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The Bible and Empire in the Divided Korean Peninsula
In Search for a Theological Imagination for Just Peace

A Dissertation Submitted

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DOCTOR of PHILOSOPHY

By

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Summary

The major objective of this thesis is to examine the relationship between biblical interpretation and imperialism in the context of the Korean conflict. This study takes its starting point in the questions of what caused the Korean conflict, and what role the Bible has played in the divided Korean church and society. In order to find answers to these questions, this study is carried out in several steps. The first step is to explore just peace and imperial peace in the Bible as a conceptual framework. The second step seeks to reconstruct the history of Korean Christianity, the relationship between church and state, and the impact of American church and politics from postcolonial perspective. As the third step, this study focuses on the homiletical discourses of Korean megachurches in terms of their relation to the dominant ideologies, such as anticommunism, national security, pro-Americanism, and economic prosperity. The last step is to present examples of theological efforts for overcoming colonial-imperial settings and creating theological imagination for just peace.

   This thesis is composed of eight chapters, each of them dealing with a different aspect of the relationship between the Bible and political ideologies. Discussing just peace and imperial peace in the Bible, Chapter 1 defines biblical justice and peace as counter-imperialistic features. Chapter 2 reviews the historical background of the Korean church in political fluctuation. Chapters 3 illustrates how the Bible, theology, and Christian missions have been threatened by colonial-imperial phenomenon, ranging from the mid-nineteenth century until quite recently. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on analysing the homiletical discourses of Korean megachurches that have influenced social discourse and practices. In Chapter 6, theological alternatives to surmount colonial-imperial contradictions are drawn by suggesting examples of biblical interpretation as a key driver of social change. On the basis of the results of this investigation, it can be concluded that the Korean church and society have been divided politically, socially, and theologically by colonial-imperial ramifications. Korean churches have not been immune to the impact of American imperial theology and the Cold War rhetoric. In particular, theological discourses created in the Korean mainstream churches have functioned as supporting the colonial-imperial ideologies, rather than implementing biblical just peace. Nonetheless, this study suggests the possibilities for the re-enactment of the theological alternative to division and conflict, and reaffirms the feasibility of overcoming imperial peace and its ideology through theological imagination for just peace.

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Introduction

0.1 "God of life, Lead Us to Justice and Peace"

The 10th Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC), which took place in Busan, Republic of Korea in 2013, brought essential challenges to World Christianity and the Korean Protestant church. It was extremely important for the WCC to revitalize the ecumenical movement and to inspire the emergence of churches in the Global South. This was also an opportunity for the Korean church to be reminded of its role in Korean society, and to reaffirm its responsibilities to World Christianity. Several aspects provided the Korean church with the momentous occasion to host the assembly. First, it would be an opportunity to share the dynamism of Korean churches, which have achieved remarkable growth and, subsequently, have a role in the global Christian community. Second, the Korean church has many strands of Christian tradition for hosting an ecumenical gathering. It was expected that the evangelical churches and Pentecostal churches, both of which have strong influence in the Korean church, can contribute to the expanding the ecumenical movement into new camps. Third, in Korea, global Christians are able to recognize the value of living amid other religions, such as Buddhism, Confucianism and Shamanism, because the Korean church has coexisted and cooperated with other religions.[1]

Above all else, the salient roles and responsibilities that the Korean church can share with, and contribute to, world churches are about justice and peace, as can be seen in the example of "Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation (JPIC)." Korean churches have the geopolitical, historical, and theological backdrop, and are closest to the issues of justice and peace that the WCC has been considering to be essential characteristics since its inauguration.[2] In the early twentieth century, the Korean Peninsula experienced Japanese colonialism. At the end of the Second World War, following the defeat of the Japanese empire, the Korean Peninsula was to be liberated. Instead, the US and the Soviet Union divided the Korean Peninsula into North and South Korea. The Korean War broke out after the division and, following the armistice treaty in 1953, the Cold War

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[1] Atola Longkumer, "WCC Busan Assembly: A Reflection," *International Review of Mission*, No. 1 (2014): 18–27.

[2] Erlinda N. Senturias, "Introducing the 10th Assembly: An Interpretation" in *Encountering the God of Life: Report of the 10th Assembly of the World Council of Churches*, eds. Erlinda N. Senturias and Theodore A. Gill, Jr. (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2014), 5-6.

system dominated both North and South Korea. Both the North and South Korean regimes used Cold War rhetoric to justify their respective dictatorships.

The Korean War is technically ongoing, although the Cold War is now over. Both North and South Korea are still experiencing entrenched conflict and structural violence. The church has also undergone theological and ideological conflict in response to the fluctuating domestic politics and international relations dominated by surrounding powerful countries such as the US, Russia, China, and Japan. It looks as though while the colonial empire finished a long time ago, Korean churches and society are unable to pull themselves out the indirect rule of the US, adhered to by political, economic, military and cultural alignments, as well as the vestiges of Japanese imperialism.[3] Many of the Korean churches have served to solidify national ideology in the name of security, democracy and development, and are allied to build such dominance helping imperialism seize hegemony on the Korean Peninsula, through consent on imperialistic values.

For this reason, the WCC, which has been working for justice and peace in the Korean Peninsula for a long time, had the objective of further strengthening the commitment and solidarity for peace and reunification of the two Koreas in the Busan Assembly.[4] Korean churches, seeking justice and peace at a time of extreme political ferment, have started to look from new directions at the dilemma of justice, peace, conflict and violence, through just peace, first suggested at the International Ecumenical Peace Convocation (IEPC), and reaffirmed at the Busan Assembly.[5]

0.2 Division of Churches in a Divided Society

From the Busan Assembly, Korean churches learned several critical lessons, both positive and negative. First and foremost, as addressed in the theme "God of life, lead us to justice and peace", justice and peace are directly linked to life in our world today, including the Korean Peninsula. The Busan Assembly has made churches recognise that Christians are called to help the world to protect and nurture life, which is a sacred gift from God.[6] However, in the sphere of justice and peace, the Korean churches have been divided in their theological viewpoint and practice. The Busan Assembly was a

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[3] Jude Lal Fernando, "Prophetic Imagination and Empire in Asia," *International Journal of Asian Christianity* 1 (2018): 93.
[4] A. Longkumer, "WCC Busan Assembly," 18–27.
[5] Fernando Enns, "The International Ecumenical Peace Convocation: Towards an Ecumenical Theology of Just Peace? *The Ecumenical Review* 63 (2011): 44-53.
[6] World Council of Churches, *Report of the General Secretary*, Executive Committee, Bossey, Switzerland, 7-12 February 2014. Document No. 01.

place where theological and ideological conflict between these two camps was brought to the surface.

In the Presbyterian churches, the predominant Protestant tradition in South Korea, a controversy on ecumenism was triggered in 1959, and brought division into Korean Presbyterianism, generating massive divisions in Korean churches. The dispute which erupted in the anti-WCC offshoot within the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) proliferated to nearly all mainline denominations. Conservative Presbyterians, who were influenced and supported by American fundamentalist, Carl McIntire, and the International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC), rebuked the WCC for what they saw as advocating communism. This phenomenon continued to the Busan Assembly, which was held several decades after the end of the Cold War, because many Korean Christians, including fundamentalists, are still under the influence of the Cold War ideology. In fact, the Christian Council of Korea, an ecumenical body of conservative denominations, denunciated the WCC as a Satan, and organised several demonstrations against the WCC during the Assembly.[7] A number of articles and books claiming that the WCC advocated communism were published.[8] In addition to the opposition to the WCC, church leaders related to the Busan Assembly repeated their support and/or withdrawal toward the assembly regarding ideological issues, according to public opinion and the government stand.

The reason the division of the church is not limited to theological difference is the enormous impact of the macroscopic aspect of colonialism and imperialism on the Korean Peninsula. Colonial rule, war, the Cold War, dictatorships, democratisation, the rapid growth of the economy, and globalisation have embroiled the church in controversy around politically and theologically sensitive issues. Hopes of reforming the entrenched contradictions of feudal society through Christian faith evaporated with the invasion of imperialistic powers. Japanese imperialism put churches in the situation of either supporting or resisting coercive colonial rule. In the ideological division caused by the US and the Soviet Union, the church was coerced into choosing between the unfamiliar ideologies of democracy and communism. The Korean War was an ideological proxy

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[7] Keum Jooseop, "Shift of the Center of Gravity for the Ecumenical Movement?: WCC Busan Assembly and the Korean Churches," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 38 No. 2 (2014): 64-67.

[8] Park Young-ho, *WCC Undong Pip'an* [A Criticism of the WCC Movement] (Seoul: Christian Literature Crusade, 1998), 108; Cho Young-yeop, *WCCŭi Chŏngch'e* [What the WCC Is Really Like?] (Seoul: Christian Literature Crusade, 2011); 97-100; Cho Young-yeop, *WCCŭi Chŏngch'e* [The WCC's True Colours] (Seoul: Sŏnggyŏngbosugaehyŏkkyohoedanch'eyŏnhap'oe, 2013), 308-310; The Anti-WCC Committee, *WCCnŭn Uriwa Muŏshi Tarŭn'ga?* [What is the Different between WCC and Us?] (Seoul: The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, 2011); Lee Seung-gu et al., *WCC, Ch'amdoen Kyohoeyŏnhabundongin'ga* [Is the WCC a True Church Union Movement] (Seoul: Yŏngŭmsa, 2012).

war which drove churches into the battlefield, with millions of casualties, and forced them to fight for an unproven ideology. Dictatorships, connived and supported by the US, likewise brought about a spilt in the Korean church.

  Churches vacillated between political involvement of the church, non-violence and armed resistance in situations of structural violence. The frequent military clashes of the two Koreas have caused the church to hesitate between realistic approaches and theological ideals in the peacebuilding. The church has always been at a crossroads between advocacy and resistance to the dominant ideology, i.e., anticommunism, pro-Americanism, and national security. This was not only a selection of theological stances, but also a direct issue to the survival of the church, because under colonial rule or dictatorships, churches which opposed dominant ideology were suppressed. While a majority of churches were devoted to their role as ideological state apparatus according to the regime's expectations, a minority of churches met with persecution in return for resistance. Colonialism and imperialism on the Korean Peninsula have always been divisive and a source of aggravation and friction between members of society, including Christians. Churches were often forced to choose whether to succumb to or resist unjust powers and institutional interests, or agonising persecution. For this reason, the main focus of this study is to ask questions and find answers to the political and ideological challenges that Korean churches have faced and their theological responses.

0.3 Research Questions, Structure, and Aims

The issues described above evoke questions about factors that created these dichotomies and conflicts. In situations where one cannot rule out the possibility of a military clash between two Koreas, the claim of the church to pursue peace through disarmament is not very convincing. On the contrary, unconditional forgiveness and reconciliation without justice is not credible to those who have traumatic experience of colonialism, war and dictatorship. South Korean Protestants are in a situation where, if war broke out on the Korean Peninsula, the expected result would be hundreds of thousands casualties in the first few days.[9] Justice and peace are an unavoidable task of churches, but it is not an easy with match reality. That is why churches emerge with

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[9] According to the US Department of Defense, it is assessed that a Second Korea War could cost 200,000-30,000 South Korean and US military casualties within the first two months, in addition to hundreds of thousands of civilian deaths. However, if North Korea uses nuclear weapons, casualties would add up to millions. Franz-Stefan Gady, "What Would the Second Korean War Look Like?" *The Diplomat*, April 19, 2017.

different aspects, according to circumstance, promoting religiously motivated violence or reconciliation. Churches are in a dilemma to decide whether to give up peace for justice or to put off justice for peace.[10]

   Due to this theological dilemma, the highest priority for the Korean church to discuss is justice and peace on the basis of biblical criterion. Calling for an inquiry into the major characteristics of biblical justice and peace leads to further study on how the Korean church has accepted and responded to the concept of biblical justice and peace. Both biblical Israel and Korean Peninsula have similar geopolitical conditions, which are a geopolitical bridge, buffer zone, and battlefield, surrounded by empires. As the biblical discourse has been formed within the geopolitical conditions, the biblical legacies given to the Korean church can also be elaborated within the political economic context. Due to the nature of justice and peace, the relationship between the Israelites and empires acted as a crucial variable in forming biblical justice and peace. Not only does the Korean church adopt the Bible as the norm of faith, but geopolitical similarities beyond time and space provides a crucial clue to ponder upon the issues of justice and peace the Korean church has faced. Therefore, the significant question raised in this study is: *what are the prominent features of biblical justice and peace?* In addition, the discussion also raises the question: *what is the relationship between the Bible and imperialism in the Korean church?*

   In order to answer the questions, first of all, this study discerns just peace tradition and imperial peace in the Bible. As a conceptual framework, Chapter 1 illustrates how the just peace tradition in the Bible was formed and developed under ancient imperial ramifications, and the prominent features of these two peace traditions. Based on these biblical perspectives, the main object of this study is to investigate how the just peace tradition has been threatened by imperial peace in the Korean Peninsula, from Japanese colonial rule in the early twentieth century to the present day. With respect to the colonial and imperial environment, Chapter 2 discusses the historical context of the Korean conflict and churches to ascertain relationships between biblical interpretation and imperialistic influences. The underlying assumption of the dissertation is that discourses created by the pulpit are shaped and confined by social structure, and play a role in reproducing and transforming society.[11] In the following chapters, the analysis of the homiletical discourses of Korean mainstream churches through the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) discerns how just peace tradition has been confined by imperial ideologies, and how theological discourse has influenced social discourse and practices.

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[10] Mark Gopin, *Between Eden and Armageddon. The Future of World Religion, Violence, and Peacemaking* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 13.
[11] Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 39-42.

Due to the theological ambiguities and conflicts which reside in a divided society, it is vital to explore not only what the church has done so far, but also what the church still has to do. In peacebuilding, the social role of the church as a member of civil society is increased because of the limitations of high-level political leadership.[12] Seeing that the greatest driving force of the churches dedicated to the justice and peace in Korean society was the inspiration of the prophetic tradition, sparking theological imagination for just peace can also be a meaningful contribution by many. The essential aim of the dissertation is to examine *possibilities for the re-enactment of the theological imagination for just peace*, by looking back on efforts by churches and portraying their future prospects in society. In order to accomplish the aim of this research, Chapter 6 provides exemplary cases where the Bible has been utilised as a social resource for just peace in the Korean church, overcoming imperial-colonial ramifications.

0.4 Korean Protestant Church as Research Object

This study, which focuses on the Korean Protestant church as a research object, does not include the Korean Catholic church. The term "Korean church" in this dissertation has a different scope before and after the Korean War of 1950. While both South and North Korean Protestant churches were called the "Korean church" before the Korean War, the words "Korean church" refer to the Protestant churches in South Korea following the war. There are several reasons to consider the Korean Protestant church as a research subject. Firstly, Korean Protestant churches have maintained a close relationship with political power, from the early days to the present, whereas the Korean Catholic Church was persecuted in the early days of mission in Korea. Secondly, while the Korean Catholic Church was introduced by European missionaries, the Korean Protestant church was introduced, influenced, and developed mainly by American church, politics, and culture. Thirdly, considering purpose of the case study of this dissertation to analyse homiletical discourses, Protestant churches are more suitable than Catholic churches in terms of collecting and analysing research materials.

In particular, there are several reasons this study targets Korean megachurches in order to investigate the interaction between theological discourse and social discourse. Firstly, in terms of demographical leverage, the social impact of megachurch preaching is enormous. In the case of the churches analysed in this study, the Yoido Full Gospel

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[12] Kim Dong-jin. "Building Relationship Across the Boundaries: The Peacebuilding Role of Civil Society in the Korean Peninsula," *International Peacekeeping* Vol. 24 No. 4 (2017): 515-537.

Church has 830,000 registered members, making it the largest single church congregation in the world. The Kwanglim Methodist Church and Kumnan Methodist Church are two of the largest Methodist churches in the world, with an official membership of 85,000 and 120,000 respectively.[13] The Myungsung Church is one of the largest Presbyterian churches in the world, with more than 100,000 members.[14] The Suwon Central Baptist Church had 20,000 members in 2008.[15] It is also necessary to consider the total number of attendees who occasionally attend worship and listen to sermons, because there are approximately 15-20 weekly worship services, such as daily early morning prayer, Wednesday worship, Friday late night prayer, Sunday services, Sunday evening service, small group meetings, a service of district and various special services. Therefore, the audience of megachurch preaching occupies a large portion of the entire Korean church demographically, and the preaching of megachurches is more far-reaching than other preaching.

Secondly, the programs and preaching of megachurches are imitated by many other churches, because the quantitative expansion of megachurches has been considered to be the role model of ministry. Most megachurches hold seminars and training sessions to introduce their sermons and pastoral programs for church growth, have many associate pastors and staff, and support the establishment of new churches. As of 2020, the number of pastors in megachurches mentioned in this study is as follows:

Table 1 The Number of Pastors and Evangelists of Megachurches

Megachurch	Pastors	Evangelists
Yoido Full Gospel	677 pastors and evangelists, and 629 missionaries	
Kwanglim	34	64
Kumran	19	76
Somang	31	34
Youngrak	30	54
Suwon Central	36	31
Onnuri	114	n/a

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[13] Kathy L. Gilbert, "Large Korean Methodist Church built on prayer", *The People of the United Methodist Church*, Dec. 9, 2008.

[14] Lee J. Y., "Korean Megachurches Debate If Pastors' Kids Can Inherit Pulpits," *Christian Today*, July 12, 2019.

[15] Robert E. Johnson, *A Global Introduction to Baptist Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 272.

The theological view expressed by the megachurch is shared and spread through these pastors. Not only is the theological disposition shared among pastors, several megachurches connect the preaching of the mother church to the local branch churches via satellite or the internet. In the case of Grace and Truth Church and Onnuri Church, the mother church has 47 and 14 branch churches in 38 and 14 cities respectively. The Yoido Full Gospel Church has 62 branches and prayer centres in Korea and overseas, and has been planning to establish a total of 5,000 churches since 2001.[16] Korean megachurches are also connected to primary and secondary schools, and colleges, and their preaching has affected students and teachers. These characteristics extend to megachurch-established institutions, social welfare groups, and Christian employee associations of general companies, such as prayer centres, orphanages, nursing homes, and hospitals. Thus, the sermons of megachurches have a collectiveness rather than a single sermon by an individual preacher.

Thirdly, the Internet and digital communication devices have been gaining popularity at an amazing rate, and the proportion of media in ministry is growing. Most megachurches have provided people with videos through their websites, which are watched by millions of people, as well as members of the church. There are many Christian media outlets, which are church-controlled and reflect the perspective of megachurches on various situations. Newspapers, magazines, publishers, TV, Internet and radio broadcasts introduce enormous numbers of megachurch sermons, which are broadcast or are in the papers in exchange for the financial support of megachurches. Mainstream Christian media has played a decisive role in spreading the theology and representing the interests of megachurches, both domestically and internationally. For example, Cho Yong-gi is regarded as one of the most influential leaders of the world church in the late 20th century.[17] In 2000, he was broadcast live around the world on the internet, and simultaneously to 150 Korean churches and 5 churches in Japan via satellite, as well as the branch churches of the Yoido Full Gospel Church. As a part of the missions, 500,000 copies of a weekly bulletin, including the full text of sermons, were published each week. His sermons were broadcast through 16 TV channels in the US, 10 TV channels in 9 other countries, and 8 domestic Christian TV and radio stations. His sermon books have been sold abroad for over 40 years, reaching 7 million books.[18]

Fourthly, the influence of megachurch preachers on Korean society, through church members, can be understood in terms of audience as the chattering classes and decision

[16] Lee Guen-mi, "Kŏdaegyohoe Shidaeŭi Mamurirŭl Chunbihanŭn Segye Kidokkyoŭi Kŏin" [A Prominent Figure in the World Christianity Preparing for the End of Megachurch Era], *Monthly Chosun*, August, 2000.
[17] C. Peter Wagner, *On the Chest of the Wave* (Ventura: Regal Books, 1983), 29.
[18] Lee Guen-mi, "kŏdaegyohoe shidaeŭi mamurirŭl chunbihanŭn segye kidokkyoŭi kŏin."

maker. For instance, since the inauguration of the Lee Myung-bak government in 2008, President Lee faced strong criticism over his cabinet, some of whom were the members of Somang Church, to which Lee belonged as an elder.[19] In quoting Rhys Williams, Kim Sung-gun argues that the gap between religious and public language, or the church and civil society is growing these days, and that the phenomenon has been revealed through bureaucrats from the megachurch.[20] More specifically, Lee Jae-cheol claims that this problem stems from the preaching of megachurches.

> "Currently, there are an estimated 1.5 million members, who attend 20 megachurches in South Korea. Many of them are the leaders of society in various areas, but they ignore the public interest and social justice, failing to set a model themselves for society with faith. This is due to sermons to which they have listened. If the Korean preachers preached about social justice and ethics, the church would find it difficult to be megachurch."[21]

As well as policy decisions, preaching has played an important role in forming public opinion. Lee Ji-sung pays attention to Protestants in shaping negative public opinion. In examining a current aversion to a specific ideology or group, he points out that rather than the opinion voluntarily created by church members, this is based on the preaching or bible study criticising progressive regimes, North Korea, discrimination against sexual minorities.[22]

Lastly, all Korean churches progressed from being a mission field to a significant sending field, along with "explosive church growth, economic development, emigration to many countries, seeking higher education and accumulated missionary experience."[23] The 2001 version of Operation World states that there were 10,646 Korean missionaries, serving in 156 countries.[24] During the period between 1998 and 2006 the average annual increase was over 1000 missionaries.[25] The Korea World Missions Association (KWMA)

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[19] Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, *South Korean Since 1980* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 71.
[20] Kim Sung-gun, "Political Participation of Korean Protestant Churches: A Sociological Observation", *Asian Journal of Religion and Society* 1 (2010): 7-36.
[21] Kim Sung-gun, "Political Participation of Korean Protestant Churches," 31-32.
[22] Lee Ji-sung, "The Role of Korean Christianity in the Age of Disgust: Focusing on 'Pro-North Korean Gay' Disgust of the Extreme Right Wing Protestantism", *Christian Social Ethics*, Vol. 42 (2018), 211-240.
[23] Timothy Kiho Park, "A Survey of the Korean Missionary Movement", *Journal of Asian Mission*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2002): 117.
[24] Patrick Joneston and Janson Mandryk (eds.), *Operation World* (Waynesboro: Paternoster USA, 2001), 387; Oh Kyung H and Piet G. J. Meiring, "Challenges and Opportunities for Korean Missionaries in Southern Africa," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 65 (2009): 43-48.
[25] Steve Sang-Cheol Moon, "The Protestant Missionary Movement in Korea: Current Growth and Development," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2008): 59.

released a survey that the number of Korean missionaries sent overseas increased by 557 in 2018, nearly double that of 2017 when 231 missionaries were sent, with a total of 27,993 Korean missionaries working in 171 countries. This is the second largest number, after the US, but considering the number of missionaries sent for all individual Korean churches, the total number is expected to be much higher.[26] Among the churches that were not included in the above statistics, as of 2018, 697 Korean missionaries, sent by the Yoido Full Gospel Church, carried out ministry in 62 countries, with approximately 130,000 overseas church members. This church has established and operates 19 theological seminaries in 19 countries.[27]

According to the survey by KWMA, the Korean missionaries have focused on establishing churches (14,624 missionaries in 153 countries), discipleship training (9,663 in 141), welfare and development (2,017 in 82), evangelism in college campuses (1,954 in 63), and education (1,671 in 79).[28] The development of Korean churches in sending missionaries has been influenced by American churches and missionaries.[29] Originating from the American churches, the Korean megachurches believe that church growth implies the expansion of the reign of God. In fact, at the conference for mission leaders in 2014, several participants asserted that the propensity of American-style capitalism was being extended to Korean missionaries. Cornelius J. P. Niemandt and Lee Yong-soo argue that the Korean megachurches understand their position to ensure the efficient growth of the kingdom of God, achieving the quantitative growth of the church through evangelisation.[30] Also, Korean missionaries have revealed several problems found in the early American missionaries in Korea. Kim Sang-keun mentions theological problems of cross-cultural sensitivity, a lack of missionary ecumenism and the triumphalism of *Pax Koreana*. Korean missionaries tend to follow Western precedents, which are the invisible colonial hands of the European and American missionaries, even though they have invaluable advantages to carry out their ministry without the baggage of colonialism.[31]

Their theological inclination, missions, and preaching are an extension of the American missionaries, as discussed in the previous chapters, and are, therefore, imperialistic. The Korean missionaries emphasise evangelism, repentance, religious dualism,

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[26] The Korea Missions Association, "2018 nyŏndo sŏn'gyosa p'asong chipkye" [The Survey of the Korean Overseas Missionaries in 2018], 2019.

[27] Beak Seong-ho, "Sŏnkyosa 697myŏng Sekye Kakchisŏ Sayŏk" [Missions of 697 Missionaries All over the World], *JoongangIlbo*, May 28, 2018.

[28] The Korea Missions Association, "2018nyŏndo Sŏn'gyosa P'asong Chipkye."

[29] Oh Kyung H and Piet G. J. Meiring, "Challenges and Opportunities for Korean Missionaries," 43.

[30] Cornelius J. P. Niemandt and Lee Yongsoo, "A Korean Perspective on Megachurches as Missional Churches," *Verbum et Ecclesia*, Vol. 36 (2015). https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v36i1.1421

[31] Kim Sanggeun, "Sheer Numbers Do Not Tell the Entire Story: The Challenges of the Korean Missionary Movement from an Ecumenical Perspective," *Ecumenical Review* 57 (2005): 463-472.

depoliticisation of church, individual prosperity, and spiritual salvation. The success stories of Korean society and church are presented as examples of faithfully following American style politics, economy, and religion. The majority of countries where Korean missionaries operate are politically unstable, and still under the ramifications of imperialism and colonialism. They are in a situation where biblical justice and peace are urgent, but the Korean missionaries tend to focus on institutional interests and conforming to the dominant ideology, as did the American missionaries in Korea. In this way, the advantages and disadvantages of megachurches in the Korean historical context are extended to overseas missions, particularly in terms of the production of theological discourse through the pulpit. The sermons analysed below show the striking features shared by the American missionaries, Korean megachurches and missionaries.

0.5 Mapping the Scope of the Research Field

0.5.1 The Bible and Empire in Biblical Studies

The terms empire, imperialism, and colonialism are "slippery terms" producing a consensus that is often an illusion, and likely to fall apart. Imperialism generally indicates policy, practice, or advocacy of extending power and dominion through colonisation by direct territorial acquisition or gaining political and economic control. This simple definition implies that imperialism serves as the underlying idea, while colonialism is the practice or implementation of ideas, as an established form of imperialism.[32] We live in imperial world order today as a result of the post-War War II politics, but an existing imperial-colonial phenomenon, which is called neo-colonialism, has a different complexion in contrast to imperialism before World War II. Instead of direct colonial control through military aggression, neo-colonialism means the practice of using capitalism, globalisation, cultural imperialism, and conditional aid to influence less-developed countries including former colonies.[33]

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[32] Michael Adas, "Imperialism and Colonialism in Comparative Perspective," *The International History Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (1998): 371-388.

[33] Colonialism is a word derived from a colony that means a distant settlement in the ancient Roman Empire, but this word was first applied to the expansion of European empires in the sixteenth century. As Thomas More did in the *Utopia*, colonisation was claimed to be legal move or occupation as an excuse for the productive use of land, and empire ever meant that England, Scotland, and North America had the same king Charles I in the seventeenth century, as Roman citizens had the same emperor. Unlike neo-colonialism, "new imperialism" indicates period of intensified imperialistic expansion from the nineteenth century until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. David Armitage, "Literature and Empire," in *Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. 1.

In order to discuss the relationship between the Bible and empire, this study focuses on how biblical discourses or core values have been formed by resisting or adopting imperial politics, economy, and culture. Because empire, imperialism, and colonialism underlie suppression of the other, based on a dominant-subordinate relationship, they have been considered morally reprehensible. Given the historical relationship between biblical Israel and empires such as Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman, at the heart of the Bible is a moral and ethical call to resist oppressive imperial power.[34] Moreover, ever since the Roman Emperor Constantine adopted biblical faith as imperial ideology, the Bible has been mobilised as a tool for solidifying imperial-colonial dominion.[35] American imperialism has been partly based on American exceptionalism, saying that America has a special God-given role in the world since the "Age of Imperialism" in the late nineteenth century, a time when the US and other major superpowers expanded their territorial possessions.[36] Also in neo-colonial politics, the Bible has been used to maintain neo-colonial dominion.[37] While the US has directly, or indirectly, controlled the economic, political and socio-cultural life of Asians and South Americans, Christian leaders in the US have consistently provided justification for military violence and political oppression.[38] Consequently, the formation and interpretation of the Bible has been in line with a history of resisting or conforming to imperial-colonial forces.

The Origin of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 108-110; Richard Koebner, *Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 74; Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 1-24.

[34] John Dominic Crossan, *God and Empire: Jesus against Rome, Then and Now* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007).

[35] Alistair Kee, *Constantine Versus Christ: The Triumph of Ideology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2016); Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Mission and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990).

[36] John D. Wilsey, *American Exceptionalism and Civil Religion: Reassessing the History of an Idea* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2015).

[37] Jude Lal Fernando, "Introduction" in *Resistance to Empire and Militarization: Reclaiming the Sacred*, ed. Jude Lal Fernand (Sheffield: Equinox, 2020), 3-5.

[38] President Eisenhower brought down the regime of Iran in 1953 and the Guatemalan and Paraguayan regime in 1954. The President Kennedy supported the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, and the general's coup against the Diem government in Vietnam in 1963. The US sent troops to put out the Juan Bosch regime of the Dominican Republic in 1964, and facilitated the ouster of President Salvador Allende from Chile in 1973. President Reagan invaded Granada to displace its Castro-friendly regime and sold arms to Iran to fund the Contras in the 1980s. President G. H. W. Bush sent troops to Panama to remove Manuel Noriega in 1989. Both President Clinton and G. W. Bush supported coups in Haiti in 1994 and 2004, and Bush Administration also supported a coup against Hugo Chavez in Venezuela in 2002. The US has attempted several assassinations of diverse political leaders, as well as going to war in Vietnam and Iraq. However, American Christian leaders have linked their political leaders to biblical figures, narratives, and metaphors, resulting in justification of American imperial-colonial policies. Leon P. Baradat, *Political Ideologies: Their Origins and Impact*, 11th Edition (New York: Routledge, 2012), Chapter 11; Bruce Lincoln, *Holy Terrors: Thinking about Religion after September 11*, 2nd Edition (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), Chapter 3.

Apart from the variables of imperialism, the Bible cannot be properly understood and applied in this turbulent reality.

For this reason, this study starts with identifying the correlation between biblical faith and ideology in the field of the biblical studies, so as to define the heartbeat of biblical Israel and its religion, particularly in terms of justice and peace. The findings of sociological schools show that biblical texts are not merely spiritual or trans-historical, but interact with the ideologies of the surrounding world and imply a specific political and economic orientation pursed by the Yahweh religion. [39] In their early works, G. Mendenhall and N. K. Gottwald took a critical approach to the socio-political function of religion in the formation and development of the Israel community. This school of thought hypothesised an internal revolution by religious motives for the settlement in Canaan, criticizing the theory of "conquest." Mendenhall claimed that the reason the Hebrews could settle in Palestine was not victory by the excellence of weapons or army organization, but because of the religious movement that created sense of solidarity among the members of the Canaanite society. This radical faith enabled solidarity, not ethnicity to become the driving force to challenge the imperialist ideology of Egypt and destroy the city-state system and the ideology that led the entire region of Palestine at the time.[40]

Gottwald, as a Marxist, applied a sociological approach to the history and religion of ancient Israel for the first time and, used new archaeological findings. His findings viewed the early Israel community as a result of Yahwism that featured liberation, formed by social, cultural and ideological changes over a long period in Canaan. Also, biblical Israel, of which Yahwism was a part, was suggested as a radically egalitarian social and anti-imperial resistance movement that stood in sharp contrast to the hierarchical system of domination that surrounded it. The essential issue in his research is the question to what extent is Yahwism a function of a socio-political movement and to what extent is it an autonomous force to be understood in religious categories.[41]

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[39] Historical studies of ancient Israel can be classified according to scholars as follows: 1. Traditional approaches (F. F. Bruce, R. K. Harrison, K. A. Kitchen, E. H. Merrill, C. F. Pfeiffer, E. R. Thiele, and L. J. Wood), 2. Baltimore School (W. F. Albright, G. E. Wright, J. Bright, J. A. Soggin, J. M. Miller, J. H. Hayes, J. van Seters, and T. L. Thompson), 3. Alt-Noth School (A. Alt, M. Noth, and S. Hermann), 4. Sociological School (G. E. Mendenhall and N. K. Gottwald), 5. Israelite Schools (B. Mazar, H. Tadmor, A. Malamat, I. Ephal, M. Cogan, N. Na'aman, B. Oded, and A. Rainey), Kim Young-Jin, "Methodologies and New Tendencies of the Israelite History," *Korean Journal of Old Testament Studies* 1 (2000): 199.
[40] G. E. Mendenhall, "The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (1962): 65-87; *Idem., The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1973).
[41] N. K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985); *Idem., The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250-1050 BCE* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999). Previously published in 1979; *Idem.,* "Social Class as an Analytic and Hermeneutical Category in Biblical Studies," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 112, No. 1 (1993): 3-22; *Idem., The Politics of Ancient Israel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster

Although there are issues and limitations associated with using modern sociological methodologies due to the differences of social systems between the ancient and modern society, they lead us to understand biblical texts in terms of the imperialistic countries surrounding Israel and a deliberate alternative social ordering of the biblical faith.[42] It particularly makes us question the biblical foundations for religiously motivated violence, including just war. Considering the process of settlement in Canaan, it is more appropriate to consider the socio-political features of the Israel community as just peace, rather than acts of violence committed in the name of faith.[43]

In general, biblical critics agree that fundamental changes in Israel society were caused by the introduction of monarchy, despite debate over the historicity of a united monarchy. The alternative Israel community which arose from the Egyptian empire could be constituted by breaking from both the religion of static triumphalism and the politics of oppression and exploitation, and could cloak imperial values through the politics of justice and compassion. These alternative values, however, began to retrogress under the Solomon regime, going back to oppressive and exploitative politics. The subsequent history of Israel is regarded as a series of fallings in a state where the pure form of Yahwism no longer existed, resulting in religious social corruption.[44] Under the framework of Yahweh faith versus imperial ideology, W. Brueggemann deals with the issues of faith, justice and peace in ancient Israel and modern Christianity. The direction of justice and peace is determined by the position of faith for or against the empire. The identity and memory of the church is defined as standing over/against imperial peace, such as *Pax Romana* or *Pax Americana*.[45]

Several considerable researches, examining exilic and/or postexilic text, ideology and historical circumstances, have been framed by the confrontation between an ideal of biblical faith and imperial ideology. Jon L. Berquist, who reads postexilic texts as virtual

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John Knox Press, 2001); *Idem.,* "Early Israel as an Anti-Imperial Community," chap. 1 in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 9-24.

[42] Walter Brueggemann, "Trajectories in Old Testament Literature and the Sociology of Ancient Israel," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98 (1979): 161-185.

[43] See Charles E. Carter and Carol L. Meyers, eds., *Community, Identity, and Ideology: Social Science Approaches to the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996).

[44] W. Dietrich, *The Early Monarchy in Israel: The Tenth Century B.C.E.*, trans. J. Vette (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007); I. Finkelstein, "The Emergence of the Monarchy in Israel: The Environmental and Socio-Economic Aspects," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 44 (June 1989): 43-74; N. P. Lemche, *Early Israel: Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society Before Monarchy* (Leiden: Brill, 1985); G. N. Knoppers, "The Vanising Solomon: The Disappearance of the United Monarchy from Recent Histories of Ancient Israel," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 116/1 (1997): 19-44; J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, 4th edition (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000).

[45] Walter Brueggemann, *Prophetic Imagination*; *Idem.,* "Faith in the Empire," chap. 2 in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 25-40.

propaganda for the Persian administrations, proposes readings of postexilic biblical texts, such as Wisdom literature, late Psalms, and Apocalyptic, with attention to the social reality reflected by Persian colonial rule. Postexilic society and biblical texts were formed through cooperation between the elite of the returning diaspora and the Persian administration, viewing the Torah as a direct product of the Persian court of Darius, with Jewish assistance.[46] According to Berquist, "it is vital to recognise the ideological ramifications of such a system", which uses a variety of ideologically colonising methods, such as publication of the King's Law to advance an imperialising ideology.[47] Notably, despite the imperial policies of intensification, resulting in the construction of the Temple and the promulgation of law, Yehudite religion developed as a means of resisting imperial influences, and provided people with alternative resources for life, Berquist argues, above all else, that a variety of strategies for resistance are reflected in the Hebrew Bible.[48]

As research in contrasting biblical peace and imperial peace in the New Testament studies, J. D. Crossan and R. A. Horsley are placed on an extension of the studies mentioned so far. Roman peace, enjoyable for only the small minority of the ruling class, was realised through political, economic and military oppression. Crossan examines the meaning of a non-violent Kingdom of God, as prophesized by Jesus, and the equality Paul expressed to the early Christian community, as part of the resistance to imperial justice and peace. Similarly, Horsley views the circumstances of the birth and crucifixion of Jesus as a dramatic negation of imperial domination, and his mission, focusing on renewal of Israel, as direct opposition to the Roman Empire.[49] As investigated by N. Elliott, W. Carter, B. Karl, and Horsley, who researched the relationship between biblical texts and imperialism in the Gospels, Pauline epistles, and Revelations, it is difficult to find biblical writers, texts, and figures free from imperialistic ramifications. They recognise without a dissenting voice that Jesus, Paul, and the early churches preached a kingdom, not of Caesar, but of God, based on peace and justice, over the empire of Rome, which ruled by violence, discrimination, and exploitation. From a biblical perspective, peace

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[46] Jon L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow: A Social and Historical Approach* (Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1995).

[47] Jon L. Berquist, "Postcolonialism and Imperial Motives for Canonization," chap. 5 in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 81-83.

[48] Jon L. Berquist, "Resistance and Accommodation in the Persian Empire," chap. 3 in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 41-58.

[49] John Dominic Crossan, *God and Empire: Jesus against Rome, Then and Now* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007); Richard A. Horsley, "Renewal Movements and Resistance to Empire in Ancient Judea," chap. 4 in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 69-77.

cannot be won though the imperial-colonial method of military victory, but only through the way of Jesus which is non-violence, justice, and fair and equal treatment of all people.[50]

Their understanding of the Bible is significant for this study in terms of discerning imperial ramifications ingrained in society and church, and pondering upon biblical criterion for justice and peace. In Korean society, the discussion of justice and peace, even in the church, has been standardised by national ideology formed by Cold War politics. Thus, findings by contrasting imperial peace with biblical peace provide insight to discern biblical peace among peace discourses coloured by imperial-colonial phenomenon. The importance of this theological discernment is evident in the next cases which show that biblical discourses are misused to propagate certain political ideologies.

0.5.2 The Modern Political Application of Biblical Discourses

When it comes to modern political application of biblical discourses, the research of A. Shapira and D. H. Akenson are cases in point. In their work and similar examples, we can find politically conscripted biblical images, metaphor, narrative and concepts, justifying specific political consciousness and behaviours. Shapira clarifies how the Bible contributed to the make-up of identity in the formation of Jewish nationalism. When modern Zionism emerged in the 19th century, *Aliyah* immigrants applied biblical ancestors, events and symbols to themselves as present-day descendants re-establishing a foothold in the land. Shapira points out that the Bible functioned as a bridge between the Promised Land and the land in which modern Jews arrived as a mythological-theological-historical foundation for their religious and political identity.[51] Akenson took notice of critical similarities among South Africa, Israel and Northern Ireland, which were politically troubled nations, in *God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel, and Ulster*. He asserts that the dominant peoples of these three nations had a similar cultural identity based on the biblical covenant with God Almighty.

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[50] Warren Carter, *Matthew and Empire: Initial Explorations* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001); *Idem., The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006); Leo G. Perdue and Warren Carter, *Israel and Empire: A Postcolonial History of Israel and Early Judaism*, ed. Coleman A. Baker (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); B. Kahl, "Justification and Justice," chap. 8 in *The Bible, the Economy, and the Poo*r, eds. R. A. Simkins and T. M. Kelly, Creighton University for the *Journal of Religion and Society Supplement Series* 10 (2014): 132-146; Richard A. Horsley, *Hearing the Whole Story: The Politics of Plot in Mark's Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001); *Idem.,* "1 Corinthians: A Case Study of Paul's Assembly as an Alternative Society," chap. 14 in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997), 242-252.
[51] Anita Shapira, *Israel a History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2012); *Idem.,* "The Bible and Israeli Identity", *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 28, No. 1 (2004): 17.

Akenson explores how the pattern of relations between God and biblical prophets could be a template for all cultures of the three nations, and identified commonalities in the mind-set of people of South Africa, Israel and Northern Ireland. For these nations, the Exodus, God as a warrior, the purity of the chosen community, and the occupation of the promised land serve as the basis of exclusivity for non-covenantal peoples, such as in the case of apartheid.[52]

   Several other critics also criticise modern political issues and forces, particularly in America. Their viewpoint on imperialistic issues, though not the position of the subjects, prominently contributes to understanding how biblical interpretation is confined by, and influences, imperialistic discourses. Brueggemann and G. Dorrien refer to the seduction of biblical texts for American exceptionalism, imagining that "the US is the New Israel, God's anointed carrier of freedom and justice to the rest of the world." Brueggemann warns particularly of problematic biblical mobilisation by the US as the dominant superpower in contemporary society, equating the "American dream" and the promises of Gospel faith, which can be misused politically, economically, and culturally.[53] Crossan likewise criticises modern right-wing theologians and evangelists who justify, through misinterpretation of the Bible, US military actions around the world, and asserts that a moral and ethical call to resist unjust superpowers is at the heart of the biblical teaching.[54] As Horsley points out, although America has become a byword for modern imperialism, America claimed to be the New Israel, regarding the departure from Europe through the Revolutionary War as a new exodus from the tyranny of English rule. Due to typological similarities, the Israel community, Exodus, covenant and settlement in Canaan in the Bible could be linked to several key elements of the early American history, such as the Pilgrims, Puritans, settlement in New England, and Constitution.[55]
Erin Runions especially gives us an example of the Bush administration, using biblical apocalyptic metaphors for their religious desire and economic interest, under the name of defending freedom. Their rhetoric has been mobilised as a means of motivating war, benefiting the US at the expense of those who resist the freedom provided by the US.[56]

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[52] Donald H. Akenson, *God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel, and Ulster* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992).

[53] Gary Dorrien, "Consolidating the Empire: Neoconservatism and the Politics of American Domination," *Political Theology* 6 (2005): 409-428; W. Brueggemann, "Faith in the Empire," 37.

[54] J. D. Crossan, *God and Empire: Jesus against Rome, Then and Now* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007).

[55] Richard A. Horsley, "The Bible and Empire," introduction in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 1-7.

[56] Erin Runions, "Desiring War: Apocalypse, Commodity Fetish, and the End of History," chap. 7 in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 112-128.

