, the messages Nee gave at the Bible study meetings in Chongqing were published in the book *The Orthodoxy of the Church* (1945). Lily Hsu said that this book was Nee's method to "reinvigorate the local churches quickly." He used the church in Philadelphia mentioned in this book to call Christians to follow him (cf. pp. 124~125). Second, Lily Hsu quoted Angus Kinnear's book, which said that Nee wrote a secret letter to Witness Lee and that sister Peace Wang also personally went to Yantai to invite Witness Lee to Nanjing in 1946. Interestingly, Lily Hsu also admitted that because Witness Lee was "very active" (p. 131), she was saved and baptized at that time. Lily Hsu believed that Watchman Nee was manipulating behind the scene in all these things:

Watchman Nee realized that there was no hope for his reinstatement, so he had to rely on the help of Witness Lee. He wrote to Witness Lee and invited him to come to Shanghai to assist in church work. Although he said it was for the "needs of the church in Shanghai," it was actually for his own need for a comeback. (pp. 126~127)

Hsu's third example below was even more outrageous. She said that Nee "quietly carried out a large-scale construction project in Fuzhou and Kuling" (p. 128) and it was to prepare for his comeback, to train a group of people to follow him and to expand his territory and his power.

Watchman Nee was not only reinstated, but through his reinstatement, he had greater control than before to conduct bigger projects. The first thing he asked, after his comeback, was for the church in Fuzhou to hand over. This was the first step he took to take control of the local churches across the country. Reinstatement was not the goal; it was just the beginning. How deep was Watchman Nee's scheme and how great was his ambition! (p. 141)

In order to prove that Watchman Nee was behind the scenes to enable him to be reinstated, Lily Hsu put forward the above three points to support her theory. Carefully studying these three points makes people realize that in Hsu's eyes, any person, thing, or object can be used to prove Watchman Nee's corruption and conspiracy. First, the book, *The Orthodoxy of the Church*, expounds on the seven churches in the book of Revelation according to the truth. If a person wants to resume his ministry, he would not speak from Revelation, a book unveiling and critiquing the history of the church, because his speaking would not be popular but would offend many people. Second, according to Witness Lee's testimony, because of Peace Wang's invitation, the Lord led him to Nanjing and Shanghai to share the messages concerning the tree of life and as a result the Lord's testimony was restored. This was the Lord's arrangement and even Lily Hsu was saved at that time. The Lord even used Witness Lee to meet with some of the co-workers who originally opposed Watchman Nee, including Ruth Lee and Zhang Yuzhi, and had fellowship with them. The fellowship Witness had with them caused them to turn and even

openly admitted their mistakes. (See pages 160~164, Volume 1 of *History and Revelation*.) In Ruth Lee's public testimony in 1948, she did not mention a word related to Watchman Nee's moral issues; rather, she admitted that she herself had been negatively affected by the matter about the CBC Laboratory. Lily Hsu also included Ruth Lee's testimony in her book. From Ruth Lee's words, we can clearly see that the reason for Watchman Nee's ministry to be stopped was related to the pharmaceutical business.

Today I ask brother Nee to forgive me for my past attitudes and words. I also ask the responsible brothers to forgive me for my past attitudes and words. I was sympathetic toward brother Nee's venture into business. Concerning the CBC Laboratory, I heard many words and they made me angry. Eventually these angers spilled over to brother Nee. . . My motive concerning the business was bitter, and my attitude toward brother Nee was also bitter. I would not say that I have never condemned anything; there were indeed things which I took offense in. Once a person got involved with the CBC Lab, their spiritual condition collapsed. (p. 147).[3]²⁸

Third, Lily Hsu said that Watchman Nee bought houses in Kuling to prepare a training ground in order to expand his power and territory. From 1948 to 1949, China was in an extremely chaotic situation. If Nee had his own interests in mind, he would never buy land and develop real estate in China. Instead, he would leave the chaotic place and develop elsewhere. In fact, there are records showing that Watchman Nee visited Hong Kong for three months in 1950 and held a conference. Surprisingly, he later quietly left Hong Kong and returned to China. Is this the behavior of a person who fights for his own interest and reputation? The three points raised by Lily Hsu not only failed to support her comments on Watchman Nee but completely exonerated Watchman Nee.

Concerning the stopping and resumption of Watchman Nee's ministry, the "evidence" and statement given by Lily Hsu reveal her tendencies. First, on the surface, Hsu presented a lot of so-called evidence, but if you read it carefully, you can see that Hsu's target was a personal attack on Nee's character. Second, the so-called evidence cited by Lily Hsu came from opponents, those who opposed Watchman Nee's ministry and the local churches he established. To collect words of those opposing Nee and then say that it was a fair analysis of Nee actually violates the principle of history writing. If a person sets a position in advance and then makes a statement accordingly, it is not writing history but creating rumors and slander.

In her book, *For Whom the Siren Wails*, Lily Hsu gave descriptions and comments on Watchman Nee according to the stages she listed. Let us not discuss for the moment the questionable origin of her descriptions and comments, as well as her lack of qualifications to comment on Watchman Nee. (She did not know Watchman Nee. She had only been in the local church for three or four years, from about 16 to 20 years old, and had no training in historical research, much less understanding of the Bible.) The examples listed below from Lily Hsu's books clearly indicate that whether it is about Nee's writings or work, her target was Watchman Nee's character. This is a very specific direction, which makes people feel that the perspective taken by Lily Hsu has a personal factor and is not objective. While Lily Hsu did not

²⁸ See *CWWN*, vol 57, ch. 17, p. 195

know Watchman Nee and had no personal relationship with him, she seemed to feel that she had to strongly put down Watchman Nee's character as worthless in order to establish her own credibility.

Example one, Watchman Nee participated in the proofreading of the *Scofield Bible Correspondence Course* in 1926. Later Watchman Nee solemnly introduced the publication in his own magazine, *The Christian*. Lily Hsu's comment was: "Why did Nee say that we liked the correspondence course very much?.. At 23 years old, he was only saved for 6 years, yet he was so confident in himself that he seemed to put himself on a par with Scofield... He compared himself to a famous Bible scholar" (p. 27).

Example two, regarding Watchman Nee's early work, including the first four volumes of *The Spiritual Man* which he wrote while he was ill, Lily Hsu concluded that Nee had "hidden dangers on the horizon":

After being born again and saved, Watchman Nee pursued and actively served. He was taught by M.E. Barber and good at absorbing the essence of Western theology; he was also observant concerning some unhealthy phenomena in denominational churches. However, he liked to act independently, he was overly proud and lacked humility, and he regarded his own writings as truth. These all have become hidden dangers for his future ministry" (p. 32).

In other words, Lily Hsu believes that Watchman Nee was too confident, arrogant, and self-righteous since he was young. This kind of comments continued until Watchman Nee was imprisoned and sentenced by the Chinese government, when she was finally satisfied and believed that her views were recognized.

Example three, regarding Nee's work in establishing local churches and Nee's teachings concerning denominationalism, Lily Hsu quoted out of context and only mentioned Nee's words of criticism. However, Nee was very positive about the labor of Western missionaries in China (see "The Nee Family's Education in Modern Fuzhou Christian Mission," Abraham Ho, 2022). Lily Hsu said:

Watchman Nee described missionaries and denominations as useless and everything seemed to have to be torn down and start over. Although he said that "everything is based on the Bible," he often regarded details as principles and took them to extremes. Because he was very self-confident and eloquent, many children of God followed him and failed to carefully discern according to the teachings of the Bible.

Nee's excessive criticism was related to his arrogant personality. Although he was very smart, his extreme self-confidence made him easily fall into the trap of harming both others and himself (p. 59).

Lily Hsu only talked about Watchman Nee's self-confidence but not about Nee's persistence because of his seeing the truth of the Bible. She even said that it was Nee's self-confidence that attracted

many Christian followers, rather than the vision Nee saw that attracted them. Her insistence on her own views causes readers to suspect that she has another agenda.

Example four, regarding the growth of brothers and sisters in the local churches, Lily Hsu first quoted Watchman Nee's words and then added her own point of view:

“Nee said: ‘We must examine God’s children to discern any moral corruption, such as adultery.. . The most important thing is to live in the Holy Spirit and leave no room for the flesh.’ Later God exposed Nee’s long-term sin of adultery. Before saying this in 1935, Nee committed the crime at least twice and had never confessed it to the church. In Nee's spiritual messages, he often lectured others but treated himself as an exception. If we survey all of the messages in *The Collected Works of Watchman Nee*, it is obvious that he detached himself from all the examples” (p. 82).

In Lily Hsu's comments about Watchman Nee, the most important character accusation against Nee, besides his self-confidence and arrogance, was his moral sin. In the quotation above, she used Nee's very clear teachings about committing adultery to say that Nee "detached" himself. This argument is very unreasonable and unconvincing. Watchman Nee's teachings clearly illustrate his views on this sin. In 1956, when the Su-fan movement was in full swing, the government held an exhibition in Shanghai displaying Watchman Nee's crimes. Chen Xizeng, in his book, *Ripened Fruits*, made a comment concerning Nee's crimes listed in that exhibition. He said:

Of the five counts listed, four were political in nature. The strange thing is that people did not believe the political crime, but they believed in the moral crime. (p. 340)

Lily Hsu mentioned Chen Xizeng's words in her own book (p. 360), confirming that she was one of those believing in Nee's moral crime. Regarding the "evidence" of immorality displayed in the exhibition, Lily Hsu mentioned Watchman Nee's wife, Charity Chang, in her first book. When asked about her husband's moral sin, Chang said: "There will be a higher judgment in heaven on that day." Lily Hsu believed that this was Charity Chang's admission of Nee's guilt, so "Zhang's words spread among the brothers and sisters" (p. 111, *My Unforgettable Memories*). Interestingly, those who know God's sovereign authority see Charity Chang's wisdom from her reply. She knew that the throne of God was far higher than the government at that time. It was the throne of God that she obeyed. She also believed that God would have a just judgment. In other words, Charity Chang believed that one day before the throne of God, all the accusations against Watchman Nee would be removed.