However, given that biblical texts originated from the subordinates, these investigations have sometimes led to a narrowly Eurocentric or US-centric viewpoint, engaging closely with voices of imperialists rather than from the position of a subject people and society. Nonetheless, the academic attempts listed above can be said to have been a crucial motivator for the birth and development of postcolonial approaches to discern the collusion between politics and religion for gaining the upper hand in their own respective realms. Biblical interpretation to solidify the national ideology and interests can be marked as otherising, polarising, and dehumanising, while the Bible is liberation-driven. This theological paradox that imperial-colonial ideology sacralised by the Bible whilst the Bible is desacralized by ideology can be sharpen by revisiting the research field of postcolonial biblical interpretation. As a result, the studies that are brought to the fore in this research field are mainly related to the role and influence of religious imagination and political ideologies. The discussion of the Bible and empire in an ideologically divided society needs to clarify the relationship between imagination and ideology, which will be analysed below.

0.5.3 Imagination and Ideology

The subtitle of this study implies that theological imagination for just peace can be an alternative in resisting and overcoming colonial-imperial phenomenon in an ideologically divided society.[57] What needs to be mentioned in dealing with this subject is comprehension of the relationship between theological imagination and political ideology, and then the encapsulation of the concepts of imagination and ideology. Firstly, this study looks at the relationship between imagination and ideology from the viewpoint of political theology. Walter Brueggemann and William Cavanaugh have the same understanding of the task of political theology, similar to the basic structure of this study. Because theology and politics inhabit two distinct spheres, the task of political theology is to connect the two spheres while retaining the independence of each. Political theology has responsibility for disclosing the manner in which theology reproduces social injustice factors and changing those aspect of theology to avoid the reinforcement of injustice. This presupposes theology to serve as a superstructure to the material politico-economic base. Both theology and politics are similar, formed in the construction of metaphysical

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[57] This study mainly uses the term "theological imagination" instead of "prophetic imagination", provided that the imaginal working operative in biblical texts is not limited to texts of poetry or prophecies only, but is at work in all genres of biblical texts, as P. Ricoeur claims. P. Ricoeur, "The Bible and the Imagination" in *The Bible as a Document of the University*, eds. H. D. Betz et al. (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 49-55.

images around which communities are arranged. Thus, the task of political theology is to disclose false theologies, and to endorse the true politics in a true theology.[58]

Secondly, theological imagination and political ideology, in the same vein, are not antithetic, but complementary concepts. Not only can the former be politically ideological as an example of biblical images mobilised to justify ideology, the latter can also be religiously imaginative, as K. Popper (1945), H. Arendt (1951), J. L. Talmon (1952), and B. Crick (1962) considered ideologies to be "secular religions", exemplifying fascism and communism.[59] According to Aloysius Pieris, all religions and ideologies are ambivalent, due to the risk of becoming the opposite of the truth they embody. Although religions and ideologies can both liberate and paralyse, they can be emancipatory through their definition of the "future." It is important that the liberating effect they have can be exerted by the future being seen as a prophetic correction of the present. Here, religious imagination can be an alternative to just peace in political ideologies.[60] From the viewpoint of the task of theology through imagination, this study applies the framework of Kim Dong Jin (2011) and Jude Lal Fernando (2018), who put this relationship into the situation on the Korean Peninsula. Both researches show how religious imagination is connected to the political realm, fulfils the responsibility of religion to disclose falsehood or endorse truth, can be a medium of self-reflection, and an alternative to false politics. This thesis focuses on the theological-political-discursive directivity in theologising and building peace that Kim and Fernando highlight. As biblical faith and tradition were launched by the cry of the slaves in Egypt (Ex. 2:23; 3:7), Fernando argues that the experience and historical memory of the oppressed has to be grounded to theologise peace in Asia. Kim also gives us an exemplary case of how the voices and imagination of the oppressed were discoursed in the Korean civil society, and affected the government's policy towards North Korea.[61] It should be noted that theological

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[58] William T. Cavanaugh and Peter Scott, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), 2-20; Lisa P. Stephenson, "Prophetically Political, Politically Prophetic: William Cavanaugh's 'Theopolitical Imagination' as an Example of Walter Brueggemann's 'Prophetic Imagination,'" *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 53. No. 4 (2011): 568.

[59] See Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies: New One-Volume Edition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); Hannah Arendt, *The Origin of Totalitarianism* (Harcourt: Brace, 1951); J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1952), 1-6, 21-24; Bernard Crick, In Defence of Politics (London: Continuum, 1962); Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, 6th ed. (London: Palgrave, 2017), 8-10.

[60] Aloysius Pieris, "Ideology and Religion: Some Debatable Points" in *An Asian Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988), 29-31; Frederik Glorieux, "Does Christ Have an Asian Face?: An Analysis of Aloysius Pieris' Theology of Religions, *Louvain Studies* 30 (2005): 328.

[61] Kim Dong-jin, *Hanbando P'yŏnghwaguch'ukkwa Kidokkyo Ecumenical Undong* [Peacebuilding on the Korean Peninsula and the Christian Ecumenical Movement] (Seoul: The Korea Theological Study Institute, 2011): Jude Lal Fernando, "Prophetic Imagination and Empire in Asia: In Search for Peace Theologies in Korea and Japan," *International Journal of Asian Christianity* 1 (2018): 91-116.

imagination is from the bottom up, not from the top down, unlike political ideology which is primarily associated with power.[62] This can be said to be the decisive factor that enables the liberating feature of imagination.

Thirdly, whether sociological, moral, prophetic, or Kantian, the term imagination connotes the ability to see things socially, morally, theologically, and philosophically, and how they interact with and influence each other, pulling away from the situation and thinking from an alternative point of view.[63] Foucault conceived of power as net-like organisations in which we are entwined, and ideology is also depicted by many scholars, as a net-like symbolic system or an imaginary map of the social totality.[64] If that is the case, theological imagination entails refraining from power and ideology, identifying the lay, facing the falsehood, and presenting alternatives. For this reason, for Brueggemann biblical literature is not merely descriptive of a common sense world, but dares to posit, characterise, and vouch for a world beyond common sense, using artistic sensibility and risk-taking rhetoric.[65] Brueggemann views the world as contesting between the Yahweh and dominant narratives, and identifies the church as an alternative community with an alternative consciousness.[66] This identity emerged in the Exodus community, was suspended under Solomon monarchy, perpetuated through the prophets in the Exile, and embodied in the Jesus movement. It is an identity that is created and sustained by prophetic imagination, and has counter-imperialistic features.[67]

Fourthly, the inevitability of imagination is intertwined with understanding the concept of ideology. The primary problem confronting any discussion of ideology is that "nobody

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[62] John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace. Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Society* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 37-61.

[63] C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, 40th Anniversary ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) first published in 1959; Mark Johnson, *Moral Imagination: Implication of Cognitive Science for Ethics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993); John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Walter Brueggemann, *The Prophetic Imagination*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001).

[64] M. Foucault, "The Subject and Power" in *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, eds. H. L. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982), 208-227; *Idem., History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981); Terry Eagleton, "Ideology and Its Vicissitudes in Western Marxism" in *Mapping Ideology*, ed. Slavoj Zizek (London: Verso, 2012), 220-221.

[65] W. Brueggemann, "Biblical Authority: A Personal Refection" in *Struggling with Scripture*, eds. W. Brueggemann et al. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 19; *Idem., An Introduction to the Old Testament: The Canon and Christian Imagination* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), xii, 7; *Idem., The Bible and Postmodern Imagination: Texts under Negotiation* (London: SCM Press, 1993), 18-25; Anneke Viljoen, "Theological Imagination as Hermeneutical Device: Exploring the Hermeneutical Contribution of an Imaginal Engagement with the Text," *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 72 (2016), a3172. http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i4.3172.

[66] W. Brueggemann, *The Practice of Prophetic Imagination: Preaching an Emancipating Word* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 3-4; *Idem., The Prophetic Imagination*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 3-14.

[67] W. Brueggemann, "Scripture: Old Testament" in *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, 10.

has yet come up with a single adequate definition." As David McLellan put it, being only a collection of rival definitions "Ideology is the most elusive concept in the whole of the social sciences."[68] As Terry Eagleton says, attempting to compress a wealth of meaning in this concept into a single comprehensive definition would be unhelpful, even if it were possible. In the divergent histories of Korea and the ideologically unique circumstance of division, it is more important to focus on a valuable meaning to understand the distinctiveness of Korean churches and society.[69] The concept of ideology mainly refers to a system of ideas, conceptions or social cognition.[70] The use of the concept of ideology in this study is not intended as a term of condemnation, nor does it imply delusion, as Marx did, but is neutral.[71] It is valuable to observe the argument of Clifford Geertz and David Apter that ideology links particular actions and mundane practices with a wider set of meanings."[72] Martin Seliger also stipulated an ideology as "a set of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify the ends and means of organised social action, irrespective of whether such action aims to preserve, amend, uproot or rebuild a given social order." Many other scholars, who examine the concept of ideology also suggest that ideologies are action-oriented as well as idea-oriented.[73] Despite various definitions, given the historical background of Korean church and society, it is appropriate for this study to define ideology as an action-oriented system of thought, regardless of whether it is good or bad, true or false, liberating or suppressive.[74]

In *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Clifford Geertz gives an interesting example of analysing social issues in Indonesia and any new nation similar to the modern Korean Peninsula. Pointing out that "Indonesia can find her way through this forest of problems without any ideological guidance at all seems impossible", he suggested the essential ingredients for ideology: "the motivation to seek technical skill and knowledge", "the emotional resilience to support the necessary patience and resolution", "the moral

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[68] Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso, 1991), 1-2; David McLellan, *Ideology*, 2nd Edition (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1995); A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 5; Aloysius Pieris, "Ideology and Religion: Some Debatable Points" in *An Asian Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988), 24.

[69] T. Eagleton, *Ideology*, 1

[70] T. van Dijk, "Ideology and Discourse Analysis," *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 11 (2006): 115-140.

[71] K. Marx contrasted between ideology as falsehood and science as truth, "ideology is about delusion and mystification", perpetrating a false or mistaken view of the world. Linking ideology to the class system, Marx noted the distortion implicit in ideology, reflecting the interests and perspective on society of the ruling class. For Marx, ideology as a manifestation of power, constituting the ruling ideas of the age, serves to conceal the contradictions of capitalism, which disguise from the exploited proletariat the fact of its own exploitation, and uphold a system of unequal class power. Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 5-8.

[72] David Apter, *Ideology and Discontent*, 6-7.

[73] Leon P. Baradat and John A. Phillips, *Political Ideologies: Their Origin and Impact* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), especially Chapter 1.

[74] A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 10.

strength to sustain self-sacrifice and incorruptibility", and "some vision of public purpose, anchored in a compelling image of social reality."[75] It should be noted that these elements correspond with the theory of action proposed by Talcott Parsons. For Parsons, social systems are simply defined as systems of motivated action, organised about the relations of actors to each other. Each action is the action of an actor, which takes place in a situation consisting of objects: other actors or physical or cultural objects. Each actor has a system of relation-to-objects, that is a "system of orientation", and actions occur in constellations which are called "system." Parsons analysed patterns of differentiation among processes of action in two crosscutting dimensions, arguing that social actions are guided by three subsystems: culture, social, and personality. Parsons proposed that these three subsystems all differentiate along three gradients, moral-normative, affective, and cognitive.[76] The reason an ideology can be viewed as action-oriented are the elements of cognition, affection, evaluation, and expectation, which is correspond with the theory of action.

  As Heywood enunciates, ideologies invariably lack the clear shape and internal consistency of political philosophies, and thus are only more or less coherent. As seen in the hybrid ideological forms of "liberal conservatism" or "conservative nationalism", Ideologies are fluid sets of ideas, overlapping with other ideologies, even religious imagination, and shading into one another, rather than hermetically sealed systems of thought. By providing us with a language of political discourse, a set of assumptions and presuppositions about how society does and should work, ideology structures both what we think and how we act. As a 'regime of truth', ideology is always linked to power. In a world of competing truths, values and theories, ideologies seek to prioritise certain values, and invest legitimacy in particular theories or sets of meanings. Moreover, as ideologies provide an intellectual map of the social world, they help to establish the relationship between individuals and groups on the one hand, and the large structure of power on the other. Ideologies play a crucial role in upholding the prevailing power structure, weakening or challenging it, by emphasising its iniquities or injustices and by drawing attention to the attractions of alternative power structure.[77]

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[75] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 229.
[76] Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action" in *Toward a General Theory of Action*, eds. T. Parsons and E. A. Shils (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), 53-60, 105-106, 159-179; Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (London: Routledge, 1991), first published in1951, 4-13.
[77] A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 14-15.

0.5.4 Postcolonial Hermeneutics and Homilies

Since Said's Orientalism exposed the connection between the Western representation of the Orient and the machination of European colonialism, postcolonialism has been employed as an analytical tool to interpret the Bible by several biblical critics, who were mostly from the Two-Thirds World or minorities in the West. In the mid-1990s, imperialistic rhetoric in the biblical tradition, Eurocentrism, and colonialist assumptions have been raised by this approach. Discussions in bringing biblical studies and postcolonial studies have been widening in scope, covering the subjects both canonical and extra-canonical literature, interpretation, and interpreter. The first published systematic attempt to outline postcolonial biblical criticism was an article in the *Asian Journal of Theology* by R. S. Sugirtharajah in 1996.[78] With the "Postcolonialism and Scriptural Reading" by Laura E. Donaldson, in the same year, a series entitled "The Bible and Postcolonialism" was published by Sheffield Academic Press.[79] Other significant works were likewise emerging at this time: Philip Chia's "On Naming the Subject: Postcolonial Reading of Daniel 1", Keith Whitelam's *The Invention of Ancient Israel*, Michael Prior's *The Bible and Colonialism*, and a collection of essays on *Paul and Empire* by Richard Horsley.[80] Shortly after that, research joining the terms "postcolonialism" and "biblical studies" has been presented in biblical studies.[81]

Postcolonial criticism, which originated from the humanities, was introduced into biblical studies by those engaged in the recuperation of the history of the colonised and the coloniser in the aftermath of colonialism. Their approach to the humanities challenged the way the texts and knowledge were created and interpreted. The Bible and its interpretation was naturally linked to this approach, because most biblical narratives were formed in diverse colonial-imperial contexts, with these tendencies embedded.

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[78] R. S. Sugirtharajah, "From Orientalist to Post-Colonial: Notes on Reading Practice," *Asian Journal of Theology* 10 (April 1996): 20-27; Ralph Broadbent, "Postcolonial Biblical Studies: Origins and Trajectories" in *Exploring Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: History, Method, Practice*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 58-59.

[79] Laura E. Donaldson, "Postcolonialism and Scriptural Reading," *Semeia* 75 (January 1996); R. S. Sugirtharajah, "Biblical Studies after the Empire: From a Colonial to a Postcolonial Mode of Interpretation" in *The Postcolonial Bible*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah, Bible and Postcolonialism 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press), 12-22.

[80] Philip Chia, "On Naming the Subject: Postcolonial Reading of Daniel 1" in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 171-185; Keith W. Whitelam, *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History* (London: Routledge, 1996); Michael Prior, *The Bible and Colonialism: A Moral Critique* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997); Richard A. Horsley, *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 1997); Ralph Broadbent, "Postcolonial Biblical Studies: Origins and Trajectories," 58-59.

[81] Stephen D. Moore and Fernando F. Segovia eds., *Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: Interdisciplinary Intersections* (London: T & T Clark International), 2-8.

Furthermore, biblical text and interpretation played a crucial role in the operation and justification of modern colonialism.[82]

　　While postcolonial theories have been employed by several theologians in ministry and its practice, postcolonial insights have been rarely discussed in homiletics.[83] R. S. Sugirtharajah was mindful of imperial reality, and how the reading of the Bible connects to the world as a political commitment to resist all forms of suppression, rather than being limited to the sphere of biblical studies.[84] His research, which is closely related to this study, carries significant meaning with respect to examining how biblical interpretation and preaching have been conscripted and confined by colonialism and imperialism. *The Bible and Empire*, notwithstanding the fact that his investigation dealing with the British Empire is limited to a specific century and circumscribed by several selected hermeneutical issues, provides a postcolonial framework for research on homiletics and imperialism. *The Bible and Empire* is meaningful as this demonstrates how the Bible has been used in various ways by both the coloniser and the colonised. Sugirtharajah elucidates how biblical texts were mobilised against Indian protesters by Victorian preachers in the nineteenth century. It is worth, especially for this study, to dwell on Victorian sermons articulating British national identity and rationalising British people of God waging war against Indian adversaries of God. He also maintains that the Bible played a significant role in benefiting Orientalists, missionaries, indigenous Christians and Hindus. The Old Testament was used as a bulwark against any cultural assimilation by missionaries, or as a weapon by the colonised against the missionaries, challenging cultural and religious defamation, strengthening indigenous religious traditions, and redefining their identity.[85]

　　Following Sugirtharajah, Kwok Pui-lan, and Sarah Travis take note of the prolonged colonial legacy in the discipline of biblical interpretation and colonial habit in the minds of biblical interpreters. Travis argues that homilies must speak about empire and warn listeners who are tempted to build new empires, even in our time.[86] In her book

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[82] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Exploring Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: History, Method, Practice* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 42.

[83] Pablo Jimenez, "Toward a Postcolonial Homiletic: Justo Gonzalez's Contribution to Hispanic Preaching", in *Hispanic Christian Thought at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Apuntes in Honor of Justo L. Gonzalez*, ed. Alvin Padilla et al. (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2005), 159-167; Sarah Travis, *Decolonizing Preaching: The Pulpit as Postcolonial Space* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2014); Kwok Pui-lan, "Postcolonial Preaching in Intercultural Contexts," *The Journal of the Academy of Homiletics*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2005): 9.

[84] Uriah Y. Kim, "Time to Walk the Postcolonial Talk," Reviews in *Religion and Theology* 13:3 (2006): 271.

[85] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 60-97.

[86] Sarah Travis, "Troubled Gospel: Postcolonial Preaching for the Colonized, Colonizer, and Everyone in Between," *The Journal of the Academy of Homiletics*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2005): 46.

Decolonizing Preaching, she proposes decolonising homiletic to help preachers recognise ways in which texts and readers are vulnerable to the lure of empire, to interpret aid for preaching to decolonising the mind, and to proclaim a Gospel that transforms and transcends the discourse of power.[87] Kwok Pui-lan, in her article, "Postcolonial Preaching in Intercultural Contexts", suggests postcolonial preaching for faith community as a locally rooted and globally conscious, seeking to create a Third Space, and imagining alternative ways of being in the world. She elucidates why postcolonial preaching has to be done in the context of decolonising worship, the use of symbols, liturgical texts, hymnody, scripture and time and space.[88]

Notably, Kwok offers the perspective that postcolonial imagination, especially as created in the pulpit, plays a pivotal role in resisting colonial-imperial phenomena. In her book *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology*, Kwok proposes the methodological implications of postcolonialism as a reading strategy and discursive practice in unmasking colonial epistemological framework, logic, and cultural representation. Three modes of postcolonial imagination: historical, dialogical, and diasporic imagination are suggested to decentralise the Western geo-cultural dominance in theological discourse.[89] The reason her work is of importance as the compass of this study is to reinterpret the Bible through the creative act of imagination, based on Asian tradition, consciousness, and reality.[90] This dissertation also recognises the dissonance between different kinds of biblical interpretation and Asian reality. In the same vein, Minjung theologian Suh Nam Dong highlighted the confluence of the stories of the Bible and the Minjung story in the history of Korea. Also, it should be noted that Ahn Byung-Mu did not distinguish between context and text, in order to underline the biblical emancipation that can be realised in our reality. He suggested that the Minjung event is both context and text that contains and reveals the essence of biblical events. Sharon Park concretely suggests a process of imagination, similar to Kwok's postcolonial imagination, in order to present a way to realise biblical emancipation in the experiences of oppressed Koreans: a consciousness of conflict, a pause, the finding of a new image, the repatterning of reality, and re-interpretation.[91]

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[87] Sarah Travis, *Decolonizing Preaching: The Pulpit as Postcolonial Space* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2014), 109, 47-48; Jacob D. Myers, *Preaching Must Die!: Troubling Homiletical Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2017), 99.

[88] Kwok Pui-lan, "Postcolonial Preaching in Intercultural Contexts," *The Journal of the Academy of Homiletics* 40, No. 1 (2005): 9-20.

[89] Kwok Pui-lan, *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 30-32.

[90] Kwok Pui-lan, "Discovering the Bible in the Non-Biblical World," *Semeia* 47 (1989): 27-29.

[91] Sharon Park, *The Critical Years: The Young Adult Search for a Faith to Live By* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986), 117; Suh Nam Dong, "Historical Reference for a Theology of Minjung" in *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History*, ed. Kim Yong Bock (Singapole: The

0.6 Research Methodology

0.6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis in Qualitative Research

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), as qualitative research theory, is employed in this study, to examine the relationship between language, discourse, knowledge and power. There is a long tradition of dealing with discourse in linguistic terms, causing the term "discourse" to be widely used, and sometimes vaguely, in CDA. The reason to adopt discourse analysis is that discourse contributes to the constitution of all dimensions of social structure and its power which shapes and constrains it, directly or indirectly.[92] Highlighting a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure, Fairclough asserts that "discourse is in an active relation to reality, that language signifies reality in the sense of constructing meaning for it, rather than that discourse is in a passive relation to reality, with language merely referring to objects which are taken to be given in reality."[93] Critically analysing discursive change offers a tool for analysing societal change. Given that social subjects are shaped by discursive practices, while being able to simultaneously reshape and restructure those practices, this study examines the relationship between theological discourses and societal changes under the influence of colonialism.

The word "critical" is not to be understood in the common sense of the word, that is, "criticising" or "being negative", but rather implies "being sceptical." In the communication between the preacher and listener, homiletic discourse is considered to be religiously authorised and therefore incontestable. If there are reductionist, dogmatic, and dichotomous factors in sermons, critically analysing sermons means "not taking anything for granted, opening up complexity and alternative readings, self-reflection of the research process, and making ideological positions manifested in the respective text transparent."[94] This study understands the interaction between the preacher and congregation as part of a broader social dimension of discourse, which is not only a

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Commission on Theological Concerns, Christian Conference of Asia, 1981), 155-184; Ahn Byung-mu, *Stories of Minjung Theology: The Theological Journey of Ahn Byung-Mu in His Own Words*, trans. Hanna In, ed. Wongi Park (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2019), 35-64.

[92] Ruth Wodak, "What CDA is about: A Summary of Its History, Important and Its Development" in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, eds. R. Wodak and M. Meyer (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 1-12; M. Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); J. Blommaert, *Discourse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[93] N. Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 41-45.

[94] Ruth Wodak and Gavin Kendall, "What is Critical Discourse Analysis?" *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (May, 2007); See Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton, eds*., New Agenda in Critical Discourse Analysis* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2005); Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak, eds., *CDA. Theory and Interdisciplinarity* (London: Palgrave/MacMillan, 2003).

complex form of institutional dialogue, but also constitutes more complex discursive and social practices in forming public opinion, changing policies, and building justice and peace.[95]

   Along with interaction with society, CDA is an exploration of how power relations in a society are reproduced, reinforced, shared or challenged through varieties of discourse such as the speech, text, or graphics employed in that society. The structure or the mechanism of power is mentioned insofar as the supposition that "certain persons exercise power over others."[96] Social power is manifested in social control in relation to social status, expertise, knowledge and authority, and can be institutionalised in a social structure, such as power in government, organisations, schools, religions, and the military.[97] CDC focuses on the implicit magnification of the power which is not clearly marked and coded but, produces and controls discourse.[98] Above all else, CDA is basically deemed as critical social research to comprehend the way societies work and produce beneficial or detrimental effects, particularly exposing the way power inequalities are retained by established forms of discourse.[99]

> "Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysis takes explicit position, and thus wants to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality."[100]

For this reason, a salient feature of this research approach is considered a possible means of emancipation, focusing on language and the development of critical language awareness, and CDA practitioners tend to be involved in these areas to raise critical consciousness in relation to manipulation, exploitation and control.[101] Fairclough claims

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95 T. van Dijk, "Discourse as Interaction in Society" in *Discourse as Social Interaction*, ed. T. van Dijk (LA: Sage Publication, 1997), 1-37.

96 M. Foucault, "The Subject and Power" in *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, eds. H. L. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow (Brighton: Harvester, 1982), 217.

97 T. van Dijk, *Discourse and Power* (New York: Palgrave MacMilan, 2008), 17.

98 T. van Dijk, "Structures of Discourse and Structures of Power," *Annals of the International Communication Association*, Vol. 12 (1989), 22.

99 Norman Fairclough, *Analyzing Discourse* (London: Routledge, 2003); Thao Le and Quynh Le, "Critical Discourse Analysis: An Overview" in *Critical Discourse Analysis: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, eds. Megan Short et al. (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2009), 4.

100 T. van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis" in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, eds. D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin, and H. Hamilton (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 352.

101 J. P. O'Regan, "Consciousness transformation and the text: The Emancipation Problematic in Critical Discourse Analysis." Paper presented at the International Association for Language and Intercultural Communication. "Revolutions in Consciousness: Local Identities, Global Concerns in Language and Intercultural Communication," (2000), Leeds Metropolitan University, UK; J. P.

that the main purpose of the approach is "to help increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation."[102]

J. P. O'Regan and M. N. MacDonald classify power into negative power as domination and positive power as knowledge, explaining the latter in terms of resistance to power.[103] As M. Foucault expressed, "where there is power, there is also resistance."[104] It does not matter, however, which discourses are true or false, questioning the idea of resisting power can be predicated on an appeal to moral principles or foundational notions of truth. It is not part of this analysis to consider resistant discourse as true knowledge and promoting a better world.[105]

> "The problem does not consist in drawing the line between that in a discourse which falls under the category of scientificity or truth, and that which comes under some other category, but in seeing historically how effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false."[106]

This study agrees that we are unable to discriminate discourse of truth from discourse of falsehood, because all persons are beings "who are historically determined."[107] In the Korean Peninsula, "theorisations of the concept of power present power as closely aligned with ideology and the construction of consent", in relation to the operation of ideological state apparatus and ideological hegemony and the manufacture of consent.[108]

The historical complexity and dynamics between countries in and around the Korean Peninsula have caused us to be unable to stand outside these relations so as to make judgment of truth. Maximising the conditions for the judgement of truth to be compared and evaluated on their merits can only be suggested as a significant emancipatory objective in this analysis.[109]

O'Regan and M. N. MacDonald, "The Antinomies of Power in Critical Discourse Analysis" in in *Critical Discourse Analysis: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, eds. Megan Short et al. (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2009), 80.

[102] N. Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 2001), 1.

[103] O'Regan and MacDonald, "The Antinomies of Power in Critical Discourse Analysis," 79-87.

[104] M. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), 95.

[105] O'Regan and MacDonald, "The Antinomies of Power in Critical Discourse Analysis," 82-83.

[106] M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), 118.

[107] M. Foucault, *The Foucault Reader* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), 43.

[108] See L. Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971); A. Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971).

[109] N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (London: Longman, 1995), 19.

Accordingly, the main purpose of this study is a discernment of how the biblical, theological, and homiletical discourses support or resist the mechanism by which the status quo is maintained in the interest of power holders.[110] CDA is employed to uncover the relationship between social power, supported by colonial-imperial domination and its ideology, and theological discourse, created mainly in the pulpit, rather than judging discourse or ideologies themselves. Thus, by analysing approximately 1,300 sermons, , this investigation represents the presence of an alliance of external colonial-imperial forces, government, capitalist and churches, which constitutes a dominant bloc with them as general stakeholders.[111]

The problem seems, as Fowler and Toolan point out, that a comprehensive methodological guide and the improvement of analytical technique are needed in CDA, suggesting standardisation of the methods, questions, assumptions and parameters assayed.[112] Chouliaraki and Fairclough, however, claim that CDA can be theory or method, because this is "a shifting synthesis of other theories", thus, the method relating to the theory also must be unfixed and unstable.[113]

> "Given our emphasis on the mutually informing development of theory and method, we do not support calls for stabilising a method for CDA."[114] "While such a stabilisation would have institutional and especially pedagogic advantages, it would compromise the developing capacity of CDA to shed light on the dialectic of the semiotic and the social in a wide variety of social practices by bringing to bear shifting sets of theoretical resources and shifting operationalisations of them."[115]

Consequently, this study uses CDA to refer to the process of enquiring into relationships between text, context and pretext, regarding interpretation as the process of deriving a

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[110] T. van Dijk, "Discourse as Interaction in Society," 24; N. Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 216.
[111] M. Meyer, "Between Theory, Method, and Politics: Positioning of the Approaches to CDA" in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, eds. R. Wodak and M. Meyer (London: Sage Publications, 2001), 14-31.
[112] R. Fowler, "On Critical Linguistics" in *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourses Analysis*, eds. C. R. Caldas-Coulthard and R. Coulthard (London: Routledge, 1996), 8-9; M. Toolan, "What Is Critical Discourse Analysis and Why Are People Saying Such Terrible Things About It?" *Language and Literature* 6:2 (1997): 83-103.
[113] H. G. Widdowson, *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 167-168; L. Chouliaraki and N. Fairclough, *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).
[114] R. Fowler, "On Critical Linguistics" in *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourses Analysis*, eds. C. R. Caldas-Coulthard and R. Coulthard (London: Routledge, 1996); M. Toolan, "What Is Critical Discourse Analysis and Why Are People Saying Such Terrible Things About It?" *Language and Literature* 6:2 (1997).
[115] L. Chouliaraki and N. Fairclough, *Discourse in Late Modernity*, 17.

discourse from text. [116] Although there are structural analyses and numeral measurements in several cases, these mixed methods within the purview of qualitative method, are used to complement description, interpretation, contextualisation and gain in-depth insight into specific concepts or phenomena. Rather than grammatical, rhetorical, and morphologic approaches, this analysis focuses on exploring the interaction of biblical interpretation and specific ideologies that condition discourses and other social practices.[117] In particular, this thesis tries to abstract the colonial-imperial ramifications of the conventionalised images, metaphor and narratives in homilies, in terms of social change, practice and power.

0.6.2 Postcolonial Biblical Criticism

This study likewise adopts a research method of postcolonial criticism. As seen in the confluence of biblical and postcolonial studies, postcolonial criticism, as intrinsically hermeneutical, relies on the research methods and findings of biblical studies. This approach, however, is characterised by both a hermeneutic of suspicion and of restoration, attempting to define what was missing in previous historical and theological analyses, to rewrite and correct.[118] The concerns and preoccupations of postcolonial criticism are to investigate the social, cultural, and political ramifications of colonialism, expose the revision or reinforcements of colonial or national history, and recover the resistance of the subjugated.[119] This thesis, adopting the two modes of hermeneutics, re-describes the historical context of the Korean church, exposing a colonial history of repression and its aftermath, and suggests the feasibility of resistance, restoration and transformation, excavating alternative traditions and endeavours. Many areas of historical evaluation of Korea have been concealed, distorted, and/or ignored by imperial-colonial actors, in both society and church, due to historical complexities, theological ambiguity, and the changing of the colonial nature, from old territorial colonialism to neo-colonialism. In order to discern what is accepted as being self-evident, and to buttress what is regarded as insubstantial, this thesis situates both ancient and modern empires and imperial concerns at the centre of this study, asking how biblical interpreters, particularly preachers, represent empire through their exegetical and

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[116] H. G. Widdowson, *Text, Context, Pretext*, 169.
[117] Terry Locke, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (London: Continuum, 2004), 54-89; J. Todoli, "Constructing Public Opinion through Metaphors," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory into Research* (Nov. 2005): 724-731.
[118] J. Punt, "Postcolonial Biblical Criticism in South Africa: Some Mind and Road Mapping," *Neotenstamentica* 37, No. 1 (2003): 59-85.
[119] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Exploring Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: History, Method, Practice* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 15.

homiletical words.[120] The issues of justice and peace that have played pivotal roles in the ideologically divided society are delineated in Chapter 1, 2 by focusing on imperial-colonial ramifications in the biblical texts and Korean contexts. The hermeneutical tendencies of American missionaries who were part of the imperialistic strategy are also re-evaluated in the history of the Korean church in Chapters 3.

In Chapters 4 and 5, sermons of Korean megachurches and ecumenical churches are examined through three critical viewpoints, Orientalist, Anglicist, and nativist, as suggested by Sugirtharajah. First, the Orientalist mode, related to Orientalism by Said, reveals that imperialism produces stereotypes through a representation of the Orient, which is fabricated or static, in order to manipulate and rule. Second, the Anglicist mode refers to a systematic attempt to replace indigenous texts and scholarship with western science and ideas, integrating colonies with the culture of the ruler. Sugirtharajah takes note that many nations of the Commonwealth, including India, were influenced by Christianity and western biblical interpretation, uprooted by British imperialism, and criticises Western-centred research methodology and ideology as having played a role in colonising the mind-set and culture of non-Western societies. Third, the nativist mode is a counter-discourse against the colonialism that subordinates and undermines indigenous culture. This mode urges simultaneous criticism and self-criticism of absurdity contained in the Western world as well as criticism of Western-centred values. He thus emphasises hermeneutical perspectives beyond dichotomous confrontation between non-Western and Western.[121]

Adopting these three modes to analyse sermons and interpret historical events in Korea, several noteworthy factors, as mentioned above, are portrayed as considerable variables. First, as mentioned above, the Korean Peninsula was not colonised by a western country but by Japan, which is not extremely disparate from Korea. It has a more complex historical theological background than the structure of western and non-western discussed in post-colonialism. Second, the biblical interpretation and faith of Korean churches is based in part on Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Shamanism, which had been the traditional philosophies before the introduction of Christianity. These traditional thoughts were accepted and developed under the influence of ancient Chinese empires. Although there are more or less controversial issues, there had been colonial characteristics in the relationship between Korea and China. Third, American neo-colonial strategy on the Korean Peninsula has been cloaked by Japanese colonial rule, involvement of the Soviet Union and communist China in the Korean War/Cold War

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[120] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Exploring Postcolonial Biblical Criticism*, 46-51.
[121] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Asian Biblical Hermeneutics and Postcolonialism*, 3-14.

rhetoric, and their contribution to Korean society and church. Fourth, ideological battles that hold sway over the destinies of a nation made the church unaware of the problems of colonialism and imperialism. Fifth, the shift in becoming a missioning church from having been a missioned church has brought a new phase to the relationship between the Korean church and postcolonialism, like the transition from a country that received national aid to a country that provides aid. On one hand, Korean missionaries function as advocates and reproducers of colonial values, and on the other hand, criticise colonialism and propose alternatives. Korean churches have hybrid features which are difficult to apply to the binary colonial oppositions expressed as western and non-western.

In addition to postcolonial biblical criticism, this thesis requires another interdisciplinary approach to examine historical events and their theological significance. Further clarity on these matters can be gained by analysing social discourses and practices, in that societal power relations resulting in social alterations, are established and reinforced through language. In connection with a postcolonial approach, this study adopts CDA of highlighting issues of power asymmetries, manipulation, suppression, and structural inequities in domestic and international societies. However, a remarkable feature of the hermeneutical approach which this study utilises is that biblical interpretation starts from the reality of people who have been oppressed by imperial politics in the Korean mainstream churches. Jose Severino Croatto offers a hermeneutical lens that reflects a liberationist "rereading" strategy based on the lived experiences of the oppressed and disenfranchised people of the world. In his exegesis of empire in Isaiah 47, Croatto's assessment of empire has, as its primary ethical concern, the experiences of the oppressed people in Latin America, mapping the materiality of empire onto the rhetoric of Second Isaiah. This dissertation adopts a hermeneutical lens to harness socio-political meaning within the text in such a way for critiquing the ancient and contemporary reality of empire.[122]

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[122] J. Severino Croatto, *Biblical Hermeneutics: Toward a Theory of Reading as the Production of Meaning*, trans. Robert R. Barr (New York: Orbis Books, 1987), 40; Idem., "Exegesis of Second Isaiah from the Perspective of the Oppressed" in *Reading from This Place, Vol. 2: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 220; Gregory L. Cuellar, "J. Severino Croatto's Rereading of Empire in Isaiah 47," *Biblical Interpretation* 23 (2015): 222-247.

1. Just Peace and Imperial Peace in the Bible

1.1 Introduction

For this conceptual analysis, precisely defining the terms justice and peace is first and foremost necessary in exploring the relationship between the Bible and empire in an ideologically divided society.[123] Biblical ambiguity concerning war and violence causes theologians or preachers to turn a blind eye to these theological issues or to stand on the Marcionist view, as does biblical scholar R. Bultmann.[124] Having the Marcionist attitude not only results in more confusion, but the reality in divided societies awaits no one who avoids serious questions. Also, advocacy of military action and violence in the name of justice and peace are still rife in biblical readers, as another biblical scholar G. E. Wright, who supported the entry of the US into the Vietnam War, claiming that God was not a pacifist.[125] Thus, describing the remarkable features of the two concepts, this chapter discusses how these characteristics were formed in the biblical text and history, how these issues were embodied in society, and developed into theological concepts in terms of linguistic, historical, sociological and literary approaches. In particular, this discussion focuses on the incompatibility of biblical just peace with both ancient and modern imperial peace.

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[123] On conceptual analysis, see John Hospers, *An Introduction to Philosophical Analysis*, 4th ed. (London: Routledge, 1997); Samuel Gorovitz, *Philosophical Analysis: An Introduction to Its Language and Techniques* (New York: Random House, 1979).

[124] Marcionism was a controversial form of early Christianity, which originated from the teaching of Marcion in the second century, rejecting the Old Testament and Judaism, claiming that the God of the Old Testament was a lesser *demiuge* who had created the earth, and the teachings of Christ are incompatible with the God of the Old Testament. The Marcionist view as a viewpoint of the Bible, thus, indicates an attitude of disdain toward the Old Testament. Judith M. Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 398-427.

[125] Kim Ee-kon, *A Theology of Suffering in the Book of Exodus* (Seoul: Korea Theological Study Institute, 1989), 153-156; P. D. Hanson, "War and Peace in the Hebrew Bible," *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology*, Vol. 38 (October 1984): 341-362.

1.2 Conceptual Features of Biblical Justice and Peace

1.2.1 Justice as God's Favour for the Vulnerable

The Hebrew and Greek words for justice in the Bible are *mishpat*, *tsedeq* or *tsedaqah*, and *dikaiosyne*. These words can be translated into "righteousness", "right", "judgment", "punishment", "sentence", "law", "regulation", "ordinances" as well as "justice", which are often used as action nouns (*nomen actionis*), related to social justice. Because action nouns usually denote states and behaviours, the word "justice" simultaneously indicates the act of justice and the condition of justice. In general, *mishpat*, *tsedeq* or *tsedaqah* are often used together with the conjunction "and" or as *parallelismus membrorm*. These words do not have different meanings but represent one meaning as hendiadys, a rhetorical device by which two nouns are joined by a conjunction.[126] The semantics of justice are different in various contexts, such as the political, social, philosophical and religious fields. Sometimes, the general term for justice is more confusing than helpful for a clear conceptualisation because it could be treated as a mythological symbol rather than as a concept. The concept of justice is often metaphorically defined as impartiality, equality, but is used as a programmatic formula, such as the "International Movement for a Just World", without defining what the standard of just action must be and what exactly 'just world' means conceptually.[127]

  In the biblical concept, justice is a polysemous word. God's commandment to practice *mishpat* and *tsedeq* was not an ideal moral principle transcending history, but rather the aim of certain people in concrete historical reality. Justice is often found in the Old Testament regarding tolerance and compassion for disadvantaged groups. Justice is generally based on the enforcement of laws that apply equally to all, and it is an agreement or the result of negotiation, and better insight between partners in a social process. The basis of biblical justice, however, is not unconditional equity but rather the

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[126] Cf. M. Weinfeld, "Justice and Righteousness: The Expression and Its Meaning" in *Justice and Righteousness: Biblical Themes and Their Influence* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 236; Jose P. Miranda, *Marx and the Bible, A Critique of the Philosophy of Oppression*, trans. John Eagleson. (Eugene, OR.: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1974); Cf. 2 Sam. 8:15; 1 Kgs. 10:9; 1 Chr. 18:14; 2 Chr. 9:8; Job 8:3; 29:14; 37:23; Ps. 33:5; 36:6; 37:6; 72:1-2; 89:14; 94:15; 97:2; 99:4; 103:6; 106:3; 112:5; 119:21; Prov. 1:3; 2:9; 8:20; 16:18; 21:3; Eccl. 5:8; Isa. 1:21, 27; 5:7, 16; 9:7; 16:5; 28:17; 32:1, 16; 33:5; 56:1; 59:9, 14; Jer. 4:2; 9:24; 22:3, 15; 23:5; 33:15; Ezek. 18:5, 19, 21, 27; 33:14, 16, 19; 45:9; Hos. 2:19; Amos 5:7, 24; 6:12; Mic. 7:9. Kim Changrak, "Sŏngsŏe Sayongdoen Chŏngŭiwa Kwallyŏndoen Yongŏdŭrŭi Pŏnyŏge Wwanhayŏ" [Translation of Terms Related to Justice Used in the Scripture], *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 30 (2012): 165-166.
[127] M. von Brueck, "An Ethics of Justice in a Cross-Cultural Context," *Buddhist-Christian Studies*, Vol. 26 (2006): 158-159.

favour of God on the side of the weak. In a sense, biblical justice in ancient Israel can be said to be lopsided.

God defends the homeless and carries out justice for the poor (Ps. 140:12).[128] God brings justice and vindication for all who are oppressed (Ps. 103:6). God commanded the rulers to put away violence and oppression and do what is right and just (Ezek. 45:9). As stated above, the word justice is an action noun and includes certain meanings of actions and states, thus, biblical justice means both the act itself, liberating vulnerable people, and a liberated state or state where justice flows like river that never runs dry (Amos 5:24). To take an instance from concrete situations, God sent Jeremiah to the King of Judah, his officials, and people who were there, and commanded Jeremiah to accuse the leaders who had been allowing people to cheat, rob, and take advantage of widows, orphans, and foreigners. God commanded the people to act with *mishpat* and *tsedeq*, and rescue everyone who had suffered from injustice (Jer. 22:1-3). In the book of Zechariah, justice includes not mistreating widows, orphans, aliens who live alongside the Israelites and to stop making plans to hurt each other (Zech. 7:8-10). The justice emphasized in the Scripture is also evident in Solomon's prayer. Solomon asked God to give him the *mishpat* and *tsedaqah* of God, which is connected with the act of defending the poor, helping the homeless, and crushing oppressors (Ps. 72:1-4). The king's important responsibility to fulfil justice and peace was to rescue the poor and those who have no helper, to have pity on the weak, to save people from cruel and violent death (Ps. 72:12-15). This feature defines a biblical justice that was not limited to the juridical justice in the process of the trial, but also helped and protected the poor and needy. Thus, the essence of biblical justice is not a metaphysical theory, but a reality that does not harass or abuse vulnerable and peaceful people (Cf. Mal. 3:5).[129]

A verb form of *mishpat* is *shapat*. It is interpreted mainly as "to judge" and only on occasion "to avenge." Another meaning of this verb provides a significant basis for understanding biblical justice. The word *shapat* can be translated to "rescue", "deliver", "free", and "save." It was used where God saved someone from their enemies, paid attention to their cries for help, and performed justice for the orphans and oppressed (2 Sam. 18:19, 31; Ps. 10:17, 18). Even if *mishpat* or *shapat* are interpreted mainly as words related to a trial, they is more than forms of neutral judicial judgment.[130] Rather, they indicate that God's justice is not confined to a fair trial, but that God directly intervenes in human history on behalf of vulnerable people (Ps. 96: 12, 13; 98:9; Ezek. 34:22). This

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[128] Scripture quotations in this dissertation, unless otherwise indicated, are from *NRSV Standard Bible Catholic Edition, Anglicised Text* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007).
[129] Kim Changrak, "Translation of Terms Related to Justice," 71-73.
[130] Fernando Enns, "Towards an Ecumenical Theology of Just Peace" in *Just Peace*, eds. Fernando Enna and Annette Mosher (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 17-18.

intervention does not mean that God stands merely as a neutral judge. If biblical justice is limited to juridical justice, the Scriptures would not be able to say anything about legitimate injustices that have been committed by power groups in history. Considering the history of Israel, the emphasis was more to rescue the weak from injustice than to establish judicial order. A just God gives biased love and salvation to the afflicted, the oppressed, and the poor, and this is a representative feature of biblical justice (Ps. 9:9, 12, 18; Ps. 10:14, 17, 18; 146:7, 8).