Example five, though Lily Hsu's target was Watchman Nee's personal character, she also discussed Nee's teaching at great length (see Chapters 15-16). Yu Chengen was her source in making accusations on Nee's morality, but who was her source for commenting on Nee's teaching? The two chapters mentioned above included discussions of Nee's alleged plagiarism, Nee's theological errors, and Nee's lack in developing local churches. Readers will inevitably wonder how she was able to study so many topics and write plausibly as if they were true when she did not have much Bible knowledge herself? We suspect that hidden behind all her comments with regard to Nee's teaching was Ka-lun

Leung, who wrote a preface but was not directly cited in her book. In fact, if you peruse an article by Leung that was published in Jiandao Journal in 1999 (he was the editor of Jiandao Journal) and a book he wrote later, *The Honor and Disgrace of Watchman Nee*, in 2003, you can see that most of her discussions and descriptions were Leung's. Yet Lily Hsu did not bring out Leung's name. It is also worth mentioning that the "criminal evidence" about Nee cited by Liang in his book came from Wenwei Lee (1998). What were the characteristics of Wenwei Lee's article? Wenwei Lee was an expert in turning many of the positive materials concerning Watchman Nee into negative. Hence, we can see that Lily Hsu was continuing this trend. No matter whether the information was positive or negative, she must comply with her set goal of criticizing and defaming Watchman Nee.

All in all, in Lily Hsu's "of nearly 800 pages, whether it is about a personal history, church history, or theological discussion, the purpose was to beautify her own history and to borrow from others' articles for another hidden purpose. The undisclosed purpose was to destroy all positive historical materials about Watchman Nee. This can be seen from her comments concerning Watchman Nee's last words in prison. According to Chang, Pinzheng, Charity Chang's oldest sister, Watchman Nee's last words before his passing were "I die because I believe in Christ." Lily Hsu had many negative comments about this last word. She said that Nee "cannot bear to look back, does not want to reflect, and would rather lose millions and be in debt" (p. 520). We can only speculate that the person who made such a comment must be someone who cannot bear to look back and is unwilling to reflect; furthermore, in order to defend herself, she did not hesitate to use lies, conspiracies, and personal attacks to destroy a brother whom God had raised up and used greatly in the twentieth century.

Notes:

- [1] The full name is China BioChemical Laboratory, abbreviated as CBC Lab.
- [2] The two books by Lily Hsu are *难泯岁月* (My Unforgettable Memories: Watchman Nee & Shanghai Local Church, Chinese version 2011, English 2013) and *警钟长鸣* (For Whom the Siren Wails, 2018 Chinese only).
- [3] See *CWWN*, vol 57, ch. 17, p. 195.

Ruth Lee's Fellowship and Testimony in a Co-workers' Meeting

Time: April 21, 1948 (Wednesday at 6:30 AM)

Place: Hardon Rd, Shanghai

Nature: Testimonies and questions by the co-workers and exhortation by Watchman Nee

Sister Ruth Lee's Fellowship and Testimony:

I have asked for permission already from the other brothers concerning what I am about to say. It all happened about thirteen years ago. At that time I wanted to have an apartment, but I cannot go into detail about the reason for having it.... Although I have been negative in recent years, there was still a supply from the brothers. Brother Chu gave me ten thousand dollars, and when Brother Chang Tze-jieh came from Tsingtao, he gave me a few thousand dollars. From that time on I decided to set aside a certain amount from what I have received.... When I moved back from the countryside, I saw many more white-haired people in the church. The next time I came back, there were even more with white hair.... The sisters had given up all their savings, and some sisters had to stay in the hospital and could not go home.... What I have can only become less; it will never become more. All the money that I have is enough to feed one more person for a month only; it will be gone by the second month. I can sleep on the floor and let others sleep on my bed. But others will not feel comfortable sleeping this way. If we have to provide a place for others to rest, it should be a place where others can rest comfortably. I felt that somehow I have to have a place that is like a home, that others will not feel ashamed or burdensome to live in, and that is close to the meeting hall. Only then will such a place be able to render others some spiritual help.... When a person gets older, she tends to develop her own peculiarities. Others say that living together provides fellowship. Actually, living together provides frustrations. This is why I have hoped all the time to have a place that can provide hospitality for the saints. Brother Lee said that perhaps they can provide a place for me in Chefoo.

Today I ask Brother Nee to forgive me for all my past attitudes and words. I also ask the responsible brothers to forgive me for my past attitudes and words. I was sympathetic toward Brother Nee's venture into business. Concerning the [195] CBC Laboratory, I heard many words, and they made me angry. Eventually, these angers spilled over to Brother Nee. Brother Nee said, "The magistrates are the only ones that can light a fire; the common folks should not even light a lamp." [Translator's note: A Chinese idiom meaning that only a few are allowed to do something, referring to Brother Nee's venture into business.] I am not Brother Nee, and I cannot speak for him in many things. When others said that Brother Nee was wrong, how could I take such words? I could not single out Brother Nee for blame. As a result, I began to blame the other responsible brothers. Since they had promised that [the business venture] was God's will already, how could I stop other brothers and sisters? Yet when others came to me, they were bothered to the point of a mental breakdown, and I could not help but sympathize with them. It is God's grace that I have not had a mental breakdown today. Even if ninety-nine percent of the responsibility lies with others, I still hold one percent of the responsibility. Actually, I should say that I hold more than one percent of the responsibility.

At one time some people criticized The Normal Christian Church Life and asked me to say something bad about Brother Nee. People wanted to use me as a tool to oppose Brother Nee. (Abridged from "The Resumption of Watchman Nee's Ministry," CWWN, vol. 57, chap 17)

Concerning the CBC Laboratory, I did tell people that it was a "gossip center." My motive concerning the business was bitter, and my attitude toward Brother Nee was also bitter. I would not say that I have never condemned anything; there were indeed things which I took offense in. Once a person got involved with the CBC Lab, their spiritual condition collapsed. If what has happened these few days had happened then, none of what I am saying would need to be said.

I wish that the tears I shed today would be my last tears. I wish that when I leave the world one day, and others open up my closets, they will find them empty. If my closets are full, it will be to my shame. I realize that it is better to prefer poverty than to prefer wealth. During these years, I did have the thought of selling everything I have. Sometimes I cannot recognize my own belongings. Others always push me to buy something for myself, but I always give this and that kind of excuse. I seldom buy things for myself. When I bought an [196] overcoat, three people literally dragged me to the store to buy it. I do not care much for my own clothing. I am not saving things in my closets and keeping them for myself. As for cash, I cannot come up with even a thousand dollars. I do not have a single piece of gold with me. I can testify for my conscience' sake that all that I have is worth nothing; everything I have is what I need for myself. Of course, I can hand over my rice and my oil. I can give my last drop to the church.

When the church proposed to buy a piece of land the last time, some people were blaming others, while others were plainly sitting back and watching. At that time twenty pieces of gold would have done the job. But we waited and waited until all the money was gone, and everyone was still sitting there watching. Because of this, we accomplished nothing. This is wrong. If everyone hands himself over today, what follows is the responsibility of the church. I open up myself this way today out of necessity. My words end here.

Watchman Nee's Response:

After the war the CBC Laboratory was worth eight hundred thousand dollars. Last year it was worth only four hundred thousand. This year it is worth 1.2 million. Yet we owe others seven hundred thousand dollars. We have no idea what will happen next year.

When we were going to buy the land from Mrs. Chow, [198] some consecrated all they had by selling everything. I felt that that money was blood money. After I made the announcement the first and second time, I dared not make any more announcements, because all the ones who were giving money were middle-class and lower middle-class saints. Those who had the money and who should have offered were slow to move.

After that first failure I dared not ask others for money again. I told others that, should we have to build a meeting hall, I would do it myself. Sister Ruth Lee may have harbored some complaints against me, that I did not take care of so many works that were necessary, and that instead I went into business.

But in order for the work to be done properly, some have to sacrifice themselves. I can say this word to you today: I have done my work, and I have sacrificed myself. Today I am a part of those who are sharing responsibilities in the work, and I am also a part of those who are holding jobs. I am not an insensitive person. For you to go into business, there is no sense of shame. But for me to go into business, there is the sense of shame. I know that with this matter some have something to say about me, and I can tell you that some have come and questioned me. Even now, I risk bearing the shame of receiving no greetings on the street. I risk bearing the shame of “remarrying” myself as a widow, so much so that the children are gone, and I am left wondering why I was doing what I was doing, with a dead child in my arms. For eight years I could not lift up my face and look into the brothers’ and sisters’ eyes. Do I not have the right today to say to you, “Offer up yourselves”? Why would you not offer up yourselves? Today is the time for all the working brothers and sisters to offer up themselves. (“The Resumption of Watchman Nee’s Ministry,” CWWN, vol. 57, chap 17, pp. 194-196.)