1.2.2 *Shalom* to Seek the One Lost Sheep (Mt. 18:12-14; Lk. 15:1-7)

In ancient Semitic, as well as Hebrew, *shalom* was a very widely used word. This word shares linguistic roots with the Aramaic and Akkadian words *salamu*, and the Arabic *salaam*. The word *salem* as a verb in the documents found in Ugarit means "find peace of mind", "be well", "pay", "have peace" and so on. In Akkadian, it indicates "wholeness" or "totality", and it as an Akkadian verb means "complete" or "be in order."[131] This word is a significant theological concept, used 259 times, and has a variety of senses and connotations in the Old Testament. The Hebrew noun *shalom*, which came from the Hebrew verb *salem*, signifies "to be completed" or "to come to an end." The typical examples used in this sense are when Solomon completed the construction of Temple (1 Kgs. 7:51), the end of the construction of the wall in Nehemiah (Neh. 6:15), and when days of mourning should end (Isa. 60:20). In addition, it was used as "recompense", "reward", "pay a vow" etc. Features that are different from the meaning of the *salem*, are usually interpreted as "peace", and the meanings associated with "peace" are found in the adjective *shalom*. The adjective *shalom* can be divided into three meanings: the first to be "intact" or "complete", the second to be "full", and finally to be "peaceful." Taking in all these meanings, noun *shalom* in the Old Testament, can thus be summarised as "completeness, soundness, peace, and reward." This concept also embraces justice (*mishpat*), mercy, rightness (*tsedeq*) or righteousness (*tsedeqah*), compassion (*hesed*), and truthfulness (*emet*) in various contexts.[132]

   The Greek word for peace is *eirene*, which was used in ancient Greece. The discourse on peace and war had already been an important theme in Greek epic poetry such as Homer's *the Iliad and the Odyssey*. In the time of the ancient Greeks, the Olympic games were held in the hope of peace, and the word "*ekeksiria*" (ceasefire), which literally meant

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[131] F. J. Stendebach, "*slm*" in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, Vol. 15, eds. G. Johannes Botterweck et al. (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2006), 15-17.
[132] World Council of Churches, *Just Peace Companion*, 2nd Edition (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2012), 20; F. Enns, "Towards an Ecumenical Theology of Just Peace," 16-17.

to "hold hands", was used as a term of peace because ceasefire was in effect during the Olympic games. In classical Greek, the word *eirene* meant peace, which was guaranteed by law, political compromise, and divine gift, later on, *eirene* was emphasized as the meaning of consensus, promise, and compromise. In the 5th century BCE, when Greece was characterised by frequent wars, negotiation was more important than ever, so the concept of peace was influenced by the political environment.[133] *Eirene* was the word most often used in the New Testament to translate the Hebrew *shalom*, but it also meant that war had ceased, or antagonism disappeared.[134]

The concept of peace used in the New Testament is directly influenced by the Old Testament, but may also be considered to have received some degree of influence from classical Greek. This word has been expanded to the following theological meanings in the New Testament: 1. Peace can always be understood in relation to God, and Jesus is the basis of peace (Acts 10:36; Rom. 14:17; 15:13; 1 Cor. 1:3; 7:15; 14:13; Phlm. 4:9); 2. The New Testament describes the events of Jesus as the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Old Testament including peace as eschatological salvation (Rom. 16:20; 1 Thess. 5:23); 3. Based on the peace that God gives people through Jesus, the practice of peace is underscored as a guide to an ethical life (Mt. 5:9; Rom. 1:7; 5:1; 2 Cor. 13:11); 4. The crucifixion of Jesus is at the heart of the concept of peace (Heb. 13:20); 5. The historical period of Jesus was within the period of the Roman Empire, and God's peace through Jesus was presented as an alternative to the *Pax Romana*.[135]

In the Gospel According to John, for example, views of peace were formed by Greco-Roman and Hellenistic-Jewish perspectives. Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus used the word *eirene* (peace) over 130 and 100 times respectively in their writings, so the concept of peace was a significant theme of the time. According to Gerhard von Rad and Werner Foerster, the dominant concept of peace in ancient Greece refers to the absence of war, which means a hiatus of war, that is to say, a tentative peace between repeated wars in human history.[136] In the Greek tradition, the ultimate peace can be realised when the hierarchical order of gods and human justice are in equilibrium, under the order of the universe (*kosmos*). Thus, the requirement for peace is the harmony of universal order, the hierarchical order of the gods, and human justice.[137] Greek writers,

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[133] Antony Adolf, *Peace: A World History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 38.
[134] J. Lust, et al. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992-1996), 131.
[135] World Council of Churches, *Just Peace Companion*, 2nd Edition (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2012), 21-22.
[136] Gerhard von Rad and Werner Foerster, "*eirene, eireneiuo, eirenikos, eirenopoios,*" in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* 2, eds. G. Kittel et al. (1964), 400-420.
[137] Roger Brock, *Greek Political Imagery from Homer to Aristole* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 93; Daniel R. Blickman, "Styx and the Justice of Zeus in Hesiod's Theogony," *Phoenix* 41 (1987): 341-355.

such as Ovidius, Vergilius, and Horatius, praised *Pax Augusta* (The Augustan or Roman peace) and *aurea saecula* (the Golden Age), which expanded territory and protected citizens by law, but used violence. However, in the Gospel According to John, a biblical writer, who lived in the era of the Roman peace, portrayed the era through images of hatred, betrayal, division, lies, murder, persecution, death, unjust judgment, real kings, and demons, contrasted with the peace of Jesus marked by the commandment of love and images of a vine and its fruits.[138]

  As a result, biblical peace has a very broad meaning, ranging from individual peace of mind to the eschatological kingdom of God. These words refer to a state where people live a healthy life, sleep soundly, enjoy one's children, have amicable relationships with neighbours, and die serenely at the end of a meaningfully lived life.[139] In spite of polysemy, we need to pay attention to the most basic sense of "integrity" or "wholeness." Many biblical scholars, such as W. Eisenbeis, G. von Rad, J. Pedersen, and C. Westermann link this word to salvation, covenant, harmonious community with freedom, and multifaceted aspects of community, but they all agree that this word is based on "integrity" or "wholeness."[140] Even if the word *shalom* is interpreted in diverse senses, contradictions with its basic meaning need to be avoided. In this regard, Brueggemann views *shalom* as harmony. Although there is no war and someone enjoys well-being, it is not a real *shalom* if there is a loss of harmony in society due to economic inequality, judicial abuse, political oppression, and exclusivism.[141]

  Perry B. Yoder summarises these definitions with three shades of meaning, a material and physical state of affairs, relationships, and a moral sense, but these shades are fully integrated by a basic sense.[142] Although, *shalom* signifies material well-being and prosperity (Gen. 43:27, 28; 29:6; Exod. 18:7; Est. 2:11; 1 Sam. 17:18; 2 Sam. 11:7; 18:29; 2 Kgs. 4:26; Ps. 38:3), it points to more than things just being all right, prosperity or abundance. *Shalom* is characterised by the absence of physical threat, such as like

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[138] Moon Woo-il, "Peace in the Vine: A Reading of Peace in the Gospel According to John," *Korean New Testament Studies* 22:1 (2015): 108-110, 130-132.

[139] J. I. Durham, "Shalom and the Presence of God" in *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies*, eds. J. I. Durham and J. R. Porter (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1970), 272-293.

[140] Walter Eisenbeis, *Die Wurzel Slm im Alten Testament* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), 50-51; G. von Rad, "Shalom in the Old Testament" in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Vol. 2, eds. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 402-403; J. Pederson, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, Vol. 1 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 263-264; C. Westermann, "Peace (*shalom*) in the Old Testament" in *The Meaning of Peace*, eds. P. B. Yoder and W. M. Swartley, trans. W. W. Sawatsky (Elkhart: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 2001), 37-70.

[141] W. Bruegemann, *Peace* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2001), 13-20; Seong Hyuk Hong, "Shalom in the Messianic Prophetic Texts," *The Korean Journal of Old Testament* vol. 21. No. 1 (2015): 125.

[142] Perry B. Yoder, *Shalom: The Bible's Word for Salvation, Justice and Peace* (Faith and Life Press, 1987), 10-11.

war, disease, and famine, as well as the presence of physical well-being, in terms of both the individual and society. As a positive term pointing to the way things ought to be, *shalom* in the Bible, which is negatively used for the opposite of war, is not the primary use. Another realm to which *shalom* is connected is that of social relationships, having a positive meaning of having good relationships between nations or groups (1 Kgs. 5:12; Judg. 4:17; Josh. 9:15; Gen. 26:29, 31; Num. 25:12; Ezek. 34:26; 37:26; Isa. 54:10). As war marks the outward absence of peace between states, injustice can be measured as the absence of peace within a society. As listed above, the close tie of *shalom* to justice is illustrated by its use as a parallel for justice and righteousness (Ps. 35:27; Isa. 60:17; 53:13-14; 32:16-17), and its polysemy as indicating justice (*mishpat*), mercy, rightness (*tsedeq*) or righteousness (*tsedeqah*), compassion (*hesed*), and truthfulness (*emet*).[143]

This can result in the biblical notion that "steadfast love and faithfulness will meet; righteousness and peace will kiss each other" (Ps. 85:10). One sense of *shalom* depends on another, as part of the complementary, organic framework of which they are inevitably a part, symbiotically connected. Biblical examples of using the word *shalom* show that peace is lost when illness, injustice, poverty, conflict, and violence inflict wounds on the bodies and souls of people, on society and on the earth. However, biblical peace is more than the absence of conflict and war with the main characteristics being wholeness and integrity.[144] When people try to justify war and violence, they think that small things can be sacrificed to save a great thing. In the light of the meaning of *shalom* and *eirene*, however, biblical peace cannot be achieved through unimpaired perfection, or through competition or confrontation. If there are a hundred sheep, and one of them lost, it is biblical peace that the shepherd leaves the ninety-nine and goes to look for the one lost sheep until it is found (Mt. 18:12-14; Lk. 15:1-7).

1.3 Anti-Imperial Features of Biblical Israel

1.3.1 Geopolitical Circumstances of Biblical Israel

According to Mitri Raheb, the geopolitics that examines the context of a land and its native people is a crucial hermeneutical key to interpreting and understanding the Bible. The reason the theme of liberation and salvation becomes a central concept is the

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[143] Perry B. Yoder, *Shalom: The Bible's Word for Salvation, Justice and Peace*, 12-15; F. Enns, "Towards an Ecumenical Theology of Just Peace," 16-17.
[144] World Council of Churches, *Just Peace Companion*, 2nd Edition (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2012), 20.

geopolitics of suffering under imperial occupation, which practically determined the fate of the land and people of the Bible, including the currently marginalised Palestinians.[145] The biblical justice and peace mentioned above connotes an ideal, but above all, it also comes from historical experience. The geopolitical environment of biblical Israel played an essential role in forming, changing and extending the semantics of *mishpat*, *tsedeq* or *tsedaqah*, *dikaiosyne*, *shalom*, and *eirene.* The issues of peace and justice were not only domestic but were also connected to other societies and countries. This was as common in ancient society as in modern society, and ancient Israel was also influenced by surrounding empires, such as Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Greece and Rome. Biblical Israel had been a geopolitical bridge, buffer zone and battlefield between ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Tiglath-Pileser III, Shamaneser V, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal of the Assyria, Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia, and Cambyses II of Persia all passed through the territory of ancient Israel on their way to conquering countries, and they established outposts in Israel and nearby areas. Similarly, the land of Israel was the only channel for the kings of Egypt to enter Syria and Mesopotamia. In the inscription of Ahmoses I, there is evidence that Egypt fought the Hyksos, and Thutmoses III, who conducted a military expedition, in this area, passed through following seaside roads in Israel.[146]

 Biblical peace was formed in relationship with these geopolitical circumstances. Even if Israel wanted peace, it was rare for Israel to be able to play a leading role in choosing peace. When these empires were expanding, there would be crisis in Israel, and when they were declining, Israel would have peace. Assyria, for example, was a significant variable of peace and war for northern Israel and Judah. From the 9th century to the beginning of the 8th century BCE, Damascus was a long-standing problem for northern Israel and Judah. The appearance of Adad-ninari III brought peace to this area because presence of Assyria countered the force of Damascus. Jehoash of northern Israel was able to reclaim all the towns Damascus had previously captured, after which Jehoash gave Adad-ninari III a tribute in appreciation (2 Kgs. 13:22-25).[147] In contrast, Hezekiah, King of Judah, did not give a tribute to Sennacherib but instead made an alliance with Egypt, which resulted in Assyria invading Jerusalem (2 Kgs. 18:21; 19:9). Thus, Israel

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[145] Mitri Raheb, "Land, People, and Empire. The Bible through Palestinian Christian Eyes," *Theologies and Cultures*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Dec. 2014): 17-32; *Idem.,* "Towards a New Hermeneutics of Liberation: A Palestinian Christian Perspective" in *The Biblical Text in the Context of Occupation: Towards a New Hermeneutics of Liberation*, ed. Mitri Raheb (Bethlehem: Diyar, 2014), 11-27.

[146] Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1979), 152; Mitri Raheb, "Land, People, and Empire," 22-23.

[147] H. Shanks, ed., *Ancient Israel: A Short History from Abraham to the Roman Destruction of the Temple* (Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1999), 126.

had always been at the crossroads of peace and war in the terrain of international relations, and had often been forced to choose an alliance between empires, which affected the fate of Israel.

Biblical justice was not merely an internal issue, but also a matter of external factors. Religious and juridical law, administration systems, royal regimes, and economic revival through trade had great influence on Israel society. First, a common law is found to be widely shared in the various languages and cultures of the countries surrounding Israel.[148] There are many similarities between the covenant code of the Bible and the code of Hammurabi and other codes of Canaan city nations, which likely affected each other in forming juridical justice.[149] For example, laws protecting the vulnerable were a social policy implemented by Mesopotamia, Egypt, Canaan, and Israel. As did Yahweh, many of the ancient gods of the Near East also protected the disadvantaged. It can be said that Israel had, to a certain extent, been influenced by the neighbouring countries in stipulating and enacting their own laws.[150]

Second, the state system had been influenced by neighbouring countries since Israelites settled in the land of Canaan. Prior to monarchy, the ancient states existed in low social production stages, such as collecting and hunting. The development of economic structures such as settlements, farming, and livestock breeding resulted in the stratification of social structures with corresponding changes to ruling systems and principles. From this point on, ancient societies established a government, through a bureaucratic system, to maintain an economic structure and society in which commodity trade was directed by a small elite. Social justice was a notion that emerged from this structure.[151]

Third, in addition to the theoretical implications of justice, it was the powerful surrounding countries that brought about practical issues of social justice in Israel society. The economic disparity of northern Israel during the economic revival of Jeroboam II, in the 8th century BCE, was closely related to the foreign economic environment. Though this was valid only until Tiglath-Pileser III took over northern Israel, the decline of Damascus and the absence of Assyria made it possible of Jeroboam II to

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[148] Bruce Wells and Rachel Magdalene, eds., *Law from the Tigris to the Tiber: The Writings of Raymond Westbrook* vol. 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), xii no.1.

[149] Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 11-20; Albrecht Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law" in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, trans. R. A. Wilson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), 79-132.

[150] F. C. Fensham, "Widow, Orphan, and the Poor in Ancient Near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 21 (1962): 129-133.

[151] Norman Yoffee, "The Economy of Ancient Western Asia" in *Civilization of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 3, ed. J. M. Sasson (New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1995), 1387; Gerhard E, Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (Chapel Hill/ London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 94-116.

extend the boundaries of Israel, from Lebo-Hamath in the north to the Dead Sea in the south.[152] Northern Israel and Judah were at peace with each other, and wealth was poured into both countries due to the major trade routes passing through Israelite-held territory, along with the free interchange of goods, and collection of tolls from traversing caravans. As described in the book of Amos, archaeological excavations revealed magnificent buildings, expensive ivory products and Jasper imprints in this age strata.[153]

   Consequently, the Israelite community and their religion were neither a meteor falling from the sky nor an isolated environment like the Galapagos Islands. They were formed in the context of the various political, economic, cultural and religious aspects of the ancient Middle East. Due to frequent foreign invasions and their ramifications, the Israelites could not get the issue of peace off their minds. They were compelled to be at the intersection between the Yahweh religion, longing for the ideal of social justice, and monarchical class society taking a dominant-subordinate relationship for granted.[154] Resistance or accommodation to imperialism was the fate of the Israelites.

1.3.2 Socially and Politically Marginalised People

Another key element is that biblical justice and peace came from the suffering experienced during slavery in Egypt, the Exodus and settlement in Canaan. The early Israel community was composed of the socially weak, and established an identity and ideology in their faith and ethics for the disadvantaged. The dramatic start of the Yahweh religion and His community was the scene in which God called Moses onto Mount Horeb, and which reflects the directing point and fundamental distinction of this community. There God told Moses that His name is Yahweh and explained to Moses why He had called him. Yahweh had seen how His people were suffering as slaves in Egypt, and heard them beg for God's help because of the way they were being mistreated. The name "*Yahweh*" means that "I am the one who causes to be" or "One who creates, sustains, and establishes", that is "One who creates salvation." [155] In other words, *Yahweh* is the God who responds to the cries for salvation by the suffering and oppressed. God appeared from a burning bush, but the fire did not consume the bush

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[152] J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1985), 308-309.

[153] John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 4th Edition (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 258-259.

[154] N. K. Gottwald, "Early Israel as an Anti-Imperial Community," chap. 1 in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 9-24.

[155] W. F. Albright, "Contributions to Biblical Archaeology and Philosophy", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 43 (1924): 370-378; J. Obermann, "The Divine Name YHWH in the Light of Recent Discoveries," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 68 (1949): 301-325.

(Exod. 3:1-10). The manifestation of God in the frail bush meant that God will be with the weak, the afflicted, and the oppressed.

A crucial characteristic of this community was its members. The term "Hebrew", referring to compulsory labour and to a people escaping from Egypt, helps to explore who made up the community. Israelites were often referred to as Hebrew and their God was called the God of the Hebrews (Exod. 3:18; 5:3; 7:16; 9:1, 13; 10:3). Although the term "Hebrew" seems to indicate the descendants of Abraham, it refers historically, not only to Israelites, but also to a certain social class in the ancient Middle East. The term "Hebrew" could mean the noun "dust" or the adjectives "hungry", "thirsty", "barefoot", and is found as *apiru* or *habiru* in Ugarit, Akkadian and Egyptian texts. It was a term referring to socially and politically marginalised people, such as slaves, captives and thieves around the second Millennium BCE.[156] The relation of Hebrew and the later emergence of Israel is a matter for more prolonged discussion, but this much can be said about the similarity between *habiru* and the first Israelites, even if not all Israelites were *habiru*.[157] If the term Hebrew referred to Israelites in the Pentateuch, it can be suggested that Israel, or Hebrew, was a particular social class which included slaves or tramps.

The religious and social consciousness of protecting immigrants, widows, orphans, the poor, and slaves in the ancient Middle East was not in the Yahweh religion only, as mentioned above.[158] Wisdom literature, didactic material, and codes of society at the time point to protecting the vulnerable as an essential virtue of rulers. For example, ancient Mesopotamian kings, such as Urukagina (ca. 2350 BCE), Ur Nammu (ca. 2050 BCE), and Hammurabi (1728-1686 BCE), can be seen in some inscriptions to be boasting of their goodness in protecting the vulnerable. There are many similarities between Israel laws and the Laws of Uru-inimgina, which is the first known law concerned with social justice in human history, written by King Urukagina, for terms of protecting the weak.[159] The law contains bureaucracy, taxation and slavery reforms that reduce the benefits of the privileged class and confer a benefit to the vulnerable.[160] The code of Hammurabi likewise prohibited the strong from harassing the week, slaves were entitled to liberation after three years, and Babylonian wisdom literature advised being

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[156] W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Winona: Eisenbrauns, 1968), 73-91.

[157] N. K. Gottwald, "Early Israel as an Anti-Imperial Community," chap. 1 in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 14-15.

[158] R. Westbrook, "Social Justice in the Ancient Near East," chap. 13 in *Social Justice in the Ancient World*, eds. K. D. Irani and M. Silver (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995), 158-159.

[159] J. Oates, *Babylon* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 76.

[160] R. Versteeg, *Early Mesopotamian Law* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2000), 46-47.

kind to the disadvantaged. Similar passages are found in Egyptian wisdom literature and the Ugaritic epic.[161]

Nonetheless, a superficial similarity, which is the duty to protect the weak, does not mean that the social justice system of Israel was essentially the same as other states in ancient Middle East. The customs, legal texts, and literary forms may be similar, but the motive, purpose and ideology behind the law were entirely dissimilar. First and foremost, the justice of Israel to the feeble was derived entirely from the suffering they experienced as the lowest class in Egypt. Just like some other religions and their scriptures, the Scripture consists of three levels which are the primordial experience, the communication of the primordial experience and the interpretations. In general, the most profound religious and historical confessions of the Israelites are found in Deuteronomy 26:5, where the Israelites professed themselves to be the descendants of a wandering Aramean. The Israelites recalled the Exodus as the primary experience of their history. The main characters of the Exodus were people who had suffered and wandered in foreign lands. God was called "the God of the descendants of Abraham" in a scene recorded in the covenant with Abraham (Exod. 2:24; 3:6; 3:15-16). When the Exodus and the desert are mentioned, however, God is usually called the "God of the Hebrews." It was usually the case that the Israelites regarded their ancestors as Hebrews when they were strangers or slaves in foreign lands (Cf. Gen. 14:13; 39:14-17).

Therefore, the main members of the Israel community, who were exploited and abused as a lower class, had the same needs and purposes to escape from oppression and exploitation. This situation and motivation enabled the community for the weak through the Exodus. Israelites shared collective memories and experiences of the Exodus in history. The reason why no one in Israel should ever be poor, why Israelites must set slaves free after six years, and judges must be completely fair, was that they were slaves in Egypt before Yahweh set them free (Deut. 15:4, 12, 15; 16:18). For Israel, justice for the vulnerable was not a choice but a responsibility for keeping their identity and survival. Unlike other states and religions, Israelites could not distort justice but had to pursue justice, so that they could live and occupy the land that Yahweh gave them (Deut. 16:20).

Biblical justice, including the Code of Covenant, was based on the ideal of the Exodus, which divided the wealth, equally distributed the land to the tribes, and the power of the state was dispersed among the king, the priests, the elders and people.[162] The

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[161] F. C. Fensham, "Widow, Orphan, and the Poor in Ancient Near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 21 (1962):129-30; Lee Jong-guen, "Theological Implication on Social Justice in the Sumerian Laws of Uruinimgina and Hebrew Laws," *The Korean Journal of Old Testament* 14:2 (2008): 142-161.

[162] M. Weinfeld, *Justice and Righteousness in Israel and the Nations: Equally a Freedom in Ancient Israel in Light of Social Justice in Ancient Near East* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985);

fundamental difference between the Israel community and other states was whether justice was for the consolidation of the monarchy or to seek an egalitarian society. For this reason, for more than 200 years, from the Exodus to the beginning of David's reign, the early political regime was remarkably different from the monarchies of the ancient Middle East. Seeing that the Deuteronomists responded very negatively to the attitude of the Israelites, who desperately wanted a king, it is clear that a strong monarchy was not their goal (1 Sam. 8:4-22). In general, political and religious stability were achieved through a strong centralised regime. Given that the Israel community consisted of people from various origins, it stands to reason that their political power was centralised for social integration, but they retained a very flexible political system for a long period. After settling in the land of the Canaan, most judges, from Othniel to Samuel, played the roles of warrior, tactician, or even king, which were tentative and temporary. As well, they had their own jobs and principally stepped up publicly when the community was at risk. Even Saul, the first king in the history of Israel, at the beginning of his reign had his own occupation, and was without a royal palace or standing army that were essential to the kingdom system (1 Sam. 11:5; 13:2).

This egalitarian characteristic also extended to David in some extent. David did not put a heavy burden on his people, but supported his modest establishment from his own income and from levies paid by his foreign subjects.[163] The reason for the criteria by which God evaluated the kings of Israel was that equality and justice for the people of various backgrounds were an essential virtue in ruling the community (2 Sam. 8:15; 1 Kgs 10:9; 1 Chr. 18:4; 2 Chr. 9:8). Hence, since the Exodus, the history of faith in the practice of justice is significant, and possible to measure.[164] Justice is an important standard, and key to describing and understanding the history and faith of Israel. A standard of judgment that God used to differentiate right from wrong in a society or individuals was whether or not justice (*mishpat*, *tsedeq*) existed. God also made justice and fairness the plumb line to guide human history (Isa. 28:17). What made David the greatest king was the fairness and justice with which he ruled Israel (2 Sam. 8:15). Hezekiah was considered a good king by Jeremiah because he acted justly (Jer. 45:9). God required the Israelite rulers to do justice for an egalitarian community, and that doing justice had to be the target and the means (Ps. 72:2). Righteousness, fairness, and justice, which are *mishpat* and *tsedeq* in Hebrew, were obligatory, not only for the king

"Justice and Righteousness *mspt wtsdqh* the Expression and Its Meaning", H. G. Reventlow and Y. Hoffman, ed., *Justice and Righteousness: Biblical Themes and Their Influence* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 228-246.
[163] John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 221.
[164] John Bright, *Early Israel in Recent History Writing: A Study in Method* (London: SCM Press, 1956), 21.

but also for the people (Ps. 106:3; 119:121). When the Israelites broke the Law of God and went down the road of corruption, the society lacked *mishpat* and *tsedeq*, resulting in national crises. The suffering of the weak was a key problem for the relationship between God and His people, which cannot be underestimated, as pointed out by prophets such as Amos, Micah, Habakkuk, and Malachi (Amos 3:9; 5:7, 15; 6:12; Mic. 3:1; 6:8; Hab. 1:4; Mal. 2:17).

1.4 The Influx of Imperial Values and the Degeneration of Israel

Even in ancient societies, peoples always had ongoing exchange through trade, inter-marriage, migration, exile and displacement with many of the other peoples of the region. People of various tribes, cultures, and religions were influenced and developed in relation to each other. Although this feature can also be seen in the case of Israel, which was formed in relationship to neighbouring countries, Israel had to keep their identity distinct from other religions and cultures.[165] The most striking feature is that Israel had been a tribal federation, formed in covenant with God. From the beginnings of the formation of Israel, the social structure had no class distinction, and it was a close to equal community. However, as in other countries in the land of Canaan, the Israelites wanted a monarchy. Inthe beginning the Israelites demanded a king because of the Philistine and the Ammon threat. Thereby, the state system came to a great turning point in terms of justice and peace.[166]

The cause of conflict and the division of the united monarchy was deeply related to the ramification of empires from the time of Solomon. While David achieved the expansion of his kingdom by military and political capacity, Solomon concentrated in consolidating the kingdom that he inherited from David. Solomon reorganized the administration of the kingdom, by dividing Israel into twelve administrative districts or provinces for centralization of power (1 Kgs 4:8-19). There was a strong Egyptian cultural influence at Solomon's court, which is evident in the royal cabinet, administrative organization, and the administrative districts. These changes, triggered from the outside, invoked resistance at many levels of Israelite society, particularly among the northern tribes, because of burden of the new state administrative structures. Equal relations between

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[165] Mitri Raheb, "Land, People and Empire," 19
[166] H. Shanks, ed., *Ancient Israel: A Short History from Abraham to the Roman Destruction of the Temple*, 85-86.

tribes collapsed through forced labour and conscription by Solomon, resulting in hostility between Israel and Judah, which eventually led to the division of the kingdom.[167]

As influence from foreign states became more prominent, a superstructure of commerce and industry in agricultural and pastoral society developed. Solomon's business policies caused many people to migrate from rural to urban areas, and with the economic boom, an urban culture was created. The growth of a wealthy class increased the gap between the rich and the poor. There were proletarians, hired labourers, and slaves, and a nobility with a sense of entitlement, emerged.[168] Solomon's reign is depicted as one of exemplary prosperity, and Israel enjoyed a golden age where historical progress was made. It can be thought that the kingdom of Solomon had the optimal conditions to establish justice and peace, considering that "If you want peace, prepare for war" (*si vis pacem, para bellum*) and a huge budget for a welfare policy. In general, international marriage (1 Kgs. 11:1-3; 14:21), military consolidation (1 Kgs. 9:19, 25; 10:26), building operations (1 Kgs. 6:37; 7:1-8; 10:16, 21), the flowering of culture (1 Kgs. 3:4-28; 4:29-34; 10:7, 23), trade policy and economic prosperity (1 Kgs. 9:26-28; 10:1-10, 13, 15, 22), which are salient elements to sustain monarchies in most countries, brought negative consequences to Israel. These changes, which made Israel a status society, resulted in the decline of an egalitarian community which had been the ideal of the Exodus community.[169]

The basis of all social obligations was the covenant with God and all disagreements were adjudicated by covenant law. The Israelite kings were restricted in their use of power compared to the kings of the surrounding nations. They were able to wield their power only within the limits of the commandments of God (Duet. 17:14-20). If a king deviated from that criteria, abused their power or violated the commandments, they received a harsh appraisal from the biblical writers, regardless of their accomplishments. In the case of a king Omri, his distinctive policies were a fine example from the heyday of his rule. His signature achievements were to relocate the capital from Tirzah to Samaria, to subdue the Moabites, making them an Israelite vassal, and to establish cordial relations with neighbouring states through international marriages. First of all, by granting economic concessions to Damascus, he gave Syrian traders permission to operate shops in Samaria's bazaars, causing phenomenal economic development (1 Kgs. 20:34). According to Assyrian records, he was renowned, referred to as "the land

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[167] H. Shanks, ed., *Ancient Israel: A Short History from Abraham to the Roman Destruction of the Temple*, 104-108.
[168] John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 223.
[169] John Van Seters, "Israel and Egypt in the 'Age of Solomon'" in *Walls of the Prince: Egyptian Interactions with Southwest Asia in Antiquity, Essays in Honour of John S. Holladay, Jr.*, eds. Timothy P. Harrison, Edward B. Banning and Stanley Klassen (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 199-211.

of the house of Omri", long after Omri's dynasty had vanished. Nonetheless, not only are his achievements severely scaled down in biblical descriptions, but the biblical writer reports that "Omri did what was evil in the sight of the Lord; he did more evil than all who were before him" (1 Kgs. 16:25).[170]

Remarkable achievements recognised by historians, such as economic growth, political stability, diplomatisation and military reinforcement, did not enter into the biblical writer's reckonings. Rather, the systems and benefits that were introduced through exchange with empires or surrounding states often had negative results for justice and peace. Since the rise of the monarchy, the lives of the Israelites were placed under the rule of the kingship, and the practical basis for social obligations shifted to the state. As commercial activities burgeoned, a privileged class was created; the links between the tribes were attenuated, and tribal society based on strong solidarity was dissolved. Many Canaanites who were absorbed into Israel society, were not incorporated into the tribal system. Due to their feudal background, there was little comprehension of covenant or covenant law among the majority of citizens. These trends, which were related to monarchy culture, began in the days of David and Solomon, and continued in spite of protests and revolutions.[171] Allowing that the Yahweh faith remained the state religion, the law of the covenant with God virtually became irrelevant. There was no longer a pure form of Yahwism in Israel, which led to religious corruption.[172]

As a result, relationships with the surrounding empires cannot be overlooked when discussing biblical peace and justice. Israel was geopolitically pinned between great powers, and could not be in control their own destiny. The outside winds of change had a tremendous impact on the politics, jurisdiction, society, and economy. In the end, the history of Israel is a description of how well the ideals of the Exodus community were able hold their identity in relation to the politics, economy, religion and culture of neighbouring countries.

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[170] H. G. M. Williamson, "Tel Jezreel and the Dynasty of Omri," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 128 (1996): 41-51; W. Thiel, "Omri" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 5, ed. D. N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 17-20.
[171] J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, 223-225.
[172] J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, 260.

1.5 Theological Reflection on the Exile of Israel

1.5.1 Holiness and Justice as the Identity of Biblical Israel

"You shall be holy for I, the LORD your God, am holy" (Lev. 19:2). Holiness (*qadosh*) was a precondition for enabling the relationship between God and Israel (Lev. 11:44, 45; 19:2; 1 Pet. 1:16). The word *qadosh* in Hebrew literally means "to be set apart for special purpose." The reason God liberated the slaves from Egypt, made a covenant with them, and called them the holy nation was that, as Yahweh, He was distinct from other gods (Isa 30:18). Yahweh intended to establish a community distinct from other countries such as the empires of the ancient Middle East. When Israel was destroyed and taken captive, they deeply pondered their identity, which had to be distinctive from neighbouring empires. The word "holiness" is a representative concept of the Scriptures, derived from this theological reflection during the exile. By exploring the use of "holiness", we can grasp how the Israelites historically and theologically understood and reflected on the captivity.

  The concept of holiness, which is regarded as individual, spiritual and ritualistic, is primarily described in Leviticus as cultic, but the issue of holiness is not separable from social, political and ethical issues. As the oaths can be understood, not only in religious terms, but also in social relations, (Lev. 5:1, 4; 6:3), if a priest sinned, it was not limited to merely a religious meaning, but considered to be a problem of the whole community, creating guilt in others as well (Lev. 4:3). In the Holiness Code, there are decrees of crime and individual responsibility, such as unjust profits by deceiving others and robbery (Lev. 6:2-4). The customs and regulations of sexual ethics are also associated with political problems, such as occupation and loss of the land (Lev. 18:7-30). Looking further, A. Cothey and J. Milgrom insist that holiness in Leviticus had no real relationship with the sins for which an individual should take responsibility, but indicated a covenant relationship with God.[173] Also, in the Pentateuch or Prophecies, spirituality and morality often appear in parallel (Gen. 6:9; Mal. 2:6). After all, cultic holiness is complementary, rather than distinct from ethical holiness, and often it has implications for social justice.[174]

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[173] A. Cothey, "Ethics and Holiness in the Theology of Leviticus," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 59 (1993): 139-140; J. Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience: The 'Asham' and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 143-149.

[174] J. E. Hartley, *Leviticus* (Dallas: Word Books, 1992), 68; W. Kornfeld and H. Ringgren*, "qdsh", TDOT* vol.12 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 521; B. A. Levine, "The Language of Holiness: Perceptions of the Sacred in the Hebrew Bible", M. P. O'Connor/ D. N. Freedman, ed., *Backgrounds for the Bible* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 241-255; J. G. Gammie, "Priestly Understanding of Holiness" in *Holiness in Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 9-44; D. P. Wright, "Holiness" in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* vol. 3 (1992), 237-249.; M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1966).

It needs to be noted that the word "holiness" (*qadosh*/ *qadash*) comes mainly in connection with the Exodus or the exile, the formation of the early Israel community and the destruction of Israel. While the Israelites became a holy people through a covenant with God, the exile meant that the covenant was annulled by those who were no longer holy, owing to sin. Holiness can be linked to justice in the prophecies, given that the God of Hosts is particularly exalted by justice and shows himself holy by righteousness (Isa. 5:16). The holiness of God was revealed in history by punishing the powers who had taken undeserved benefits and by giving goodwill to the vulnerable.[175] Holiness and justice were used to describe the criteria for judgement from God. In the First Isaiah, holiness often appears with justice, the absence of justice is a cause for judgement, and God punished Israel to restore justice (Isa. 28:1-13; 31:3). Thereby, just as cultic holiness in Leviticus is not separate from ethical holiness, the holiness in prophecy was not limited to religious meaning but was also indicated in social justice in Israel, both were part of the relationship between God and Israel.[176]

When Israel was under threat by Assyria or Babylonia, justice appeared to warn about judgment for an unjust society. As well, the concept of justice was also used to assess and reflect on reasons why Israel was ruined and destroyed. In Isaiah 1-39, the word "justice" (*mishpat*) was used when accusing and reproaching injustice in the Israelite society in the 8th century (Isa. 1:17, 21; 5:7; 10:2). Here, justice is to help the abused and to side with the orphans and widows in trials; caring for the weak is presented as the best way to restore and renew the covenant of God.[177] The Israelite community conceptualized holiness and justice through historical theological reflection while they were in exile. Thus, the notion of justice, which was linked to holiness in the Exodus and the exile, points to the identity of Israel, the purpose of the community, the criteria for evaluating them, and their relationship with God.[178]

1.5.2 Restoration and Salvation through Justice

A representative feature of the prophetic literature in the Bible is the coexistence of judgment and salvation. Although, the concept of justice has a specific meaning, its function and meaning in the prophecies changed, according to the political situation. The Book of Isaiah is an appropriate vehicle to explore the ways in which this discourse

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[175] R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Press, 1980), 62-63.
[176] Ronald E. Clements, *Ezekiel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 28.
[177] W. Brueggemann, *Isaiah 1-39* (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1998), 19; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12* (London: SCM Press, 1983), 34-35.
[178] Bruce Vawter and Leslie J. Hoppe, *Ezekiel*, (Grand rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991), 48.

changed because this book was divided into three parts, according to the times. Other prophecies in the Old Testament have a similar feature, causing their periodization in present literature to be based on the exile. As the warning of destruction was no longer valid for the Israelites exile, justice was a criterion for judgment, but it could be also a basis for recovery and hope (Isa. 4:4; 9:7; 11:3-4). Justice in the Book of Ezekiel also functions as a key word both in judgment and recovery. In Chapters 1-24, justice is the reason for the judgement of Israel (Ezek. 5:6-7; 11:12, 20; 18:9, 17, 19; 20:11-21), and in Chapters 33-48, justice is suggested as the guide for living for restoration (Ezek. 36:25; 37:24). Justice was a precondition for becoming people of God who had lost their status as holy people, and became captives. Justice was the highest moral value to pursue following release from captivity (Ezek. 11:19-20; 36:26-28).

Also in Micah, judgment occured because justice was not realized in the courts, and orphans, widows and strangers were exploited by the rich and powerful (Mic. 2:1-11).[179] Nevertheless, judgment and salvation coexist in Micah, as in the other prophecies. It is noteworthy that the possibilities for salvation were opened up by the remnants (*sheerith*), who were the poor and the weak (Mic. 2:12-13). The vulnerable could become the subjects of salvation, as in the Exodus, through justice, mercy and being with God.[180] As well, justice was a precondition for salvation from God, because the restoration of the Davidic dynasty was the primary interest in the exile and returned community. An important concern at this time was why the salvation of God was delayed. The answer presented at that time emphasized that the absence of justice was the cause for the delays in salvation, and that, later on, justice would bring restoration and salvation (Isa. 59; 61:4-11).

In biblical prophetic literature, where judgment, reflection and hope are intertwined, justice is closely linked to important theological concepts such as judgment, salvation, restoration and life. Likewise, in connection with these concepts, justice has an inseparable relationship with peace. Although, the Israelites experienced the national disaster of the captivity, they realized, through historical theological reflection, that even God's people could be ruined and could be saved, depending on the existence of justice. The crucial point is that exilic historians at the heart of empire did not believe that weak national strength led to the ruin of Israel. Looking back on the rise and fall of the nation, their initial theological conclusion was that since the Exodus, ideals such as fairness and righteousness, were nowhere to be found in Israel. This reflection and expectation led to

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[179] H. W. Wolff, *Micah*, trans. G. Stansell (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1990), 180.
[180] Kenneth H. Cuffey, "Remnant, Redactor, and Biblical Theologian: A Comparative Study of Coherence in Micah and the Twelve" in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, eds. J. D. Nogalsky and M. A. Sweeney (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 190-192.

the faith of the Messiah, and it was here that the core of the Messianic faith was justice and peace.

1.5.3 Just Peace in the Messianic Hope

A remarkable characteristic of *shalom* that should not be overlooked is that peace is used with justice (*mishpat/ tsedeq*). Although, the word *shalom* has diverse meanings, justice can be said to be a prerequisite for all kinds of peace, whether personal well-being, absence of war, or harmony of community. Peace without justice is biblically worthless and impossible. Peace through justice is regarded as a feature of the new eschatological age ruled by God, because it is difficult for human beings to realise peace through justice. In the peace of God's reign, justice will produce lasting peace and security, the people of God will live in peaceful cohabitation. It will be possible that the Holy Spirit is poured out on people (Isa. 32:15-18). Bringing justice and fairness to the world, God will save people and give true wisdom and knowledge (Isa. 33:5-6). In the end, peace that comes as a result of justice is possible through intervention by God, the Messianic hope as God's direct involvement in human history arises from this background.[181]

The Messianic idea was born under crisis from the empires. The most representative Messianic prophecy, Isaiah 9, describes Messianic hope as follows: "The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light; those who lived in a land of deep darkness – on them light has shined" (Isa. 9:2). Here, walking in darkness refers to the historical experience of the Syro-Ephraimite War, and subsequent invasion by Assyria, during the eighth century BCE. The prophet envisioned a new kingdom through God's intervention, when he was looking back on northern Israel in a crisis of destruction by Assyria. The brutal violence by empires and Ahaz, king of Judah, who blindly followed the Assyrian Empire, reminded biblical Israel of their identity. This historical introspection and hope were reflected in the Messianic prophecy. The preface of prophecy is drawn by the judgment of Yahweh against the violence and injustice committed by the suppressors: "For the yoke of their burden, and the bar across their shoulders, the rod of their oppressors, you have broken as on the day of Midian" (Isa. 9:4). Above all else, the Messiah will remove components of war, and will establish a new rule of peace with righteousness (Isa. 9:6-7). "For all the boots of the tramping warriors and all the garments rolled in blood shall be burned as fuel for the fire" (Isa. 9:5). The coming Messiah is a Prince (*sar*) of Peace, not a king (*melek*), to remind the Israelites, who had fallen under

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[181] B. S. Childs, *Isaiah* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 241.

the monarchy, of an early Israel community without a king, an egalitarian community, which had been distorted by imperialistic ideology (Isa. 9:6).[182]

Also in Zechariah, there are similar features in another Messianic prophecy. Yahweh neutralizes the military strength of oppressors, and repels enemies who incited Israel to war (Zech. 9:3-4, 8, 13). Commanding peace to nations, the new king Messiah, who is poor and suffering like the remnants in Micah, will remove war chariots, horses, and the battle-bows, which the great powers boast, similar to the Messiah in Isaiah (Zech. 9:10).[183] To sum up, the Messianic hope in the prophecies contains the following characteristics:

1. The Messianic hope and expectation came from the threat of surrounding imperialism and great powers. 2. The Messiah does not indicate just the arrival of a new political leader but the judgment of existing suppressors. 3. The Messiah will not be a ruler, but a poor and suffering servant of God. 4. The Messiah will not establish a new kingdom by violent revenge, but pursue absolute peace through justice, destroying all military means.