Witness Lee's Account concerning Watchman Nee's Marriage and His Engaging in Business

(Abridged from "Watchman Nee—A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age, chap 14)

MARRIED

When Watchman Nee was a teenager, he fell in love with a young girl by the name of Charity Chang. Their two families had been friends for three generations. After Watchman Nee had turned to the Lord, Charity was still unsaved. At times she ridiculed the Lord in Watchman's presence. This bothered him. How could he who loved the Lord marry one who despised the Lord? At the time he sought to be filled with the Holy Spirit, the Lord required him to give her up. He struggled for some time with this matter. Eventually, the Lord forced him to give her up. At that time he made a thorough consecration of himself and his future to the Lord. He experienced the reality of Psalm 73:25 in a practical way, to have no other love in heaven or on earth but the Lord.

Ten years later, after finishing her university education, Charity turned to the Lord and began to attend the church meetings in Shanghai in 1934. Through those ten years she was sovereignly kept by the Lord from marrying. Eventually, the Lord brought her back to Watchman Nee. Charity's aunt, however, strongly opposed the marriage. She looked upon Watchman Nee as simply a poor preacher. On the one hand, this caused Watchman to hesitate in going ahead with the wedding; but on the other hand, his mother was very much concerned for his marriage, since he was thirty years of age. In 1934, during his fourth overcomer conference held in Hangchow, all the co-workers were present. His mother grasped this opportunity to speed up the wedding. As a result, immediately following the conference, the wedding took place. Charity's aunt was extremely unhappy about her niece's marriage. She made a threat that if Watchman Nee would not pay her the customary courtesy call she would cause him trouble. He would have surely paid her such a visit if she had not made such a threat. However, her threats caused him not to do so. He felt he could not comply with her desire under such duress. People would think he was playing politics to please her. For this reason he refused to do what she asked. Through this conflict, a great turmoil burst out in Shanghai caused by Charity's opposing aunt. This caused Watchman a great deal of suffering. However, this marriage was the provision of the Lord. Charity was the helpmate he needed to take care of him in his sickly condition. She was the only one permitted to visit him during his twenty-year imprisonment. The Lord took her away one year before Watchman died. It was God's sovereign arrangement that they had no children to burden them while undergoing such a long trial.

ENGAGING IN BUSINESS

Watchman's second brother was a qualified chemist. In 1938 he began a small pharmaceutical factory. He was experienced in pharmaceutical production but was inexperienced in business management. Watchman was blamed by his parents for helping many other brothers, but not helping his own brother in business. Due to this family feeling, Watchman began to help his brother in the

management of the pharmaceutical factory in the latter part of 1939. At this time he was also burdened with the supply of his co-workers. He felt that some profit could be made through the business to meet their needs. He therefore picked up the full management of the factory and reorganized it. Because of this unavoidable involvement, some brothers employed in the factory became unhappy with him. Through this whole situation, Satan stirred up turmoil among the saints in Shanghai against Watchman. This resulted in his inability to function in the ministry. At the same time the occupation of the invading Japanese army compelled him to move the factory far to the interior, from Shanghai to Chungking. Chungking was the Chinese capital during the Sino-Japanese war. There he carried on the business and was also employed by the government. After the war, he brought the pharmaceutical factory back to Shanghai. Through the profits derived from this business, he was not only able to care for the need of a number of brothers and sisters; he was also able to purchase a training center with approximately twelve bungalows on Kuling Mountain, close to his hometown. In 1948 a revival was brought to the church in Shanghai, and he resumed his ministry. At the same time he also handed over the factory to the work as an offering to the Lord. That act influenced many brothers and sisters to also hand over their possessions to the work.

TESTIMONY OF BROTHER SAMUEL CHANG

The following is a testimony of Samuel I.L. Chang, Mrs. Nee's brother, concerning Watchman as a businessman:

I received my college degree in the field of chemistry, and in 1938 I engaged in the pharmaceutical enterprise as an assistant to Watchman Nee's second brother, Hwai-tsu (George). From the time Watchman Nee began to manage the enterprise late in 1939, I worked with him for about ten years, until I left the China mainland in 1949.

Due to the Japanese invasion, our factory was moved from Shanghai to Chungking. In 1943 Watchman Nee went back to Foochow. At that time he cabled me to come there. After arriving, he told me that there was a brother who needed approximately ten thousand dollars to clear his debt. I was quite puzzled at the time that he was exercising such generosity to unconditionally pay off this brother's large debt. But this incident made me clear that he was running the business, not for his own needs, but for the needs of others.

Sometimes the Lord provided for Watchman's needs; sometimes He did not provide. Then he would work with his own hands to supply his own needs as well as the needs of others.

As time went on, the restriction on obtaining raw materials from abroad became acute, and there was no way to develop the pharmaceutical business on a large scale. The saints still needed to be provided for, yet the income was limited. This situation forced Watchman to work at a government job in order to not become a burden to others. He worked not only in order to provide help for others but also to meet the need of his own living expenses.

After the war he returned to Shanghai with the pharmaceutical factory. He built the business on a sound foundation, and there was such blessing from the Lord that another factory,

which produced dye, was added to the business. From the financial blessing of these two factories, Watchman was able to offer a large sum to the church in Shanghai for the building of the meeting hall. He was also able to maintain the training center on Mount Kuling, Foochow, with a number of living quarters.

I believe I was the only one with him from the beginning to the end of his time in business. I can bear witness that his motive was absolutely not to make himself rich. He was utterly captured by the Lord. Although he was criticized for going into business, I must testify that he did not spend the profit for his own enjoyment. The money he made was for the Lord, and he spent it in the way the Lord desired.

Because of his rich experience in the Lord, he was enabled to work with government officials in a very efficient way. All his superiors admired him. He never attempted to prove that he was superior; rather, he lived and worked in the spirit of submission and took orders from those above him. For this reason, when the war was over and the government returned to Nanking, he was offered a high position. However, because of his relationship with the Lord and his ministry with the co-workers and the churches, it was necessary to give up the government job.

Zhang Xikang's Clarification and Explanation Concerning Lily Hsu's Improper Use of His Writing

June 19, 2013

Clarification concerning CBC (the China BioChemical Laboratory)

In chapter 22 of Lily Hsu's book [note: *My Unforgettable Memories*, Chinese version], all she wrote concerning CBC came mostly from the earlier version of my autobiography. When Watchman Nee started the CBC in 1939, Lily Hsu was only 8 years old. She has no qualifications to criticize Nee's pharmaceutical business. At the end of chapter 22, Lily Hsu listed various shortcomings of Watchman Nee in relation to the pharmaceutical business; she criticized Nee for being too self-confident, making decisions on his own, ignoring laws and commercial regulations, being full of schemes, and having no business ethics. Her criticism makes me laugh and cry at the same time.

I joined CBC in 1948. As I recalled the past, I had absolute trust toward Watchman Nee and I was hoping I could assist him in the business. 1948 was the year when he started the first term of Kuling training. There were two terms of Kuling training, one in 1948 and the other in 1949. It was a major event in the history of the church in Shanghai as well as all the local churches in the country. Most of the historical record during this time contains the spiritual messages Nee released in the training. These messages have a deep impact in our spread within the country and overseas in the future. However, as he devoted all his energy into the Kuling training in 1948 and 1949, it was also the time when the running of CBC met with the most difficulties. In order to have sufficient cash flow, we had to borrow money with gold and it got to the point where banks and some brothers all came to press for repayment of debt. The kind of pressure and pain brother Nee went through in order to raise enough funds for the Kuling training and traveling between Kuling and Shanghai in 1948 and 1949 is something outsiders can hardly understand.

The following is a description of how brother Nee ran the various CBC Labs; it is from chapter 14 of my book *Zhang Xikang's Memoir*, officially published in 2012.

Brother Nee once said to me at the Jiangxi Road office of CBC Lab: "Others turn soil into gold, but I turn gold into soil." This indicated that none of the businesses he set up were successful.

After Brother Nee handed over CBC in 1948, the church arranged for six of us to enter the company and take over the responsibilities of Nee's brothers, Hongzu Nee and Xingzu Nee [洪祖、興祖]. I mentioned this in a previous chapter already. After we began at CBC, the employees there (most of whom were unbelievers with not many brothers and sisters) said that the church had taken over CBC and that we were sent in by the church and were Nee's agents. At that time, there was an underground organization at CBC on Jiaozhou Road. After the liberation

of Shanghai, CBC also registered with the Industrial and Commercial Bureau and established a trade union. Rong Junshi [榮君實], a chemist at CBC's chemical laboratory, served as the union president. Xu Yonghan [徐鏞漢], an underground party member, organized workers to study politics and fight against the capitalists. The six of us entered this private company when the workers were very aggressive and the company was on the verge of bankruptcy. Brother Nee was the chairman of CBC at the time and he owned 90% of the shares. You can say he was almost the sole proprietor. He believed that the funds for running CBC were money for the Lord's work, and the money earned should be used for the Lord's work and the church as well. However, CBC was a limited company with shares. When the company made money, the owner could not freely withdraw money from the company. The funds allocation was also monitored by the union. Therefore, brother Nee was restricted from withdrawing money from CBC. However, CBC's accounting owed brother Nee (account name Wang Suji) more than US\$30,000 in raw materials for DDT that were shipped to Shanghai from the Chongqing CBC Lab after it was closed. Brother Nee hoped that we could use these raw materials to make medicines, and the money from the sales could be paid from the account and handed over to him to fund the Kuling training.

After we entered the company, we asked the workers and church brothers Zhang Kelan, Zha Buguang and Lee Minghua to make DDT medicine. We put out big advertisements for the medicine in the market and borrowed money from the banks and some brothers who were wealthy businessmen [to fund the production]. However, the wealthy brothers wanted to loan the money to CBC in gold terms, and we must pay back in gold in the future as the currency was falling and no one was willing to deal in cash. Hence, as a last resort we took a risk and borrowed in gold. However, no matter how the price of DDT rose, it would not rise as high as gold. In addition to covering the daily expenses and wages, the money earned also had to pay off the debt to Nee. So the money kept going out, and the raw materials kept decreasing day by day, reaching a point where the banks came to press for payment for the loan, asking us to use the medicine as collateral, and the creditor-brothers also came to press for payments and asked us to pay back in gold. The Union members guarded the warehouse door and did not allow the raw materials to leave. At the end of the month, the workers drove trucks to Jiangxi Road office to negotiate with the general manager that they might get paid their wages as scheduled without a penny short. They even declared a fight against the general manager Ma Kuichun [馬葵春]. Ma then secretly fled to Taiwan. Shan Yisheng [單亦勝], the assistant manager, also fled to Hong Kong because he was afraid that the workers would fight against him as well. The factory director Sun Wuxin [孫務信] was monitoring the activities of the underground party members and he also ran away fearing workers' retaliation. In the end only three people were left in the Jiangxi Road CBC Office: Shen Rongqing [沈榮慶], Jiang Suiwu [江睡悟] and me. Shen Rongqing took the medicines from his own Yaguang pharmacy to the bank as collateral, while I dealt with banks all day long, borrowing from one bank to pay another bank, and borrowing from that bank to pay back to this bank. When I was at a bank, the bank would want CBC's raw materials as a collateral, but the union at CBC would come out and say that the raw materials cannot be collected and wages must be paid as usual. The union went to the CBC office on Jiangxi Road on behalf of the workers; they surrounded the building and demanded the wages to be paid and raw materials to be kept. On the other hand, though the bank wanted to use the medicines as

collateral, the medicines were not able to sell because the products from the United States had arrived. The price of the medicines on the market dropped and our medicine could not go. The creditor-brothers then came to us with the loan agreements to press for payment, asking how much we would pay back in gold, because it was agreed at the time that they lent to CBC in gold terms and we would repay in gold. Right around that time the gold price suddenly rose again. Not only did they go to the company to demand payment, they also came to my house. Later even the banks refused to lend us money and came to the company every day to press for repayment while the creditor-brothers came to my house to press for repayment. I neither dared to go to the company nor stayed at home. All day long I spent my time wandering in the park or on the streets.

About this time, brother Nee returned to Shanghai after completing the first term of Kuling training. In July of 1948, my father went to see him and told him about my situation, and said that CBC's financial burden should not be placed on me, a young man. Brother Nee said that he would take charge of this matter and he asked Shen Rongqing, Jiang Xiewu, and I to close the CBC office on Jiangxi Road and move to the office on Jiaozhou Road. To clear all the debts, he would find a way to borrow money from elsewhere. I resigned from my position as the audit director of CBC and went home to rest. Shen Rongqing and Jiang Suiwu also resigned one after another. Nee hired two outsiders, Shao Shenlun and Shi Jitang [邵伸倫、史濟湯], as general manager and assistant manager respectively, and Xu Yonghan [徐鏞漢] as director of personnel. When brother Nee was in Chongqing, he met a capitalist Mr. Wang Sufeng [王素封], who used to own Renhe Pharmaceutical Factory in Shanghai (now the 17th Pharmaceutical Factory). This man used to help Nee a lot and he introduced Shi Jitang to work for Nee. Both Shao and Shi were very capable people, and they came to run CBC. By this time all the brothers [in the Lord] had completely withdrawn from the business of CBC..

Brother Nee experienced many twists and turns since he set up the pharmaceutical company in 1940. Many brothers withdrew from the company. Later, when he went to Chongqing he handed over the CBC Lab in Shanghai to his two younger brothers who were unbelievers, and the company suffered heavy losses. In 1948, when he handed over the CBC to the church, the church was to arrange for brothers to run it. However, the company was also caught in serious trouble and the brothers again withdrew from running the company. So he asked some unbelievers to come and run the company. At this point he was completely disappointed at CBC in Shanghai.

In the spring of 1949, brother Nee was preparing to hold the second term of Kuling training and needed to set up what was called a "Ministers' House." Funding became a problem again, and he knew that there was no hope of getting money from CBC in Shanghai. So he thought of a way to set up another pharmaceutical company in the empty building of the office at No. 322 Jiangxi Road, and he called this company CBC in Yu [Yu, 渝, is the abbreviated name for Chongqing city.] CBC in Yu is CBC in Chongqing. When Brother Nee went to Chongqing in 1942, he signed an agreement with the board of directors of CBC in Shanghai, agreeing that Nee could open a pharmaceutical company in Chongqing using the CBC brand name, but the products

must be different from those in Shanghai, and the word "Yu [渝]" should be added to the trademark. Since the CBC in Shanghai produced "Shi Tai'an", "Sufade", "Guangling San", "Mercurochrome Water", "Deshixiong", "Long-acting Xilin", and "Glass Ointment", the CBC Lab in Chongqing could not produce them. Similarly, the Lab in Chongqing produced "DDT" and "Bijian Pills", and the Lab in Shanghai must not produce them. When the Lab in Chongqing was set up, brother Nee hired a sister Lee Qiongmeng from Shanghai as the pharmacist and a brother Ma Chengyan as the manager. His co-worker in Chongqing, Chen Xiwen and Chen's wife, both worked in the Lab in Chongqing. Nee's brother-in-law Samuel Chang [Chinese name Zhang Yilun張宜綸] also co-founded "Emei Science Lab" with Nee in Chongqing, a trading company specializing in producing chemical raw materials. After WWII, both CBC in Chongqing and Emei Science Lab ended. The raw materials of DDT and Bijuan Pills were shipped to Shanghai and handed over to CBC in Shanghai for production. Because the Lab in Shanghai was not able to pay for the raw materials, it was recorded as a debt owed to Nee. But how could the CBC in Chongqing reopen in Shanghai now? This was because brother Nee's brother-in-law Samuel Chang wrote to him from Hong Kong, saying that the United States had a new drug called P.A.S. for lung diseases. Samuel Chang started both the Emei Science Lab and the CBC in Hong Kong to distribute the P.A.S. made by a chemical lab in the United States; he felt that they would be able to make a lot of money by selling P. A. S. powder packaged in small bottles.

Regarding the funding, brother Nee borrowed more than ten thousand US dollars from Chen Xiri (陳錫日, also known as Shulin), the nephew of brother Chen Ziwan who owned the Hong Kong branch of Yangben company. The loan was arranged to pay back in US dollars. Nee then asked Samuel Chang to ship the P.A.S. raw materials from Hong Kong to Shanghai. Then CBC in Yu would ask the CBC in Shanghai to process the raw material into powders and tablets, which were then delivered to the Jiangxi Road office for sale. The powder was priced at US\$40 per bottle of 500 grams. One day, brother Nee called me, Sun Wuxin, and Jiang Xiewu to the Jiangxi Road office to explain his plan and asked us to join the CBC in Chongqing. The plan was that we would renovate the Jiangxi Road office, put up big advertisements for the medicine, and set up a pulmonary disease clinic with a doctor to see the patients every day and answer all questions after taking P.A.S. The medicine was named "CBC PAS." The next day, the three of us opened the business, and many people lined up to buy "CBC PAS". The business was very good, and we made a lot of money in the first few days. Nee was very satisfied, so he went away to Kuling for meetings in the Ministers' House and asked us to send money to Fuzhou regularly to him. He set up a "USD loan" in the account and the money given to Nee was regarded as repaying Chen Xiri's P.A.S. raw material loans. After brother Nee left, we ran into the matter of registration for CBC in Yu because CBC PAS could only be approved for sale after being tested by the Health Bureau. There were a series of issues such as who would be the manager. Because it was officially opened, outsiders thought it was the sales department of the old CBC in Shanghai that had reopened. Banks, advertising companies, packaging factories, etc. all came to us and asked us to open accounts and do business with them, so we needed a manager to conduct business with the outside world. The three of us discussed it. Because I was familiar with the banking industry in the past, they recommended me to be the manager, Sun Wuxin to be the assistant manager, and Jiang Xiewu to be in charge of accounting and finance. Later, He

Guanghui was asked to come and keep the book. After He Guanghui and Sun Wuxin got married, Tan Guoxing came to do the books instead. The sales of CBC PAS were booming, but we were short-handed in the sales department. So Zhou Qianghua and Huang Huili were hired as salespersons. Later, Jiang Shanshan came to take care of the USD loan account. CBC in Yu made a lot of money but only gave CBC in Shanghai a little manufacturing cost. Thus the jealousy of workers at CBC in Shanghai was stirred up and they thought that Nee was setting up a fake company to escape taxation.

Toward the end of 1949, brother Nee finished the second term of Kuling training and returned to Shanghai. He asked me to register the trademark of "CBC in Yu" with the Industry and Commerce Bureau. The Bureau asked for the trade union's seal, so we made a seal of the trade union of CBC in Yu and handed in the registration form, but the business license was never approved. In order to produce a large amount of PAS, Nee asked Shi Jitang to purchase a high pressure cooker from a paint factory and priced it at US\$30,000. After the pressure cooker was bought, it was placed in the CBC in Shanghai and Nee designated a number of brothers to manufacture P.A.S., but the product did not belong to the Lab in Shanghai. This caused the trade union to fight against him several times. Nee would like to clear the debt to Chen Xiri in Hong Kong because P.A.S. made money. One day, he asked me to bring 20,000 U.S. dollars to a commercial bank. I didn't know that this was a private foreign exchange. When Amifeno, the raw material for making P.A.S., was shipped from Hong Kong to Shanghai, it was recorded in the account as paying trade tax so that more money could be put into the account. This was later counted as income evasion. Nee asked us to send money to Yu Chenghua's wife, Wu Huanyin, on a monthly basis, because Yu was attending the second term of Kuling training. Nee also asked me to send money to Ruth Lee on a monthly basis. We asked him how these money should be recorded in the account; he said to add two consultants to our employee list, and that Yu Chenghua would be a medical consultant for CBC in Yu. It was right to take care of co-workers but he was later convicted of creating fake accounts to steal funds because of this way of accounting appearing in our record.