As a result of pondering the rise and fall, and alternatives of Israel in national crisis, their hope for the Messiah was marked by just peace. However, as Mitri Raheb points out the geopolitical lot that made it difficult to escape from imperial forces, the land of Palestine and its people were forced to face a series of ordeals by the following Persian, Greek, and Roman Empires.[184] Whilst imperial-colonial ramifications are hidden and hard to make out in exilic and postexilic biblical texts, Evangelists demonstrate an explicit confrontation between biblical and imperial peace in the Gospels, as Crossan, Horsley, and Carter state.[185] In addition, the resistance and alternatives to imperial peace found in the Jesus movement and early churches, discussed below, will reaffirm the feasibility of biblical peace in our reality.

1.6 Pax Romana and the Jesus Movement for Just Peace

1.6.1 Peace in Rome as Background of the Jesus Movement

Since Octavianus defeated Antonius and Cleopatra in 31 BCE, peace had been maintained in the territory of the Roman Empire for aproximately 200 years, and

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[182] P. D. Hanson, "War and Peace in the Hebrew Bible" *Interpretation* 38 (1984): 350-351.
[183] Seong Hyuk Hong, "Shalom in the Messianic Prophetic Texts," 141-144.
[184] M. Raheb, "Land, People and Empire," 22.
[185] J. D. Crossan, *God and Empire*, 7-48; R. A. Horsley, "Renewal Movements and Resistance to Empire," 69-77; W. Carter, *Matthew and Empire*.

historians refer to the period as the Peace in Rome (*Pax Romana*). References to this peace are also found in the New Testament when Ananias the high priest, some elders and a lawyer named Tertullus reported their case against Paul to the governor: "Your Excellency, because of you we have long enjoyed peace, and reforms have been made for this people because of your foresight. We welcome this in every way and everywhere with utmost gratitude" (Acts 24:2-3). As reflected by the praise of Aristides, who was a Greek orator in the second century, in front of Antonius Pius, the Romans enjoyed political stability, and economic wealth, with agricultural products, luxuries, and a wide variety of goods from the regions dominated by Rome during this period. However, Roman imperialism was based on the industry of war, which was the means to attain wealth, slaves, land, and taxes to operate the Empire.[186]

MacMullen, Crossan, and Horsley argue that Roman peace meant prosperity, security and happiness to only the noble families of Rome. This peace began with numerous deaths of the enemies of the Roman Empire and was sustained through oppressive control of dominant areas, such as Judea, in the days of Jesus.[187] Garnsey and Saller also insist that the social and economic policy of Roman Empire could be summarised in a phrase, "the Roman system of inequality." As the empire expanded, land-based wealth increased tremendously, but it was returned to a handful of nobles, and the sacrifices of the peasants grew continuously. The political system of the empire exhibited the rule of the aristocracy, basing imperialistic peace on the oppression and exploitation of the vulnerable.[188] The Revelation, which was written at the end of the first century, charges this deceptive peace as follows:

> "And the merchants of the earth weep and mourn for her, since no one buys their cargo any more, cargo of gold, silver, jewels and pearls (…) wheat, cattle and sheep, horses and chariots, slaves – and human lives (…) and the light of a lamp will shine in you no more; and the voice of bridegroom and bride will be heard in you no more; for your merchants were the magnates of the earth, and all nations were deceived by your sorcery. And in you was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all who have been slaughtered on earth" (Rev. 18:11-13, 23-24).

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[186] Francisco A. Munoz, "Pax Romana" in *The Oxford International Encyclopaedia of Peace*, eds. Nigel J. Young et. al. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2010), 351; J. D. Crossan, *God and Empire*, 11-15.

[187] Ramsay MacMullen, "The Roman Emperors' Army Costs," *Latomus* 43:3 (1984): 571-580; J. D. Crossan, *God and Empire*, 7-48; R. A. Horsley, "Renewal Movements and Resistance to Empire," 69-77

[188] P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire Economy, Society, and Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 125; M. I. Finley, *Ancient Economy*, 2nd Edition (London: University of California Press, 1999), 158; Sakari Haekkinen, "Poverty in the first-century Galilee," *HTS Theological Studies* Vol. 72. No. 4 (2016). http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i4.3398

Biblical peace and biblical justice for the weak means wholeness and integrity, but Roman peace had typical imperialistic peace accompanied by the discrimination and violence. The Gospel writers contrast the two types of peace, biblical peace and the peace in Rome, through the birth of Jesus so that readers can ascertain true peace. In the Gospel of Luke, the birth of Jesus is described as the beginning of a new peace: "Glory to God in the highest heaven, and on earth peace among those whom he favours!" (Lk. 2:14). Mary's song of praise connotes that this peace will be justice (*mishpat*, *tsedeq*) for the weak and peace (*shalom*) for wholeness, unlike the peace in Rome (*Pax Romana*): "He has brought down the powerful from their thrones, and lifted up the lowly; he has filled the hungry with good things, and sent the rich away empty" (Lk. 1:52-53). The prophecy of Zechariah also implies that a peace, alternative to imperial peace, will come with the baby Jesus: "By the tender mercy of our God, the dawn from on high will break upon us, to give light to those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace" (Lk. 1:78-79).[189]

The historical and social background of the birth of Jesus makes the contrast more prominent. Jesus was born when Emperor Augustus, the symbolic figure of *Pax Romana* or *Pax Augusta*, published an edict for a family register (Lk. 2:1-2). The domiciliary register was essential for the draft and tax collection to maintain the empire. In the Gospel of Luke, the story of the birth of Jesus is placed directly following the emperor's edict, so as to denote the arrival of a new peace (Lk. 2:1-7; 8-14). The editorial intention of the writer, who introduces the story of Jesus in the context of world history, shows the features and distinctiveness of biblical peace in the context of Roman peace.[190]

On the other hand, there is a strained relationship between Jesus, as the newly born Jewish king, and Herod the tetrarch, in the Gospel of Matthew. When Judea was forced to pay massive war reparations to Rome, Herod accomplished the collection, along with his father and brothers, through oppressive tactics, and due to this achievement, Herod later became King of Judea. Herod paid bribes to the emperor and other powerful people, and so he was authorised to brutally repress the forces that resisted him, thereby realizing the peace in Rome in the land of Judea. Bremer argues that there was a division between the local elite, who welcomed the Roman rule, and the common people, who

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[189] K. P. de Long, "Praise as Resistance: A Reading of Mary's Song (Luke 1.46-55)," *Leaven* Vol. 17 (2009), 167-171.

[190] Dale C. Allison Jr., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1993), 140-163.

refused and resisted the oppressive rule.[191] Herod murdered infants for the maintenance of power, which was a typically imperialistic way of maintaining peace that suppressed those who resisted the current system of the order of the empire. The tension with Herod is described in the story of the birth of Jesus, and the family of Jesus escaped to, and later returned from, Egypt to avoid the slaughter. This story is typologically similar to the story of Moses in the Exodus in several ways: 1. Infanticide (Exod. 1:16; Mt. 2:16-18), 2. Commandment of God (Exod. 4:19; Mt. 2:19-20), 3. Egypt and Rome as the empire. This indicates that the peace of Jesus will overcome the Roman peace, just as the biblical justice and peace begun through the liberation from Egyptian imperialism.[192]

1.6.2 Socioeconomic Features of Galilee

It was through Jesus that biblical peace was presented as a concrete reality. *Shalom*, as presented in the Old Testament, repeatedly failed to establish in the history of Israel. This peace was deferred by Messianic hope during the exile, and became a reality through Jesus in the Gospels. Now this peace is eschatologically escalating toward completion through the Christian community, becoming embodied in the peace of Jesus. It is noteworthy that the activity of Jesus began in Galilee, where the people suffered from extreme political and economic difficulties, and this region became the stage for the Jesus movement.[193] Galilee is where Jesus began his work (Mt. 4:12-13; Mk. 1:14-15; Lk. 4:14-15). Jesus chose some fishermen as disciples, and he taught, preached, and healed in Galilee. Moreover, Jesus went to Galilee first after his crucifixion and resurrection (Mt. 28:7, 16; Mk. 16:7; Lk. 24:6; Jn. 21:1). In Jerusalem, on the other hand, Jesus argued with people, was angry, and crucified. Big cities such as Rome and Jerusalem would have been more effective when considering the ripple effect of the Jesus movement, but Jesus preached the Gospel mainly in the Galilee region.[194]

This contrast between Galilee and the big cities depicted in the Gospels has significant implications. Jerusalem was the centre of colonial rule, and it was a space symbolizing the king and other ruling classes in politics, economy and culture. By contrast, Galilee was an area where people suffered from imperial peace. The emphasis on Galilee

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[191] Jan Maarten Bremer, "Plutarch and the 'liberation of Greece'" in *The Statesman in Plutarch's Works, Volume II: The Statesman in Plutarch's Greek and Roman Lives*, ed. Lukas de Blois et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 265.

[192] Dale C. Allison Jr., The New Moses: A Matthean Typology (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1993), 140-163; Robert Houston Smith, "Exodus Typology in the Fourth Gospel," Journal of Biblical Literature Vol. 81, No. 4 (1962): 329-342.

[193] S. Freyne, "Geography of Restoration: Galilee-Jerusalem Relations in Early Jewish and Christian Experience," New Testament Studies Vol. 47 (2001): 297-298.

[194] S. Freyne, "Geography of Restoration," 289-311.

indicates that the Jesus movement never condoned *Pax Romana* that was enjoyed by only a small minority of the ruling class, but pursued *shalom* centred on the marginalised. There were no kings or capitals in Galilee, nor temples or a priesthood. Rather, Galilee had been dominated by empires such as Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, thus, was an environment where various tribes, cultures and religions coexisted. Since the Assyrian occupation of northern Israel in the eighth century BCE, a huge number of the gentiles lived in Galilee (Mt. 4:15).[195] Because it was Hellenistic early on, the Jews called this area a land of gentiles and placed a low value on it.[196]

This area, which was surrounded by fertile farmland, had a high population density. The economy of the region was strengthened by a pottery industry and robust trade with other regions.[197] The socioeconomic circumstances of Galilee were within the vast frame of the Roman Empire, and economic development was the result of internationalization through the expansive road network. This economic benefits, however, went back to the ruling class of the big cities, such as Sepphoris and Tiberias.[198] Due to the tyranny of Herod Antipas and the expansion of the ruling class, the people were overburdened with taxes, the middle class was destroyed, and the exploitation of this area worsened. S. J. Friesen, who analyses agrarian society based on land ownership, provides seven categories for depicting economic resources in the ancient city of Rome. 1. Imperial elites (0.04% of the population), 2. Regional elites (1%), 3. Municipal elites (1.76%), 4. Moderated surplus resources (7%), 5. Stable near subsistence level with reasonable hope of remaining above the minimum level to sustain life (22%), 6. At subsistence level and often below minimum level to sustain life (40%), 7. Below subsistence level (28%).[199] Friesen points out that most of the land was controlled by a small number of wealthy, elite families. The wealth and status of the urban elite families, consisting of the ruling class, ensured their influence in politics, in order to control both local and regional

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[195] B. Reicke, "Galilee and Judea" in *Jesus in His Time*, ed. H. J. Schultz (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980); See R. A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995).

[196] Burton L. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q and Christian Origin* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), 51; See, R. A. Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee: The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996).

[197] David Adan-Bayewitz and Isadore Perlman, "The Local Trade of Sepphoris in the Roman Period", *Israel Exploration Journal* 40 (1990): 153-172.

[198] Sean Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels: Literary Approaches and Historical Investigations* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 156.

[199] The percentage in this categories are based on data from urban centres of 100,000 inhabitants or more. Poverty in rural area was even worse. For example, super-wealthy elites (categories 1-3) made up approximately 3% of an urban population, but they were only about 1% of the total population in the Roman Empire. S. J. Friesen, "Injustice or God's Will? Early Christian Explanations of Poverty" in *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society*, ed. S. Holman (Grand Rapid, MI: Baker Academic 2008), 19-20; E. W. Stegemann and W. Stegemann, *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of Its First Century*, trans. O. C. Dean Jr. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1999), 81-85; S. Haekkinen, "Poverty in the first-century Galilee."

governance, including public religion and profit from taxation.[200] Collecting taxes in the Roman Empire meant dominating someone. The difficulties from the political system of Galilee and rural people were mainly tax problems, and the reason the Roman Empire ruled this area was to collect taxes.[201] In addition to direct taxation, they were subject to various other impositions such as forced labour, the requisitioning of carts and animals for transport, which resulted in encroaching upon the viability of economically marginal farming operations. Besides imperial levies, cities derived revenue from capitation, rents, tolls, salt taxes, and sales taxes.[202] Moreover, the peasantry struggled under heavy debts caused by landlords and religious taxes such as tithing and temple taxes. They had to pay a tax amounting to 40% of their annual harvest, and their livelihoods were threatened if there was debt.[203]

  In times of poor crops, this meant that the farmer was left to suffer or stave. Many peasants even sold themselves and their families as slaves, or became homeless and/or thieves.[204] On the contrary, landholders and creditors possessed immense wealth and large tracts of land. The social class was shaped like a pyramid, and starting with the king, a small number of power groups monopolised and expanded their wealth and power through the laws they created. As well, most of people at the top of the Galilean economy were foreigners from other regions of the Roman Empire (Mk. 12:2-9; 13:34-37; Lk. 13:6-9; 16:1-8).[205] They employed the peasants, left them with a manager, and occasionally visited Galilee to get paid (Mt. 12:2; 25:19; Lk. 16:2). There are many elements in the teachings of Jesus in the Gospels that provided a glimpse of this socioeconomic context. Thus, Galilee, in the day of Jesus, was able to enjoy economic wealth through internationalization, but the wealth was monopolised by those in power. While the privileged class and foreigners in Galilee had benefits, the middle class and farmers were exploited by taxes and debts. Galilee was not only politically and militarily colonial, but also economically subordinate to Rome and other outsiders.[206]

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[200] S. J. Friesen, "Injustice or God's Will? Early Christian Explanations of Poverty" in *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society*, ed. S. Holman (Grand Rapid, MI: Baker Academic 2008); R. L. Rohrbaugh, "The Social Location of the Markan Audience," *Interpretation* 47 (1993): 380-395.

[201] F. J. Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark: A commentary* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 235; John H. Kautsky, *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 150.

[202] J. S. Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2000), 235.

[203] Bruce J Mahna and Richard L. Rohrbaugh, *Social-Scientific Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1992), 332-333.

[204] P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire Economy, Society, and Culture*, 97.

[205] Richard A. Horsley, *Sociology and the Jesus Movement* (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 89; *Idem., Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995).

[206] See S. Freyne, *The Jesus Movement and Its Expansion: Meaning and Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2014).

1.6.3 The Jesus Movement, Centred on the Vulnerable

The Jesus movement, healing the sick, comforting the sorrowful and feeding the hungry, means that the main purpose of Jesus, which was to preach peace, was a critique of Roman peace and an alternative to imperialistic peace (Mt. 4:28; 9:36; Lk. 14:18; Acts 10:36). While the Roman peace was directed toward the maintenance of the status quo by a small number of rulers, the subjects of peace movement of Jesus were not the privileged class but the weak who were suffering, like the slaves of the Exodus. Jesus especially declared that those who were poor, hungry, crying, hated, and persecuted would be released and blessed (Mt. 5:3-12 [Lk. 6:20-23]). In the Sermon on the Mount, for instance (Mt. 5-7), the Gospel states that God's blessing and reign embraced the poor (Mt. 5:3), and God blesses the meek, for they will inherit the earth (Mt. 5:5).[207] The Greek expression "the meek" (*hoi praus*) has multiple meanings. This refers to a person who has been victimized by injustice, and the virtue of leaders who end violence and bring peace. Here, the earth or land, not only refers to the eschatological meaning, but also to the promise and fulfilment of a land in which real people live and participate in the reign of Israel.[208]

There is a conflict in realizing justice because authorities do not give up their vested interests freely. In the Gospels, when Jesus was in conflict, the object was usually Pharisees, scribes, elders, high priests, and Roman leaders. By contrast, when Jesus comforted, preached, and performed miracles, the subjects were the victims of imperialism. For example, his conversation with a Samaritan woman was in a region which had been oppressed by empires for hundreds of years following the destruction of northern Israel by the Assyrian empire. Jesus told this woman that he was the Messiah, as he had also told his disciples. This means that those who had been sacrificed in history, like the Samaritans, became subjects of the Jesus movement (Jn. 4:7-26).[209] Also in the parable of the Good Samaritan, justice and peace to help those who are victimized by injustice are portrayed as being led, not by the priests, Levites or Jews who were regarded as the social mainstream of the time, but by the Samaritans who had been sacrificed by imperialism. The miracle for the woman of Syrian Phoenicia was for

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[207] Warren Carter, "Power and Identities: The Contexts of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount" and "Embodying God's Empire in Communal Practices" in Preaching the Sermon on the Mount: The World That It Imagines, eds. David Fleer and Dave Bland (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2007), 8-35.

[208] Gary M. Burge, *Jesus and the Land: The New Testament Challenge to "Holy Land" Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010), 34-35.

[209] Lynne St. Clair Darden, "A Womanist-Postcolonial Reading of the Samaritan Woman at the Well and Mary Magdalene at the Tomb" in I Found God in Me: A Womanist Biblical Hermeneutics Reader, ed. Mitzi J. Smith (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2015), 203-222.

those who lived on land that had been taken away by the empire (Jn. 4:1-42; Mt. 15:21-28 [Mk. 7:24-30]). These highlights are found in parables of the Gospels: one sheep (Mt. 18:12-14 [Lk. 15:1-7]), one coin (Lk. 15:8-10), two sons (Lk. 15:11-32), etc.[210] Likewise, the Gospels contain many parables and events that suggest criticism of the socioeconomic situation within the Roman Empire: aversion of the rich (Mt. 19:23-24 [Mk. 10:25; Lk. 18:23-25]), the merciless rich (Lk. 16:19-31), creditor and debtor (Mt. 18:21-35; Lk. 7:41-42; 16:1-8), monopoly of the land and wealth (Mt. 21:33-41 [Mk. 12:1-9; Lk 20:9-16]), repressive tax collection (Lk. 19:8).[211]

The miracle story where Jesus feeds five thousand people with five loaves of bread and two fish can be a conspicuous example of criticising the imperial peace based on a dominant-subordinate relationship while emphasising *shalom* centred on the vulnerable (Mt. 13-21; Mk. 30-44; Lk. 10-17). The uniqueness and purpose of this miracle can be conceived in connection with the death of John the Baptist (Mt. 14:1-12; Mk. 6:14-29; Lk. 9:7-9). The Gospel writers contrasted the greed and violence of the empire and the sharing of the miracle by ordering the stories of the death of John and the miracle in succession. The feast of Herod attended by the ruling class was a result of exploitation and death, but the food Jesus offered to the people of Galilee was characterized by love and life. Notably, the Gospel writers used the Greek word *symphosia symphosia* as "sit down together" (Mk 6:39) to condemn the sybaritic culture and social discrimination in the Roman Empire.[212] The writer of the Gospel of Mark uses this word for a specific purpose. In the case of symposium, seating was according to social status, slaves waited on the participants at the table and people ate food taken from the lower classes. On the other hand, in the miraculous story in Mark, Jesus is seen as a slave to serve, eating simple food without discrimination, and enjoying food without plunder. This story not only introduces the transcendent power of Jesus, but also criticises the peace attained through violence to benefit the interests of the Roman occupiers.[213]

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[210] Christopher D. Marshall, *Compassionate Justice: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue with Two Gospel Parables on Law, Crime, and Restorative Justice* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012), 111-139; See Mitzi J. Smith, "Race, Gender, and the Politics of 'Sass': Reading Mark 7:24-30 through a Womanist Lens of Intersectionality and Inter(con)textuality" in Womanist Interpretations of the Bible: Expanding the Discourse, eds. Gay L. Byron and Vanessa Lovelace (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2016), 95-112.

[211] Esa Autero, *Reading the Bible across Contexts: Luke's Gospel, Socio-Economic Marginality, and Latin American Biblical Hermeneutics* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 251-300.

[212] Dennis Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2003), 8-12.

[213] Katherine Dunbabin, "Ut Graeco more biberetur: Greeks and Romans on the Dining Couch" in *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, eds. Inge Nielson and H. Sigismund Nielson (Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 1998), 81-101; Katherine Dunbabin and Slater William, "Roman Dining" in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. Michael Peachin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 438-

As a result, the miracles, parables, and other narratives in the Gospels are critical of Roman peace when looking at its historical and socio-economical background. The precondition for the peace pursued by the Jesus movement was justice, and Jesus continued his ministry around those who were victims of injustice. The overt violence, committed by imperial authorities, secured the systemic structure that marked the Roman imperial rule, and this exploitative rule benefited the small ruling group.[214] On the contrary, Jesus favoured the disadvantaged in accordance with biblical justice. As well, as in the days of Jesus, it was the disadvantaged who were the subjects of the early Christian community. The Jesus movement and its communities aimed at an egalitarian community without class distinction, without to power over others (Mk. 10:42-44).[215]

1.6.4 The Early Christian Community for Just Peace

The early Christian community understood the peace of Jesus as a reconciliation, to unite the community with respect to social and historical conflicts and hostilities, rather than with personal and mental peace: "For he is our peace; in his flesh he has made both groups into one and has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us" (Eph. 2:14; cf. Eph. 4:3-5). They also believed that peace and justice are not separate, as in the Old Testament (Jas. 3:18), and peace is mentioned along with love (2 Cor. 13:11), grace (1 Cor. 1:3; Gal. 1:3; Phil. 1:2; 2 Thess. 1:2), and life (Jn. 16:33; Rom. 8:6), in terms of the premise and state of salvation. It has been given as a gift by God and Jesus, and is acquired and maintained in relationship with Jesus (Col. 3:15; Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3; Jn. 16:33; Phil. 4:7; 1 Pet. 5:14). Due to being given as a gift, acts of mercy were emphasised but public display was discouraged, as in Matthew 6:1-18. The acts of mercy, found in the teaching of Jesus likewise contrast sharply with the elite practices in the Roman Empire. Warren Carter insists that imperial elites had a propensity for "love of honour" (*philotimia*) and "love of reputation" (*philodoxa*), because they involved distribution of the benefits to social-economic inferiors which made them dependent. Eventually, this favour (*philotimia* or *philodoxa*) was driven by the intention of perpetuating exploitation and subjugation, indicating that the justice and peace of society

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466; John F. Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table during the Principate* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

[214] Warren Carter, "Matthew Negotiates Roman Empire," chap. 7 in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 119-120.

[215] John R. Donahue, "Two Decade of Research on the Rich and the Poor in Luke-Acts" in *Justice and the Holy: Essays in Honor of Walter Harrelson*, eds. Douglas A. Knight and Peter J. Paris (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 129-144; John R. Donahue, *The Gospel in Parable: Metaphor, Narrative and Theology in the Synoptic Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

at that time was deceptive.[216] Both biblical peace and imperialistic peace pursue order. While biblical peace is for the restoration of the order of the creation, imperialistic peace is for the maintenance of hierarchy. Hence, biblical peace is fundamentally different from imperialistic peace in both motive and purpose, as emphasized by the Gospel of John (Jn. 16:33).

In this sense, the early Christian community as a peace community was not a "peace-preserver" but a "peace-maker." Peace-preservers are those who maintain an existing peace such as the Roman peace. On the other hand, the peace-makers that Jesus mentioned in the Sermon on the Mount are those who make a new peace (Mt. 5:9). The character of the early Christian community can be understood in the contrast between these two distinct types of peace. All the members of the early Christian community met often and they shared everything they had. They would sell their possessions and property, and distribute money and goods to whomever needed it. Their religious life was accomplished by breaking bread together in different homes and sharing their food with glad and generous hearts (Acts 2:44-46). They also regarded the suffering of the poor as being caused by exploitation by the rich and their wealth as evil (Jas. 2:1-7; 5:1-6).

Life among the believers in the Acts of the Apostles was reminiscent of life in the wilderness during the Exodus. The ideals of justice and peace in Israelite society included class equality, equitable distribution of land, and strict regulation of exploitation through debt (Exod. 22:24; Lev. 25:35-37; Duet. 23:19-21). However, the introduction of the monarchy and imperialism caused class distinction, social polarization, oppression and exploitation. Roman peace was at the antipodes of this biblical peace. The Jesus movement pursued the recovery of the biblical values which originated in the Exodus, and was a new peace that did not exist in imperialism. Therefore, this common life of the early Christian community can be appreciated as a practical example of biblical justice and peace. This community that succeeded the Jesus movement can be deemed as a historical starting point of the Christian peace movement.

These features continued from the end of the New Testament period to the conversion of Constantine, which was an event that elevated Christianity to political prominence and power, as an imperial ideological apparatus. There has been much debate in interpreting the data related to participation in warfare by the early Christians. Quoting what Lactantius wrote in 304-305 CE, "God in prohibiting killing discountenances not only brigandage, which is contrary to human laws, but also that which men regarded as legal. Participation in warfare therefore will not be legitimate to a just man whose military

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[216] Warren Carter, "Matthew Negotiates Roman Empire," 133-134.

service is justice itself." Yet fire protection in the city of Rome and the keeping of the peace were assigned to the *Vigiles*, who were a military unit, and Christians participated in this service. On the one hand, there are scholars, as Adolf Harnack, who support that the early Christians refused to be drafted in the war as the militia of the world in favour of the militia of Christ. On the other hand, some suggest records of the soldier martyrs and the Christians in army, and that the church did not excommunicate them.[217]

It is difficult for Christian scholars to deal with this issue of participation in warfare, interpreting the data objectively, but obviously there was radical change in discourse about war in the early church. Christians who participated in warfare were morally pressured due to the imagination of "turning the other cheek" and "going the second mile."[218] As several scholars point out, the stance of the early church was nonviolence, antimilitarism or conscientious objection, even though war was recognised as legal. Roland Bainton's argument is apt, stating that "the age of persecution until the time of Constantine was the age of pacifism to the degree that during this period no Christian author to our knowledge approved of Christian participation in battle."[219] In relation to the creation of theological discourse, it should be noted that Christian writers opposed participation in warfare, even while they accepted the institution of war. Apart from the controversy over whether Christians participated in the war or not, they had an aversion to bloodshed, as seen in the opposition to gladiatorial games, participation of executions, and homicide. This aversion to violence can be also found in the attitude of later writers about killing, even in just war.[220] It was understandably founded on the requirement of neighbour-love and supported by theological imaginations such as the eschatological role of Christians who were forbidden to fight in the Emperor's wars.[221]

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[217] John Helgeland, "Christians and the Roman Army A.D. 173-337," *Church History* 43 (1974): 149-163, 200; Roland H. Bainton, "The Early Church and War," *The Harvard Theological Review* 39 (1946): 189-190, 197-198. (189-212); See Adolf Harnack, *Militia Christi: The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries*, trans. David M. Gracie (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981).

[218] James F. Childress, "Moral Discourse about War in the Early Church," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 12 (1984): 2-3. (2-18)

[219] Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), 66.

[220] James F. Childress, "Moral Discourse about War in the Early Church," 3-4.

[221] Gerard E. Caspary, Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords (Berkeley: University of California, 1979), 126-128; See also Cecil John Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1982); Jean-Michel Hornus, *It Is Not Lawful for Me to Fight*, trans. Alan Kreider and Oliver Coburn (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1980).

1.7 Conclusion

Considering the origin and geopolitical circumstances of the Israelites, relationship with empire is an indispensable condition to discuss biblical justice and peace. Biblical Israel was born as a counter-imperialistic community, breaking away from Egyptian and Canaanite domination. The early Israelites, which consisted of the socially underprivileged, sought an egalitarian community away from an imperial class society based on domination and exploitation. As the historical and geographical direction of decisive biblical events and narratives, such as the calling of Abraham, the Exodus, and the Return to Zion, the identity and destiny of the Israelites were proportionate to the distance from imperial forces. However, the introduction of monarchy not only gave rise to the influx of imperial values in politics, economy, and culture, but also to the erosion of the traditional values of the Yahweh religion. Following the fall of biblical Israel, the theological and historical remorse in Babylonian captivity was to evaluate "who we are" and "who we should be" by recalling "who we were", namely, remembering that they were slaves in Egypt (Deut. 24:18). The Messianic hope, as a result of the theological reflection, was based on the justice and peace of the early community, highlighting demilitarisation and egalitarianism. Notably, crucial biblical discourse, created in the context of Exile, such as holiness, salvation, restoration, creation, and messiah, is characterised by being linked to anti-imperial justice and peace. These features become more prominent in the Jesus movement, which was in opposition to Roman imperial ideology. Typological similarities of the early Christian community and the Exodus community, marked by non-violence, equality, and resisting imperial values, reaffirm that biblical justice and peace are counter-imperialistic. The examples of *mishpat*, *tsedeq* or *tsedaqah*, *dikaiosyne*, *shalom*, and *eirene* show that the biblical justice and peace are incompatible with imperial justice and peace.

The history of the biblical people who experience the oppression of imperial peace reflects the struggle of the Korean people. In both cases there is a conflict between imperial peace and the just peace that is envisioned by the oppressed. How did the Korean churches look at the Bible? Did they look at it in the same way as the biblical people or was the Bible used as a tool that justified imperial peace with a different interpretation? Has the church realised its role as the people of God or compromised with empire? What are the political dynamics of church-state/empire relationships? These issues will be discussed in subsequent chapters, based on the biblical criterion explored in this chapter.

2. Historical Background of the Korean Conflict and Churches

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the historical context of the Korean church in the imperialistic landscape, in order to learn how the churches have interpreted, applied and practiced biblical justice and peace, counteracting the political maelstrom. Dissecting societal change offers an integral tool for reifying theological discourse. From the advancement of Western power into the Korean Peninsula in the mid-nineteenth century, to democratisation in the late twentieth century, this chapter deals with radical changes in the political-economic-social environments, such as colonial rule, war, division, dictatorships, democratisation and economic growth. By outlining the relationship with the political power, the situation of churches, which were placed at the crossroads of compliance and resistance, are presented here. The theological response of the church, will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.2 The Rise of Korean Nationalism and the Protestant Church

2.2.1 "A Shrimp Crushed between Whales"

As Mitri Raheb points out, reconceptualising the Orient as the Near/Middle East and Far East vis-à-vis Europe, reaffirmed the central position of Europe.[222] Although the term "Far East" was coined to describe Korea, China, and Japan, the Korean Peninsula was geopolitically the furthermost country and was historically re-peripheralised by other oriental imperial powers. Korea has a history of being a buffer zone and battlefield where world powers competed repeatedly. Korea lies in the path of Russia's southward expansion, potentially enhancing the execution of Russian strategies in the Far East. For China, Korea has been a *cordon sanitaire,* restraining Japanese continental expansionism. From Japan's geostrategic perspective, Korea has been an indispensable corridor into the continent, and "a dagger pointed at the heart of Japan", depicted by Meiji

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[222] Mitri Raheb, *Faith in the Face of Empire: The Bible through Palestine Eyes* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2014), 43-44.

oligarch Yamamoto Aritomo.[223] In terms of Japanese industrialisation and militarisation, Korea also served as a major source of agricultural supplies. For the US, Korea has been a frontline domino state, stemming back the expansion of communism.[224]

Charles K. Armstrong states that Korea is often deemed to be "the natural and perennial victim of its location, a small nation caught between rivalries of larger neighbours", quoting the Korean proverb, "a shrimp crushed between whales". He, suggests, however, viewing the history of Korea from a different standpoint, criticising what he sees as excessive historical "victimization". Depending on the interpretation of history, not every attack on the Korean Peninsula can be regarded as an "invasion of Korea", and not only Korea but many other countries have suffered numerous invasions. First of all, a geopolitical situation is not a given but changes with time, seeing that a Korean map of the world in the early 15th century illustrated China as the central civilisation, Korea fairly similar to China, and Japan tiny and insignificant. As Armstrong points out, what is the salient feature of Korea's history is not the number of foreign invasions but the capability to retain political independence and stability for such a long time.[225]

The relationship between the church and geopolitics can be understood in the same context. The geopolitical ramifications over the Korean Peninsula caused the church to be entangled in a political vortex, and to be thrown into theological confusion. As well as the process of introduction of Christianity in the nineteenth century, the subsequent series of historical events, including colonial rule, communism, division, war and dictatorships, were inevitable challenges for the churches in determining their attitude toward justice and peace. In the ever-changing situation of conflict, churches have been emerging with different faces; perpetrator, victim, bystander, or peacebuilder, taking stands to favour violence, to dedicate to peace, to ignore historical precedence. This ambiguity and contradiction have raised questions of whether the church has been pursuing biblical justice and peace as set forth in the preceding chapter. The understanding of these historical variables is also essential to examine relationship between biblical interpretation and imperialism, and to create theological imagination for just peace.

Placing Korea in the world history, we can see that it is better to divide the period in terms of globalisation, a spatiotemporal process of change underpinning a transformation in society by linking together and expanding activities across regions and continents. If we follow the periodization of David Held et al., the history of Korea can be

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[223] Michael Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challenges in an Era of Uncertain Power* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 113.

[224] Samuel S. Kim, *The Two Koreas and the Great Powers* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 7.

[225] Charles K. Armstrong, *Two Koreas* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 6-8.

divided into pre-modern (to 1500), early modern (1500-1800), modern (1850-1945), and contemporary (since 1945).[226] This chapter, which adopts the above time divisions, illustrates the modern and contemporary history of Korea, divided into five periods: 1. Introduction of the Protestant church and the end of the Joseon Dynasty (1880s-1910), 2. Japanese colonialism (1910-1945), 3. Division and the Korean War (1945-1953), 4. Dictatorships (1950s-1980s), 5. Democratisation and economic development (since 1987).

2.2.2 From the Hermit Kingdom to the Arena of the Struggle

Protestantism began to disseminate in Korea in earnest in the 1880s.[227] There already were signs of change in Korean society, which was historically a feudal class society, at the very inception of Protestantism. The lower class was suffering from extreme exploitation by the ruling class. There were frequent mass uprisings as a backlash from the lower class to oppression. In 1862, thirty-seven popular uprisings occurred against the existing order and power. Moreover, conflict within the government was escalating between political powers about whether to operate a closed-door or an open-door policy. Korea, however, adhered to the existing system as "the hermit kingdom" through much of the nineteenth century, reluctant to contact other countries. Charles Gutzlaff, who travelled to Korea as a missionary in the early nineteenth century, portrayed Koreans as "the most misanthropic people in the world". Since the British East India Company sent the ship, *Lord Amherst,* to Korea in 1832, imperialist countries had been attempting to coerce Korea into opening her ports to trade, but their requests for opening were futile.[228]

   Koreans deemed Christianity to be western civilization or "Western Learning", not a religion, and missionaries as foreign predators with an allegiance to their countries of origin. The reason was that the introduction of Christianity into Korea had been carried out with the advancement of western imperialist countries to the East. In 1866, the French fleet invaded *Ganghwa* island, on the pretext of persecution of Catholics and French priests, but actually in order to demand an open door. Also in that same year, when the American merchant schooner *General Sherman*, which was heavily armed, tried to land in Korea without permission, Koreans killed all its crew in a battle and burned

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[226] David Held, Anthony G. McGrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Perraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995); C. K. Armstrong, *Two Koreas*, 4.

[227] Everett N. Hunt, *Protestant Pioneers in Korea* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1980); Martha Huntley, *Caring, Growing, Changing: A History of the Protestant Mission in Korea* (New York: Friendship, 1984).

[228] Charles Gutzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, & 1833, with notices of Siam, Corea, & the Loo-Choo Islands* (London: Thomas Ward, n. d.), 232.

the ship.[229] In spite of a predictable response from Korea, the US undertook an expedition to open Korea by force, by sending two warships in 1871, which was called the "Little War with Heathen" by the *New York Herald*. The Americans withdrew without success but 650 Koreans died in this "expedition for proportionate punishment". The attempts of imperialist countries and a policy of seclusion in Korea ran parallel, lasting until the US became the first Western nation to open Korea.[230]

The Korean American Treaty in 1882, which is the most significant undertaken by Korea, was the first Korean agreement signed with a Western power. It was an unequal treaty, as typically seen in the age of imperialism, but Korea expected that the US would offer aid in the event of threat from other powers. The propagation of Christianity was intentionally omitted in the agreement between Korea and the US, so as to be less objectionable to the traditionalist Confucians, but since then American missionaries have played a significant role in government through a close relationship with the royal family, and the influence of Christianity spread rapidly in Korean society. Above all, the Korea-American Treaty was followed by similar agreements with Britain (1883), Germany (1883), Italy (1884), Russia (1884), France (1886) and Austria-Hungary (1889), which made the Korean Peninsula an arena of struggle among the world powers. While the government enforced a policy of enlightenment, the public sentiment of anti-foreignism, which included resentment against Christianity, which was seen as heterodoxy, was increasing. In contrast, as knowledge of the outside world spread, the consciousness and demands of the people for enlightenment and social reformation was growing.[231]

Following the opening of Korea, the international situation around the Korean Peninsula became very urgent. The world powers had been bickering for years over taking the initiative in the peninsula, which directly resulted in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. Meanwhile, Russia dominated Manchuria, and was implementing a southward extension policy. In 1890s, both Russia and Japan exerted stronger power in Korean affairs than other countries.[232] The UK and Germany, which wanted the containment of Russia, supported the Japanese initiative in the Korean Peninsula on the condition that Japan could be a bulwark against Russian expansion. The collusion and high stakes between the great powers led to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, which was directed to the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, and Japan's forced annexation of Korea in 1910.[233]

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[229] James S. Gale, *History of the Korean People*. Annotated and introduced by Richard Rutt (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, 1972), 310-311. This book was first published serially in the mid-1920s.
[230] Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun. A Modern History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company), 1997, 96-98.
[231] C. J. Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New: A History* (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1990), 204-211.
[232] B. Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 141.
[233] C. J. Eckert, *Korea Old and New: A History*, 237-238.

The consequences of the Russo-Japanese War altered the balance of power in East Asia, resulting in Japan receiving paramount rights in Korea under the Portsmouth Treaty in 1905, brokered by Theodore Roosevelt. In the exchange of diplomatic notes between the US Secretary of War, William Howard Taft and the Prime Minister of Japan Katsura Taro, known as the Taft-Katsura agreement, the US and Japan made a trade-off that the US would not challenge the establishment of a Japanese protectorate in Korea, and Japan would not question American rights in Philippines. As a result, Japanese imperialism was able to have a "free hand" with victories over China and Russia, with the connivance of the US and the UK. It is noteworthy that almost every Western country supported the role of Japan in Korea, claimed in the name of modernization, Christian missionaries also took the same position, as Richard Rutt stated that "few missionaries lifted their voice in protest" of the annexation.[234]

2.2.3 Protestantism and Korean Nationalism

Erez Manela points out that nationalism was not merely a political ideology, but a broad program of modernisation encompassing all aspects of culture and society, particularly in East Asia, including the Korean Peninsula.[235] The process of development of nationalism in Korea can be divided into three stages: 1. The time of enlightenment, particularly the period when the Joseon Dynasty developed into a modern state (1876-1910). 2. Japanese colonial era (1910-1945). 3. After liberation (1945-present). Modern Korean nationalism was born in the 19th century when Korea became open to international markets. Although a national consciousness had existed previously, nationalism in Korea is an enhanced concept in response to Western powers and the introduction of the Catholic and Protestant churches. In particular, the Japanese colonial period was a major factor in the formation and development of nationalism in Korea. Japanese imperialism attempted to remove Korean national identity by establishing policies of assimilation. In response, the Korean people made efforts to protect their lineage and cultural differentiation, considering the nation a community with a shared destiny. The March First Movement in 1919 was the beginning of Korean modern nationalism, and led to various nationalist movements.[236]

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[234] J. S. Gale, *History of the Korean People*, 49; B. Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 141-142.
[235] Erez Manela, "The 'Wilsonian Moment' in East Asia: The March First Movement in Global Perspective," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2009): 25.
[236] Morris to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, 8 March 1915, 895.00/587 and Morris to Lansing, 21 March 1919, 895.00/586, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Korea, 1910-1929*, microfilm (National Archives, 1962), No. 426, roll 2; A. Nagata, "American Missionaries in Korea," 166.

The following historical and social factors played significant roles in the integration of Christianity, with the nationalist movement in Korean society. Christianity was recognised as an alternative for solving social and historical problems when Korean society was rapidly collapsing due to inherent contradictions and the invasion of super-powers. With the lessons learned from the persecution of Catholicism by the Korean government for perceived anti-nationalism, Protestant missionaries were in good standing with the Korean people, becoming acquainted with the royal family and developing educational and medical services. There was no reason for Koreans to reject Christianity because the US, which sent the missionaries, was not considered to be a threat to KoreaKoreans accepted Christianity as a means for enlightenment and saving the nation, and soon Christianity and nationalism were combined. At that time, the Korean church featured an enlightened nationalist movement rather than armed resistance, which continued until the Japanese colonial period.

The social structure faced by the Korean churches played a significant role in determining the character of the national movement during colonial rule. First, the Japanese imperialist government did not allow Koreans to participate in political activity, and enforced repressive policies of economic exploitation and the obliteration of the Korean state, assimilating Koreans into the lowest class of Japanese society. Thereby, the political movement in Korea had to go underground, and churches were forced to act economically and culturally rather than politically. Second, the national movement was later divided into nationalist and communist camps. Christianity, which took a negative and aggressive attitude toward communism, carried out a national movement on the side of the nationalists opposing colonial rule. Third, Japanese imperialism, along with the repression and conciliation policies of the Korean church, averted negative public opinion because of the Western missionaries who led the churches away from the national movement and remaining in the religious sphere.

The churches learned to accept their limitations as a result of following ecclesiastical factors. First, the national movement of the churches was inevitably moderate, due to their organizational and theological characteristics. The churches, which were internally well-organised, were advantageous for the formation of citizen awareness and a national movement. Since the Japanese occupation the leadership of the clergy had been strengthened, focusing only on religious issues. The church could be colligated with ethical problems in dealing with socially illegal activities and violent armed resistance, because political theological views were different according to the region, generation, and faith-line. Second, Western missionaries, particularly American missionaries, had a strong conservative disposition, expressing political neutrality and putting their religious aspects first. They opposed the national movement, which they regarded as a threat to

the safety of the church. More seriously, some missionaries were involved in pro-Japanese activities, hindering the national movement. Furthermore, the social background of the Korean leaders was the middle class, commercial-industrial workers, intellectuals, and professional workers. The Korean church under their leadership was therefore more likely to be associated with a national movement centred on the right-wing bourgeois. It is, however, noteworthy that the leaders and members, who were economically disadvantaged, followed their line, showing that religious elements were more vital in determining the line of the national movement than class considerations.