I married Jiang Shanshan [蒋珊珊] on October 10, 1949. Two months later, she had severe pregnancy reactions and quit her job. The CBC PAS powder was very expensive and many people could not afford it over a long time. The powder also caused a strong acidic reaction. When another pharmaceutical company, Xinyi Pharmaceutical, released their version of the medicine called "Baisheng", many went to buy Xinyi's PAS instead because it contained sodium salt and the intake reaction was small and it was in tablet form. Suddenly the CBC PAS sales plummeted, and we were forced to cut prices and switched to making sodium salt tablets. In the first half of 1950, the trade union sent representatives to negotiate with Nee several times for wage increases. Right about that time, the director of the Northeast Pharmaceutical, Director Long [龍], came to Shanghai to visit Xinyi Pharmaceutical. He also visited CBC Shanghai's Jiaozhou Road office. Nee negotiated a plan with Long to merge CBC and Northeast Pharmaceutical into one and CBC would provide the technical support needed. Workers, staff, and technicians, together with machinery and raw materials at CBC would also move to Shenyang [where Northeast Pharmaceutical was located]. Those who did not want to go to

Northeast Pharmaceutical were given three months' severance pay, and CBC in Shanghai would be liquidated. The CBC in Chongqing was also closed, and the machines and raw materials were sold to Northeast Pharmaceutical but the brothers and sisters working in the Chongqing company stayed in Shanghai. In this way, the manager Shao Shenlun, assistant managers Shi Jitang and Chen Guangling, and many workers and staff, some of whom were brothers and sisters, also moved to northeast China. CBC in Shanghai established a liquidation committee, with brother Gu Xiaoyi responsible for cleaning up the accounts. This was the third time that brothers left CBC. The newly merged company used Northeast Pharmaceutical as its name. The previous CBC in Shanghai was now completely operated by a state-owned pharmaceutical company.

Brother Nee felt that unbelievers were obstructing CBC's operations, so its operations were not going smoothly. Now that CBC in Shanghai has been disbanded, he could set up a new company to be run entirely by our own brothers. Therefore, he summoned Tang Shoulin [唐守臨], Wang Dahe [王大和], Nee Huaizu [倪懷祖], and me upstairs in the editorial office of the Gospel Book Room to discuss how to start a new company called "Brothers Pharmaceutical." The company would rent the former office of CBC on Jiaozhou Road. He would provide the capital and the brothers would be shareholders in name only, just like CBC in Shanghai used to be where many brothers and sisters were shareholders in name. This company's product would be a new drug for tuberculosis called "Tuberculosis Safety" [Jiehe'an 結核安]. In terms of personnel, Tang Shoulin would work as the manager, Gu Botao the assistant manager, and Wang Dahe the sales manager. Nee Huaizu was a chemist by training, and he had been running the Nee laboratory and had several skilled chemists and pharmacists, all of whom he retained to maintain technical strength. At the same time, I was asked to work as the purchasing director of Brothers Pharmaceutical, and Tan Guoxing as the accounting director. So "Tuberculosis Safety" medicine was made successfully, the business license application went through, and the Health Bureau approved it, but there was no market because the new drug for tuberculosis was highly toxic and clinical trials were still uncertain. However, the same medicine already came out abroad, and doctors in China were still afraid to use it. Nee believed that trademarks and brands were very important. Brothers Pharmaceuticals was a new company and many people did not trust it, but "CBC" was a famous brand because we spent tens of thousands of dollars on advertisements. So he discussed with Long, the director of the Northeast Pharmaceutical, asking for the Brothers Pharmaceutical to lease the "CBC" trademark on the new product. Director Long agreed. After Nee returned to Shanghai from Shenyang, he immediately called a meeting with the brothers. The Jiaozhou Road factory could be reopened, there was no need to clean up the company, and the account books could be continued. Several famous drugs developed by CBC previously could still be produced. As a result, drugs such as "Long-acting Cicillin", "Amenazine", "DDT", and "Shitaian" were re-produced. As for the workers, a group of young brothers and sisters who came to Shanghai from Qingdao were hired, as well as some from local and other provinces. There were more than a dozen people from Qingdao, including Yang Youdao, Shi Yuchen, Jing Shaoren, Zhai Zongpei, and Xu Meida. Brother Sun Kai came from Peking University, Li Yuexu came from Yiyang, several brothers from Jiaotong University in Shanghai, and a few dozen other brothers. After joining the work they first learned in the Nee laboratory for a few months and then began to participate in the production line. A number of workers who previously worked at CBC

and did not go to northeast China also joined in. The CBC in Shanghai was making a comeback. This was in 1951.

In 1950, when the CBC moved to the northeast. Director Long wanted to buy a pressure cooker from CBC Chongqing. Nee offered the price of 300,000 RMB and said that he bought the pressure cooker for 30,000 U.S. dollars. The money was borrowed from Yangben company in Hong Kong and the loan was to pay back in US dollars. At the time there was no official exchange rate for U.S. dollars, so they could only use the black market rate, which was one US dollar to ten RMB. Therefore, this pressure cooker would cost 300,000 RMB. Director Long actually agreed to the price and bought the pressure cooker. After receiving the money, Nee asked a brother in the northeast to buy dozens of barrels of toluene raw material, preparing to open "Jinxu Chemical Factory" in Shanghai. He also invested part of the money in Hankou to open Luojia Pharmaceutical Factory and asked Sun Wuxin and He Guangtao to run it. Then he started Cuihua Pigment Factory in Shanghai and Gu Yucang was hired as manager and Shao Shengqing, Pei Enrong and others were hired as technicians. He raised their salaries very high so that they could donate ten percent of their salary to the church every month. He asked Jiang Suiwu to open many accounts through brother Xuan Changming at Shanghai Bank and deposited the rest of the money in those accounts. During the Five Anti Movement against CBC, these actions were classified as grand theft of state assets.

In February 1952, the Northeast Pharmaceutical carried out the Five Anti Movement. Brother Nee was considered to have committed grand theft of state assets. The Northeast Public Security Bureau in Shenyang went to Shanghai to take Nee to the Northeast Pharmaceutical for criticism and judgment. In July 1952, CBC in Shanghai also carried out the Five Anti Movement. At that time, we were all working in the sales department in the Jiangxi Road office. Those of us who did accounting, such as Tan Guoxing, Gu Xiaoyi, and Jiang Suiwu, were called senior staff. Shao Luoyang served as the captain of the Five Anti movement. He used to be a veteran cadre in northern Jiangsu. He and Chen Yi were both veterans of the New Fourth Army (of the Communist Party). Later, he became a professor at the university. This man was very capable and knowledgeable, and he served as the team leader. The members of his Five Anti Inspection Team were different from the ordinary ones. They were composed of cadres from the Shanghai Health Bureau, Shanghai Religious Affairs Bureau, Northeast Pharmaceutical, Shanghai Public Security Bureau, Taxation Bureau, and the party members from Northeast Pharmaceutical. They came to the Jiangxi Road office first. Shao Luoyang conducted a search of the office and then demanded us to explain, saying that the government's policy was to be strict with those who resisted and lenient with those who confessed. He asked us to report and expose brother Nee's five evil crimes [that matched the five-anti movement]. At the same time, we were not allowed to go home; each was secluded in a room by ourselves. Several of the senior staff were interrogated individually. I was considered an agent of the employer and was asked to confess, expose, and join the [five-anti] team. However, I did not agree that the sale of the pressure cooker to Northeast China was an attempt to steal state assets, nor did I admit that moving the account books of CBC in Chongqing into a warehouse was an attempt to resist explanation. They asked me about the accounts of CBC in Chongqing. I told them it was given to shareholder Samuel Chang in Hong

Kong for an audit. They did not believe me and reiterated the principle of being strict with those who resisted and lenient with those who confessed. I did write a brief account about tax evasion and other things. They said that was trivial and I did not confess about the more important issues. They also said that we senior staff should join the team and later let us return to the office. Then they worked on mobilizing the workers.

At this time, all the workers in the factory were brothers. The five-anti team mobilized the brothers to rise up and accuse brother Nee and our colleagues were also encouraged to impeach us and make us join the team. They encouraged impeaching and shouted slogans, and it was a vigorous event. Jing Shaoren was the most enthusiastic, and Li Yuexu said that we should be like the Levites, who killed their brothers with the swords. We were shut up in a room on Jiaozhou Road for confessions and then they went to review them; they insisted that I reveal the problem with the account books. At that time, there was a clerk named Chen Changrui. When brother Nee was talking to us about the account books, he overheard this matter. He reported it and said that I had placed the account books in the warehouse. This man was from Fujian province, and brother Nee invited him to live in the office at No. 322 Jiangxi Road. When I felt later that I should explain about this matter, I went to the prosecution team and told them that my account books were in the warehouse. They said there was no need for me to explain, they already knew, and asked why I didn't tell them earlier, which indicated that I was resisting. As soon as they checked the accounts, they found some entries in the "USD loan" account and some problems in the account. They asked me to confess that we were stealing national assets. They said that I was Watchman Nee's henchman, his bourgeois tail, and that I refused to explain myself. Later they asked for the signatures of several of us involved in the accounting, stating that the money from Hong Kong included imperialist money. why? They mainly wanted to check if there was any money going into the church. This was because in the past they wanted the church to report the subsidies we had received from the imperialists, but we said that we were self-supporting and that we did not have imperialist money. They did not believe it. They wanted to use the Five-Anti Movement to find out whether there was any Imperialist money from Hong Kong that went into the CBC and then passed through CBC into the church. They would like to use CBC to cut open a hole, refuting our claim that we have long been self-care, self-propagation, and self-support. In 1956, Shao Luoyang became the captain of the Su-fan team in Christian Assembly on Nanyang Road. How could the captain of the five-anti team in CBC become the captain of the church's Su-fan team? Therefore, it can be said that the Five-Anti Movement in the pharmaceutical company is the prelude to the Su-fan Movement in the church. They were always looking to cut open a hole from the economic aspect.

I was arrested on October 10, 1952, detained and interrogated by the East China Public Security Bureau for more than two years, and was finally sentenced to three years in prison. The CBC in Shanghai was convicted of committing all five crimes [of the five-anti movement]. The most serious one was that it failed to clean up before it reopened. Because CBC in Shanghai tried to evade income tax, the fine was huge and CBC was confiscated and later changed to be the third state-owned pharmaceutical factory. Furthermore, since Brother Nee had other unresolved political problems, he was not publicly sentenced until 1956, to fifteen years in prison, after the

Su-fan movement in the church in Shanghai began. The leader of the Su-fan movement in the church in Shanghai was Shao Luoyang, the same leader of the Five-Anti team who later became the director of the Religious Affairs office in Shanghai. Therefore, the Five-Anti Movement in CBC was the prelude to the church's Su-fan movement and was intended to find out all the ins and outs of brother Nee's finances. Because we had never admitted that we had any financial relationship with imperialists, they thought the key lay with brother Nee. In order to discover brother Nee's financial resources, they needed to find out where the money for his businesses came from. I was in charge of CBC's accounts, so I was the first to bear the brunt. In addition, I always sided with brother Nee and did not comply well during the Five-Anti movement, so I was given strict discipline. All of this was God's good intention. It was a pity that all the money for God's work was confiscated. All the business undertakings by Nee were also finished.

I began working for the pharmaceutical company in 1948 and was arrested because of it on October 10, 1952. The East China Public Security office interrogated me for two years and then sentenced me to three years in prison. I was not released until 1955. I participated in the whole process of CBC in Shanghai in person. On January 29, 1956, the Public Security office launched a large-scale search and arrest at the Christian Assembly in Shanghai. On January 30, Lily Hsu and others accused brother Nee publicly on Tianchan theater. On February 2, Lily Hsu and several others came to my home and asked me to accuse Watchman Nee of his relationship with imperialism on the evening of February 3. I agreed and wrote a script of complaint and went on stage to accuse brother Nee. After the accusation, I felt very uneasy inside, but at that time I thought that I was a good citizen who obeyed the government. Later at a conference in 1981, I publicly admitted my sin in accusing brother Nee and admitted that I had been deceived and tricked by Satan. I failed to do my best to support brother Nee during the most difficult period of his life spiritually and in business, and before the Lord I have always felt I owed it to him even to today. Lily Hsu copied some historical issues from my book and added her own negative criticism. It is extremely inappropriate. Before she published her book, she should have obtained my consent and approval or discussed the facts in the book with me. While she commented on brother Nee's lack of business ethics, she herself also committed the shameless sin of plagiarism and modification.

Last year I received a letter from Lily Hsu with an attachment of her own reflection one year after publishing her book, *My Unforgettable Memories*. Her letter was dated March 12, 2012. In the letter she said that 1) she received encouragement and recognition from within the local churches; 2) she received recognition from Watchman Nee's family and the descendants of the co-workers who used to serve in the church in Shanghai; and 3) she received the responses from her contemporaries during that period.

I would like to respond to her claim solemnly that none of the above three statements is true. I have been in the US for nearly 20 years and have been meeting in the local church in San Diego. I also often visited the Living Stream Ministry in Anaheim, California and have maintained contact and fellowship with the co-workers in the local churches. I have met the responsible ones and co-workers serving in Taiwan Gospel Book Room and in the work in Taiwan. As far as I know, none of them agreed to Lily Hsu's book and her scheme. Her statement about Nee's family's recognition is even more ridiculous. At present the one person who can represent the Nee family is Mrs. Nee Xu Fengxian, wife of Watchman Nee's youngest brother Nee Xingzhu. Mrs. Nee is 100 years old this year and she totally denies all the negative accusations Lily Hsu made against Watchman Nee. The second page of Hsu's letter

to me contained a quote made by Nee's family. It said, "My view of the problems you stated as facts is that God is the One who will make the last judgment. The facts are important but each evaluation is one's own." Lily Hsu's interpretation of this statement was that she felt Nee's family agreed with her descriptions and regarded them as facts. My interpretation of the comments made by Nee's family is that they do not regard Lily Hsu's descriptions as facts; rather, the real facts are important and one may have her own evaluation but God is the final Judge, not anyone else.

Lily Hsu's book contained the record of the pharmaceutical company, all of which came from what I wrote 20 years ago. That book, *Review of the Past Sixty Years*, was never published. My writing represented my mood and attitude of twenty years ago as well as my understanding at the time under a certain political environment and with a shortage of spiritual supply over a long period of time. My understanding twenty years ago can be described by a Chinese saying, which is that when one lives in a garlic room for a long time, he knows only the smell of garlic. After I arrived in the US and have lived in the normal church life spiritually, I have regained the breath of fresh air. Hence I revised the manuscript *Review of the Past Sixty Years*. Eventually I published the revised version last year, titled, *Zhang Xikang's Memoir – A Review of Sixty Years of the Local Church in Shanghai*. I hope Lily Hsu will read it carefully.

The most disturbing matter I felt concerning Lily Hsu's book is that what I wrote in the previous version of my manuscript with regard to the historical facts of the pharmaceutical company were included in her book but with her own addition of untrue rumors which then led to her negative comments. Most viciously she even used what she claimed to be my words, which I never said, as her conclusion. I never made such a statement. Brother Nee had a very high standard with regard to the quality of the medicines produced by the pharmaceutical company. He said we should produce products that were high quality and low price so that doctors could use them in peace. One time we bought a high pressure cooker and the brothers were learning to use it to make PAS. Because they were not familiar with the machine, the medicines were not cooked through. The first few batches produced were toxic which caused some people to have reactions. At that time brother Nee was not in Shanghai. We quickly recalled the medicines, remade a few more batches, and sent them for inspection at the Health Bureau. After they were approved, the medicines then became available on the market again. It is utterly immoral for Lily Hsu to use my name for her own statement.

Lily Hsu used what I wrote regarding the history of the pharmaceutical company and added her own opinions, reaching the conclusion that Nee was too self-confident, making decisions on his own, ignoring laws and commercial regulations, being full of schemes, and having no business ethics. Then she summarized that Nee's purpose of running the pharmaceutical company was to make money with money. Lily Hsu was only a university student at that time; she never spent one day working in the company at all and had no idea how difficult it was to run a business during that time when political powers were in transition and the country was in utter financial chaos. How was she qualified to criticize at will? Furthermore, she quoted my writings at length without seeking my approval and did not let me review her writing before publishing it. After her book was published, as I read about the difficult history of brother Nee's running the company in order to feed and sustain all the co-workers and their family members, and I came to Lily Hsu's own entirely erroneous conclusion about the whole thing, I felt extremely uncomfortable, as if I had eaten a dead fly. I wrote to Lily Hsu and informed her of all the mistakes in her book. Regrettably she was deeply prejudiced and refused to accept help. Nevertheless, I must make a

clear clarification here, that all the conclusions about the pharmaceutical company in Lily Hsu's book were based on her own imaginations. They were not my conclusions, nor were they the actual situation at the time. My experience and opinions on setting up a pharmaceutical company were detailed in my book, *The Memoir of Zhang Xikang*, and readers can make their own decisions. Below is the excerpt of my introductory word of this book:

When I was still in China, between 1986 and 1987 I wrote a personal memoir, titled *Review of the Past Sixty Years*, which recorded the sixty years of my own history. In the introductory word of the book I said, "As I review what I have heard and received for the past sixty years, I would first recount my father's testimony. He told me how he was saved and how he was called to work for the Lord, how the Lord's recovery began in China, and how our family came to arrive in Shanghai and entered into the Lord's recovery. Then I would give my own testimony, how I was saved, how I served God in the church, how I received the truth the Lord has recovered among us through the years, and how the Lord revived the work among us and the lessons we have learned from our failures. Then I would discuss the degradation among us, the Lord's care and concern for us, and what He has done on me. Furthermore, I would also review the government's religious policies and how they changed in various stages. I would also review some of the documents related to the TSPM as well as the documents related to the church after the Su-fan movement. These latter documents are for references."