To sum up, the remarkable features of national movement led by churches were that most Christians considered nonviolence as an essential aspect of the Christian faith, adopting it as a form of national movement, even though some people supported violent methods of resistance. Churches preferred a gradual methodology that pursued changes step by step, enhancing national capacity rather than radical change through revolution. Korean Christians considered moral and spiritual awakening to be urgent for independence and the development of the nation.[237]

2.3 Japanese Colonial Regime 1910-1945

2.3.1 Military Rule

Korea was forced to sign the Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty, also known as the Eulsa Treaty, in 1905, beginning the imperial takeover of Korea by Japan. Ito Hirobumi, who was a former Prime Minister of Japan, Prince and the first Japanese resident-general in Korea, established the protectorate at gunpoint, taking control of Korean diplomacy.[238] During the Japanese occupation, the colonial regime held colonial policies with three steps of ruling principles: military rule from 1910 to 1919, cultural rule to early 1930s, and rule on a war footing to 1945. For the first ten years, the first stage of colonial regime was to rule through the military, and a period of brutal reign where any Korean dissent was ruthlessly crushed. Koreans strongly opposed the annexation and harsh policies throughout the early years of colonisation. Korean nationalists, in particular, put up a strong resistance, assassinating Japanese political leaders and pro-Japanese people. The *uibyong* who were Korean irregulars and guerrillas who bedevilled the Japanese

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[237] Roh Chi-Jun, "Ilcheha han'gukkyohoe minjogundongŭi t'ŭksŏnge kwanhan yŏn'gu" [A Study on the Characteristics of National Movement in the Korean Church under Japanese Imperialism], *Han'gukkidokkyoyŏksayŏn'gusososhik* 12 [Korean Christian Institute Review] (1993): 11-16.
[238] B. Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 143-144.

imperialists during the Japanese colonial regime.[239]

Despite the very short history of Korean Protestantism, Korean Christians became involved in the resistances and fledgling independence movement. Following the Protectorate Treaty and Annexation, Protestant churches began to function as a foundationfor overcoming the collapse of the nation. They were closely associated with the independence movement throughout the Japanese occupation, working to gain human dignity and emancipation from the inhumane colonial rule. During the early rule, Protestant churches and mission schools were used as communities for socio-political activities, because colonial government banned any political action. For this reason, Protestant churches and nationalists banded together, and prominent church leaders became national leaders. Many Christian nationalists waged armed resistances, and in the view of the Japanese colonial government, the Protestant Church in Korea, which was well-organised for national liberation movement, was major obstruction to their rule of Korea. Count Derauchi, who was the first Japanese governor-general of Korea, described Korean Protestant Christians as "the most powerful force" which had to be kept under "especial watch", in his speech in 1913 in Tokyo.[240] Furthermore, one of the most difficult issues was the relationship with the Western missionaries in Korea, who were active in education, medicine and religion. Repression towards missionaries could become a diplomatic issue, and a target for international criticism. Moreover, Christianity could not harmonise and coexist with the political, cultural and religious ideologies based on Japanese emperor worship and shrine beliefs.

2.3.2 The March First Movement in 1919

In 1919, a mass movement took place in a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries, drawing upon the "Fourteen Points" outlining the right of national "self-determination", proclaimed by US president Woodrow Wilson. There were many religious leaders and nationalists interested in Wilson's fourteen points and his appeal for a new era of humanism and peace. At that time, nationalist leadership in the colony was centred in the religious community, and churches, which had been guaranteed in

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[239] Kim Keongil, "Japanese Assimilation Policy and Thought Conversion" in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945*, eds. Hong Yung Lee, Yong-chool Ha, and Clark W. Sorensen (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2013), 206-233; Choi Sang Do, "Love your enemy: Universal Christian Virtues versus Korean Christians Participation in National Independent Movement under Japanese Colonial Regime," *Korean Presbyterian Journal of Theology* 50 (2018): 165.

[240] "Sanaejeongeui Yeonseol" [Terauchi's Speech], *Sinhan Minbo*, 26 February 1914; Choi Sang Do, "Love your enemy," 173.

the name of religious freedom, become a shelter for covert political activities.[241] This situation brought about controversial issues for the church, such as its relationship with nationalism, solidarity with communism for independence, and the debate over violent or nonviolent resistance.[242]

In Korea as well, nationwide protests, known as the March First Movement, arose in reflection to the repressive colonial rule, starting with a group of thirty-three nationalists petitioning for independence from Japan. At least half a million Koreans attended demonstrations in March and April, whichspread throughout nation, to more than six hundred places, in spite of the attacks unleashed on protesters by the colonial authorities. Japanese national and military police could not contain the crowds. The army and even the navy were called in, and it was reported that a great many atrocities occurred. According to the Korean nationalist sources, more than 7,500 demonstrators were killed and some 15,000 wounded, and about 45,000 arrested between March and December, though Japanese officials counted 533 killed and over 12,000 arrested. The March First Movement provided a catalyst for the expansion of the nationalist movement, although the demonstrations failed to rid Korea of colonial rule.[243]

Despite the failure to gain complete independence, the movement brought a change of colonial policy, from one of military rule to one of cultural policy. It was obvious that Japan was caught off-guard by the nationwide protests, resulting in the adoption of appeasement, which they called "the cultural policy", allowing a limited degree of freedom and opportunity for Koreans in the areas of politics, economics and education. The March First movement also inspired national consciousness among Koreans, spreading the desire for independence in the spheres of religion, education and the media, and the emerging nationalist or socialist armed struggle, rather than peaceful petitions or diplomacy. China, India, and Philippines were also influenced by the March First movement, putting up their own anti-colonial struggle. In China, for instance, the *Weekly Review* announced the March First Movement and urged the Chinese to resist

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[241] Erez Manela, "Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia: Dreams of East-West Harmony and the Revolt against Empire in 1919," *American Historical Review* III (2006): 1327-1351; C. J. Eckert, *Korea Old and New: A History*, 277.

[242] Timothy S. Lee says that although identification between Protestantism and Korean nationalism did not occur through any single event, it was the March First Movement which epitomised its complexities, developed Korean nationalism as a pivotal event, and made the Korean Protestant Church the most potent symbol of Korean nationalism, bespeaking the positive association between Protestantism and nationalism in Korea. With this, as momentum increased, Protestantism was considered to be a legitimate religion of Korea. Timothy S. Lee, "A Political Factor in the Rise of Protestantism in Korea: Protestantism and the 1919 March First Movement", *Church History 69-1* (March 2000): 116-142.

[243] Ken Wells, "Between the Devil and the Deep: Nonpolitical Nationalism and 'Passive Collaboration' in Korea During the 1920's," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 37 (1988): 125-147; C. J. Eckert, *Korea Old and New: A History*, 279.

foreign power. The *Guomin* monthly, published by students at Peking University, contained special features on the Korean independence movement, including the text of the March First Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of the May Fourth Movement in China, taking notes from the March First Movement, appealed to all Chinese to resist Japan's attempt to take control of Shandong. Shin Yong-ha asserts that the March First Movement had an impact on the non-violent resistance in India, saying that while staying in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi read news reports about the March First Movement and the Indian independence movement embraced the non-violence principle.[244]

The movement also served as momentum to set up a government-in-exile in several countries, including the Provisional Government of Korea in Shanghai, The Provisional Government in Shanghai, which was in principle divided into the legislative, the judicial, and the administrative branches, showed that the independence movement aimed at establishing a new democratic nation, not just a return to the dynasty which existed before the annexation.[245] Erez Manela views the Movement as the emerging discourse of the peace that is crucial for understanding the events of 1919 in the colonial world, spreading the principle of self-determination as the bedrock of international legitimacy. He insists that the March First Movement was part of process where anticolonial nationalism began to emerge as a central force, driving much of subsequent evolution of international society.[246]

As part of a nationwide movement, churches played a crucial role, offering leadership and well-organised networks. The American Christian Association announced that it was synonymous to believe in Jesus and to participate in the independence movement in Korea.[247] Sixteen of the thirty-three nationalist representatives were Protestants, as were 1,719, or 22%, of the 7,835 demonstrators on the first day of the movement. More than just being demonstrators, church leaders also took the lead in mobilising, organising and facilitating the movement to spread rapidly and consistently. Despite an armed

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[244] Bae Kyung-han, "The Establishment of Korean Provincial Government and China," *Han'guktongnibundongsayŏn'gu* 68 (2019): 115-150; Kwak Jun-Hyeok, "Republican Liberation and Non-domination: Democratic Republicanism and the March First Movement," *Korea Observer*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (2019): 269-286; Shin Yong-ha, "Why Did Mao, Nehru and Tagore Applaud the March First Movement?" *ChosunIlbo*, February 27, 2009.

[245] Han Sueng-hun, "3.1 undongŭi segyesajŏk ŭiŭit'ŭi purwanjŏnhan chŏngnipkwa kyunyŏl" [How the Meaning of the March First Movement in 'World History' was Incompletely Established and Then Stuck], *Yŏksawa Hyŏnshil* 108 [History and Reality] (2018): 209-243; Kim Hoe-kwon, "3.1 undonggwa kuyaksŏnggyŏngŭi kusoksajŏk ŭimi" [The Redemptive-Historical Significance of the March First Independence Movement], *The Korean Journal of Old Testament Studies* 25 (2019): 19-20.

[246] E. Manela, "The 'Wilsonian Moment' in East Asia," 25.

[247] Hwang Jea-buhm and Oh Ju-choel, *Saero Ssŭnŭn Han'gukkaeshin'gyohoesa* [A New History of Korean Protestantism] (Seoul: Handŭlch'ulp'ansa, 2015), 329

crackdown of the Japanese towards the movement, it was fundamentally grounded on nonviolent resistance, influenced by Protestantism and *Cheondogyo* (Religion of the Heavenly Way).[248] According to the *Dokripdan Tonggomun* (Notification Statement for the Participant), this code of conduct prohibited Christian partakers from making insults and using violence such as beating or stoning the Japanese, and encouraged prayer three times a day. Fasting on Sunday and Bible readings were offered. Taking the nonviolent way of resistance, Christians took part in protests to restore "freedom bestowed from Christ following God's Will". Rev. Shin Seok-Gu, one of the thirty-three nationalist leaders, confessed the reason he had joined the movement was that he had realised his "dual sin" in accepting the "loss of the nation" and in making "no effort for its restoration". It can be said that the major motivation of the nonviolent movement for Christians was their religious consciousness based on the teachings of Jesus, and there was little distance between religious identity as a Christian and ethnic identity as a Korean.

The March First Movement, however, left churches with deep scars, further persecution of Protestants, and remarkable changes in political viewpoint of the church. The Japanese forces massacred Protestants and a number of churches were burnt to the ground. According to the statistics of the colonial government, which seems to reduce the scale of damage, 82 church buildings were destroyed and 2,341 Protestants were imprisoned, while the total number of Confucianists, Buddhists and members of *Cheondogyo* imprisoned was 1,628. However, it was reported at the Presbyterian General Assembly in Korea, in October 1919, that there were approximately 4,000 arrested and more than 2,000 casualties and prisoners.[249] The American missionaries' judgment about the March First Movement was divided into two camps. They were all appalled at the violence of the colonial authorities, but many also blamed people who agitated and provoked violence. Although Koreans demanded immediate independence, most missionaries applauded the new "cultural policies" that Japanese imperialists had created. Herbert Welch, the resident Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church for Japan and Korea 1916-1928, set forth his view on the demand of Koreans for immediate independence, "some of the most intelligent and far-seeing Koreans are persuaded that there is no hope of speedy independence, and that they must settle down for a long period to build up the Korean people, in physical conditions, in knowledge, in morality,

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[248] E. Manela, "The 'Wilsonian Moment' in East Asia," 11-27; Choi Sang Do, "Love your enemy," 175.
[249] Hwang Jea-buhm and Oh Ju-choel, *A New History of Korean Protestantism*, 329.

and in the ability to handle government concerns…"[250]

However, many Western missionaries, who had expressed political neutrality, changed their minds and began to support the Korean Protestants.[251] Nevertheless, due to taking the lead the movement, the Korean church had no choice but to be non-political for the survival of the church. Following the movement, the colonial government used a good cop, bad cop method in an attempt to divide the churches and to encourage church leaders to be on the side of the Japanese. With the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War, the colonial government thoroughly suppressed the Korean church, which did not cooperate in war and did not visit shrines to worship.

2.3.3 The Expansion of Japanese Imperialism

In 1931, the Japanese occupied Manchuria and the next year set up the puppet regime of Manchukuo. Following the occupation of Manchuria, the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), and the Pacific War (1941-1945) broke out, which brought about the strategic importance of the Korean Peninsula. The expansion of Japanese imperialism into Manchuria led to a change of policy for its Korea colony, initiating a forced assimilation policy to retain effective war mobilisation on the Korean Peninsula. In the 1930s, the Japanese set in motion new policies to mobilise the Korean population, so as to support its economic, political, and military campaigns. By 1945, the massive mobilisation had uprooted millions of Koreans from their homes, and a program of cultural oppression was enforced to obliterate the very identity of the Korean people.[252]

Following the Japanese advancement into the continent, the Japanese controlled and suppressed the Korean religious communities, forcing the Korean church to shrine worship, leading to the emergence of those who cooperated in the colonial government for the survival of the church, and causing collusion between politics and religion in the future. The forced attendance policy, which split churches, assumed that Korean Protestants, as imperial subjects, should celebrate the imperialistic mythology. But, in the view of the church, the coercion of shrine worship was deeply objectionable and an invasion of its most sacrosanct area. Protestants closed their churches and schools rather than accede to shrine worship, some Western missionaries were expelled and several thousand church leaders were arrested between 1935 and 1938.[253] Due to the

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[250] M. E. Robinson, Broadcasting, "Cultural Hegemony, and Colonial Modernity in Korea, 1924-1945" in *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, eds. G. Shin and M. Robinson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 70-96.
[251] Samuel H. Moffett, *The Christians of Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), 71.
[252] C. J. Eckert, *Korea Old and New: A History*, 306.
[253] C. J. Eckert, *Korea Old and New: A History*, 315.

refusal of shrine worship, in 1930s, the Korean church was severely persecuted by the Japanese, and forced to cooperate in war through pro-Japanese church leaders who had been won over to the Japanese side.

The wartime mobilization of 1937-1945 reintroduced brutal measures to colonial rule. Koreans were forced to work in Japanese factories and were conscripted into the Japanese military. Tens of thousands of women were drafted as "Comfort Women", who were in fact sex slaves for Japanese soldiers, and older men were sent as workers for the construction of military fields. It was called a "population haemorrhage" where 400,000 people, 16 percent of the Korean population, were living outside the borders of the Korean Peninsula in 1944. This number does not include the number of people who were moved from the southern provinces to work in industrialising the north.[254]

Meanwhile, in the independence movement, there were ideological differences in approaching the nature of a liberated Korean state. Some groups, categorised as "left", oriented towards a socialist state through social revolution, while others, classiied as "right", pursued the advancement of the people by working within the colonial system. In order to maintain their colonial rule, Japanese authorities wanted to stir up division in the independence movement. Despite efforts to unify the movement by the Korean Provisional Government (KPG, 1919-1948) and the *Singanhoe* (New Korea Society, 1927-1931), splits within the movement persisted until the liberation from colonial rule in 1945. In the later part of the colonial period, the war footing of the national movement weakened, but Protestants had been actively involved in various activities related to the independence movement throughout the colonial period. They took part provisional government activities, overseas activities in America, fund-raising through the church, social movement, rural enlightenment movements and even armed struggle. Although, Protestants who participated in the independence movement were not mainstream in the Korean church, and were not represented by Christianity as a whole, they worked with patriotism, national consciousness, and Christian faith based on the Bible. For the Protestant independence activists, Exodus, especially, and the Gospel became an essential foundation for their resistance and dedication for justice and peace.[255]

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[254] C. J. Eckert, *Korea Old and New: A History*, 322.

[255] Margherita Zanasi, "Collaboration, resistance and accommodation in Northeast Asia" in *The Cambridge History of the Second World War*, Vol. 2 Politics and Ideology, eds. R. J. B. Bosworth and J. A. Maiolo (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 509-532; M. E. Robinson, "Colonial Publication Policy and the Korean Nationalist Movement" in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, eds. R. H. Myers and M. P. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 312-43.

2.4 Division and Ideological Conflicts in the Church

The Japanese surrender to the Allies in 1945, which ended World War II, led to a time of political turmoil in Korea in spite of liberation from colonial rule. The Korean nationalist movement had for decades been factionalised by ideological differences and conflict. Nationalist exiles returned home but the groups were Americanised, Russianized, Sinicized, Communised, and/or Christianised.[256] Finally, the peninsula was divided into North and South at the thirty-eighth parallel, which became zones of occupation by conquering nations, the US and the Soviet Union. Nothing about the politics of contemporary Korea can be understood without insight into the ordeal of the period of the division and opposing states from 1943 to 1953. The US had a major role in the division, catastrophic war and reordering of international politics in the region surrounding the Korean Peninsula. The US military regime lasted from 1945 to 1948, and allowed the USSR to come into the North. Despite the demise of Japan, the Korean government remained nominal. Considering the case of Germany as an aggressor, if any country in East Asia should have been divided, it was Japan. Instead Korea, China and Vietnam were divided in the aftermath of WWII, although there was no internal pretext for division in Korea.[257] The reasons for division were political and ideological. Above all, churches were embroiled in ideological controversies, which continued in the church in the coming decades, and were sometimes spearheaded by the church itself.

In the process of ending Japanese colonial rule and the division of the Korean Peninsula, Korea had no more freedom and rights than the superpowers allowed. In the South, various political parties were established with a common goal of attaining self-government, although they were divided into right, left and middle-of-the road. A Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence, which was headed by a leftist, Yeo Woon Hyung, was organised in 1945, but the US forces asserted that the US military government was the only government, refusing to recognise the republic. The Korean Provisional Government in exile, upon returning, was also compelled to declare itself a political party, not a government. The intention of the US was to establish a trusteeship to supersede both the American and the Soviet occupation forces in Korea. At the Cairo Conference in 1943, however, the US, the UK and China formerly pledged that "in due course Korea shall become free and independent". At the Yalta conference in February 1945, Roosevelt proposed a four-power trusteeship for Korea consisting of the US, the UK, the Soviet Union and China, but they did not reach a formal agreement on the future status of the Korean Peninsula, although Stalin did not disagree with Roosevelt's

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[256] Samuel S. Kim, *The Two Koreas*, 8.
[257] B. Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 185-186.

suggestion in principle. At the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, it was declared that the terms of the Cairo Declaration, which promised Korea its independence, shall be carried out. US military leaders insisted on encouraging the Soviet Union to declare war on Japan, and the Soviet Union did enter the war just a few days after the US dropped atomic bombs on Japan on the 6th of August 1945, and Soviet troops advanced onto the Manchuria and northern Korea. In December 1945, at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers, the US and the Soviet Union agreed to set up a Joint Commission to settle the question of establishing a unified Korea, under a multi-national trusteeship of up to five years, but, in several subsequent meetings, nothing was achieved toward the creation of a unified Korea. According to Carter Eckert, the Joint Commission was beset with difficulties from the very first, due to "the right-left polarisation of Korean politics as a result of Soviet and American occupation policies."[258]

Both occupation forces set up separate administrative bodies. In the South, the US military government created the Representative Democratic Council as an advisory body, which was composed of Koreans and Chairman Syngman Rhee, former president of the Korean government-in-exile. In the North, the Soviet authorities set up a communist-controlled government, recognising the administrative power of the Committee in the province, and setting a precedent for the Committee's role, without establishing a military government. In 1947, the US presented the question of unification of Korea to the United Nations, and the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution, calling for general elections in Korea to make up a National Assembly, establishing a government under the observation of a UN Temporary Commissions on Korea. In spite of opposition from the North and nationalists who were concerned about a permanent division, the South held elections under the supervision of the Temporary Commission in May 1948. Finally, on August 15, the Republic of Korea was inaugurated, electing Syngman Rhee as president. In the meantime, the Supreme People's Assembly of North Korea ratified a constitution. Kim II-sung was appointed premier and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was proclaimed in September 1948.

Separately inaugurated governments brought different economic and social systems to either side of the thirty-third parallel, as well as political division, and growing conflict between the South and North. The churches that had had solidarity for independence were also divided. With the end of the Japanese occupation, the most important task of the churches was to remove all traces of the Japanese control era, including Japanese collaborators. While Christians across the political spectrum, from Communists to the far Right, claimed to speak for an independent government, the Soviet Union and the US

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[258] C. J. Eckert, *Korea Old and New: A History*, 340-341.

failed to reach an agreement on a unified Korea, resulting in ideological conflict and the division of the church. Yeon Kyu-hong points out that the Korean church had important assignments after liberation from colonial rule. The first was to participate in the establishment of the new state as a political power, and the other was to be on the side of capitalism against communism.

2.5 The Korean War and Protestant Churches

North Korean forces invaded the South on June 25th 1950, and the war drew in the US in support of South Korea and the Chinese in support of North Korea. Three years of fighting left the country in ruins and solved nothing. Approximately 3 million Koreans were killed, executed, wounded, or missing, during the three years of bloody war. In the South, a third of the housing and almost half of the industrial foundation, including much of the infrastructure, were destroyed. The destruction of war appears to have been greater in the North, ravaging the countryside and cities owing to fierce battles and intense aerial bombardment.[259] The Korean War ended in a truce, with Korea still divided into two mutually antagonistic states, separated by a heavily fortified "De-Militarised Zone" (DMZ). Korea has remained divided ever since. There were no winners and losers in the war that never will justify the suffering, pain and loss of life. South Korea in 1950s was a miserable place, where everyone was in extreme privation and degradation, struggling to rebuild following nationwide devastation, and relying on US aid.

Although there is very little doubt that the North carried out an attack against the South on June 25, 1950, it should not be ignored that since the establishment of separate Korean regimes in 1948, violent political polarisation had been increasing significantly in the peninsula. In particular, from 1948 to 1950, the two years prior to the Korean War, there were indigenous and bloody leftist guerrilla wars on Jeju Island and Yeosu-Suncheon in South Korea. Military conflict between the North and the South, initiated mainly by the South, became increasingly frequent and intense.[260]

The Korean church had already experienced the Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War, and Japanese colonialism during the Pacific War. Following the Second Sino-Japanese War, and the Pacific War, churches began to support war, both materially and morally, and continued to volunteer in the Korean War, due to an aversion to communism. In the years following the liberation, there had been a shift in the

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[259] C. J. Eckert, *Korea Old and New: A History*, 345.
[260] C. J. Eckert, *Korea Old and New: A History*, 344-345.

understanding of the relationship between religion and state among church leaders, and a debate about how to rebuild the state within the church. At that time, there were church leaders, who participated in political activities through political parties or political Christian organisations, who insisted on the founding principle of a new government through lectures, sermons or writings, and encouraged Christians to participate in the rebuilding of the nation.

After the outbreak of the Korean War, the churches in both South and North Korea actively supported their respective armed forces in war, departing from position of an inseparable faith and nation, that churches had adhered to in the past, and advocating war by combining faith and ideology, to obedience to the government. While the churches in North Korea supported during the war through prayer meetings and donations for the purchase of weapons, the churches in South Korea recruited volunteer corps and called on the UN and the US president for aid. When the North Korean army seized Seoul, the capital of South Korea, some church leaders in North Korea conducted worship services to celebrate the victory and to hold a general rally to celebrate the triumph. On August 5, 1950, North Korean pastors launched a fundraising campaign to reinforce the North Korean army, quoting the teachings of Jesus Christ to spare no cost, in order to remove injustice and win the just war. They considered active support and cooperation in warfare to be necessary for reunification, independence, democracy, freedom and peace.[261]

The attitude of the South Korean churches during the Korean War was not much different. The most prominent activities were the recruitment of Christian youth and sending them to the battlefield. South Korean churches recruited 3,000 men for military units. After Seoul was recaptured, 1,000 men were trained for ideological propaganda, maintaining order and watching inhabitants in the occupied territories. At the Memorial of Restoration in Seoul on September 28, 1959, American General MacArthur, who led the United Nations Command in the Korean War, declared the Korean War a crusader war against communist expansion, saying that he fought with God's grace and won with God's help. When the UN and South Korean army later occupied Pyongyang on October 19, church leaders went there to gather 3,000 Christians to celebrate the victory. In this service, Pastor Han Kyung-chik preached with Isaiah 60:1 and the congregation sang a hymn written by Martin Luther, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God". Prayer meetings and services celebrating victory of the war were held for more than 40 days by missionaries,

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[261] Kim Hueng-soo, "6Wŏri-myeon Ttŏorŭnŭn P'yŏngyang Sŏmunbakkyohoe" [P'yŏngyang Sŏmunbakkyohoe Church That Comes to Mind in June], *Christian Thought* 714 (2018): 8-9.

church leaders and Christians who welcomed the UN forces as their saviour.[262]

Christian activities supporting the war lasted while ceasefire was discussed, and churches took the lead in opposing the ceasefire. On December 27, 1950, each of the Presbyterian denominations sent a message to the Secretary General of the UN, the President of the US, and the commander of the UN army, that the Korean War would be an outpost of the inevitable war between nations of free democracy and communist countries, in order to persuade them not to cease the war. Following that, in order to oppose the ceasefire, the churches issued a series of statements to world churches and the President of the US, at rallies held in local cities. The statement asserted that churches in South Korea could not reconcile with communism and that compromise with communism was no different from Christ's refusal to succumb to the devil in the wilderness. This position also appeared in a statement to US President Eisenhower in 1953. The communists were described as indescribable evil and it was a misrepresentation to regard them as repentant sinners, therefore the churches in South Korea had to fight to the end. At that time, the churches in South Korea argued that the reason the church supported war and opposed the ceasefire was not because of its warlike attitude, but as a just act against communism, the agent of the devil.[263]

2.6 South Korean Dictatorships and Protestant Churches

2.6.1 The Rhee Syngman Regime and Pro-Protestantism

Immediately following the end of the Japanese colonial rule in 1945, the US military government was the only legitimate government of South Korea until the establishment of the Republic of Korea government in 1948, and played a decisive role in establishing the Rhee Syngman regime. At that time, the US strategy for Korea focused on containing the expansion of communism through a pro-American government. After the legitimate power of South Korea was transferred from US military government to the government of the Republic of Korea in 1948, the US refrained from direct intervention but exercised considerable influence through indirect clandestine operations in fear of the resistance of the Korean people and communisation of Korea. Lee Wan-bom states that this did not mean that all US decision makers supported Rhee Syngman. The US wanted to get rid

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[262] Park Bo-kyung, "The Role of Korean Churches during the Korean War of 1950," *Mission and Theology* 26 (2010): 105-140; Lee Seung-jun and Han Kyu-mu, "Rev. Kyung-Chik Han and the Korean War," *Korean Christianity and History* (2001): 9-42.
[263] Park Bo-kyung, "The Role of Korean Churches," 105-140.

of Rhee, because of his unlawful provocations, causing a political crisis in Busan during the Korean War, and amending the constitution with an aim of the seizure of long-term of power after the war.[264] During the Korean War, Rhee Syngman tried to amend the constitution to prolong his rule, despite widespread discontent with his corruption and political repression. When the Assembly rejected his attempt to hold elections for presidency by direct popular vote, Rhee ordered the mass arrest of opposition politicians to push the law, and won the election in 1952, under the revised law, by a substantial number of votes, 74%.[265]

Fortunately for Rhee, the US could not find any other leader to replace him, and so did not look for alternatives, despite Rhee's dictatorship. In the late 1950s, the US, criticising the monopolisation of Korean politics by Rhee, sought an alternative that united moderates of the opposing parties. The US prepared a contingency and succession plan, which was soon to be realised by the political vortex of the April revolution of 1960. While the political autonomy of the Korean government seemed to increase in 1950s, the US maintained political manipulation, and eventually the American attempts persisted until Rhee stepped down. As a result, the autonomy of the domestic politics of South Korea was limited due to military and economic subordination by the US, and Korean politicians were able to act only to the extent allowed by the US.[266]

After the liberation, the Protestant churches supported the anti-trusteeship movement and the establishment of a government in the South, contributing to the exclusive grip on power by Rhee Syngman. Compared to the political attitudes of other religions in Korea, the majority of Protestant churches had a strong right-leaning political stance. In addition to Buddhism and Cheondogyo, which were left-leaning or centrist, even Catholics who were politically conservative in general, supported a movement for the coalition of the right and left. Protestants, however, strongly endorsed Rhee Syngman, who was the most conservative politician, as well as being hostile to the left. With the strategies of religious alliance and opposition, his first cabinet was composed of members with various religious backgrounds, and non-Protestant politicians belonging to Daejonggyo, Catholicism and Buddhism were gradually excluded from the cabinet and ruling party.[267]

In 1953, although Rhee did not agree to stop the war, the armistice agreement was signed by military commanders from China and the North, and the UN commanders led

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[264] Lee Wan-bom, "President Rhee's Autonomy toward U.S. in 1950s," *Chŏngshinmunhwayŏngu* 30 (2007): 201-209; U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, Vol. XV, Korea Part 1-2, Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1984, 264-274.
[265] Kang In-cheol, and Park Myung-su, "Syngman Rhee's Government as a Pro-Protestant Regime," *Christianity and History in Korea 30* (2009): 91-129.
[266] Lee Wan-bom, "President Rhee's Autonomy," 199-229.
[267] Kang In-cheol, and Park Myung-su, "Syngman Rhee's Government as a Pro-Protestant Regime," 91-129.

by the US. At that time, the religious features of Rhee's government as a pro-Protestantism regime were more prominent than before. His pro-Protestantism was strengthened by specific policies, favouring Protestant churches and gaining the support of churches in return. In particular, the dominant ideology initiated by Rhee, such as *Ilminjuui*, which claimed to stand for a nation-state and democracy as the only political system, was coloured by Christian ethics. Rhee often emphasised a new nation based on Christianity, introducing military chaplains, Christmas as a national holiday, and evangelisation through the national broadcasting system. His unwillingness to punish pro-Japanese collaborators was preferred by the Protestant churches, for there were many more pro-Japanese collaborators in the Protestant churches than in any other religion. National rituals, such as swearing-in a new member of the National Assembly, parliamentary inauguration, presidential inauguration, and national funerals, were adapted to Christian ways.[268]

  Consequently, through collusion between church and state in rapid political changes, Korean society changed to a Christian-centred society, allowing Protestant churches to enjoy undisputed dominance in politics.

2.6.2 The Park Chung-hee Military Regime

As Rhee Syngman was forced to resign because of a fraudulent election and the consequent struggles against the autocracy, expectations for democracy increased, but the political situation was getting more and more chaotic. Notwithstanding that the coup was anti-democratic and unconstitutional, the Korean church did not generally oppose the 5.16 military coup led by Park Chung-hee, in 1961, on the pretence of anticommunism and economic development. In a statement issued after the coup, the National Christian Council in Korea, the forerunner of the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCK), evaluated the military coup as an inevitable step to protect the country from the North Korean military threat and to fight the corruption in South Korea. Following the coup, the Vietnam War 1964-1975 showed that the perspective of Korean church leaders was based on the US-entred Cold War and anti-communist ideology. They supported Korea's participation in the Vietnam War, and considered the war as a second Holy War against communism. Seeing that the National Prayer Breakfast, which was launched during the Vietnam War, was called Presidential Prayer Breakfast, we can see how closely the church and government were connected at this time, reflecting a

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[268] Kang In-cheol, and Park Myung-su, "Syngman Rhee's Government as a Pro-Protestant Regime," 91-129.

characteristic of the American Protestantism represented by Billy Graham.[269]

The military coup in South Korea, soon after President Kennedy's inauguration, forced the US government to pay attention to Park Chung-hee and his forces. However, despite the antidemocratic feature of the military regime, the Kennedy Administration did not exercise diplomatic pressure, urging a transition from an autocracy to a democracy, upon Park Chung-hee. It was the anti-communist tendencies of Park and political stabilisation in Korean society that most concerned the Kennedy Administration. Chang Jun-kab says, that from the point of view of the US, the military coup made Korean issues simpler to manage. The US deemed the coup an opportunity to establish a pro-American government in Korea, and Kennedy determined to go with Park who needed the support of the US to maintain his dictatorship. Chang states that the US used military and economic aid as bait to keep him in line with US policies. Park, who had weakness in the legitimacy of the regime, had no choice but to follow the American line, and this was a typical method for the US to fulfil their political purpose on the Korean Peninsula.[270]

The constitution of the first South Koean government, established in 1948, assured freedom of religion and separation of religion and politics. In 1956, the Supreme Court judged freedom of faith to be an absolute right that should not be restricted. The lopsided policies of the government, however, made the freedom and the right nominal, offering favour to churches that upheld the national ideology. Unlike the Rhee Syngman regime, the Park Chung Hee military regime, based on firm superiority of the state, further strengthened the control over religion, and corrected the privileges offered to churches in the previous regime, while reinforcing the two-track tactics of the carrot and the stick towards resisting religious groups. The religious policies of the Park Chung Hee regime can be summarised in five aspects.

First, national security ideology was used to strengthen religious control based on bureaucratic authoritarianism over civil society. As M. Seliger stipulates, national security functioned as an ideology by which society and churches posit, explain, and justify the ends and means of organised social action.[271] Religious imagination in all religious areas were confined by a net-like state ideology, and lost its ability, as discussed in the introduction, to refrain from power and ideology, identify their lay and falsehood and suggest alternatives.[272] Second, as Popper, Arendt, Talmon, and Crick observe, state

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[269] Ahn Jong-cheol, "Relationship between the State Power and Churches," *The Christian Literature Society of Korea* (2013): 46-55.

[270] Chang Jun-kab, "5.16 Military Coup, America, and Chung Hee Park", *World History and Culture* 25 (2011): 253-277.

[271] M. Seliger, *Ideology and Politics*, 119-120.

[272] M. Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 208-227; T. Eagleton, "Ideology and Its Vicissitudes in Western Marxism," 220-221; W. Brueggemann, "Biblical Authority: A Personal Refection," 19

ideology was marked as secular religion during the military dictatorships of the 1960s and 1970s.[273] In contrast to the Rhee Syngman regime, which operated a state based on Christianity, the Park Chung Hee regime emphasised patriotism and nationalism discourse and practice, and took on the role of ethical teacher in society, in order to sanctify the state and nation, becoming the new state-led political religion, and competing with traditional religions. Third, in order to dispel the illegality of the military coup, suspicion of the US toward Park Chung Hee, and the low political legitimacy that excluded the people, he maintained a cooperative relationship with large religious groups, guaranteeing the privileges enjoyed by the major religions and providing new benefits as necessary. Fourth, Park's regime revised existing policies that favoured Christianity so as to strengthen the superiority of the state over religion, and to induce Buddhist cooperation. Fifth, the regime oppressed resistant religious groups which refused to cooperate with the state, and isolated them through collusion with competing religions or denominations.[274] Hence, it can be said that the religious policies of the Park Chung Hee regime were designed to uphold the prevailing power structure, bringing the state ideology to the forefront and causing incapacitation of critical functions in religious discourses.[275]

In the period of the Park's dictatorship, the number of people in various religions, including the Protestants, which participated in the pro-democracy movement was in the minority. Protestant democratisation, which began in earnest from the late 1960s, was centred on the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCK) as the organisation to unite denominations. However, not all of the denominations in the NCCK held the same political position, and there were a few theological and political progressives, which led the entire council and carried out the democratisation movement as a resistant minority. Kang In-cheol says, the relationship between church and state during the dictatorship can be generally described as resistance, or cooperation against forceful ruling, but there had been very few cases of coherence, whether resistance or cooperation, that can be explained by diversity and complexity. Otto Madura states that institutional interests of the church, with church strategy, as preserving monopolised religious power, expanding the audience or public awareness in connection with the church, protecting the church from conflict, crisis and change, and maintaining the existing religious order. Kang points

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[273] J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*, 1-6, 21-24; A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 8-10; See Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies: New One-Volume Edition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); Hannah Arendt, *The Origin of Totalitarianism* (Harcourt: Brace, 1951); Bernard Crick, *In Defence of Politics* (London: Continuum, 1962).
[274] Kang In-cheol, "Park Jung-Hee Regime and the Protestant Church," *Journal of Religion and Culture 9* (2007): 83-118.
[275] A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 14-15.

out that the Korean church leaders in the era of totalitarian military regime tended to focus on institutional interests, such as the organisational survival, expansion, and social status and influence.[276]

Accordingly, a small number of Christian leaders opposed Park's attempt to extend power constitutionally, but most churches either acquiesced or supported. Under the name of the Declaration of Conscience, the 242 pastors representing the Korean churches, who criticised pastor Kim Jae-jun for disagreeing to the amendment of the constitution, had relationships with Park's nephew Kim Jong-pil, who was then Second-in-Command to the regime. Some Christian leaders protested against dictatorship, recognising that democratisation was more urgent than anti-communism and reunification. However, the conservative church leaders supported the regime and hosted spiritual revival assemblies for the country, which were led by Billy Graham, and attended by more than one million people, contributing to the enormous increase of number of the churches. According to statistics, the total number of Christians in 1970 was 2.2 million, grew to more than 4 million in 1975, over 7 million in 1980, and this trend continued into 1990s. While churches and denominations that struggled for democratisation were reduced in their total number of believers, churches that advocated the regime have since grown into large churches with more than ten thousand members. As Ahn Jong-cheol states, the close relationship between conservative churches and dictatorships was due to anxiety about pulling US troops out of South Korea and communisation, as well as institutional interests. By the criterion Crossan and Brueggemann suggest, the attitudes of Korean conservative churches at that time can be said to be closer to imperial peace than the non-violent Kingdom of God. Their biblical interpretation was driven by the national ideology, institutional interests, and geopolitical stakes of Cold War politics. For this reason, churches held meetings opposing the withdrawal of the US forces, and sent a special envoy to the US Congress and the US government.[277]

In general, the relationship of the church to government in Korea has been conservative, in loyal recognition of the state, but significant political dissent emerged from the churches after 1968, when Park Chung Hee attempted a constitutional change to prolong his reign to a third term. Since then, many Christians felt they were oppressed and denied basic human rights, and questioned the legitimacy of the military dictatorship installed by Park's military coup. Seeing his intention as a violation of the democratic constitution,

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[276] Kang In-cheol, "Park Jung-Hee Regime and the Protestant Church," 83-118.
[277] R. A. Horsley, "Renewal Movements and Resistance to Empire," 69-77; See J. D. Crossan, *God and Empire: Jesus against Rome, Then and Now* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007); Ahn Jong-cheol, "Relationship between the State Power and Churches," 51-52.

some church leaders organised the "Committee to Oppose the Change of the Constitution and Prevent the Third Term of the Presidency." Despite strenuous objections from the public, Park initiated a referendum in 1970, triggering a deterioration of the relationship between church and government. Because of their continuous opposition to the regime, churches were put under surveillance by government authorities. This situation was investigated and reported to the U.S. Congress Committee on International Relations as follows:

> "KCIA surveillance of Church sermons and prayer meetings to see whether 'political matters' such as civil rights are mentioned is commonplace. Interrogation and detention of churchmen who have actively involved themselves in community work for the poor and underprivileged is frequent."[278]

In 1972, while they were conducting prayer meetings at church, some church leaders were arrested on charges of instigating objections to the regime. This oppression precipitated a special session of the general Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, exhorting the government to stop suppression. The Protestant communities also began to criticise the economic policies of the government which caused exploitation of labour and violations of human rights. The government, however, deemed the demand for better working conditions as a menace to national security and the regime, and kept the pressure on churches and communities involved in industrial actions in 1973. This intimidation of the church by the dictatorship was considered to be a violation of the freedom of religion, and gave rise to theological resistance, formulating the "Theological Declaration of Korean Christians, 1973" by Korean theologians, and published abroad.

The declaration made clear that the dictatorship in Korea was destroying rule by law and persuasion, freedom of conscience, and freedom of religious belief. In particular, church worship, prayer, gatherings, content of preaching and teaching of the Bible were interfered with by the regime. The Declaration criticised the dictatorship for using systematic deception, manipulation and indoctrination to control the people, and thus, it noted that Christians had a calling to be witnesses to truth, always struggling to break any system of deception and manipulation. In terms of economic justice, the document also criticized the economic policies of the regime, making vulnerable urban workers and rural peasants victims of exploitation and social injustice. The document, lastly, called upon the Christians in Korea for action and preparation for martyrdom. This declaration

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[278] U.S. Congress, *Human Rights in South Korea and the Philippines: Implications for U.S. Policy*, printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 57.

offered a theological basis on which to justify Christian involvement in political resistance and had far-reaching historical implications, providing a theoretical example for other Third World churches. [279] As Brueggemann suggests, this movement served as momentum in Korean society to open the feasibility of theological imagination, daring to posit, characterise, and vouch for a world beyond common sense as defined by national ideology.[280]

As pressures upon the Christian communities grew, many church leaders were arrested, and the resistance of the church increased. In particular, when Kim Dea Jung, the opposition leader and former presidential candidate, was kidnapped in 1973 by the Central Intelligence Agency, tensions escalated and aroused international and domestic opinion against the military regime. Christians set up "Save the Nation" prayer meetings, and Western missionaries staying in Korea joined in criticizing the oppressive dictatorship. George Ogle and James Sinnot, who had been very vocal in their criticism of the government, were expelled from Korea. The *New York Times* reported as follows:

> "Missionaries justify their open opposition to political restrictions with a variety of arguments, the most common being that their Korean friends are being hurt. 'I don't care a fig about politics,' said a priest. 'It's the people involved. I've seen my people beaten and tortured and raped and kidnapped. One whole family had disappeared. What am I supposed to do — close my eyes and go tiddly beads?'"[281]

At that time, although the ecumenical movement in Korea had been feeble, and relations between Protestants and Catholics were in competition, involvement in political protest resulted in positive developments in relationships between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, holding joint prayer meetings and church services, engaging in meaningful dialogue, as well as action, and expressing Christian concern for justice and peace in society.

The political oppression by the Park's regime upon the churches grew stronger with the victory of communists in the Vietnam War. In 1975, Emergency Decree Nine, outlawing all activities against the regime, was proclaimed by the government, under the pretext of maintaining national security, in an attempt to hush dissenting voices. Despite strict

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[279] Wi Jo Kang, "The Relationship Between Christian Communities and Chung Hee Park's Government in Korea," *Missiology: An International Review*, Vol. 9, No.3 (1981): 347-348.

[280] W. Brueggemann, *The Practice of Prophetic Imagination*, 3-4; *Idem., The Prophetic Imagination*, 3-14.

[281] Richard Halloran, "Defiant Missionaries Arouse Seoul's Anger," *The New York Times*, May 26, 1975, 4; Wi Jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar in Modern Korea: A History of Christianity and Politics* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), 107.

enforcement of the decree and sanctions against anti-government activities, in 1976 a joint Catholic-Protestant prayer meeting brought 700 people to a gathering which issued a declaration to recover justice and democracy. The "Declaration for National Salvation and Democracy" to ask the resignation of President Park, was declared in a joint Catholic-Protestant service, commemorating the 57th anniversary of the Korean declaration of independence.[282]

In 1979, when President Park was assassinated by General Jae Kyu Kim, director of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, it seemed that the tension between the government and the churches would end. Many imprisoned Christian leaders and theologians were released, but General Chun Doo-hwan became the leader of new military junta controlling the country in the name of "national security. Considering that Christian communities represented democratic segments of society, conflicts with the military forces which took power in an antidemocratic way, were foreseen. A great deal of effort by Christian communities to organize the vulnerable, to encourage the people to participate in political activism, to educate the young to assert human dignity, rights and individual worth were seen as a threat by the authoritarian regime, resulting in acute tensions between the church and government.

2.6.3 New Military Regime in the 1980s

The assassination of Park Chung-hee stupefied the entire country and provoked mixed feelings among the Korean people. The public was appalled by the brutality of his regime but he shaped the modern South Korean political economy. Notwithstanding the shock and confusion, it was expected to serve as a catalyst for the advancement of democracy and development of economy. In the vacuum of power following Park's death, a chain of democratic movements began. Choi Kyu-ha was immediately elected president as the successor to Park, and before long, hundreds in prison, on parole, or under arrest, including Kim Dae-jung, were released, but the optimism began to fade as a result of a complicated power struggle. Chun Doo-hwan, the chief of the Defence Security Command, took power through a military coup, so Choi was not able to gain control of the government. The democratic movements, which had been oppressed under the Park's regime, revived, but Chun strongly stood up for the change of the political situation, forcing the Cabinet to extend martial law, closing universities participating in pro-democracy activities, prohibiting political activities, and controlling the national media. As Eckerd describes, political drama shifted to the city of Kwangju, the capital of

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[282] Wi Jo Kang, "Christian Communities and Chung Hee Park's Government," 354.

the South Cholla Province. Demonstrators demanded an end of martial law and the release of Kim Dae-jung but the army, informed that Kwangju was being overrun by communists, was dispatched to crush the demonstrations. The suppression brought resistance and Chun responded with a bloodbath that killed thousands of Kwangju citizens. Chun had clearly demonstrated to the country the terrifying forces at his disposal and his even more frightening willingness to use them. His coup and transition to civilian rule in 1979-81 followed a pattern set up earlier by Park Chung-hee in 1961-63. Chun made a bid for legitimacy by denouncing past corruption and promising a new age of economic growth, probity, and justice, using this pledge as justification for prohibiting political activity, similar to Park Chung-hee.[283]

After all, the new military regime, an extension of authoritarian politics, turned out not much different from the Park Chung-hee regime. Amid the ongoing conflict between progressive Christianity and state power, new movements for reunification and anti-American emerged. Following the May 18 Kwangju Democratisation Movement, the issue of American engagement in the military regime was raised. As sentiments turned to anti-Americanism, reunification and relations with North Korea, there was a division between the progressive and conservative sides of Christianity.

According to the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the testimony of the US command, and the US Ambassador to Korea, the US was informed and approved of, the new military regime plan to deploy troops to Kwangju on May 22 1980. In 1996, diplomatic documents at the US State Department revealed that even after the military's indiscriminate slaughter of citizens in Kwangju, the US approved the additional military forces and had previously agreed to the military response. In 1989, the Special Committee of the Korean National Assembly sent an inquiry to the US Ambassador to Korea and commander of US Combined Forces Command about their involvement in the massacre in Kwangju. In 1996, however, the response from the US State Department proved to be false, saying that the US did not engage in the military massacre. Rather, the US had agreed to the military operation cracking down on the demonstrators early, and the new military junta reported successful operations to the ROK-US Combined Forces Command (CFC).[284]

While recognising the role of the US as a balancer of power in East Asia, Lee Sam-sung criticises the US for its own short term security and economic interests at each historical turning point of the Korean Peninsula. He argues that the US separated human

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[283] Juergen Kleiner, Korea, a Century of Change (New Jersey: World Scientific, 2001), chapter 10 and 11.
[284] Park Man-kyu, "Suppression of Gwangju Uprising by New Military Regime and American Issue," *Journal of Democracy and Human Rights* 3 (2003): 211-242.

rights diplomacy from the issue of democratic support in Korea in 1979 and 80. The US highlighted human rights diplomacy, which advised the dictatorship not to deal harshly with political prisoners, but at the same time maintained and strengthened propitiation, mutual exchange and cooperation with dictatorships in real military and economic terms. The interest in human rights may have been the basic US interest in Korean democracy, but in contrast, it may have been camouflaged to hide practical support for dictatorship.[285]

The attitude of mainstream churches toward the new military regime was not much different from that to Park Chung-hee's military dictatorship. The churches gave legitimacy and religious blessing to Chun Doo-hwan, who had ordered the bloody suppression in Kwangju, at a National Breakfast Prayer and various political activities.[286] According to a 1988 document of parliamentary inspection of the administrations, nevertheless, the government tried to weaken religious activities engaged in social participation, block or manipulate religious events which were critical of the regime, prevent the spread of critical ideas in the religious communities, cut off international solidarity of religions, and restrict overseas travel of religious leaders.[287] As in the era of the Park's military regime, Korean churches in 1980s are characterised by the fact that the total number of believers in denominations criticising the autocratic regime did not increase and they suffered persecution because of the democratisation movement, while churches and denominations advocating the regime have grown rapidly. This situation has led to public criticism of mainstream churches and the downward trend of overall Korean church growth since the 1990s following democratisation and economic development of Korean society.[288]

2.7 Conclusion

In the age of great-power rivalry and the introduction of the Christianity in the nineteenth century, Korea, a hermit kingdom, was forced to adopt an open-door policy toward imperial powers, even though Korea had preferred to remain a Confucian society.[289] In the process of opening a port to foreign powers, the Korean mainstream society viewed

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[285] Lee Sam-sung, "Kwangjuhaksal, miguk shin'gunbuŭi hyŏpchowa kongmo" [The Kwangju Massacre: Cooperation and Collusion of the US and New Military Regime], *Yŏksabip'yŏng* 36 (1996): 79-139.
[286] Choi Hyung-mook, "The Korean Church under the Yushin System and Military Regime," *Christian Thoughts* 50 (2006): 208.
[287] Choi Jong-cheol, "Han'guk kidokkyogyohoedŭrŭi chŏngch'ijŏk t'aedo" [Political Attitudes of Korean Churches], *Kyŏngjewa sahoe* 16 [Economy and Society] (1992): 230.
[288] Choi Jong-cheol, "Political Attitudes of Korean Churches," 235-240.
[289] Samuel S. Kim, *The Two Koreas*, 8.

Christianity as an ambivalent Western threat and an alternative ideology that was expected to replace the old order. Since then, the Korean church has encountered theological challenges responding to the political changes. When Japan annexed the Korean Peninsula, Korean churches had to decide what attitude they should take toward the suppression by Japanese imperialism. Despite a smaller number of congregations than other religions, the Korean church, which had been struggling between armed protest and nonviolent resistance, led the independence movement, transcending ideological differences and banding together with communists. The war mobilisation and brutal persecution of colonial rule resulted in the division of the church between the pro-Japanese and anti-Japanese. Following liberation from colonial rule, the ideological-political conflicts of the church were likewise reinforced by the division of the country into zones controlled by the USSR and the US. The feature of the churches in North and South Korea, which advocated their respective political beliefs, was a direct consequence of the Korean War. The war's fatalities, which would be several million, caused a magnitude of the anti-communism in the Korean church, which no one disputed. Anticommunism and, later, economic development were the dominant ideologies which became the parameter between dictatorships in South Korea, the Korean church, and American imperialism, banding together for their own benefit. The political complexity and turmoil created by colonial-imperial forces have always caused the church to face theological challenges, with the question of the maintenance or abolition of the church.

Hence, it is necessary to analyse how the theological discourses have been influenced by these political fluctuations. Because colonial-imperial forces have seized political initiative in the Korean Peninsula, colonial-imperial ramifications in biblical interpretation will be discussed in the following chapters. As conveyed in a historical context of the Korean church in this chapter, the modern and contemporary history of Korea has been dominated by political issues that justice and peace are urgent. Therefore, I will focus on implementation of the biblical peace suggested in the previous chapter, counteracting imperial peace that has been forced on the Korean Peninsula.

3. Biblical Interpretation Threatened by Imperial Ramifications

3.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates colonial-imperial impacts on biblical interpretation and Christian missions in the early history of the Korean church, and the role of theological discourse in social practices during political upheaval. The modern history of Korea has been marked by war, violence, and division under colonial-imperial politics. In each of the historical stages in the Korean Peninsula, considerable ideologies have functioned as driving social actions, as well as providing intellectual maps of the social world. Since its inception in the mid-nineteenth century, Korean Protestantism has been a major force in social practices, being in close relationship with political power. Not only has the theological discourse been confined by dominant ideology, but also, churches influenced social change. Since being forced to open a door, it has been difficult to extricate Koreans from the dominant ideology initiated by imperial forces. Western missionaries were inextricably involved in creating both these social and theological discourses. Sugirtharajah points out, the Bible played a crucial role in benefiting Orientalists, missionaries, indigenous Christians and Hindus in India Missionaries, Orientalists. In the same vein, Japanese in Korea were interconnected in sharing their worldview and political-economic-religious benefit.[290] This chapter, thus, illustrates how the biblical interpretation and worldview of imperial missionaries functioned in historical tipping points set by colonial-imperial forces. Also, this chapter focuses on how theological discourse supported dominant ideologies set by imperial politics, in times of political convulsion. As Brueggemann and Cavanaugh argue, theology and political ideologies are similar, formed in the construction of metaphysical images around which communities are arranged. Especially, biblical images, metaphors, and narratives will be analysed in this chapter, in terms of whether they have disclosed the manner in which imperial phenomenon reproduces violence and injustice, or solidifies them.[291]

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[290] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and Empire*, 60-97.
[291] W. T. Cavanaugh and P. Scott, *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, 2-20; L. P. Stephenson, "Prophetically Political, Politically Prophetic," 568.

3.2 Western Missionaries

3.2.1 Warships, Missionaries, and the Bible

The moment the Bible was first handed to the Korean people by missionaries was related to Protestant overseas missions, which had been carried out with the advancement of Western imperialist countries to the East following the industrial Revolution. Requests for opening the country by warship following a flat refusal by the "hermit kingdom" led to armed clashes where both sides suffered heavy casualties. This was not only a conflict of guns and swords, as Andrew Wilcox expresses, but also of words and ideas, "the import of which was the anticipated spiritual transformation of an Oriental realm."[292] First of all, was the Bible in the midst of this spiritual conflict and transformation.

  Karl Guetzlaff, the first missionary to enter the Korean Peninsula, arrived on the warship on July 17, 1832, to investigate the ports and officials for the trade with the UK. He recalled the time he left Korea in his memoir.

> "It may be that the Bible, which was rejected at first, may have been received and heard by the King. I cannot tell if he reads the Bible but many officials and people received the Bible. The Bible teaches us that God can bless us, even if our beginnings seem humble. Let's hope that a better time will come to Korea."[293]

Robert Jermain Thomas died a missionary delivering the Bible aboard a heavily armed US merchant ship, the General Sherman in 1866. Alexander Williamson made significant achievements during his early mission work in Korea. Despite their sacrifice and passion for evangelism, they could not overcome the limitations of the imperial ideas that brought them to Korea by warship. Alexander Williamson was critical of Korea, which opposed the empires of the UK and US, as foolish, ignorant and closed. He believed that it was the duty and privilege to use the military force that God had given to open up countries like Korea.[294] Most Western missionaries at the time, including Williamson, had this imperialist thinking, which caused the anti-missionary movement in Korea and the loss of life caused by an armed clash, in which Thomas died.

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[292] Andrew Wilcox, *Orientalism and Imperialism: From Nineteenth-century Missionary Imaginings to the Contemporary Middle East* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 1.

[293] William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, Without and Within* (Philadelphia: Wercott & Thomas, 1885), 288; Park Yong-kyu, *Han'gukkidokkyohoesa* 1 [The History of Korean Protestant Church 1] (Seoul: Saengmyŏngŭimalssŭmsa, 2006), 244.

[294] Alexander Williamson, *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia: With Some Account of Corea* Vol. II, Digitally printed version (London: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 311. This edition first published 1870.

The churches that sent missionaries to Korea were the Presbyterian, Methodist, Anglican, Salvation Army and Holiness Church. In the case of Presbyterianism, four denominations in the US, Canada, and Australia sent missionaries. Each of the denominations divided the mission area in order to avoid conflict that might arise from various mission activities of different denominations on the Korean Peninsula. This regional division policy was able to avoid duplication, confusion and fierce competition in the mission area, and as the policy lasted for more than thirty years, the theological tendencies of the area became fixed according to the theological backgrounds of the denomination.[295] Above all, these structural features caused an ideological conflict and a divided Korean church. Since then, the theological and ideological topography of Korean churches has not altered much for over 100 years.

As the Bible came with imperialist warships carrying missionaries, biblical interpretation could not escape imperial propensities. Many Korean intellectuals at that time thought that Christian faith and spirit were necessary for the establishment of the state. Many Koreans wanted to become Christians in order to learn English and have new knowledge to raise themselves above their station. People with proficient English skills, a US degree, experience abroad, and acquaintance with Americans have been given far more opportunities in Korean society, leading to a better chance of success. In doing so, American modernity occupied Korean society and churches at a rapid pace.[296] In the Korean church, Americanisation has been envied and a significant condition for pastoral success and church growth, so that in the end, Americanised theology, pastoral programs and culture, including the megachurch phenomenon, have been mainstreamed in the Korean churches. The early Korean Protestant community, which spontaneously accepted the Bible and planted Christian faith into their own cultural soil, was forced to face the enormous challenges of imperialism and colonialism.

3.2.2 Theological Inclinations of American Missionaries

The direct influence of missionaries in Korea lasted until liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945. In the 1870s and early 80s, the Koreans played an independent role in the early Korean Christian community, but since 1884, as overseas missionaries came in, the roles of Koreans decreased, and missionaries led the missions in Korean.

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[295] Park Chung-shin, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 98.
[296] Jinhyun Cho, *English Language Ideologies in Korea: Interpreting the Past and Present* (Cham: Springer, 2017), 53; Kim Hyang-sook, "American Missionaries' Influence on Women's Education and English Competence in the Late Chosun Dynasty," *Gender and Culture* 6 (2013): 275-302.

Therefore, in the process of establishing the theological identity of the Korean church, the missionaries had huge influence over what was positive or negative. It is necessary to examine the beliefs and theologies of the missionaries, in order to understand the theological origin and path of Korean churches.[297]

Most of the missionaries who led early Korean Christianity were from the United States, making American missionaries the large majority of the missionaries in Korea. From 1884 to 1945, of the 1,529 missionaries who served in Korea, Americans accounted for about 70% (1,059).[298] The denominations to which American missionaries belonged, the Presbyterian and the Methodist Church, have since become major denominations in the Korean church.[299] In addition, owing to the political uniqueness of the US, they have had substantial impact on Korean society and the church. Considering the influence that the US has had on the Korean Peninsula since the early missionaries' activities, and the vigorous interchanges between South Korea and the US, it can be said that the Korean church and theology have been founded on the theological roots of American missionaries', whether the church realised it or not.

American missionaries born and raised in the historical soil of American Protestantism in the 19th century shared common elements regardless of denomination. The theological tendency of American missionaries can be inferred from their alma maters. The Presbyterian schools, where most of the missionaries studied, are Princeton Theological Seminary and McCormick Theological Seminary respectively. All 12 missionaries except for A. D. Clark studied at Princeton, which adhered to a conservative tradition before the 1920s, when several theologians left to form the Westminster Theological Seminary. Although the number of missionaries who graduated from McCormick was similar to Princeton, their impact on the Korean church was greater. In particular, S. A. Moffett, W. M. Baird, G. Lee, W. Swallen, J. E. Adams, C. A. Clark were involved in theological education in Korea, and they trained the majority of Korean pastors.[300]

Ryu Dea-young argues that Korean Protestantism, including Presbyterianism, originated from the evangelicalism of American Protestantism, in connection with missionaries' alma maters.[301] Following the Second Great Awakening Movement 1790s-1830s, the Presbyterian Church in the US divided into "Old School" and "New School"

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[297] Lee Duk-ju, "Faith and Theology of Early Missionaries in Korea," *Christianity and History in Korea* 6 (1997): 31.
[298] Kim Seung-tea and Park Hea-jin eds. *Naehansŏn'gyosa ch'ongnam* [A Comprehensive Bibliography of Missionaries in Korea] (Seoul: The Institute of the History of Christianity in Korea, 1994), 4.
[299] L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910* (Pyeongyang: Union Christian College Press, 1929), 8.
[300] Lee Duk-ju, "Faith and Theology of Early Missionaries in Korea," 38-42.
[301] Ryu Dae-young, "The Origin and Characteristics of Evangelical Protestantism in Korea at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Church History* 77:2 (2008): 371-399.

Presbyterian in 1837. The Old School, led by Charles Hodge of Princeton Theological Seminary, was theologically conservative. While the Old School called for traditional Calvinism and was not supportive of revivals, the New School, led by New England Puritans Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins, derived their perspective from a reconstruction of Calvinism and embraced revivalism. Timothy Dwight and Lyman Beecher, as prominent members of the New School, developed the evangelical concept to build the "Christian America". They were a driving force of the missionary and social movements for evangelisation and social reform.[302]

Prior to 1870, the most significant theological driver of social reform movement, led by the New School Presbyterian evangelicals, was postmillennialism, looking at the world optimistically. America became a stage for good and victory for the Second Coming of Jesus, as evangelism combined with the optimistic postmillennialism. Following the Second Great Awakening, orphanages, welfare facilities, correctional institutions, and Sunday schools were established to maintain people's faith and morality. But as the premillennialism of the pessimistic world view became an important wave for fundamentalism, spiritual salvation was emphasised. Finney led the evangelical movement, emphasising human ability in individual salvation and social reform. However, as Park Yong-kyu explains, most American Presbyterian missionaries in Korea belonged to the Old School, and had a conservative theology, which became the mainline theology of the Korean church. In particular, Lee Jae-keun highlights that the McCormick Theological Seminary made a remarkable contribution to the formation of theology, piety, and practice in the Korean church, even though this school was not the most significant theological institution in the US at that time.[303]

McCormick's theology was characterised by a fervent Pietism and a moderate Calvinist doctrine. Missionaries from McCormick established the essential characteristics and direction of the Korean Presbyterian Church until the Japanese imperialists forced them to leave Korea in 1939. They emphasised the evangelical piety of the revival movements advocated by the New School Presbyterians such as Charles Finney and Pierson along with the confessional Reformed doctrines of the Old School Presbyterian. Charles Finney set up a standard for revival assemblies, calling the names of the congregation during

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[302] George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 20-23; Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Nineteenth Century outside Europe: The Americas, the Pacific, Asia and Africa, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Vol. 3 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961), 165-168.

[303] Lee Jae-keun, "Maek'omikshinhakkyo Ch'ulshin Sŏn'gyosawa Han'guk Pokŭmjuŭi Changnogyohoeŭi hyŏngsŏng" [Missionaries from McCormick Theological Seminary and Formation of Korean Evangelical Presbyterian Church], *Han'gukkidokkyowa Yŏksa* 35 (2011): 5-46.

prayer, giving testimony, confessing sins, and organising groups for visitation.[304] At the beginning of the 20th century, premillennialism, which had dominant theological ramifications in Korea, was transplanted by McCormick missionaries. It is evident that Korean Protestantism could be founded by an indigenised and intensified form of American evangelical theology, led by McCormick missionaries.[305]

Lee Duk Ju suggests that, although early missionaries in Korea had various theological backgrounds according to their denominations, they can be summarized in three categories: 1. Puritanism, 2. Pietism, 3. Evangelism. First, Puritanism was the main background of Presbyterian missionaries who were the vast majority of missionaries in Korea. They adhered to keeping the Lord's Day, had strict ethical standards, and were exclusive to other faiths. [306] Their theological tendency was very conservative, considering liberal theology as heresy and supporting the Premillennialism of the Eschatology.[307] Under this influence, the Presbyterian Church of Korea took a selective position toward other theologies, accepting only the doctrines of its own denomination. In particular, it was indifferent to the social function of the church, applying the Gospel to society, and was primarily interested in the afterlife. They believed that God's plan for salvation for human beings was unaltered, considering humans to be depraved and unsaved. When missionaries were asked about social reform, they often responded that they were too busy preaching the Gospel to care about social issues.[308]

Second, Pietism was a characteristic found across all denominations including Presbyterian and Methodist. It sought a personal encounter with God, spiritual experience, and focused on faith training centred on prayer and Bible study. Missions and practices were emphasized, which is evident in the early revival movement triggered by missionaries. The Korean revival movement, influenced by the Religious Awakening Movement which featured individual repentance and ethical renewal, spread throughout the country. Although, Puritanism had contributed to positive changes in an individual's faith and life, it also caused ill effects such as pessimism, escapism and individualistic faith.[309]

Third, Puritanism and evangelism were gaining mainstream in the US, when missionaries were being sent to Korea. The Puritans sought a doctrine of predestination

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[304] Keith J. Hardman, *Seasons of Refreshing: Evangelism and Revivals n America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1994), 152.
[305] Lee Jae-keun, "Missionaries from McCormick," 5-46.
[306] Edmund S. Morgan, *Puritan Political Ideas 1558-1794* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2003), 10-11.
[307] A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of Far East*, 540.
[308] A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of Far East*, 541.
[309] Richard F. Lovelace, *American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origin of American Evangelism* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1979), 73-109.

and absolute faith in the Bible, and made the effort to maintain their relationship with God and assure their salvation.[310] As people of various races and cultures moved into American society, Puritanism turned to evangelism, which opened salvation to anyone. They avoided controversy about their complicated historical origins, attempting to understand them as a single nation, projecting their history biblically to Israel.[311]

Along with these features, it should be noted that religious and national goals were interlocked with the US. Nineteenth century mission boards tended to work closely with the US government, and the churches were sometimes in clear violation of the theoretical separation of church and state. According to K. J. Clymer, as early as 1820, American mission societies were financially supported by the US government for work among North American Indians.[312] In 1850, the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church stated that the "government and Christian missions should be committed to a common program" in its work among Indians.[313] A few years later, when President U. S. Grant turned administration of the reservations over to Methodist and other missions, he discarded the separation between the church and state.[314] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when many American missionaries went to Korea, the identification of religious goals with national purposes was emphasised by religious leaders. In the providential destiny of the US, many pastors often expressed a belief that God worked through nations, as well as through individuals to accomplish His purpose.[315]

Hence, the theological inclination of American missionaries is not reducible to Puritanism, but increasable to puritanical imperialism or political Evangelism. American missionaries were sent to Korea when the American churches had worldwide ambitions, and the new missionaries had fanned out to most corners of the globe by the time of the Spanish American war. They had a heightened sense of providential destiny, supported by a belief that there would not likely be much adverse reaction in the church to American political expansion. The activities of the mission boards virtually presupposed American acquisition.[316] Clymer argues that American missionaries in newly acquired American

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[310] Edmund S. Morgan, *Puritan Political Ideas 1558-1794*, 132.
[311] Martin E. Marty, *Protestantism in the United States: Righteous Empire.* 2nd Edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 77.
[312] K. J. Clymer, "Religion and American Imperialism: Methodist Missionaries in the Philippines in the Philippine Islands, 1899-1913," *Pacific Historical Review* 49 (1980): 30.
[313] W. C. Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions*, Vol. III, *Widening Horizons 1845-95* (New York: United Methodist Church, 1957), 325.
[314] Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 861; R. Pierce Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians: Two and a Half Centuries of Partnership in Missions between Protestant Church and Government* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966), 123-176.
[315] K. J. Clymer, "Religion and American Imperialism," 31.
[316] A. J. Brown, *One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. with Some Account of Countries, Peoples and the Policies and Problems of Modern Mission* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1936), 864.

territories might be expected to be unofficial agents of American imperialism.[317] The activities of the missionaries in Korea are a case in point.

3.2.3 Christian Missions Coloured by Orientalism

The relationship between theology and ideology discussed in the introduction provides a framework for understanding the worldview of American missionaries in Korea. Ideology is a set of ideas by which people posit, explain, and justify the ends and means of organised social action.[318] A. Heywood states that the two most distinctive features of ideologies are fluid sets of ideas, overlapping with other ideologies even religious discourses, and are always linked to power.[319] According to A. Pieris, although religions and ideologies can both liberate and paralyse, they can also be emancipatory through a prophetic correction of the present.[320] The prophetic task of theology is to disclose social injustice and present alternatives, refraining from power, ideology, and situations that people take for granted.[321] Given though religious discourse and national ideology were interlocked in American imperial expansion and overseas missions, as stated above, we can infer that American missionaries and their missions in Korea were coloured by imperial ideology. My two main points for discussion in the following sections are Orientalism and imperial interests, as revealed in the missionaries' missions.

  Edward W. Said redefined term "Orientalism", which had simply indicated Asian and Middle Eastern studies, as a style of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction between "the Orient" and "the occident". He analysed Western writers, presupposing the basic distinction between East and West, as the starting point of their theories, epics, novels, social descriptions and political accounts. According to Said, beyond the awareness of differences, Eastern society has been viewed as exotic, primitive, and inferior by Western attitudes, presuming Western superiority.[322] When enthusiasm for overseas missions reached a peak at the turn-of-the-century, American Protestants and missionaries considered their missions and mission fields as victories over heathenism, and benighted lands to be a lurking

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[317] K. J. Clymer, "Religion and American Imperialism," 29-50.
[318] A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 10.
[319] A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 14-15.
[320] A. Pieris, "Ideology and Religion," 29-31.
[321] M. Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 208-227; T. Eagleton, "Ideology and Its Vicissitudes," 220-221; See C. W. Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*; M. Johnson, *Moral Imagination: Implication of Cognitive Science for Ethics*; J. P. Lederach, *The Moral Imagination*; W. Brueggemann, *The Prophetic Imagination*.
[322] E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 2-4.

danger.[323] Seeing the writings of missionaries, we can find a coterminous style of thought, representing Korea as the polar opposite of the West. Early Western missionaries looked at Korea through a stereotypical recognition of the Orient. They had grown up and were educated in what they considered a superior Western culture, with a view of history and theology coloured by Orientalism. Their perceptions and descriptions of Korea were stereotypical, regarding Koreans as an inferior, strange, old-fashioned, sybaritic, and uncivilised other.[324]

We cannot say that all the images they looked at and represented were distorted by prejudice and misunderstanding, and must be careful of Occidentalism, observing the West with hostile images and antinomically distorting Western images for their own benefit, as Avishai Margalit and Ian Buruma insist.[325] In fact, the writings of the missionaries provided a foundation for Korean Studies, although there was arrogance and prejudice, and their perspectives can be only partly regarded and accepted as objective judgment. Moreover, it should be noted that Said's argument is insufficient to explain why the discourse on Orientalism contains positive elements about the Orient, as Richard King disputes.[326] This is because many of the missionaries' writings have positive reviews of their mission field. However, it stands to reason that the way they embodied Korea certainly depended on a collective definition within Orientalism, such as the Victorian discovery rhetoric.[327] Along with religious connotations, coloured by a specific theological propensity, this attitude has been infused into the Korean church and society, and has affected the formation of Korean identity.

Rosetta Sherwood Hall, who was sent to Korea from the Woman's Foreign Mission Society in America, described in detail the unfamiliar folkways and differences found in Korea, saying that everything in Korea was opposite to the West, manners in the street encountering others, ways of shaking hands, dress code at funeral ceremony, writing direction, and ways to open and close a door, etc. These differences, felt by the missionaries, stimulated curiosity and fear, and sometimes caused antipathy towards Korea. James Scarth Gale, who was influenced by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions in America, expressed his difficulties with missionary life through criticism and discontent of Korean folkways, residential environment, food, mind-set, language. Because of the heterogeneity, he illustrated Korea as a swarm of pests

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[323] K. J. Clymer, "Religion and American Imperialism," 31.
[324] Lee Hyang-soon, "Orientalism of American missionaries and Expansion of Imperialism," *Mission and Theology* 12 (2003): 209-255.
[325] See Avishai Margalit and Ian Buruma, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemy* (London: Penguin Books, 2005).
[326] See Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1999).
[327] M. L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writings and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 201-205.

because of Buddhism and the prohibition of killing, and deemed oriental etiquette a frivolous culture. He also believed there was a terrible disease in Korea due to being an uncivilised idolatrous country.[328]

In addition to Gale, other missionaries likewise complained of the food, housing, customs, and even that all the water had an unpleasant taste. The convention of wearing white clothes, traditional medicine such as acupuncture, and Korean artwork were devalued under the criteria of rationality by missionaries.[329] Owing to lack of an eye for paintings, several missionaries disdained Korean paintings, the reason being that landscape was out perspective, a feature which was often ignored in Western paintings. What was worse, Underwood reported that some of the missionaries did not want to have the sacrament with Koreans for fear of getting disease.[330] For the sake of a safe and comfortable life, American missionaries in the Far East tended to build their own communities separate from nationals. In Korea, many missionaries lived in Western-style houses, and often obtained western canned food.[331] Another cause was maliciously-crafted images within East Asian countries. According to Gilmore, due to malicious rumours in China and Japan, before they came to Korea, the missionaries imagined that Koreans were rough, nasty, and savage.[332]

Similar to the characteristics of Asia depicted by Karl Marx being tyranny, arbitrary law and the absence of private property, missionaries also criticised the political, economic and legal system in Korea.[333] Max Weber's research on China, India and Islam also inclined toward Orientalism, highlighting the differences between the East and the West by contrasting what was missing in the East with what existed in the West. He also marked Eastern society as tyranny and a stagnant system, due to the absence of a modern legal system, science, rationality, urban culture, currency. [334] Lee Hyang-soon points out that the images of the Orient, as illustrated by Marx and Weber, are in accord

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[328] James S. Gale, *Korean Sketches* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898), 11-50; *Idem., Chŏnhwan'giŭi Chosŏn* [Korea in the Transition Period] (Seoul: Chimmundang, 1999), 129-130.
[329] F. Ohlinger, ed., "The Beginnings of Medical Work in Korea" in *The Korean Repository* (Seoul: The Trilingual Press, 1892), 353-358; W. B. Scranton, *M. E. C. Report for 1886*, 270; *M. E. C. Report for 1893*, 255*;* Horace N. Allen, *Things Korean: A Collection of Sketches and Anecdotes, Missionary and Diplomatic* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908).
[330] H. G. Underwood, *Rev. Underwood's Missionary Letters (1885-1916),* trans. Kim In-soo (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2002), 191.
[331] Ryu Dea Young, "Understanding Early American Missionaries in Korea (1884-1910): Capitalist Middle Class Values and the Weber Thesis, *Archives de science sociales des religions* 113 (2001): 93-117; M. W. Noble, *The Journal of Mattie Wilcox Noble: 1892-1934* (Seoul: Han'guk Kidokkyo Yŏksa Yŏn'guso, 1993), 59.
[332] Choi Kyu Jin, "Sŏyanginŭi T'aja Kaehanggi Chosŏnin" [Korean as the Other of Westerners during the Open-port Period], *Sarim* 39 (2011): 201.
[333] K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1972), 313.
[334] Bryan S. Turner, *For Weber: Essays on the sociology of fate* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 264-265.

with images of Korea as portrayed by the missionaries.[335] Choi Kyu Jin assumes that cultural differences, lack of information, limited experience, prejudice and personal proclivity hampered an objective judgment of Korea. Western missionaries applied their criterion of Western modernity, rather than a consideration of historical and cultural context, since Gale stated that Koreans had lived for generations by instinct rather than reason.[336]

  In mission letters, which were sent to the US, H. G. Underwood also described Koreans as people who were habitual liars, and spent time on slander, because they did not have entertainment.[337] Gilmore, an American missionary, insisted that, because in the East labour is cheap, Korea society justified laziness. He reasoned that the Anglo-Saxons enjoyed a superior position in the world, stemming from tireless energy and the thinking of labour as sacred.[338] Gale stated that Koreans did not have independent thoughts, had not invented or discovered anything over the millennia, and were regressing.[339] Hulbert turned his criticism toward officials, saying that their decisions in seeking justice were arbitrary, despite the law and the judiciary.[340] Gilmore also said that "the Korean government had a weird combination of weakness, cunningness, childishness and indecisiveness found only in the Orient".[341] Samuel H. Moffett and Henry G. Appenzeller criticised the political system and bureaucracy which were based on Confucian culture as being exploitative, similar to the perspective found in Marx and Weber.[342] By illustrating the Korean as "a flabby, squatty, loose-jointed good for nothing loafer", Gale said that Koreans became exemplary Christians through Westernisation, and "although Korean men did not want to live a human life by being docile, warm, and hardworking, but now they could hold a cigarette in one hand and a pistol in the other hand."[343]

  American missionaries indicated problems with ancestor worship. Allen criticised Confucian culture that "the dead seemed to be more attentive than the living."[344] Gale

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[335] Lee Hyang-soon, "Orientalism of American missionaries," 216.
[336] Choi Kyu Jin, "Sŏyanginŭi T'aja Kaehanggi Chosŏnin," 191-228.
[337] H. G. Underwood, *Rev. Underwood's Missionary Letters (1885-1916)*, 289, 293.
[338] George William Gilmore, *Korea from Its Capital: With a Chapter on Missions* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1892), 136.
[339] J. S. Gale, *Korea in the Transition Period*, 83.
[340] Homer. B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1906), 45-68.
[341] G. W. Gilmore, *Korea from Its Capital*, 34-35.
[342] Lee Man-yeol (ed.), *Apenzeller: Han'guge On Ch'ŏt Sŏn'gyosa* [Appenzeller: The First Missionary in Korea] (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1985), 99; Samuel H. Moffett, *Map'osamyŏl Moksaŭi Sŏn'gyop'yŏnji 1890-1904* [Samuel A. Moffett's Missionary Letters 1890-1904], trans. Kim In-su (Seoul: Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary, 2000), 194.
[343] James S. Gale, "A Contrast," *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1909): 21.
[344] H. N. Allen, *Allenŭi Chosŏnch'eryugi* [Things Korean], trans. Yun Hoo-nam (Seoul: Yeyoung Communication, 1996), 174; Idem., *Things Korean: A Collection of Sketches and Anecdotes. Missionary and Diplomatic* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908).

said that ancestor worship dominated the life of the dead and the living, arguing that the Confucian, past-oriented culture held back the development of society.[345] American missionaries thought that uncivilised and primitive faith deteriorated the spirit and ruined life because of their failure to find institutional religion in Korea. Their prejudice, caused by the missionaries' failure to grasp Confucianism, the basis of Korean society's norms, values and rituals, and Buddhism, rooted in the lives of Koreas, was an example of how immersed they were in Western culture supremacy. Only Hulbert provided significant insight into understanding Korean religious traditions. He understood that Koreans were socially Confucian, philosophically Buddhist, and spirit admirers when in trouble, having no internal conflict or hostility, despite holding different belief systems and rituals. However, most American missionaries thought this feature as uncivilised by their own Western standards, which emphasised religious exclusivity.[346]

Disparaging Eastern culture in the mission field and presuming Western superiority caused the missionaries to neglect their mission, which prioritised the preaching of the Gospel. Gale saw medical missionaries as representatives of the advanced world, helping to eradicate the mindlessness and irrationality of a non-Christian country.[347] Early American missionaries tended to concentrate on education and medical missions, and several missionaries were concerned that evangelism would be secondary work. In letter to Ellinwood in 1886, Underwood expressed the desire to do more direct Christian work, Samuel Moffett also gave his opinion in his letter, that medical work was a means of evangelism, not an end.[348] In a letter to Underwood, Ellinwood of the Mission Headquarters complained that "For months we have heard almost nothing about the real spiritual work. Questions are asked me about the Orphanage and hospital school, and whether there are more inquirers, and what about the country and the people, but alas! I only know about visits to the palace and questions of relative position and influence". This reply reveals how American missionaries themselves were engaged in things other than missions.[349] In comparing the differences between American and French missions, William F. Sands, who was an American diplomat, states:

> "The French priests were primarily interested in the Christianity of their people. They were not interested in westernizing them nor in making them expert even in

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[345] J. S. Gale, *Korea in the Transition Period*, 69.

[346] Lee Hyang-soon, "Orientalism of American missionaries," 236.

[347] J. S. Gale, *Korea in the Transition Period*, 69

[348] H. G. Underwood, *Letter from Underwood to Ellinwood*, Feb. 13, 1886; Samuel A. Moffett, *The First Letters from Korea (1890-1891)* (Seoul: Presbyterian Theological Seminary Institute of Missions, 1975).

[349] Frank F. Ellinwood, *Dr. Frank F. Ellinwood's Letter to Horace G. Underwood*, Mar. 1, 1887.

a Western language. On the contrary, they conformed as nearly as possible themselves, to native customs and in many instance had nearly forgotten their own tongue. Their schools were largely orphanages, where children were brought up as Christians and married to each other at maturity to found new Christian families. They were often set down, therefore, by other Western people as obscurantists, doing nothing for the civilization of their people."[350]

Sands said that "American missions conducted hospitals and schools in which not only Western knowledge was taught, but natives were Westernised and liberalised", more to the point, it was not clear that Koreans really sought the Christianity of American missions. According to Sands, what Koreans saw was "a humanitarian ethical life, political principles which appealed to many strongly and a simple access to knowledge of Western life which they wanted and needed, but that all that life did not mean to them religion".[351] Consequently, American missionaries had evangelisation for their object, but Orientalism, which dominated their communications with and about Koreans, became a hindrance to their missions, generating confusion between Christian faith and Western civilisation. Their identity as a missionary, revealed in the writings of early missionaries, was a special representative of Christ, chosen to establish a true church in the wilderness of the world beyond the sea.[352]

3.2.4 Attitudes toward Japanese Imperialism

Said argues that Orientalism was devised as an ideology by the West, in order to justify its control of countries in other parts of the world. All the various disparate cultures had been lumped by the West, labelling as "the Orient." The reason the imperialists marked all "Orientals" as inferior beings was to enable imperialism, regarding the West as being superior and more rational. Between Western missionaries and Korean Christians, these colonial features are evident in the missions. Although, the relationship between missionaries and imperialism has long been a contentious issue among scholars, several writings and their ostensible activities, reveal how American missionaries can be identified as imperialists. As suggested in the Introduction, the fact that colonial rule over Korea was carried out by Japan, a non-Western country, can lead to ambiguity and

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[350] William F. Sands, *Undiplomatic Memories. The Far East 1896-1904* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1930), 91.
[351] W. F. Sands, *Undiplomatic Memories*, 91, 96.
[352] Park Chung-shin, "Migugŭi Yŏksa Yŏksaŭi Baird" [American History and W. M. Baird] in *Soongsil and Kidokkyo* [Soongsil University and Korean Christianity] (Seoul: Soongsil University Press, 2009), 63-76.

contradiction, but the characteristics of Orientalism, colonialism and imperialism have strong links. Colonization can be understood, not only in political sovereignty issues but also in the cultural, racial and intellectual realm that united the ruling bloc but caused the colonies to consider themselves as the other and inferior. There was a concerted effort to create the institutional procedures which systematically objectified and normalised colonised territories.[353] To put it more concretely, colonialism divides the world between civilisation and barbarism, master and slave, advanced and backward, progress and stagnation, centre and periphery, truth and falsehood, good and evil.[354] Although colonialization represents a hostile civilisation, it is not always repressive. Colonised people, primarily elites, create a subjective identity for themselves, thinking that they can someday become like modern Western countries.[355] This symbolic system causes us to establish the criteria for value judgments and gives direction to behaviours, which can be expressed as Protestant ethics, as Weber suggested.[356] In general, religion functions as a symbolic system that allows people to interpret the world consistently, to organise and give meaning their experiences in an orderly manner.

Choi Kyu Jin demonstrates missionaries' viewpoints on Korea through the analytical framework of Edward E. Said. He discusses that missionaries look at themselves as being dynamic, innovative and expansionist, while they understood Korea to be static in time and place, incapable of defining itself, granting to missionaries the authority of the spectator to be the judge and jury of Korean tradition and culture.[357] The writings of several missionaries show clearly that they considered themselves the superior, rational, and civilised race, justifying imperialistic invasion and expansion. As mentioned before, the origin of the Korean church was in the context of the relationship between the missions and imperialism. For Koreans, the situation was not a general case between Western mission and Western imperialism, but a distinctive circumstance between Western mission and non-Western imperialism. Because the concept of missions at that time meant preaching the Gospel and civilization, the missions in Korea did not reject imperialism. Rather, missionaries were not concerned about Japanese imperialism, but,

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[353] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 19.

[354] Park Hae-nam. "Colonial Modernity and Christianity: Focused on the Formation of Korean Protestant Ethic in the Period of the Korean Empire." *Korean Association of Sociology of Religion* (2010): 7–9.

[355] David Scott, "Colonial Governmentality" in *Anthropologies of Modernity: Foucault, Governmentality, and Life Politics*, ed. Jonathan Xavier Inda (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 23-49.

[356] Park Hae-nam. "Colonial Modernity and Christianity," 9.

[357] Choi Kyu Jin, "Sŏyanginŭi T'aja Kaehanggi Chosŏnin," 191-228.

rather, the non-Christian tendencies of Japan.[358]

   Gale often assessed Korea as a less advanced society by comparing Korean civilisation to the West, and Japan which had accepted Western civilisation and was transplanting it into Korea. In an article *A Contrast*, negating the brutality of the colonial rule, he described how Korea benefited from Westernisation by Japanese imperialism.[359] Homer B. Hulbert, an American missionary, journalist and political activist, likewise had a positive attitude towards Japanese occupation, as he viewed the Japanese as agents of reform, although he later criticised their colonial rule. He said that Japan could make a remarkable transformation by turning away from cruel and stubborn exclusivism, and toward a vast and enthusiastic globalism. Highlighting feudalism as a preparatory process for the development of a free self-government, he projected that Korean and Chinese society could achieve historical and social development through outside help such as Western countries or Westernised Japan.[360] Several American missionaries criticized Japanese atrocities when Japanese assassins murdered the Korean empress Myeongseong, but they generally maintained favourable and friendly relations with Japan.[361] For example, Ito Hirobumi, in spite being a perpetrator of annexation, delivered a speech at a hospital and organisations established by American missionaries. Even when Koreans resisted the cruel colonial policy, the missionaries sought friendly relations with the Japanese authorities for the benefit of their own activities. Although several missionaries were resistant to the imperialist occupation, they usually watched from the side lines, turning a blind eye to the suffering and violence.[362]

   American missionaries and Japanese imperialists had an almost identical viewpoint of Korea, differentiated by considering Korea respectively as a mission field or a colony. The following is the general viewpoint of Japanese imperialists about Korea. First, Japan-Korea annexation was a coalition of the two countries, with Japan as the prime mover while Korea played a passive role in the relationship. Thus, it was inevitable that there was a difference in grade between Japan and Korea. Second, Korea had belonged to China for the last two thousand years, during which there was a period when it was subordinate to Japan. Third, Japan was independent from ancient times, and Koreans who belonged to China should be happy to be under Japanese rule. Fourth, there was no value in current Korean culture because of the retrogression of the culture, though the ancient culture was not without worth. Fifth, Japan helped bring Koreans out of

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[358] Akifumi Nagata, "American Missionaries in Korea and U.S.-Japan Relations 1910-1920, *The Japanese Journal of American Studies*, No. 16 (2005): 159-175.

[359] James S. Gale, "A Contrast," *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1909): 21.

[360] Lee Hyang-soon, "Orientalism of American missionaries," 229-230.

[361] H. B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, 129-147.

[362] J. S. Gale, *Korea in the Transition Period*, 137.

poverty. Sixth, perhaps due to misrule, Koreans were morally deficient. Seventh, Koreans' flunkeyism was evidence that they were ineligible for independence and self-reliance.[363]

As mentioned above, according to the reports and writings of the missionaries, they were the ones who brought and presented the Gospel, while Koreans passively accepted it as their salvation. Koreans and their culture were inferior beings to be civilised by the missionaries and the Gospel, and the only way for true happiness for Koreans was through the Gospel presented by the missionaries. Because Koreans were not able to stand on their own feet, the help of Japanese imperialists and missionaries was essential for the time being. Korean traditional culture was also regarded as inferior and immoral, to be replaced by Christianity and Westernisation. The corrupt officials, undeveloped administrative system and laws showed why foreign forces such as missionaries and the Japanese should intervene in Korean affairs. Thus, although the missionaries and the Japanese had distinct differences between the West and the East, religion and politics, evangelism and colonial rule, their consciousness and attitudes toward Korea, coloured by Orientalism and imperialism, had distinct similarities.

As discussed in the previous chapter, after a nationwide protest against colonial rule, Japan changed their colonial governance from the direct military rule of the first ten years to cultural rule, allowing a limited degree of freedom of expression. Although it seemed to alleviate discrimination against Koreans, the number of police increased and newspapers containing articles critical of the Japanese were suspended, discontinued or deleted. On the surface, it was an appeasement policy, but in fact it was a deceptive measure to improve international opinion, which had been exacerbated by the brutal suppression and massacre of the independent movement. However, this alteration in colonial rule had a great impact on the Korean Protestant church, responding to the mission policy of the missionaries to form cosy relationships with colonial authorities, and focus on the expansion of the church. A change of front brought high growth of the church, resulting in the number of Protestants exceeding 250,000 in 1924 and 300,000 in early 1930s. On top of superficial alterations, salient changes had also been made in preaching and faith. Since the 1920s, preaching has prompted churches to move toward strengthening ecclesiastical authority and conforming to the existing state system. Majority of preacher instigated separation between faith and national issues, saying that Christians who followed Jesus for social improvement or national consciousness were improper, and the church was not a place to discuss social political and international

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[363] Fusazo Kato, "Chosŏnsoyoŭi Chinsang" [The Truth of Agitation in Korea], *Kyŏngsŏngilbosa* (1920): 6-7.

issues such as justice and peace. [364] These biblical interpretations and preaching, distorted by imperialistic implications, have continued the dominant homiletic features in the Korean Protestantism.

3.2.5 Missions and Imperialistic Interests

To borrow a line from K. J. Clymer, "American missionaries spread both the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Gospel of increased American imperial influence."[365] In Korea, they especially used American privilege to exercise political influence. As Christianity added a new impetus to the expansion of empire, American missionaries rationalized their mission and imperialistic expansion with the assumption that they were saving a barbaric, pagan world by spreading Christian civilization. According to William Franklin Sands, who was a US diplomat best known for his service in Korea on the eve of Japanese colonial rule, missionaries and Koreans had already recognized that Christian missions had imperialistic features. He said that Koreans felt the nationalistic characteristics of missionaries and Westerners were engaged in the spiritual business for political power. Koreans thought that Christian missions were inevitably protected by weaponry, whether or not it was legitimate. People recognised the spiritual ardour of the missionaries and the perfect readiness for possible martyrdom. However, people also saw that the US government was ready to cover the missionaries with their mantle of US subjects or citizenship.[366] One American missionary was angry because a warship did not move in when he was in difficulty, and complained that warships that did not protect missionaries were useless.[367]

  According to reports and letters between missionaries and the Mission Headquarters, American churches and missionaries thought that they had the power to dethrone the Korean king, and enact laws. American missionaries thought of themselves as the advance guard of American imperialism. A letter sent by Underwood to the Mission Headquarters included opinions on the Russian and Japanese imperialism surrounding the Korean Peninsula. Underwood expected that Japan was likely to take control of Korea, which would benefit the political situation of the US in Korea. He reported that American missionaries did not want to interfere in any way with the domination of Japan

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[364] Kim In-seo, "Nŏhŭi-do Ttohan Kagoja Hanŭnya?" [Do You Also Want to Go?], *Shinangsaenghhwal* (1932): 7-10; Song Chang-geun, "Onŭl Chosŏn'gyohoeŭi Samyŏng" [Mission of the Korean Church Today], *Shinhakchinam* (1933): 21-26.
[365] K. J. Clymer, "Religion and American Imperialism," 31.
[366] W. F. Sands, *Undiplomatic Memories*, 87-88.
[367] H. N. Allen, *Things Korean*, 200; Lee Hyang-soon, "Orientalism of American missionaries," 242.

in Korea.[368] He also commented that if Russia took the advantage in negotiations with Japan in 1903, it would reduce the activities of American missionaries, and that the Russo-Japanese War could and should be profitable rather than obstacle to the US. He sent a letter to the US government, hoping the US would take responsibility for all matters in the Orient, just as the US had intervened between Russia and China and pushed Russia out of Manchuria.[369]

There was controversy as to whether missionaries should carry out political affairs. Several American missionaries intervened in politics and were treated as quasi-diplomats, and the homes of missionaries became centres for extraterritorial or juridical justice as well as the legation. Thus, American missionaries played a role, in not only spreading the Christian faith, but also in the political power and legal jurisdiction of the US. At that time, the royal family in Korea was favourable towards American missionaries because of the political and military power of the US. In some cases, missionaries became political advisors or even diplomats involved in Korean politics and diplomacy.[370] Horace Newton Allen, who was a medical doctor and the first American Protestant missionary in Korea, became part of the United Legation to Korea, and was appointed Secretary in 1890 and US minister and Consul General in 1897. Likewise, major missionaries, such as Underwood, Moffett and Gifford, and the Mission Headquarters in the US, in 1901 helped the Prince Yi Kang, the fifth son of the king Gojong of Korea, study in the US. As the world powers were fighting for hegemony in the Korean Peninsula, the Prince's move was politically sensitive. For missionaries, and the Mission Headquarters, to arrange for him to go to the US was for the political interest of the US.[371]

Following the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, missionaries, including Allen, were concerned about the reduction of rights on the Korean Peninsula, and even criticized the US for failing to secure economic interests and political influence in the process of annexation. They said that, although the US did not colonize Korea, it should never give up its national interest. Allen and several other missionaries intervened in their own interests and took development profit through claiming mining rights to a goldmine and railway building concession. As well as a goldmine and railway, Hulbert mentioned that American missionaries were claiming the high ground in the education, gaining the confidence of the government and people and obtaining business rights to build a streetcar track, power plants, and water supply. He was convinced that no matter

[368] H. G. Underwood, *Rev. Underwood's Missionary Letters*, 410; *Idem., Letter from Underwood to Ellinwood*, Dec. 21, 1901.
[369] Lee Hyang-soon, "Orientalism of American missionaries," 250.
[370] Lee Hyang-soon, "Orientalism of American missionaries," 243-245.
[371] H. G. Underwood, *Rev. Underwood's Missionary Letters*, 409.

where he went in the world, there was no place like Korea to invest US capital.[372]

Their rationale was that it was their duty to increase the commercial interests of the American people. Allen worked as both missionary and diplomat, and some missionaries resigned from their missions and worked for US companies in Korea. Consequently, American missionaries could not be considered unrelated to imperialistic expansion and profit, although this was not actively pursued by all missionaries. In particular, they regarded Koreans, the object of their missions, from the standpoint of Orientalism and imperialism, believing it was their purpose to enlighten and civilize Koreans with the superior Christian civilization. They considered their own political interests and thought about the war from the stance of imperialism, rather than Christian evangelism, even when the Korean people, the object of the missions, were suffering in the competition between the powers. In this perspective, Korea was not recognized as victim of imperialism but rather missionaries devoted themselves to American imperialism, in favour of Japanese imperialism.[373]

The Korean mainstream churches and theologians have praised the missionaries highly for preaching the Gospel in Korea and having affection for Korea. Horace G. Underwood, who was officially the first Western missionary in Korea, worked in various fields and left a significant legacy in the Korean church. He often expressed a deep affection for Korea, saying that "Korea is the country that is nearest to my heart."[374] For four generations, his descendants, who were born in Korea and had Korean names, have contributed to Korean society, in medicine and education, even though they were educated in the US. In particular, his son protested against Japanese imperialism, a grandson participated in the Korea War, and a great-grandson, who resisted the Korean military dictatorship, was expelled from South Korea. Because of the Underwood family background and his conflicts with pro-Japanese missionaries, H. G. Underwood has been portrayed as a protester against Japanese imperialism by several historians.

For example, Hong Ee-pyo claims, based on an address by Underwood, that his mission work had a large role in encouraging Korean people to rebuild a crumbling country and resist Japanese imperialism. This is an address, delivered by Underwood at the Annual Convention of the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance in 1892.

> "Korea is the country that is nearest to my heart. … O! brothers, let us, each one of us, go down on our knees before our Master, before our God, and ask him to

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[372] Homer. B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, 457-460.
[373] Lee Hyang-soon, "Orientalism of American missionaries," 251-253.
[374] Horace G. Underwood, "Address", *Report of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance* (Pittsburgh: Murdoch, Kerr and Co., 1892), 53-54.

search our heart. If there be any worldly way in us let us earnestly how before God and ask God go show us what is right. … They are coming to us to learn of Christ. O! I could tell you place after place where they are asking us for the Gospel. O! We bring it home today, and we want you to remember it. What we want now is men".[375]

As we can see from the above statement, it is not clear whether Underwood wanted to nurture people who would rebuild the country and resist Japanese invasion. Rather, as noted earlier, the emphasis on the Gospel, which is a general feature of American missionaries, stands out in the address. In his letter to A. J. Brown of the Mission Headquarters in the US, Underwood was concerned about Japanese interference in authorising the establishment of schools. Earnest Hall also said that it was necessary to take a stand on the issue of the intervention. Hong Ee-pyo also viewed these concerns as strong backlash against Japan, but it is not sure whether it was opposition to Japanese imperialism or simply complaints and concerns about the Japanese interference. Although, the Japanese Resident-General of Korea kept watch on the missionaries' movements, this does not indicate antipathy of the missionaries towards Japan. According to Hong Ee-pyo, Underwood's address at the YMCA in September 1909 is evidence of his struggle with Japanese imperialism. However, Underwood advised to determine and expect that Korea was an independent country. Seeing the full text, he highlighted several times the revival and spread of the Gospel, and at the end he asked not to forget that Korea was an independent country. In addition, this speech was made just before the annexation of the Korean Peninsula, which is somewhat unreasonable to view as a resistance to colonial rule.

  Another example of the complexity and ambiguity found in the attitudes of missionaries is Edwin W. Koons, who was an American missionary and principal of the Kyungshin School. He expressed an accommodative position toward the Shinto Shrine rituals, which were regarded as a pro-Japanese activity during the colonial period, but, later participated in anti-Japanese warfare. Ryu Dea-young argues that to understand his attitude, emphasis needs to be placed on Koons liberal theological background, and Ryu searched for reasons for Koons' resistanceto the Japanese. Koonsdid not join most of his colleagues when they were leaving Korea, and we need to pay attention to his participation in the American psychological warfare during the Pacific War.[376] Regardless of his particular concern about Korea or antipathy toward the Japanese, we do not see

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[375] H. G. Underwood, "Address," 53-54.
[376] Ryu Dae-young, "American Presbyterian Missionary Edwin W. Koons: The Shinto Shrine Controversy and Participation in Anti-Japanese Psychological Warfare", *The Dong Bang Hak Chi* [The Journal of Korean Studies] 170 (2015): 113-145.

any evidence that there was a complete alteration in his mind-set, which had been coloured by Orientalism and imperialism.

Most of the missionaries in Korea had a deep affection for Korea, although they embraced a Western supremacist mentality and sometimes prioritised the interests of their home country. While the US supported Japanese colonial rule, there were several missionaries who protested against Japan when they witnessed human rights abuses and church repression. Despite their affection and devotion to Korea, missionaries could not escape from the worldview filtered by their theology, Orientalism and imperialism. Their reading of the Bible had been also coloured by their worldview. It cannot be denied that specific attitudes of missionaries depended on specific situations, but a holistic understanding both of what they had been affected by, and what they influenced, is essential in evaluating them. These influences, are somewhat revealed in their sermons.

3.2.6 General Features of the Preaching

Postcolonial scholars have been mindful of how reading the Bible connects to the world as a political commitment to resist or aggravate suppression.[377] Since the early history of Korean church, homiletical discourses have contributed to the constitution of all dimensions of social structure, and the power which shapes and constrains it. As Sugirtharajah investigates the Victorian preachers of the nineteenth century, I also recapitulate the homiletical features of American missionaries to elucidate how their biblical interpretation influenced colonial Korean society.[378] As mentioned in the introduction, social themes are shaped by discursive practices, while being able to simultaneously reshape and restructure those practices. The interaction between preaching and the listener can be considered to be part of a broader social dimension of discourse, which is not only a form of institutional communication, but also constitutes discursive and social practices in forming public opinion, driving social action, and changing policies.[379] Provided that the theological foundation of Korean churches was laid by missionaries, the theological-ideological-social position of missionaries can be regarded as a decisive factor in determining the many aspects of Korean Protestantism. This section explores sermons of missionaries by classifying preaching behaviour, preachers, and homiletical texts.

In contemporary times, the homiletic term "proclamation" has raised questions of the effectiveness of top-down authority, and the kind of authority a preacher has in a public

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[377] Uriah Y. Kim, "Time to Walk the Postcolonial Talk," 271-278.
[378] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and Empire*, 60-97.
[379] T. van Dijk, "Discourse as Interaction in Society," 1-37.

space. Ronald J. Allen and several others have noted the need for "conversational preaching", promoting interactions between preachers and congregations, texts and the world, and the church and theology, to foster relationship and a mutual search for truth.[380] In early Korean churches, Bible study meetings initiated by the participants had participative, performative and, in part conversational features. In the pulpits of the early Korean church, the missionaries absolutized the authority of the preacher, monopolising the pursuit of the truth, and widening the gap between the preacher and the congregation. The top-down preaching of missionaries was strengthened by their attitudes towards Koreans, moulded by Orientalism, thinking of congregations as those who were inferior and needed salvation and enlightenment. In missionaries' sermons and letters, Koreans were often described as those who were "coming to learn of Christ" or "asking us for the Gospel".[381]

Accentuating a life free from the fetters of old conventions, the narrative system of their sermons was structured in regard to preachers as those who brought salvation and listeners as those who must obey sacred commandments. Educated by similar theologies and worldviews in the nineteenth century, American missionaries shared a dichotomous narrative or a code of good and evil, light and darkness, and soul and body. Sen as belonging to the Orient, Koreans were incorporated into evil, darkness and body, trying to gratify their physical desires. In contrast, preachers were on the side of those who proclaimed to give good, light, and sacred spirit. As early nineteenth century French author Chateaubriand "called upon Europe to take on the the responsibility of teaching the Orient about the meaning of liberty", missionaries taught the ethical virtues they considered to be new to Koreans, as if these had not been present for thousands of years in Korea. For Chateaubriand, the Orientals required conquest as instruction in liberty, authoritative preaching was understood as a redemptive act to liberate a degenerate world.[382] Missionaries' sermons reflected a corollary that can be summed up as follows: biblical inerrancy and verbal inspiration, personal and spiritual salvation, human sinfulness, depravity, evangelism, the exclusiveness of Christian faith, dualism of body and soul, and dichotomy of good and evil.

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[380] Ronald J. Allen, *Interpreting the Gospel: An Introduction to Preaching* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 1998), 63-95; Ronald J. Allen and O. Wesley Allen, Jr., *The Sermon without End: A Conversational Approach to Preaching* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2015); John S. McClure, *The Roundtable Pulpit: Where Leadership and Preaching Meet* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1995); Lucy Atkinson Rose, *Sharing the Word: Preaching in the Roundtable Church* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005); Joseph M. Webb, *Preaching and the Challenge of Pluralism* (St. Louis: Chalice, 1998); O. Wesley Allen, Jr. *The Homiletic of All Believers: A Conversational Approach to Proclamation and Preaching* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005); Frank A. Thomas, "Preaching and Moral Imagination," *Encounter* 78.2 (2018), 65-66.
[381] H. G. Underwood, "Address," 53-54.
[382] E. Said, *Orientalism*, 172.

The missionaries' volition to civilise Korean society ethically was connected to a strict moral compass, set forth by their Puritanism and Pietism. One reason the missionaries emphasised diligence and sincerity in their sermons was because they gauged Koreans according to their own idea of modernity at the time. In particular, the salient features found in the sermons of the American missionaries was a moral life through salvation. Missionaries were sometimes opposed and threatened, because the missionaries were claiming a very ascetic life based on Western standards, and paganising native customs, including ancestor worship. The stress on severance from old customs and habits prevailing in society at that time was embodied in the prohibition of concubinage, alcohol, smoking, and gambling.[383] Samuel A. Moffett, an American missionary, devoted himself to evangelism and the establishment of the church, as evidenced in expressions in his sermons such as "the way of the cross", "the Gospel of salvation", and "the church". Describing Korean society at that time as full of sin, forgiveness of sin as the uniqueness of Christianity was repeated in his preaching. He understood that bringing the development of human society through the Gospel as the only way to hope for a better future. Accepting the Gospel of Jesus Christ and putting down old immoral practices was suggested as the pressing issue. Moffett said that the uniqueness of Christianity was to forgive sins, emphasising a total ban on falsehood, theft, adultery and murders. He thought that the prominent mission of the missionary was not just to teach what was right or wrong, but to preach Jesus, reminding Koreans that they had already fallen into sin and were hopeless and helpless.[384]

Eugene Bell, an American Presbyterian missionary, opened clinics and toured the country with medical missionary William B. Harrison, to preach and treat patients. Although the period of his activity was so intense that the Empress was murdered by the Japanese, and the King and Princes were under threat, his sermons focused on urging Korean to change their customs. He demanded following regulations according to Christian ethics. In analysing 40 sermons of the American missionary John Thomas, according to topics, 17 were about sin and rebirth, 11 were faith and ways of living, 7 were baptism and sanctifications. In *Sin and its Remedy*, for example, he enumerated the characteristics and types of sins, and without quotations from the Bible presented, Jesus as the cure. In *God's Method for Sanctification*, the body of the newlywed was expressed as a metaphor for sanctification, suggesting separation from all dirty things, likewise without biblical quotations. The signs of the Second Coming were viewed as moral depravity in his sermon the *Second Coming* (Hebrews 9:28), stating that

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[383] Lee Duk-ju, *Han'gukkyohoe Iyagi* [A Story of the Korean Church] (Seoul: Shinhakkwajisŏngsa, 2009), 118.
[384] Samuel A. Moffett, *Letter to Mr. Haslup in June 29, 1896.*

preparation for the Second Coming was to maintain ethically chaste. His sermon *The Dissimilar Yoke* (2 Corinthians 6:11-7:1) was emphatic on the distinctive life of Christians, saying that there should be an ethical distinction in occupation, friendship, marriage, etc. and that this was the holy life. Cheong In-kyo, in his study on the American missionaries of the Holiness Church in Korea, argues that the theological features of their sermons can be summed up in emphasising confession of sins, holiness and purity of life in a depraved world, the Second Coming of Christ, and Divine Healing that reflected the tendencies of the Holiness Movement in the US.[385]

These theological tendencies led to highlighting spiritual experience, personal ethics, and post-mortem salvation in their sermons. The sceptical views towards the social system and the capabilities of Koreans were combined with the theological backgrounds of the missionaries, resulting in a particular preaching tendency. For this reason, the topic of evangelism and soul salvation is the greatest part of the preaching. The primary purpose of preaching and ministry for Underwood was that Koreans would be redeemed from sin by Jesus Christ. Thus, the cardinal principles of the Gospel were included in his sermons. In his sermon, *Counting It All as Garbage* (Phil. 3:8-10) delivered at the first Korean Presbyterian General Assembly, he emphasised the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the joy of suffering with Jesus. In *Next World* (Jn. 14:2), he said that our name would be written in heaven, that all our wealth would be laid up in heaven, and that we would always be happy.[386]

As discussed in Chapter 1, the majority of biblical texts and discourses cannot be fully understood outside their historical-political-economic-social context including imperial ramifications. For example, even the doctrine of salvation after death or biblical eschatology reflect imperial suppressions. The concept of holiness, which is deemed as spiritual, individual, and ethical, is also formed by imperial-colonial circumstances, such as the Exile of biblical Israel.[387] However, rather than an in-depth interpretation of biblical texts through a historical approach, sermons were characterised by selecting one or two biblical verses dealing with doctrine-related topics, which were mostly about evangelism and personal salvation. Their sermons were a hindrance to a sense of social justice and national peace, causing the Bible to be confined as a tool in the search for individual prosperity.

Similarly, H. G. Appenzeller, an American missionary and doctor who laid the

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[385] Cheong In-gyo, "Ch'ogisŏnggyŏlgyohoe Sŏn'gyosadŭrŭi Sŏlgyoe Kwanhan yŏn'gu" [A Study on the Preaching of Early Holiness Church Missionaries], *Theology and Mission* 36 (2010): 9-10.
[386] H. G. Underwood, "Taŭm Sesang" [The Next World], trans. Hong Seung-pyo, *Christian Thoughts* 657 (2013): 92-97.
[387] W. Kornfeld and H. Ringgren, "*qdsh*," 521; D. P. Wright, "Holiness," 237-249; B. Vawter and L. J. Hoppe, *Ezekiel*, 48.

foundation for Korean Methodism, was mainly concerned with saving souls from sin. He believed that being sent by God to bring salvation to Korea was his greatest and only mission, confessing that he willingly gave his life to lay a cornerstone of the church. In his early sermons and activities, he highlighted personal salvation by specific expressions "God's gift", "the crown of life", "God's reward", "immortality", "immutable will", "unbelief and death". The goal of his sermons was to testify the Gospel of salvation, stressing rebirth, justification, and sanctification as the starting point of Christian faith. Appenzeller is well-known for attempting to civilise Korean society in many ways. His prime motivation, as a missionary, educator, journalist and publisher, was his viewpoint, reflecting the perspectives of Orientalism, that Korea should be enlightened. For him, the darkness of Korea was the stupidity of people, corruption of officials, conflicts of class society, and threat of foreign powers. He perceived the cause of the problems to be sin and a lack of personal belief, and found solutions in repentance and Christian civilisation. In an Easter sermon, Jesus resurrected from the darkness of death, was introduced as giving Koreans light and freedom to escape from restraint. Called by some "a pioneer of civilisation", he tried to enlighten Korean intellectuals to act as agents of Christian civilisation. He believed the reign of God referred to a society civilised by personal faith, rather than social justice and peace.[388]

Charles A. Clark likewise believed that the intrinsic role of preacher was stipulated by delivering the way of Christ's life, leading a life, which is subject to death, an eternal life. Likewise, an essential factor of preaching was to impress and exhort people to conform to God's plan and purpose for salvation. Clark insisted that preaching and preachers aimed to renew people's lives and to free themselves from sins to enjoy the eternal pleasures of God. He also noted that sowing and reaping for salvation was the preacher's mission. The conclusion of his book, *Homiletics*, reiterates the top priority of preachers is to find and save the lost sheep through repeated soul-seeking sermons. Examining the preaching of Clark, Kim Un-yong gives reasons why Clark had a greater impact on early Korean preachers than anyone else. First, being a seminary professor of homiletics, Clark trained many students and lay people, enabling them to become evangelists and preachers. Second, touring across the country evangelising and preaching enabled him to interact with many people. Third, the various books he wrote have long been available to pastors and laymen. For example, he published articles of preaching for 25 years in the *Shinhakjinam*, the theological journal in Korea. Fourth,

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[388] H. G. Appenzeller, "The Work and Office of the Holy Spirit," in *H. G. Apenzeller Papers-Sermons* (Seoul: Chong-Dong First Methodist Church, 1986), 169; Kim Un-yong, *Han'gukkyohoe Sŏlgyo Yŏksa* [The Korean Church and History of Preaching] (Seoul: Saemulgyŏlp'ŭllŏsŭ, 2018), 76-85.

unlike other missionaries, he set up a preaching ministry based on a Bible-centred pastoral theology. Clark defined the Korean church as a "Bible believing and Bible loving church". Although he was more influential than anyone else, the striking features of his preaching were the basic elements of the Gospel, similar to the other missionaries.[389]

As in the case of Clark, the missionaries' impact on Korean preachers has been enormous in theology, topic, and form of preaching. Stacy L. Roberts, who graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary, noted that the essential factor of preaching was the crucifixion, highlighting the Gospel itself. His sermons were well-reputed as being well-organised and logical, and suggested typical means for preaching, which later became main characteristics of sermons in Korea, divided into three main topics, and each of them subdivided into 4-5 essential points. Similar trends are found in the cases of William M. Baird and William N. Blair, encouraging Christian values and the formation of Christian culture. In particular, Blair's preaching led to a spiritual awakening and revitalisation of the church. William L. Swallen studied at McCormick Theological Seminary and was sent as an American Presbyterian missionary in 1892. He was fluent in Korean, established a seminary in Korea, and taught the Bible as a professor. Kim Ik-du, an early Korean pastor, was converted by Swallen's sermon on eternal life, which had impressed many people at a revival meeting.[390]

Given the theological backgrounds of the American missionaries, we can speculate that their sermons were directed toward personal, spiritual, and doctrinal, rather than historical, social and liberational. It can also be assumed that their sermons were aimed at living ethical lives, a hope for better living conditions, and a thoroughly Westernised faith. However, it should be noted that the positionality of the missionaries shaped their understanding of the Bible and its texts. As well as White Americans, they were educationally privileged, religiously conservative Protestants, and socially upper-middle class. As stated in the introduction, ideology and discourse are always linked to power, and to structure what we think and how we act.[391] Their individual and denominational inclinations were closely bound up with American imperial ideology and interests. Their worldview, mission, understanding of the Bible, and of Koreans tended to be limited by a net-like imperial ideology. It is rare to find sermons pointing out the oppression, violence, and exploitation enacted by the colonial-imperial forces. The theological imagination that the missionaries created in the pulpit was used as a tool for escaping from reality and maintaining the interests of power holders, rather than critically pulling

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[389] Kim Un-yong, *History of Preaching*, 94-104.
[390] Kim Un-yong, *History of Preaching*, 111-112.
[391] A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 14-15.

back from the oppressive situation and imagining the alternatives.[392] For this reason, Korean Protestants have not seen themselves as free subjects in thought or action. American faith, values and culture, even Korean preachers, the theological heirs of America, have gained in strength, with the Korean identity being formed by setting against itself up as a surrogate, even underground self. To date, the main trend of preaching of the Korean church has not gotten out from under the missionaries' homiletic influences. A striking feature of missionaries' sermons was that it was difficult to find political issues, even though the situation of their missions was further exacerbated by radical political change. A doctrine of separation between the church and politics lies at the heart of their homiletical tendency, which will be discussed in the next section.

3.2.7 Separation between the Church and Politics

Considering the imperialistic propensities of American missionaries, despite the fact that they were closely involved in their own national interests, they were reluctant to deal directly with sensitive political issues, as that would have generated political conflict.[393] As the result of this apolitical inclination, personal, spiritual, and moral aspects were accentuated in their sermons. From the early days of their missions in Korea, Western missionaries, particularly Americans, sought to maintain an amicable relationship with state power. On the birthday of an emperor or prince, the churches would hold a congratulatory party and raise the national flag above the church. Missionaries consistently taught that people should not intervene in government affairs, should serve the emperor as an allegiant, and obey national law and government officials. Even when Japanese imperialists invaded the Korean Peninsula by armed force, the missionaries stayed in line with imperialism.[394] These political tendencies of the missionaries were not solely on an individual level but were also the official theological position of the Korean church and had great influence on church and society. It was the Council of the Presbyterian Church in September 1901, which adopted the first resolution on the relationship between church and politics in the history of Korean church. At that time, the management of the Korean Presbyterian Church was through American missionaries, because Korean pastors had not yet been ordained. The five provisions promulgated in this council were as follows:

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[392] T. van Dijk, "Discourse as Interation in Society," 24; N. Fairclough, "Language and Power," 216.

[393] Hong Chi-mo, "Ch'ogi Sŏn'gyosadŭrŭi Shinanggwa Shinhak: Changnogyohoerŭl Chungshimŭro" [Faith and Theology of Early Presbyterian Missionaries], *Shinhakchinam* 51 (1984): 128-139.

[394] Park Qu-Hwan, "A Critique on the Statism," 183-184.

1. Our pastors have decided not to interfere with the jobs of the nation, government and administrations.

2. Churches must follow the agreement between Korea and the home country of the missionary. The work of the church is different from the work of the nation. We teach members of our church that the church is not a community of political activists supporting the nation.

3. Although the Korean people become members of the church, they are still Korean, as they were before. We teach our members to not disobey word of God, to serve the emperor with absolute fidelity, and to obey the laws and officials.

4. The church does not encourage or prohibit attendance at political parties. If a member of church makes a mistake, commits a crime or is disadvantaged in doing work for the nation, the church does not cover up and is not responsible for the member's fault.

5. The church is a holy place and not a place for national affairs. The chapel and other places belonging to the church are for the work of the church. The church is not a place to gather to discuss national affairs, and members cannot discuss political issues anywhere in the church, including the private residence of pastor and church institutions.

All the brothers and sisters in Christ must do what we teach.[395]

There were several reasons American missionaries had these political theological positions to separate church and politics. First, they tried to protect the church from the convolutions of the political situation. If Christians were intensely involved in political issues, there would be problems in the maintenance or possible abolition of the church. Above all, the primary concern of the missionaries was to retain religious power and increase the number of Christians. They had an attitude of peaceful coexistence with the existing political power, to avoid infringement to their freedom of religion.[396] Second, it was important for American missionaries to respond to US policy in Asia. For this reason, missionaries kept their distance from the national movement in Korea and maintained an attitude of conforming to state power. They criticized the churches that participated in the independence movement, and exhibited tacit support for the Japanese invasion and colonialism in the line with US policy.[397] Third, as aforementioned, most missionaries

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[395] "News about Presbyterian Council," *Kŭrisŭdoshinmun*, October 3rd 1901.
[396] Park Qu-Hwan, "A Critique on the Statism," 184.
[397] Ryu Dae-young, *Kaehwagi Chosŏn'gwa Miguk Sŏn'gyosa: Chegukchuŭi Ch'imnyak, Kaehwajagang, Kŭrigo Miguk Sŏn'gyosa* [Early Modern Korea and American Missionaries:

were politically and theologically conservative. William Ninde, who was a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in US, and visited Korea in 1895, wrote in his report on Korea that Methodist missionaries in Korea were very conservative. Charles Allen Clark, who worked as a remarkable missionary in Korea for 40 years, also recalled the 50th anniversary of Korean missions and stated that the key to success of the Presbyterian Church of the USA in Korea was that its missionaries had conservative theological views.[398] This refers to the attitude that religion repudiates political participation and encourages believers to refuse political participation. In other words, the depoliticization of the church tends to segregate religion from politics, saying that the political realm is secular and negative, while the religious realm is regarded as sacred and mysterious, and rivets the attention of believers upon the religious realm.

This theological tendency, unconcerned with political issues, caused a split between resistance to, and acceptance of, colonial rule within the church, resulting in a distorted theology and faith in justice and peace. Japan won the war against Russia in 1904, and at this time Japan was accelerating the annexation of the Korean Peninsula to maintain its interests, with tacit agreements with the other great powers such as the US and Britain. When Japan forced the Korean government to sign the "Eulsa Treaty" in 1905, which deprived Korea of its diplomatic sovereignty, people around the country stood up against Japanese imperialism. However, missionaries condoned the infringement of sovereignty and violation of human rights by the Japanese, and they tried to ensure the survival of the church by being in sympathy with imperialistic policies. Their attitudes, which connived violence and oppression in the name of the separation of church and state, have caused the mainstream Korean church to be uncaring of social injustices. Furthermore, American missionaries were ambivalent toward politics. The ostensible reason for keeping their distance from politics was to protect the church, but they often represented US interests, becoming involved in Korean politics as they felt necessary. Presumably, it was a deliberate depoliticization of theology and church, with regard to their own interests, rather than the separation of church and state.

Min Kyung-bea insists that since 1885, Korean Protestants tended to be politicised by nationalist consciousness. As the Japanese imperialists put pressure on the church, the missionaries declared a separation of church and state, because they considered nationalistic and political conscientization as dangerous. He indicates that concerns over the survival of the church led to depoliticization and reclusive faith, which was oriented

Imperial Expansion, Self-Strengthening Reform, and American Missionaries] (Seoul: Korean Institute of Christian History, 2004), 413-426.
[398] Ryu Dea-young, *Ch'ogi Miguk Sŏn'gyosa Yŏngu* [A Study on Early American Missionaries] (Seoul: Korean Institute of Christian History, 2003), 91-92.

towards the afterlife.[399] Hwang Jae-bum argues that this attitude had been generated by early missionaries, following Japanese colonial policy. The early Korean Protestantism was depoliticised by Japanese imperialism, which viewed the church's political participation as a barrier to colonial rule, and by Western missionaries, who sympathised with colonial authorities for the benefit of the church, themselves, and their respective countries. For this reason, missionaries emphasised premillennialism in their sermons, warning of impending doom, leading congregations to focus on individual and spiritual issues rather than social and historical.[400]

Park Soon-kyung goes further and argues that the depoliticised church should not be seen in the relationship between Koreans and missionaries, but between missionaries and their countries, as maintaining, not political neutrality for Korea, but political coalition for imperialistic interests. She suggests the motives of depoliticization should be noted in that the US and the UK were supporting Japan's occupation of the Korean Peninsula in the early history of the Korean Protestantism. For the sake of political interests, missionaries intentionally approved and rationalised colonial rule.[401] Moreover, following the annexation of Hawaii and Philippines in 1898, because the US pursued an imperialist and pro-Japanese policy, there was no reason for missionaries to intervene in Japanese colonial absorption. In this way, the positionality of the missionaries is highly political and imperialistic.

Hwang analyses the theology and political stance of the missionaries through the example of James S. Gale, who was a missionary and pastor in Korea from 1888-1928. He states how the specific theological inclinations found in Gale affected his stance on the relationship between church and state. Gale said that, although independence is legitimate, the church should not be a political organisation, in order to not lose spiritual power. The church should focus on praying and studying the Bible.[402] Notably, in his book *Korea in Transition* in 1909, Gale sought to find the cause of political defeat, not in international relations, but in Korean history. He imputed the colonisation to the Korean people and regarded suffering from colonial oppression as the Providence of God. Gale deemed the dethroning of King Kojong, by Japan, as a tool used by God to make Koreans humble before God, and interpreted the political crisis of Korea as an

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[399] Min Kyung-bea, *Han'gukkidokkyohoesa* [The History of Korean Christianity], (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1996), 271.

[400] Hwang Jae-buhm, "The Problem of Theology of Depoliticization in Korea: The Case of Rev. James S. Gale", *Studies in Religion* 59, Korean Association for the History of Religion, 2010, 71-98.

[401] Park Soon-kyung, *Minjokt'ongilgwa Kidokkyo* [National Unification and Christianity] (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1986), 313.

[402] James S. Gale, *The Vanguard: A Tale of Korea*, New York: Fleming H. and Revell Co., 1904, 224-225; Hwang Jae-buhm, "The Problem of Theology of Depoliticization in Korea," 83-84.

opportunity for Christian revival in Korea. He insisted that the Heavenly King, Jesus Christ could be given to Korea, instead of a dethroned political king.[403]

As Hwang Jae-buhm points out, Gale expressed his contradictory attitude that the church must depoliticise to avoid the weakening of spiritual power, but political changes were brought about by God's providence. Such theological perspectives depicted by missionaries resulted in the ignorance of responsibility towards social issues. In reality, despite the impossibility of a nation without political leaders, Gale conveyed his point that Jesus could become king due to the dethronement of the real king, and delivered sermons emphasising an afterlife-oriented eschatology, which had great influence on the Korean church.[404] Although missionaries rarely engaged in official political activities, they often intervened in sensitive political affairs.

Early Korean Protestantism had a nationalistic tendency. Following the Pyeongyang Revival of 1907, led by American missionaries, Korean Protestantism transformed into a non-historical and other-worldly religion, amid traumatic experiences under Japanese colonialization. As the Pyeongyang Revival caused Protestantism to lose its nationalistic, reforming and social participatory features, churches showed an obvious depoliticised stance, seeming to relieve their disappointment and frustration with the destruction of the country through a religious catharsis and hope in religious ideals.

According to the reports of the missionaries, the Great Awakening had a substantial political effect in softening Korean's anger over Japanese domination and peacefully embracing national tragedy. For example, Gil Sun-ju, the Korean pastor who led revival movements, said that when the king was dethroned by the Japanese, Korean people became enraged and he was able to pacify them due to the Pyeongyang Revival. A missionary also reported that the region would have rebelled against Japan, if it had not been influenced by the doctrine that the ruler had to be appointed by God. The general position of American missionaries at that time was that the political rage toward the nation's ruin could be controlled by Christian sentiment.[405] Christians affected by revival movements followed the attitudes of the missionaries who taught them to obey political leaders, who were considered to be appointed by God, in order to avoid conflict with the Japanese. Adopting submissive attitudes toward the existing power, Korean Protestants has since become an afterlife and depoliticised character similar to American

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[403] James S. Gale, *Korea in Transition* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movements of the United States and Canada, 1909), 120; Hwang Jae-buhm, "Theology of Depoliticization," 85.
[404] Hwang Jea-buhm, "Theology of Depoliticization," 93-95.
[405] Walter Erdman, *Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the USA, Missions Correspondence and Reports, Microfilm Series, Korea*, 1908; M. C. Harris, "Observations in Korea", *Korea Mission Field*, 1908; George Heber Jones and W. Arthur Noble, *The Korean Revival, New York Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1910.

evangelicals.[406]

  Whatever the intent, it is certain that the depoliticization of the church by missionaries, strictly speaking, the change of attitude based on interests, had a great impact on the history of the Korean church. Most researches analysing sermons of the Korean churches have pointed out how they lack any sense of social issues. However, in the history of the Korean church, the mainstream churches, expressed a segregation between the church and state, but they have espoused political force or cast blind eye on political oppression due to their institutional interests. Thus, this inclination can be called "an opportunistic political theology", not separation of the church and state, or depoliticization of the church.

3.2.8 Verbal Inspiration and Inerrancy

The conservative theological perspective of the majority of missionaries was related to a fundamentalist biblical interpretation, such as biblical inerrancy and verbal inspiration.[407] There were biblical grounds suggested by the missionaries when they promulgated the five provisions in the Council of the Presbyterian Church which emphasized the separation between church and state: Rom. 13:1-7; 1 Tim. 2:1-2; 1 Pet. 2:13-17; Mt. 22:15-21; 17:24-27; Jn. 18:36.[408] There are several theological features in these verses: First, emphasizing the authority of the rulers, they claimed that Christians should obey them unconditionally, because rulers would not make an error in judgement. If people oppose the authorities or do commit a crime, the ruler should punish them (Rom. 13:1-2). 1 Peter expands on this characteristic, suggesting obedience to all human authorities including governors, particularly the emperor (1 Pet. 13-14). Second, human power is connected with God. People who protest authority are opposing God's servants. God gives authority to rulers and puts them in their places of power. When rulers punish people, they indicate God's anger. Thereby, people have to respect both God and the emperor, and pray for the king, emperor, governor and others in power (Rom. 13:1-2, 4-5; 1 Tim. 2:2). Third, Christians must fulfil their duty as citizens apart from religious

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[406] Ryu Dea-young, "Understanding Conservative Christians' Pro-American and Anti-Communist Activities in the Early Twenty-First Century", *Economy and Society* 62 (2004): 67-68.

[407] It is not easy to define the terms biblical literalism or Biblicism, but generally, the meaning is that there is no error in the Bible, as it is the Word of God's truth to mankind. In the biblical views of evangelicalism and fundamentalism, which feature biblical literalism, the Bible is considered authoritative, inspired, errorless or literally true. John Bartkowski, "Beyond Biblical Literalism and Inerrancy: Conservative Protestants and the Hermeneutic Interpretation of Scripture", *Sociology of Religion* 57:3 (1996): 259.

[408] The Council of Presbyterian Church in Korea, "Kyohoewa Chŏngbu Saie Kyojehal Myŏt Chogŏn" [Issues to Consider in the Church-Government Relationship], *Kŭrisŭdoshinmun* [Christian Newspaper], Oct. 3, 1901.

obligations because the church and politics are separate. Although people make an offering of money for the work of church, they also must pay their taxes and fees to the state (Romans 13:6-7). As Jesus paid his taxes and fees, Christians must give to the emperor the things that belong to the emperor, and to God the things that are God's, because "the kingdom of God does not belong to this world" (Mt. 17:27; 22:21; Jn. 18:36).

There are some problems with these biblical views of the missionaries. First, they literally interpret the contents of the Bible. Missionaries taught and quoted from the Bible without considering the historical backgrounds of the Bible and the political crisis of Korean Peninsula. Second, they used the Bible to justify their own political positions. Third, by ignoring the context of the Bible as a whole, they contradicted themselves theologically. If we literally interpret the biblical texts that the missionaries used, while there is a close relationship between God and rulers as servants of God in the Pauline epistles, church and politics seem to be literally separated. Fourth, the story of Israel has theologically, as well as historically, been a series of the failings, rather than the achievements, of rulers. The majority of the accounts of the Israeli kings and imperialistic emperors exposed the human weaknesses and failures of kingship.

The standpoint that Christians should obey the authority of the rulers was not confined to the biblical foundations of the Council of the Presbyterian Church, and subsequently had a profound impact on the Korean church as a whole, particularly on political theology. In particular, these biblical texts have been mentioned in debates about the social responsibility of church in the history of the Korean church. For example, during the period of the military dictatorship in South Korea, churches used these texts as a basis for deeming the dictator a servant of God and supported the social injustices committed by the dictatorship as an inviolable state power. Although biblical literalism was a significant factor in the growth of churches, it has also brought about conflict and divisions of denominations. In the Korean church, biblical literalism was formed and grew from the 1890s to the 1920s. This biblical view has been the theological basis for Korean churches since the 1910s, particularly the Presbyterian Church, and had been officially taught by missionaries in theological seminaries.

There are four reasons behind the formation and development of this biblical approach which was formed and developed in Korean churches. First, it was taught and expanded by missionaries from the Presbyterian Church of the US, who took the initiative in the early Korean missions. They studied the conservative Old Princeton theology and were advocates of the plenary and verbal inspiration of the Bible. As the Presbyterian Church developed into the largest denomination in Korea, this method of interpretation became mainstream. For example, both Underwood and Appenzeller used biblical texts as proof-text in order to explain the topics and anecdotes they experienced in daily life which they

then introduced to congregations.

A missionary who made a great play of biblical inerrancy was James S. Gale. In his sermon *Bible,* quoting Timothy 3:16 and affirming the infallibility of the Bible, he introduced the Bible as a book completely different from secular books. The Bible indicates the exclusiveness of God, prophesies the future, and describes the actions and lessons of Jesus. Malcolm C. Fenwick introduced the Bible to Koreans as a Holy Book written by the Holy Spirit. William D. Reynolds taught classical languages and systemic theology at the Presbyterian Seminary in Korea. He made a great contribution to the completion of the Korean Bible, and had significant influence in establishing a political theological foundation for the Korean church, by translating and introducing the Constitution of the American Presbyterian Church. He trained Korean preachers and engaged in the translation of the Bible, believing that Korean pastors and a Korean Bible were more effective. He adhered to the conservative biblical view that the Bible is the everlasting unchangeable Word of God.

Second, Korean Christians had a tendency to be literal under the Confucian tradition and were conservative in their religious belief, and so were accustomed to a literal interpretation of scriptures and had a religious foundation that could easily accept Biblicism. According to Arthur J. Brown, who presided over the Far East Asian missions of the US Presbyterian Church as Secretary, Japanese Christians tended to accept teachings of missionaries on their own criteria, but Koreans believed them unquestionably. He recalled that Japanese Christians were generally theologically progressive, but Korean Christians were conservative and did not raise questions about miracles or inspiration. [409] Third, the Nevius Method, created by John Nevius, a missionary in China, was adopted as the official mission policy in the Presbyterian Church in Korea in 1907. The Bible study of the Nevius Method was based on Biblicism. [410] Fourth, Biblical literalism became an important theology through implementation as a doctrine in the Korean Presbyterian Constitution. Korean Protestants had a high illiteracy rate because the majority were in the lower or middle class. Simply memorizing and understanding the Bible literally helped spread Christianity.[411]

Due to these features, both in format and content, missionaries tended to use topical preaching than the explanatory which prevailed in Europe and North America at that

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[409] A. J. Brown. *The Mastery of Far East* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 539-540.
[410] L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910*, 278-284.
[411] Hwang, Jae-buhm, "The Biblicism of the Korean Presbyterian Church: Its Origin and Early Development," *The Journal of the Korean Association for the History of Religions* 71 (2013): 182-183.

time.[412] In terms of methodology, their preaching was characterised by topic oriented, doctrinal, and literal interpretation, advocating biblical inerrancy. On the top of that, this tendency of biblical interpretation has resulted in the preacher's misinterpretation or misuse for specific purposes, and the absence of justice and peace in sermons.

3.3 Conscription of the Bible for Anticommunism and War

3.3.1 Cooperation between Protestants and Communists

A. Madhaviaha, 19th century Tamil society reformer, said that "the Englishman never goes to a place without a Bible. It precedes, or closely follows, his sword."[413] The term "conscription of the Bible" used in this chapter means to mobilise biblical images, metaphors, and narratives, in order to diabolise the enemy, arouse animosity, boost the morale of soldiers, justify the use of violence, and mobilise war materials in conflict and war. Ever since the Japanese colonial government changed their policy to drive a wedge between Korean peoples, and the missionaries took the initiative in the Korean church in the 1920s, there had been noticeable changes in biblical interpretation. As stated in Chapter 2, the Bible has played a role in driving social change and emancipation, such as non-violent protest against colonial oppression. But, following the March First Movement in 1919, the Bible has been used as a textual weapon to repel religious, political, and ideological opponents. According to A. Pieris, religion and ideology are ambivalent, becoming emancipatory or oppressive.[414] The following section shows an example of cooperation between religion and ideology to overcome colonial injustices.

> "Both the left and the right were different paths to the ideals of national liberation and self-determination of peoples as part of anti-colonial nationalism. Achieving national unification became the same as annihilating the other side. In a time of ideological polarisation, however, the idea of the rightist and the leftist transformed into the ideology of societal conflict and war."[415]

Before and after colonial rule, the Korean church was not merely a faith community, but

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[412] Jeong Seoung-gu, *Han'gukkyohoe Sŏlgyosa* [The Korean History of Preaching] (Seoul: Chongshin University Press, 2000), 31-32; Kim Un-yong, *Han'gukkyohoe Sŏlgyo Yŏksa*, 65.
[413] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and Empire*, 60.
[414] A. Pieris, "Ideology and Religion," 29-31.
[415] Kwon Heonik, *The Other Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 116.

also a political community that sought political exploration and discussion in a society where political rallies were blocked. Although Japanese imperialists attempted to separate nationalism from Christianity, the national movement centred on the church was active. As in an editorial in the *Dong-A Ilbo*, "Christians must go out of the church and strive to resist injustice in the streets." What society demanded of the church at that time was active engagement in national social issues. [416] That was where Korean churches tried to seek the cooperation of various social organizations for independence. [417]

  Since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, socialism spread over the world, and influenced Korean Christianity and nationalists. Lee Dong-hui, who became a Christian because of a faith in national salvation, founded the first Korean socialist party, the *Joseonsahoedang*, in 1918, in Khabarovsk, Russia. With Kim Kyu-sik and Yeo Un-hyng, in Moscow in 1922, Lee attended the Communist International, which was an international organisation advocating world communism, known as the Third International (1919-1943). Both Kim and Yeo studied theology, Kim, particularly, went to study in the US, with the help of the American missionary, Underwood. [418] Rather than a separation between faith and ideology, they believed that their ideal of national liberation was possible by an ideology based on their faith. After being arrested by the Japanese due to the independence movement, Lee made the following statement in court:

> "I am a Christian early on. Without Christian faith, there would have been no love, no patriotism, and no will for independence. Everything that has refined and strengthened me is attributable to the Christian faith. It is because of the Christian faith that I call for independence and unity, and make the effort for study and education."[419]

For Koreans, the significant goal of Christian faith was national liberation from imperialistic oppression, and Christian nationalists leaned on socialism with the same expectations. Since Korean churches were at the centre of the national movement at this time, they worked closely with national activists to achieve independence and maintained

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[416] Suh Jeong-min, "Han'guk Kidokkyoŭi Pan'gong Ipchange Taehan Yŏksajŏk Ihae" [Historical Understanding of Korean Christianity's Anti-communist Position], *Christian Thoughts* 32 (1988): 60.

[417] Na Dong-kwang, "Ilcheŭi Kyohoet'anapkwa Nagŭne Mok'oe" [Japanese Imperialist Oppression against Churches and the Wanderer-Ministry], *Theology and Praxis* (2003): 100.

[418] D. S. Suh, *The Korean Communist Movement 1918-1948* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 73.

[419] Kim Bang, *Tongnibundongga Sŏngjae Idonghwi* [Independence Activist Lee Dong-hui], (Seoul: Deawangsa, 1998), 225-226.

a partnership with the communists for the construction of a new state. Even though several early socialists criticised Christianity, they brought discussions of similarities between the church and socialism, and formed a fitting opportunity for reflection of the church, rather than leading to direct conflict. The two camps shared the similar purpose of anti-Japanese struggle, so human exchange was maintained. As a reason to cooperate with the communists, several Christian leaders stressed that humanity was all brothers and faith had to adapt to fast-changing times. Lee Dae-wee, a pastor who was in the YMCA movement, argued that socialism was the "supreme democracy", restoring a humanity that achieved personal dignity through fair distribution, and that Christian thought was similar to socialism in view of making a new world.[420]

Ahn Chang-ho suggested the concept of human transformation, explaining his national movement in terms of Christian repentance. He stipulated that one of the causes of the ruined country stemmed from behaviours that infringed upon the life, honour, and rights of others, and explained that the unity and harmony of national community, including socialists, were the basic elements of independence. In an address in the church in 1936, Ahn noted that reconciliation and unity through Christian love was fundamental for the independence movement. Pastor Son Jeong-do and many pastors also held an open attitude toward communism, and recognised the Christian faith and the national movement as a complementary relationship for the nation. In particular, Yu Kyung-sang, a colleague of Lee Dae-wee, insisted that because Jesus was a socialist, a reliable socialist had to be Jesus-centred. In the Christian newspaper *Gidoksinbo*, Yu professed that a genuine socialist was no different than a Christian, even if not Christian. Park Hui-do, as a Christian, took the initiative to introduce and spread socialist ideals as a theory of national liberation.[421] Even after liberation, when conflict between the two sides began to intensify, Christian leaders, such as Elder Cho Man-sik of the Pyeongnam Rebuilding Korea Preparatory Committee, included large numbers of leftist and other religious figures in their activities for establishing new country.[422]

However, there were several reasons for ideological fissures between socialism and church, and Korean Protestants that advocated anticommunism. First, the American missionaries were critical of socialism and communism. Since they took the initiative in the Korean church, their ideological inclinations affected the relationship, and Protestants harboured hostility towards communists by reason of materialism and atheism. Second, Japanese imperialism suppressed Marxism as a threat to their political

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[420] Lee Dea-ui, "Sahoejuŭiwa kidokkyosasang" [Socialism and Christian Thoughts], *Ch'ŏngnyŏn* (May, 1923): 9.
[421] Ko Young-eun, "Anticommunism Ideology in Korean Churches," 871-872.
[422] Han'gukkidokkyoyŏksayŏn'guso, *Puk'an'gyohoesa* [The History of Church in North Korea], (Seoul: Han'gukkidokkyoyŏksayŏn'guso, 1996), 376-377.

system. Following the March First Movement, the change of colonial policy caused anti-communist tensions to arise in the Korean church between anti-Japanese and pro-Japanese Protestants. Third, since the Korean Peninsula was divided and has been embroiled in ideological conflict and war, the relationship between socialism and church became antagonistic under the Cold War system.[423] In these relationships, the Bible has been mobilised as a textual weapon, diabolising communism, justifying violence against communists, prosecuting war, and supporting imperialistic ideologies and forces.

3.3.2 Communism Diabolised by the Bible

In the mid-1920s, domestic socialist groups were engaging in anti-religious activity, even though there was strong socialist suppression by the Japanese. The attitudes towards Christianity can be recognised through several topics of the socialist lectures: "Science and Religions", "Christianity is Superstition", "Do Not be Fooled by Christianity", "Ruling Class and Christianity", and Devil's Christianity" and so on.[424] Up to that time, persecution by the Korean communists had been intermittent, but the relationship between the church and communism deteriorated dramatically following the division of North and South, and the establishment of the communist regime in North. In the case of the North, *Chosunminjudang* [Joseon People's Party], where Protestants were the mainstream, tried to establish a parliamentary democratic republic based on proprietary classes, maintaining its existing order. However, socialists, including Kim Il-sung, tried to unite with the bourgeoisie, focusing on lower class.[425] The churches in the North were considered to be an institution of capitalism and a tool of the US.[426] Several Christian youths responded to communist oppression with violence, but the churches were not able to cope with the communist forces. Christian leaders complained that communists had a consistent political ideology and a strong organisational force, appealing to arms, while churches had no common political ideology and struggled to calculate the gains and losses on the land reform.[427] The repression in the North was compounded by the arrest and murder of pastors, priests and even foreign clergy, and anger over

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[423] Kim Kyung-jae, "Pundanshidae Kidokkyowa Minjogundong" [Christianity and National Movement in the Era of Division] in *Minjokchuŭiwa Kidokkyo* [Nationalism and Christianity], ed. Kidokkyosahoemunjeyŏn'gus (Seoul: Minjungsa, 1981), 103; Ko Young-eun, "A Study of Anticommunism Ideology in Korean Churches," *Theology and Praxis* (2016): 867-871.
[424] Suh Jeong-min, "Anti-communist Position," 60-61.
[425] Baek Hak-soon, *Puk'an'gwŏllyŏgŭi Yŏksa* [The History of Political Power in North Korea] (Seoul: Hanul, 2010), 85-86.
[426] Jang Byung-wook, *6.25 Kongsannamch'imgwa Kyohoe* [The Korean War and Church] (Seoul: Han'gukkyoyukkongsa, 1983), 33-39.
[427] Suh Jeong-min, "Anti-communist Position," 64.

communism was near a boiling point, due to an election on a Sunday in 1946. Affected by the conservative theology of the Presbyterian Church of the US, churches in the North encouraged their members to boycott the Sunday election, therefore conflict between the two sides was unavoidable.[428]

> "Communists went to the church, damaging the pulpit and the Bible. They wrote phrases of "national traitors" and "American dog" on the neck of the pastor. As they travelled around the city with the pastor, he was booed and humiliated. This brutality happened everywhere."[429]

The above scene took place during the first Memorial Service of the First March Movement after liberation in 1946 and shows how serious the conflict between Christians and communists was at that time. The relationship between the two sides, which can be seen as an ideological conflict, was actually accompanied by raw criticism and slaughter, without seeking ideological debate or resolution.[430] American missionaries, who laid the theological foundation of the Korean church, did not have a liberal attitude toward accepting other ideologies, and had unilateral objection to communism. Instilled by nationalism for independence, Korean Protestants were likewise ill-prepared for a theological and ideological response to communism. As a result, Protestantism's countermeasures rarely rose above the level of evasion or retaliation against violent persecution.[431]

As socialists attacked the Bible and pulpits both ideologically and physically, Protestants launched a counterattack by adapting biblical texts for anticommunism. The main texts used to attack communism were the Gospel and the Book of Revelations. For example, Protestant leaders, such as Lee Myung-jik, Han Kyung-chik, and Hwang Eun-kyun, identified "a red dragon" in the Book of Revelations with communism (Rev. 12:3). In his article *Christianity and Communism*, Han Kyung-chik, a pastor who became the most influential leader of the Korean church, expressed his opinion as follows:

> "People are deceived by this ideology because they try to make bread out of stone… Communism is a monster. This monster plunders Korea and finds someone to devour. Who will put the monster to the sword? This ideology is the red dragon in the Revelations. Who can destroy this dragon? 'One does not live by

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[428] Ko Young-eun, "Anticommunism Ideology in Korean Churches," 881.
[429] Kim Yang-sun, *10 Years of Korean Christian Liberation*, 67.
[430] Suh Jeong-min, "Anti-communist Position," 59.
[431] Suh Jeong-min, "Anti-communist Position," 64.

bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of God.'"[432]

Han quoted not only "a red dragon" of the Revelations, but also "the Temptation of Jesus" (Mt. 4:1-11). The temper said to Jesus, "If you are the Son of God, command these stones to become loaves of bread" (4:3b). Even so, Evangelist did not criticise certain ideologies through this story, Han attempted to link the temptation to the materialism of communism. Rather than recounting theoretical blind spots or unethical behaviour, they used metaphors, such as the devil, animal, and the "red" to imprint people's consciousness, reproducing hatred, fear and retaliation. For instance, Lee Myeon-jik utilised the "red" in signifying communism with religious connotation. Since that time, anticommunism, including "inordinate fear of communism", has been evoked by this metaphor for decades to come in Korean society.

> "Red is the colour of war, murder, and blood. As white is the colour of holiness and joy, and black is the colour of disappointment and sorrow, red is the sign of slaughter and fear. Comparing the work of the red dragon with the work of the red Russian, we can see that the red dragon wants to achieve his will by manipulating the red Russian. The red dragon of Revelations persecuted faith and killed people, and Russia is also doing the same things."[433]

The Book of Revelations 12:3, "Then another portent appeared in heaven: a great red dragon, with seven heads and ten horns, and seven diadems on his heads." Lee interpreted "a great red dragon", which would appear in the last days, as being Russian socialists, but the early Christian community viewed "a red dragon" as the Roman Empire, which had prosecuted Christianity at that time. In general, seven heads and ten horns refer to Rome built on seven hills and ten Roman emperors respectively.[434] Most biblical scholars, mentioned in the introduction, do not deny the claims that the biblical

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[432] Han Kyung-chik, "Kidokkyowa Kongsanjuŭi" [Christianity and Communism] in Kŏn'gukkwa Kidokkyo [The Work of Founding the State and Christianity] (Seoul: Borinwon, 1949); Chung Sung-woo, "How Jesus Came to be a Religious Icon of Nationalism and Anticommunism in Korean Modern History," *Korean New Testament Studies* Vol. 20, No. 3 (2013): 595.

[433] Lee Myung-jik, *Hwalcheon*, October 1938; Chung Sung-woo, "Nationalism and Anticommunism in Korean Modern History," 594-595.

[434] Jan Willem Van Henten, "Dragon Myth and Imperial Ideology" in *The Reality of Apocalypse: Rhetoric and Politics in the Book of Revelation*, ed. David L. Barr (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 181-203; E. Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesar: Historical Sketches* (London: SCM, 1955), 147-191; E. Schuessler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 192-199; S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 197-198; See also S. Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

faith was born as an anti-imperial resistance movement, and the Bible is anti-imperialistic.[435] In particular, they agree that the New Testament portrays the Roman imperial order and its peace as standing under divine condemnation. [436] Thus, the passages of Revelations above, mobilised for ideological condemnation, indicates to call to the faithful for endurance in persecution by the imperial forces, anticipating that it may lead to martyrdom.[437]

Chung Sung-woo claims that Lee's interpretation was deeply related to his pro-Japanese activities, which advocated shrine worship. A pro-Japanese, Lee was concerned about the spread of the independence movement as a result of the Russian Revolution, thus, led the biblical interpretation for anticommunism, supporting Japan, Italy and Germany, which carried the banner for anticommunism. In the late 1930s, the Korean church was coerced into shrine worship, resulting in division and conflict within the church. Following that, Korean Presbyterian churches officially decided to allow visiting the shrine, which several pastors deemed as idolatry, violating the first and second Commandment of the Decalogue. While admitting that churches were forced into shrine worship by the Japanese, Korean Protestants were overcome with shame and disappointment.[438] Kim Jin-ho indicates that anticommunism was used as a scapegoat, extricating themselves from the sense of humiliation, and concealing their defects with far more evil communists.

> "As the sense of shame turned into hatred, the Christian faith revived. It was not difficult to interpret communism as a representation of the devil. In the following decade anticommunism penetrated into the keynotes of faith and Western traditions, which were hostile to communism and formed modern theology, which became the perfect match for demonising communism."[439]

From this time on, communism has been stigmatised as the enemy of Christianity by linking Satan or Antichrist to communism, without taking into account the historical background of biblical texts. By ignoring the substantive contents of communism, the metaphor and image have ideologically infected people with emotion and imagination. In

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[435] N. Gottwald, "Early Israel as an Anti-Imperial Community," 9-24; J. D. Crossan, "Roman Imperial Theology," 59-74; J. L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*; *Idem.,* "Resistance and Accommodation in the Persian Empire," 41-58; B. Kahl, "Acts of the Apostles: Pro(to)-Imperial Script and Hidden Transcript," 137-158.
[436] W. Carter, "Matthew Negotiation the Roman Empire," 117.
[437] G. Carey, "The Book of Revelation as Counter-Imperial Script," 157.
[438] Chung Sung-woo, "Nationalism and Anticommunism in Korean Modern History," 593-594.
[439] Kim Jin-ho, *Shimin K Kyohoerŭl Ttŏnada* [A Citizen K Left Church] (Seoul: Hyunamsa, 2012), 53.

the North, several Protestants refused the resident card they were issued, regarding it as "the mark of the beast" (Rev. 13:16-17).[440] Kang In-cheol put his finger on the creative role of church in producing the metaphor and images, strengthening anticommunism by calling it Satan, and increasing the consciousness of a chosen people, and eschatological soteriology.[441] If there were any anti-communists seeking a medium to disseminate their ideology, they needed to look no further than churches. The imagination for anticommunism was being created by biblical rhetoric devices, justified by religious authority, and spread by well-organised church communities. Chung Sung-woo complains that anti-communist discourse, produced by the church, has functioned to alleviate the victim mentality in religious imagination, rather than solving the realistic contradiction of division. The anti-communist metaphor, enriched by the Bible, was later established as South Korea's dominant ideology through churches, schools and military.[442]

The most serious side effect of the anticommunism moulded by biblical images was the sanctification of violence. According to Chung Sung-woo, the sanctification of violence can be seen as Christians being crusaders in obedience to God's order, fighting communists who were considered to be the Lucifer, the beast of the Revelations, and the race of Satan.[443] An example of a biblical narrative adapted to justify violence, is found in the writings of Hwan Eun-gyun, *the 38 Parallel and Christian Youth*.

> "Difficult to interpret in the Words of Jesus are the contradictory teaching that 'put your sword back into its place; for all who take the sword will perish by the sword' (Mt. 26:52) and 'the one who has no sword must sell his cloak and buy one' (Lk. 22:36). We understand that invaders who take the sword will be destroyed but Jesus allows the purchase of a sword to defend against invaders. There must be a war between theism and materialism, and proletarian dictatorship and democracy. Our Christian young men should not just look at this situation or leave matters establishing our country to materialists. We, like the medieval knights, must fight for righteousness for faith and freedom. Our freedom and happiness are to be gained by the Christian youth."[444]

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[440] Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity, 1950-1953," *Journal of Religion and Culture*, Vol. 2 (2004): 41.
[441] Kang In-cheol, *Han'gugŭi Kaeshin'gyowa Pan'gongjuŭi* [Korean Protestantism and Anticommunism] (Seoul: Chungshim, 2007), 68.
[442] Chung Sung-woo, "Nationalism and Anticommunism in Korean Modern History," 601.
[443] Chung Sung-woo, "Nationalism and Anticommunism in Korean Modern History," 599.
[444] Kim Heung-soo, ed., *Haebang Hu Puk'an'gyohoesa* [The History of Church in North Korea after the Liberation] (Seoul: Dasangeulbang, 1992), 334-335.

Hwang drew on biblical texts to justify the use of armed force, interpreting a verse "buy a sword" as the struggle against communism. In directing anticommunism, Korean Protestantism appropriated biblical narratives ideologically and bellicosely, using the images and narratives of apocalyptic literature which diabolise the other. As mentioned in the introduction, the Book of Revelations was the resistance literature of the early Christian community, criticising imperial values and systems. The eschatology of apocalyptical literature mirrored the historical experiences and belief system of the Israelites which was oppressed by empires. Greg Carey recounts that the Revelations as counter-imperial book, pronouncing God's condemnation of Rome and its empire.[445] These biblical texts were unquestioningly accepted to antagonise, representing American imperialistic position, as opposed to the historical meaning of the Book of Revelations. One of the reasons the Korean Protestants could easily accept apocalyptic images was that its worldview, such as the dualism of good and evil, became the theological cornerstone of the Korean church through American missionaries. This is when Protestants began to undiscriminatingly use exclusive theological images to represent their new enemy.[446] However, the religious dualism of good and evil is not biblical, but a phenomenon of major importance in the religion of the ancient empires, such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Hellenistic world. The case of emphasising good and evil in the Bible reflects on the situation of suffering from imperial oppression, and heralding the God's judgment on the imperial world. As I analysed in Chapter 1, the most basic sense of biblical justice and peace is not based on the dualism of good and evil, that there are the two powers of good and evil in competition with one another, but "integrity" or "wholeness."[447] While Roman peace was built by overt violence for the benefit of a small ruling group, the Jesus movement aimed at an egalitarian community without violence and class distinction, excluding power over anyone (Mk 10:42-44).[448] In that sense, the anti-communist movement of Korean churches, which will be presented in the next sections was closer to imperial peace than to biblical peace, despite they assertion that it was predicated upon the Bible.

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[445] Greg Carey, "The Book of Revelation as Counter-Imperial Script" in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance*, ed. R. A. Horsley (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 157.

[446] Chung Sung-woo, "Nationalism and Anticommunism in Korean Modern History," 598.

[447] G. von Rad, "Shalom in the Old Testament," 402-403; J. Pederson, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, 263-264; C. Westermann, "Peace in the Old Testament," 37-70.

[448] J. R. Donahue, "Two Decade of Research on the Rich and the Poor in Luke-Acts," 129-144.

3.3.3 Violence Committed by the Christian Ally, Government, and Corps

3.3.3.1 Causes of Mass Killing

As Pablo Picasso depicted in his 1951 expressionistic painting the *Massacre in Korea*, the period of division and the Korean War was marked by a number of mass killings. Following liberation, there was a great deal of complexity surrounding the reconstruction of a new state. Socialists groups in South Korea formed a powerful force in the sphere of social movement, but they were excluded from state power. As a result, the heightened conflict between state and civil society, and the internal conflict of various political forces in civil society was the main background for the mass killings. Apart from the mass killings, which occurred in North Korea, by North Korean Army, or among soldiers, the civilian massacres in South Korea are as follows: Autumn Uprising (The 10.1 Deagu Uprising of 1946), the Cheju Uprising (1948), Mungyeong massacre (1949), Asan massacre (1950), Bodo League massacre (1950), Goyang Geumjeong Cave Massacre (1950), December Massacre (1950), Namyangju massacre (1950), National Defence Corps incident (1950), No Gun Ri Massacre (1950), Ganghwa massacre (1951), Geochang massacre (1951), Sancheong-Hamyang massacre (1951), Yeosun-Suncheon Rebellion (1948-1957).[449]

These massacres were carried out by the US army, the Korean army and the police or civilian groups in South Korea, and the number of deaths is estimated at 400,000 to 500,000. Researching the genocide of 147 wars that took place throughout the world between 1945 and 2000, Benjamin Valentino defines three causes for the mass killings: first, social cleavage and bitter hatred; second, authoritative and autocratic political systems; third, the degree of threat felt by the regimes of guerrilla warfare.[450] In a comparative study on the mass murder of the Korean War and the Vietnam War, Choi Jung-gie also recounts social-structural factors similar to massacres in the two wars: first, complicated class relations formed by colonial rule; second, intervention by the US, division, and the incorporation into the Cold War system since 1945; third, the emergence of violent and authoritarian political systems; fourth, irregular or guerrilla warfare. He argues that the combination of these factors created the social conditions for the outbreak of war and massacre of civilians. Because of these massacres, the

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[449] Dong Choon Kim, "Forgotten War, Forgotten Massacres-the Korean War (1950-1953) as Licensed Mass Killings," *Journal of Genocide Research* 6 (2004): 523-544; Suh Hee-kyung, "Atrocities before and during the Korean War," *Critical Asian Studies*, Vol. 42 (2010): 553-588.
[450] Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth and Dylan Balch-Lindsay, "'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare," *International Organization* Vol. 58, No. 2 (2004): 381-387.

Korean War is characterised as both a civil war and an international war.[451]

3.3.3.2 The Northwest Youth Corps and the Cheju Uprising

Park Chan-seung enunciates that major structure of the massacres in Korea was caused by religious and ideological conflict, as well as conflict between classes, positions and villages. In the course of modernisation, Korea became a colony and the dynasty of traditional society lost legitimacy. Following the liberation, the ruling system and bureaucracy formed by colonial rule lost its power. The societal divisions were triggered by contradictory systems of political hegemony, between local organisations, mainly controlled by leftists on one side, and pro-American anti-communist regime, supported by the US on the other. Owing to feeble public support, the regime established by the US relied on the police and military, resulting in characteristics of dictatorship.[452] To make matters worse, guerrilla warfare, marked by the difficulty of identification of friend or foe, presumed civilians as enemies and committed extrajudicial killings, to the extent it was impossible to identify who killed the victims. Irregular warfare and oppositional hostile powers were the cause of the genocide in Korea.[453]

In this situation, the organisations that practiced these slaughters were associated with a large number of Korean Protestants.[454] A case in point was Christian refugees, who defected from the North, particularly the Northwest, due to persecution by communists. Northwestern Christians in North Korea had been aggressively anti-communist since the 1920s. They played a central role in the militant Christian independence movement. When Christians and communists no longer needed to cooperate for independence following liberation, the Northwestern Christians tried to drive communists out. However, they had to flee to South Korea, and most of the Christian leaders in the Northwestern region were arrested and killed by the communists. Owing to the persecution and the egalitarian land reform in 1946, hundreds of thousands of Christian youths, who were placed on the purge lists of the communist regime, defected from the North, and formed right-wing youth organisations based on their region of origin.[455] They, as ideological refugees, began to build a strong solidarity with the church, especially the Youngrak Church, which was ministered by Rev. Han Kyungchik. Their role as an advance guard

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[451] Choi Jung-gie, "The Social Structural Factors of Massacres in the Korean War and the Vietnam War by Comparative Study", *Journal of Democracy and Human Rights* 11 (2011): 321-346.

[452] Choi Jung-gie, "The Social Structural Factors of Massacres," 332-333.

[453] B. Valentino et al., "Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare," 375-407.

[454] Park Chan-seung, *Maŭlro Kan Han'gukchŏnjaeng* [The Korean War in the Village] (Seoul: Dobegae, 2010), 25-40.

[455] Vladimir Tikhonov, "South Korea's Christian Military Chaplaincy in the Korea War: Religion as Ideology?" *Asia-Pacific Journal* 11 (2013). https://apjjf.org/-Vladimir-Tikhonov/3935/article.pdf

of anticommunism was to eliminate the leftists.[456]

Among Christian refugees from North Korea, the most active anti-communist groups were youths and students, including the *Sŏbukch'ŏngnyŏndan* [Northwest Youth Corps] and the Yongrak Church' youth group. The *Chosŏnminjungdang* [Democratic Party], the *Kidokkyosahoeminjungdang* [Christian Social Democratic Party], and the *Kidokkyojayudang* [Christian Freedom Party], which represented the right wing in North Korea, were led by Protestants. Thus, the anti-communists groups, established by North Korean refugees, were virtually Protestant groups, and the major figures were mostly Protestants or pastors based on churches. These groups were so well organised that they had dozens of branches in cities, and worked closely with the government to develop the anti-communist movements. A special report by the US military intelligence agency declared the Northwest Youth Corps to be a terrorist group, espousing extreme right Wing political figures.[457]

With the support of the regime, they extended their power to 100,000 members. The Northwest Youth Corps, which did not hesitate to assassinate key figures and commit white terror, was feared due to cruel behaviours such as massacre, violence and murder. Christians who fled to the South developed a close association with the Rhee Syngman regime, the first president of South Korea, during the settlement process. The Rhee regime made the excellent use of the relationship with the US and Christians from the North. The Northwest Youth Corps helped Syngman Rhee, who had eliminated political enemies to become president, intervening in the election process and the campaign. The Rhee administration used this group to fill the vacuum of police force after liberation.[458]

The massacres caused by ideological conflicts in the South were related to these Christian corps who were engaged in right Wing anti-communist activities, and anti-communist Christian leaders justified their cruelty on the biblical basis listed above. It was common for Protestant leaders to link communists to Satan or devil in the Bible. To make matters worse, these religious implications provided not only the justification for the use of violence against communists, but also the imperativeness for defeating communists by using violence. The representative example was the Cheju Island massacre or the Cheju Uprising, which is considered to be the most tragic incident in modern Korean history, causing the loss of the lives of tens of thousands of innocent

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[456] Kirsteen Kim and Sebastian C. H. Kim, "The Christian Impact on the Shaping of the First Republic of Korea, 1945-48: Anti-communism or Vision for a New Nation?" *Religion, State and Society*, Vol. 46 (2018): 402-417.

[457] B. Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*, 208.

[458] Erik Mobrand, "The Street Leaders of Seoul and the Foundation of the South Korean Political Order," *Modern Asian Studies* 50 (2016): 636-674; Jinwung Kim, "Participating in Nation-Building: The Role of the 'Military Government Police' in South Korean Politics, 1946-1948," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol. 17 (2010): 174-198.

islanders during the uprising. The Uprising flared up on April 3rd 1948 when communists began to attack police stations, but on Cheju Island lasted for over six years, until September 21, 1954.[459]

After the collapse of Japanese occupation, a large-scale massacre was carried out in the conflict between armed communist guerrillas, the US troops, Korean military and police, with the US government approval or connivance. Many Cheju residents, who were irrelevant to these ideological conflicts, died with approximately 11,000 confirmed deaths and disappearances. But, two years after the outbreak of Cheju 3rd April, the governor of Cheju island informed the US intelligence agency that the death toll reached approximately 60,000. At the Cheju Peace Forum in 2016, scholars estimated the death toll at approximately 80,000 or one-third of the entire island population. Apart from a few hundred armed rebels and a thousand guerrillas, who were recruited from villages, the majority of victims, approximately 73,000, were innocent civilians, even though they were officially recorded as insurgents. [460]

At the time of the Cheju Uprising in 1948, The Northwest Youth Corps acted as a police organization in Cheju Island and was mobilized to oppress leftist activities such as slaughtering civilians. In the midst of ideological conflict, the army and national police were under the supervision of the American military occupation, which governed South Korea until the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948.[461] In late 1947, the American Counter-Intelligence Corps warned that the Northwest Youth Corps was committing a "widespread campaign of terrorism" on Cheju, as part of utilising rightist power to reorient the people, the majority of whom were regarded as leftist. Under the American command, however, this group joined the police and constabulary to suppress the Cheju people.[462]

While Ryu Jae-il describes the anti-communist attitude of Protestants who defected from North Korea as "aggressive anticommunism" with regard to the use of violence, Kang In-cheol calls them the "sacred anti-communist", which were influenced by religious ideology. Because large numbers of North Korean refugees escaped from persecution, their struggles against communism could be imparted as a new religious meaning. Maximising the hostility between Christianity and communism by unilaterally highlighting "idealistic materialism" and "combatant atheism", the anti-communist struggle became the struggle for Christian protection and against Satan. Christians, who lead the field of anticommunism as crusaders, could glorify their sacrifice as martyrdom. Recognising the

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[459] Kim Seong Nae, "Lamentations of the Dead: The Historical Imagery of Violence on Cheju Island, South Korea," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 3 (1989): 252.
[460] Kim Seong Nae, "Lamentations of the Dead," 252.
[461] Kim Seong Nae, "Lamentations of the Dead," 252.
[462] B. Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*, 220.

conflict between Christianity and communism as a battle between the devil and the angel was closely linked to the "two-camp image" in the Cold War era, viewing the communist camp as the Satan, and the Free World as the Saviour. Accordingly, Christian anticommunism had instilled a symbolic image in the church that incorporated the entire Korean Christianity into the Cold War system.[463]

   In the Korean church and society, the term "ideology" took a distinctly pejorative sense associated intellectually with irrationality, and has been limited to referring to "communism." Marx and his followers, popularised "ideology" as delusion and mystification, but ironically this term has been used as a weapon against Marxism and/or communism. On the contrary, the reality is that anticommunism has functioned as systematically distorted communication to help legitimise a dominant political power. As I illustrated in the introduction and Chapter 1, the role of theology as social discourse has to entail keeping back from the prevailing power and ideology, in order to criticise their falsehood and suppression.[464] Paradoxically, the Korean church exhibited the traits of an ideological state apparatus, particularly one that created a false or mistaken view of the world, as Marx noted. While theological discourses in this period were political ideology, political ideology was religiously imaginative, what several scholars regard as secular religion.[465]

3.3.3.3 Mass Killings in the Course of US Foreign Military Strategy

It should be noted that the mass killings of the Autumn Uprising in 1946, the Cheju Uprising in 1948, and the Yeosun Rebellion in 1948 happened in the course of a US counter-insurgency, under the US military occupation policies and Korean nation-building. As Kim Hak-jae suggests, it is important to investigate characteristics and relationships of counter-insurgency and nation building. From the perspective of US foreign military strategy, nation building did not simply refer to building a new postcolonial nation, but rather providing broad support and intervention to form a strong state machinery that could cope with internal revolt. Thus nation building involved US foreign strategy, not just the internal issues of Korea. Whereas counter-insurgency was a military operation, nation building was understood to secure the ability and legitimacy of the

[463] Ryu Jae-il, "Han'gukchŏnjaenggwa Pan'gong Ideollogiŭi Chŏngch'a" [The Korean War and Ati-communist Ideology], *Yŏksabip'yŏng* (spring, 1992): 139-150; Kang In-cheol, "Namhansahoewa Wŏllamgidokkyoin: Kŭgu Pan'gongch'eje Haŭi Kyohoehwaltonggwa Pan'gongt'ujaeng" [Korean Society and Christians from North Korea], *Critical Review of History* (1993): 91-92.
[464] W. Brueggemann, *The Bible and Postmodern Imagination*, 18-25; A. Viljoen, "Theological Imagination."
[465] J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*, 1-6, 21-24; A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 8-10.

indigenous regime, in order to eliminate the root causes of internal rebellion.[466]

The direct reason for the Autumn Uprising was that the US military policy of rice collection was to compel the delivery of rice carried out by pro-Japanese police. To supress this uprising, repressive measures were utilised by the US military. It was the promulgation of martial law, input of tactical troops, and cohesion policy between the colonial legacy and the military regime. Kim Hak-jae enunciates that martial law, promulgated by the US military, had no legal basis, but the counter-insurgency was executed by standard operational procedure causing a number of civilians to be killed in the line of fire, thousands to be arrested, and hundreds to be punished by referral to the military court. The juridical system, which was the standard of punishment, was also a mixture of Japanese law during the colonial rule and the special and temporary law of the US military regime. Due to the lack of an existing Korean police force and military, the US military arbitrarily mobilised troops created without instructions from the ruling office. In the case of the Cheju Uprising, suspects were tortured and executed without trial, with the connivance of the US military, innocent civilians were dispossessed and killed in retaliation for the damage by the insurgents.[467]

When we discuss Korean Protestant anticommunism, the macroscopic influence of the US need to be considered. As South Korea has been put on the anti-communist front line against the Soviet Union, according to the US defence strategy, the anti-communist ideology had to be forcibly transplanted. Since the end of World War II, the US has taken a hard-line anti-communist stand, extinguishing the anti-imperialistic national liberation movement, so as to reinforce the blockage network against communist countries. The US military government sponsored pro-Japanese forces that had lost their legitimacy in the establishment of the self-reliant nation state, and promoted anti-communism by land reform based on the private property system and democracy based on the parliamentary system.[468] In this geopolitical imperial setting, faith about good and evil was simplified by political division. Any ideology and social action can be theologically judged on good and evil by its intentions and results, being contingent upon biblical justice and peace. Regardless of violence, deceitfulness, or suppression, a theological yardstick for judging right and wrong was trapped in political logic under the Cold War system.

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[466] Mark J. Reardon, "Chasing a Chameleon: The U.S. Army Counterinsurgency Experience in Korea, 1945-1952", Richard G. Davis, ed., *The U.S. Army and Irregular Warfare 1775-2007*, selected papers from the 2007 Conference of Army Historians (Washington, DC: Center of Military History United States Army, 2008), 228; Kim Hak-jae, "20th Century's Civil War and Civilian Massacre during the Korean War," *The Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53 (2010): 102.

[467] Kim Hak-jae, "20th Century's Civil War and Civilian Massacre during the Korean War," 103-104.

[468] Kyle Burke, *Revolutionaries for the Right: Anticommunist Internationalism and Paramilitary Warfare in the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 12-27.

For this reason, Ryu Jae-il outlines the anti-communist ideology during the US military regime. First, it was formed in the process of establishing a divided nation by overwhelming external pressure, but was still lacking hegemony. Second, it was aggressive and violent to civil society, relying on a coercive rather than a consent system. Third, because anticommunism was insufficient to function ideologically, an anti-North policy had to be employed, thus had the possibility of triggering strife between the North and South.[469] Thus, we also need to look at the anticommunism of Korean Protestants from various angles. Their anticommunism was triggered not only by personal traumatic experience but also by the geopolitical imperial settings. For hundreds of years, there had been no rapid ideological change in the Korean society where Confucianism and monarchy were unquestioningly regarded as ideology and system. Ever since the Korean Peninsula was invaded by imperial powers, Korean society was caught in a political maelstrom of new ideological-political-social challenges and changes, such as Protestantism, imperialism, colonialism, nationalism, capitalism, communism, socialism, and democracy. In particular, anticommunism was not adopted into society by individual choice, but rather was imposed by macroscopic conditions that gave no choice to an individual.[470]

The role of the churches followed the same course. For example, while the hegemonic narrative logic of contemporary state violence suppressed the memory of this uprising for the last seventy years, the atrocities by the Protestants were justified by conscripted biblical images. For many decades, under the anti-communist and authoritarian regimes in South Korea, the truth of the Cheju Uprising was not investigated and the victims went unrecognized. However, democratization has created a remarkable change to allow the investigation ofe the massacre and the victims by a government-sponsored commission. In this process, Cheju civilians played a magnanimous role, clarifying the past and commemorating the victims, rather than calling for retribution. As Park Myung-lim designates that Cheju identity has undergone "a dramatic change as it has come to be known as a place synonymous with forgiveness, peace, human rights, and reconciliation."[471] In 2003, President Roh Moo-hyun officially apologised to those who suffered sacrifice, which was the first official apology by the government since the government was established in 1948. In 2018, President Moon Jae-in, and in 2019 the Vice-Minister of National Defense and the chief of the National Police Agency also

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[469] Ryu Jae-il, "The Korean War and Ati-communist Ideology," 142-143.
[470] Ryu Jae-il, "The Korean War and Ati-communist Ideology," 139-150
[471] Park Myung-lim, "Towards a Universal Model of Reconciliation: The Case of the Jeju 4.3 Incident", Journal of Korean Religions vol. 9, no. 1 (2018), 105.

offered an apology for the carnage and waste of life.[472]

However, the "martyrdom narrative" that the Christians and pastors were killed by communists has been widespread in the Korean church. The narrative of a Christian offender is still hard to find, let alone a confession, apology, and compensation by the churches and denominations involved. The US government has also never offered an apology for its role in the devastating Cheju massacre, in spite of a demand from Cheju citizens.[473] Although, the official apology of government was made by the two liberal administrations, the two previous conservative administrations never apologised for it. The reason the Korean mainstream churches have remained silent on the issue is that they have to cling to their ideological position to defend their interests. The Korean War, which will be discussed in the next section is a watershed moment, in terms of the relationships between the church and state, the Bible and ideology, and biblical peace and imperial peace. From this point on, for a considerable period of time, the Bible degenerated into war material or a captive of national ideology.

3.3.4 The Bible as the Casualty of the Korean War

3.3.4.1 Biblical Metaphor Used by the Churches of Two Koreas

R. S. Sugirtharajah says, "If the first casualty of war is truth, the second casualty to sustain heavy collateral damage is text." In studying ways the Bible was misused by Victorian preachers during the Indian rebellion of 1857, he claims that along with truth, various texts, ranging from battle reports to religious texts, were misused by both proponents and opponents.[474] As the Christians in Europe justified the Crusades and colonial war through religion, the Korean Protestantism also supported the Korean War biblically, with the promise of an afterlife to victims and warriors, and an ethical dualism that deemed war as a struggle between good and evil. [475] Dualism emphasises the otherness of the enemy, and legalises acts of the violence and murder toward that enemy. Dehumanising the enemy frees soldiers from guilt, fear and sympathy. The warring sides

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[472] "Roh apologizes for 1948 Jeju massacre", UPI, April 3, 2006; "Moon apologizes to victims of Jeju massacre on 70th anniversary", The Korea Herald, April 3, 2018; Riyaz ul Khaliq, "South Korea's Defense Ministry 'regrets' Jeju massacre", Anadolu Agency, April 3, 2019.
[473] Geoffrey Fattig, "The Korea Massacre the U.S. Needs to Apologize for", Jeju43peace.org. Originally published in *Foreign Policy in Focus*, May 14, 2018; "Jeju citizens demand apology for Apr. 3 Massacre", *Hankyoreh*, April 9, 2018.
[474] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and Empire: Postcolonial Exploration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 60.
[475] C. Scott Littleton, "War and Warriors", Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 15 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1987), 340; Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity, 1950-1953," *Journal of Religion and Culture* 2 (2004): 37-38.

in the Korean War, which was a fratricidal war, had to sanctify the war by religious and ideological dualism, as the churches of the two Koreas defined the other as evil during the war.[476]

In the early days of the war, several South Korean churches regarded war as divine judgment, for, just before the war, there was had been a struggle over the ecclesiastical authority at the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church in 1949. Rev. Hwang Geum-cheon, in his sermon *Tears of Nehemiah Who Saved His Country*, ascribed the war to the sins of South Korean churches, which were vicious slander, the divisions of churches, disbelief and bitter feuds.[477] As time passed, however, war made almost all the Protestants and Catholics in the South aggressively anti-communist, and they insisted that communists were the cause of war and tragedy, identified them as the antichrist, encouraging desperate resistance. While communists were identified with Satan and the invaders, Protestants were esteemed as chosen people and victims.[478] For example, in the Revelations 6:4, a fiery red horse and its rider, who take away peace from the earth and cause people to slaughter each other, was read as communism which caused the horror of war.[479]

"And out came another horse, bright red; its rider was permitted to take peace from the earth, so that people would slaughter one another; and he was given a great sword" (Rev 6:4).

With the outbreak of war, the term the "holy war" and "Crusades" were used more and more often in the mainstream churches, so as to encourage participation in war.[480] Protestants, especially pastor Han Kyung-chik, who represented North Korean refugees, insisted that the war came from the ambition of the communists, utilising the metaphor of the Anakites coming from the Nephilim (Num. 13:33), a great red dragon (Rev. 12:3), the devil and Satan. By adopting biblical connotations, participation in war could be used to justify the extermination of communists.[481] When the UN and South Korean forces took the North Korean capital Pyeongyang, Han delivered sermon at a massive rally there to celebrate, quoting Isaiah 60:1, "Arise, shine; for your light has come and glory

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[476] Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity," 29-49.

[477] Hwang Geum-cheon, "Kugukcha Nŭhemiyaŭi Nunmul, Nehemiah 1:1-11" [Tears of Nehemiah, Nehemiah 1:1-11], *Kidokkongbo*, June 23, 1952.

[478] Kang In-cheol, "The Production and Reproduction of Anti-Communism in the Korean Protestant Churches," *Yŏksabip'yŏng* (spring, 2005): 51; Yun Jeong-ran, *Han'gukchŏnjaenggwa Kidokkyo* [The Korean War and Protestantism] (Paju: Hanul