This *Memoir* can be said to be an updated version of *The Review of the Past Sixty Years* written in 1986. Some of the records in *Review* had subjective elements and historical overtones. During the writing process, the government authorities heard that I was writing a memoir, and I also reported to them in detail what I had written. Today, twenty years after leaving that environment, my views and opinions are relatively free and objective. Therefore, I feel that some information needs to be corrected. (Introduction to Zhang Xikang's *Memoirs*, 2012 edition, Guangrong Press)

Afterword

In 2022, which is the 50th anniversary of Watchman Nee's martyrdom, the Museum of the Bible in Washington, DC, USA launched the "Watchman Nee personal story exhibition," which lasted for one year, from March 6, 2022 to March 6, 2023. The exhibition aimed to explore Watchman Nee's life and his contributions to future generations. It included a video narrated by someone who was Nee's inmate in prison, photos, and personal letters. Dr. Jeffrey Kloha, chief curator of the Museum of the Bible, said: "This special exhibition presents Watchman Nee's extraordinary life in the form of a biography, including some artifacts that have never been displayed before, and shares stories from many people in the world how Nee has influenced them with the Bible." [1]

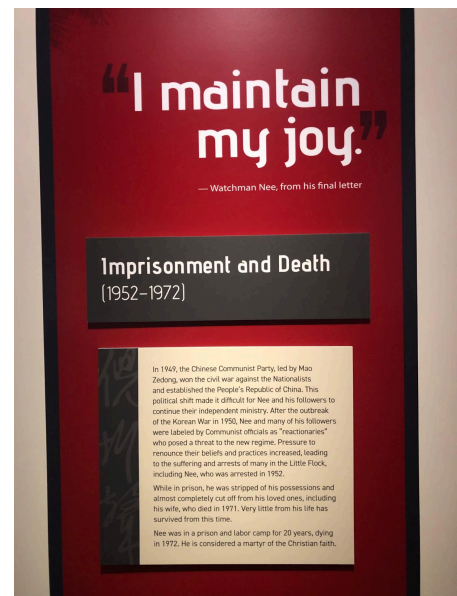
The official website of the Museum of the Bible states: "Watchman Nee started the "local church" movement in China, which was the first local Christian movement in China. This group is still the largest local Christian church movement in China, with an estimated two million people who can trace their Christian faith back to Watchman Nee. On July 30, 2009, the U.S. Congress commended Watchman Nee for his contribution to Christianity in China. Today, it is estimated that there are 3,000 churches outside of China that still follow Watchman Nee's teachings." [2] The museum's merchandise store also provided English readers who visited the special exhibition with a free copy of Watchman Nee's classic book *The Normal Christian Life*, and provided Chinese readers with a copy of the New Testament Recovery Version in Chinese, the main translator of which was Witness Lee, Watchman Nee's co-worker, who continued Nee's burden in the translation of the Bible.

Below are speeches given at the Opening Ceremony of Watchman Nee Exhibition on March 19, 2022:

John Harvey:

During that 20 years from 1952 to 1972, Brother Nee suffered many, many things. Just for example, he was held in prison the first four years without any contact with his family. He had eight hours of hard labor each day. His cell measured only nine by four and a half feet. His only furniture was a wooden platform for sleeping. He wore his own clothes, tattered and worn. There was no heating in that cold prison. He had one meal, one solid meal a day, and ultimately he just weighed 100 pounds. He was never allowed to have a Bible or to read the Bible. Despite all these sufferings, it was reported that in the morning hours, Nee and his beautiful baritone voice, would sing hymns that he had memorized.

According to Brother Wu, in 1970 at the age of 67, in an effort to get him to recant his faith, he was beaten. Then, what really broke his heart was when his wonderful wife Charity



passed away in November of 1970, before they could be reunited. You know, the last letter he wrote to his sister-in-law, he said, “in my sickness, I have learned to keep my joy.” Despite all these sufferings, like the Apostle Paul in the Philippian prison, he was able to keep his joy. And this is right in line with the last lines of his hymn, “Let Us Contemplate the Great Vine.” He wrote, “he whose suffering never beareth, is but empty sounding brass. He who self-life never spareth has the joys which all surpass.”

In 2 Corinthians 4, we see the principle of the new covenant ministry. This is a principle that death operates in us, but life in you. The killing of the cross results in the manifestation of and the release of the divine life. After so many sufferings, Brother Nee and then Brother Lee after him, opened the Bible in a way of life like no one else did. He released truth about the tree of life, about the regeneration of life, about the dispensing of life, about the growth of life, about the transformation of life, and ultimately God's economy to dispense life in faith.

My testimony is that I was one of the first church kids born in the 1960s when this ministry came to the United States. My parents, my family, my friends, and hundreds of thousands have benefited, have been beneficiaries of this ministry. Over the past 50 years, I have witnessed so many competent and wise men who have been in awe of the truth and the light from this ministry and have given their lives for its propagation. I have also witnessed, and I should change I to we, because we have all witnessed this over the last 50 years. We have borne witness to the abundance of joy and the flowing of life and the richness of the blessing that this ministry, which was born in so much suffering, has produced. And it has produced thousands of churches all over the earth. And I have witnessed so many in the church life who have been regenerated, who have grown in life, who've been transformed, and today, are today's living overcomers. This is the fruit of this ministry. This is the ministry of God's new covenant ministry. We do not want to politicize this exhibit. The churches in China have a reputation of purity. They are not political in anything, and they are purely for Christ. Nee always respected governmental authority and understood it was God's governmental arrangement for him. He would never recant his faith, but he never fought. This is not the human way, but it is a way of the divine life, to love our enemies and to pray for those who hurt us. Joseph, when he was recounting to his brothers all the evil things they did to him, including many many years of unjust imprisonment, he said, “you intended it for evil but God intended it for good, to preserve life and to preserve alive and numerous people.

Lastly, as to remembering Watchman, Brother Nee said in his own words, the third heaven experience of the Apostle Paul was not disclosed to others until after 14 years. Regarding many spiritual testimonies, an appropriate length of time should be allowed to elapse before they are divulged. Brothers and sisters, we're not here for the 14th anniversary of his martyrdom, but the 50th year of his martyrdom.

Finally, Brother Lee, in his own in his intro to the “Seer of Divine Revelation” wrote, I felt burdened to write a biography for him that the life and work of such a witness of the Lord might not disappear from those after him but rather be kept as it should be, to minister Christ according to God's desire to the generations to come. Thank you all for coming and thank you all for remembering.

Bill Lawson:

So I want to begin this way. I was a student at UCLA in late 1969, and I was initially introduced to the ministry and the writings of Brother Watchman Nee, namely his book, *The Normal Christian Life*. It's a worldwide classic in every sense of the word. The messages revolutionized my Christian life during a period of seeking the Lord's leading as to the direction and purpose of my Christian life. Then about four years later, an older sister in the Lord, Elizabeth Rademacher, who is a young missionary in China, who met and knew Brother Nee from 1936 to 1943, gave me a 1930s poem on a piece of paper as a wedding memo. And I carry that wedding memo paper in my wallet all these years. It's a, it is just a remarkable testimony to me when it begins, "Let me do the most and not be remembered." The poem reads about his life and ministry and I want to read that, that touched me and has touched me so deeply.

Let me love and not receive gratitude.

Let me serve and not be rewarded.

Let me do the most and not be remembered.

Let me bear suffering and not be noticed.

May I only know to pour the wine but not to drink it.

Only want to break the bread but not to retain any.

May I not receive sympathy, nor man's tender care, nor his honor, nor his soothing.

Rather, let me be forlorn, uncomplaining, unappreciated.

May blood and tears be the cost.

I would suffer loss in my journey through this pilgrim life.

Then a number of years later I came to know that in 1957 in Bombay, India, the messages that Watchman Nee spoke in a conference in Helsinki, Denmark in October 1938 on Romans 5 through 8, were compiled with some other of his messages by a medical missionary to India, Angus Kinnear, into a book, *The Normal Christian Life*, and were now available to Christians in the West. Brother Nee's spoken and written ministry on the matter of the divine life was equally matched by his emphasis on the vision of the church and the practice of a normal Christian church life, which was no less outstanding as he ministered on the role of the church and God's eternal plan. For this reason, one biographer spoke of him as a seer of the divine revelation in the present age.

The last 51 years of reading, studying, speaking, collecting, and archiving his materials and hymns have been a real joy and satisfaction to me. And when I heard from the Museum of the Bible staff around September of 2020, that they broached the subject of an exhibit on Watchman Nee to honor God's work in this man's life, I was deeply moved to have some part in a display of this nature. I consider it a real privilege to be present at this occasion, to honor him with all of you. I give special thanks to the staff of this museum, especially Amy Van Dyke, Jeff Kloha, and so on, who made it possible to make the public aware of such a chosen vessel whose life, legacy, and writings have made such an incredible spiritual impact on believers in the East and the West. We do not exalt this man or overly venerate him by any means, but we treasure the Lord's work in such a useful vessel as a testimony in our time.

I conclude with two things. Number one, a personal statement from his 1936 testimony on his salvation, which reads, "from the evening I was saved", that was on April 29, 1920, "I began to live a new life." And in his final written words in shaking handwriting, inscribed on a piece of paper at a prison farm

labor camp in China just before his martyrdom and death on May 30, 1972, exactly 50 years to the day, this coming May 30, 2022, “Christ is the Son of God who died for the redemption of sinners and resurrected after three days. This is the greatest truth in the universe. I die because of my belief in Christ. Watchman Nee.”

Chris Wilde:

Saints, you know we're here. I really appreciated both John and particularly Bill, the way you couched it, because we are here to properly, appropriately, remember Watchman Nee. We are not here to honor or glorify him. You know, the Bible says it's right for us to remember those from whom we have learned. And surely from this one we have learned many, many things. But if anyone would not be happy about this exhibit, it would be Watchman Nee, because he would never want attention focused on him, but on his dear Lord. So to properly remember him, let's always remember that all honor, all glory belongs to Christ alone.

Another thing I've learned, and forgive me, this gets a little personal, because while I'm here, and I'm delighted, rejoicing to be here with you all, and with this exhibit, my heart is not here with you all and with this exhibit, my heart is not here. I think most of you know, or many of you know, I live in Germany now. And we're in the center part of Germany on a property the Lord graciously has given to us for His work there, with 25 acres and woods and streams and hiking trails and 10 historic German buildings in which we've been able to convert to a retreat conference center for believers. And beginning two nights ago, we got our first busload of refugees from the Ukraine, believers escaping in the middle of the night, mothers, mostly young mothers with small children. And my wife was scheduled to come with me. We were supposed to both be here, but she couldn't come. She's there taking care of them with many, many faithful saints that are helping to take care of these ones because more are coming. We have another load coming tomorrow and more coming next week. So my heart is there.

But one thing I learned from Brother Nee and his writings, the first book I read as a believer 50 years ago, in fact, in 10 days it will be my 50th anniversary of being a believer, is the Normal Christian life. But this lesson I learned many years later, but it has particularly helped me in the past 10 days. You know, as you can imagine, all of Europe is engulfed with what's happening. It's the only thing anyone is thinking, concerned, praying about. And, you know, you go from tears for their suffering to rage at the consideration of what's behind it. And it's so easy for us to get caught up. But this lesson that Brother Nee taught us helps us stay focused as believers on what really we should be concerned with and what should be our focus. In 1937, Japan invaded China. And near the end of the year, they took possession of Nanjing. And depending on the account that you read, whether it was 200,000 or 400,000, were slaughtered by the Japanese in China. And that was really the beginning of World War II. Well, just a few months after that, Watchman Nee was at the invitation of a spiritual friend and colleague, T. Austin Sparks, was at the Keswick Convention in England, which was a spiritual conference. It's still being held. I don't know if it's every year now, but I visited there with a couple of brothers and we chronicled and documented all of this. So this war is raging in 38, and Watchman Nee is invited. Of course, he's by then quite well known in the West. And there happened to be a well-known Japanese Christian leader in the congregation at the beginning of the conference and the organizers of the conference knew that both of

these men were here, one from China, the one from Japan. And Watchman Nee in this context and in this environment, which is not much different from where we're at right now in Europe, in this context he was asked to give the opening prayer and it was very tense, as you can imagine the atmosphere of the room, you could cut with a knife, and he deliberated a bit and paused. He didn't quickly take the invitation but after encouragement from Brother Sparks who was his host:

“The Lord reigneth”, he began, “and He is reigning, and He is Lord of all. Nothing can touch his authority. It is the spiritual forces that are out to destroy the interests of the Lord in Japan and China. We do not pray for China. We do not pray for Japan. We pray for the interests of thy Son in Japan and China. We do not blame any man for they are but tools in the hand of the enemy of the Lord. Lord, we stand in your will. Lord, shatter the kingdom of darkness. The persecution of thy church is persecuting you.”

Saints, this has saved me this last week. I'm so inclined to be enraged and even to speak to the Lord out of that kind of sentiment, but this penetrates. We're not here for man's politics, whether it's domestic divisions in this country or the conflicts raging in the globe. We are here as we learn from this brother, for the Lord's interests alone. Amen.

Hank Hanegraaff:

Well, we're at the Museum of the Bible, so I think it's only appropriate to remind you that what Watchman Nee endured is not unique. I think about St. Paul's farewell address to the Ephesian elders, where he said, “and now compelled by the Spirit, I'm going to Jerusalem, not knowing what will happen to me there. I only know that in every city, the Holy Spirit warns me that prison and hardship are facing me. However, I consider my life worth nothing to me, if only I may finish the race and complete the task the Lord Jesus Christ has given to me, the task of testifying to the gospel of God's grace. I know that none of you, among whom I've gone about preaching the gospel, will ever see me again. Therefore, I declare to you today that I am innocent of the blood of all men, for I have not hesitated to proclaim to you the whole counsel of God. Watch over yourselves and all the flock of which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers. Be shepherds of the church of which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers. Be shepherds of the church of God, which He purchased with his own blood. For I know that after I leave, savage wolves will come in among you and will not spare the flock. Even from among your own numbers, men will arise, and distort the truth in order to draw away disciples after themselves. So be on your guard. Remember for three years I never stopped warning each one of you night and day with tears.

The Apostle Paul knew that hardship and martyrdom was facing him. In like fashion, Watchman Nee knew that he would face martyrdom and hardships. In 1972 in the midst of an onerous cultural revolution, after 20 years in prison, Watchman Nee died. And when his relatives came to gather his ashes, a prison guard gave them a tiny note etched with Chinese letters, and that note found under his pillow said I shall die for believing in Christ. But, but Watchman Nee's ministry did not die with him. My good friend who died recently, Andrew Yu, used to consistently remind me that a branch grew over the prison wall, a branch that inevitably circled the world, a branch that touched my own life, August 4, 2003, when I met the progeny of Watchman Nee. And I learned a great lesson. That lesson is that truth matters. But life matters more. Outside the truth kept by the whole church personal experience would be deprived of all

certainty, of all objectivity. It would be a mingling of truth and falsehood of reality and illusion. So truth really does matter but life matters more, and the life that matters more is not a prohibition upon knowledge. It is, however, the transcending of knowledge. It is the transcending of all philosophical speculation. Christian theology is in the final realm a means. It is a unity of knowledge subserving an end that transcends all knowledge. And that ultimate end is union with God, or deification.

God became man, said Saint Athanasius, so that man might become God. Or Luther put it this way, Word became flesh so that flesh might become word. That truth has been recovered in the West, indeed around the world, by the progeny of Watchman Nee. And it is a truth that absolutely revolutionized my life. I'm experiencing today life that is life to the full. And this is something that we not only experience as individuals, but as my friend Chris Wilde has so eloquently stated, it is something we share with the world. And he doesn't talk that talk; he walks that walk. Therefore, since we are surrounded by such a great cloud of witnesses, let us throw off everything that hinders and the sin that so easily entangles. And let us run with perseverance the race marked out for us. Looking unto Jesus Christ, the author and the perfecter of our faith, who for the joy set before him endured the cross, scorning a chain, and sat down at the right hand of the throne of God. May that be each one our legacies as we are translated into eternity.

Amy van Dyke (curator of the museum):

Thank you all for being here. For the past year, it has been my pleasure and my honor to research and create the display here on the life of Watchman Nee. I've had the privilege of meeting some wonderful people in the process, and they've taught me so much along the way.

And I'd like to take this moment to also thank Brother Wu, who allowed me to sit with him for three hours a year ago in California and hear his testimony, which is absolutely incredible. You'll hear a portion of that in the exhibition when you're able to go back there and see it. And I have to say, it was a big challenge to take a three-hour interview that was so packed with wonderful things and distill it down to about eight minutes. Even that is a little long for a gallery video, but it's got down to about eight minutes and it's really some amazing story that he has. And another special moment that we have planned for him, would you mind coming up here with me?

Brother Wu has brought the final artifact that will be put on display in the exhibition today. So one case is not finished. And when we walk back there in just a moment, he's going to place that in the case for us and then we'll put the case lid on top. And that was the final piece of property that Watchman Nee had while they were together in captivity, that he gave to Brother Wu and then Brother Wu was able to take that out of prison with him. And it's a funny story how that came about in this interview we had. Yes, we didn't even know he had this artifact with him.



Youqi Wu:

Thank the Lord Jesus Christ, [for giving] this opportunity. Thank the Lord Jesus Christ to be with us, [that I can] come here and meet everyone, meet the brothers and sisters. Jesus Christ I love you. Amen.

I met Watchman Nee from 1963 to 1972, a total of nine years. The Lord is in control. [Few people] met Watchman Nee, very few, year by year, day by day, few and few. First, let me introduce myself. My name is Yuqi Wu. This year, I'm 85 years old.

Watchman Nee [has left us] for 50 years. So I'm very grateful that the Bible Museum is holding this meeting. Half a century has passed. We can still remember Watchman Nee. To me it is very precious. Thanks to you, to the museum.

Fifty years have passed, and many brothers and sisters have passed, but why have I not passed? Why do I still live here? Brothers and sisters, this is the testimony. I have mentioned, Jesus Christ has saved me. From the time I knew, the Spirit told me, that I mentioned, the pen. At first, the Bible Museum said to me, they asked to borrow, to lend the pen to them for one year. But no, I said, no, not lend to you. I will donate it to you, I will give it to you forever. Because Jesus Christ gave me this mission. I know from the spirit. This is my mission. For this pen, if it is in my place, it is not a proper place. Not a proper place. Only here is this pen's proper place. So I need to send it to you.



This pen I've protected for more than 50 years, maybe 52 years. Today, I'm very happy the pen finally gets to a proper place. [applause] Thank you. I'm very happy. Today, I've completed my mission. Another, another, I'll tell you a happy thing. This thing. This is something also from Watchman Nee. I'll tell you something about his behavior. He did not like people to trim his hair or cut his hair. He never let another one trim his hair. He only trimmed his hair by himself. I said, "How can you cut your hair by yourself?" He's very wise. He had this one, this one, to cut his hair. I was surprised. It was very interesting. "Why do you have this behavior? Why do you do it by yourself?" You know what he said? He said, "Jesus Christ is my hair." Amen. Amen. Jesus Christ is my hair. I protected this for more than 52 years. Today I also gave it to the proper place. Please, you keep this forever. Thank you all. Thank you brothers and sisters. Thank you Bible Museum. Amen.

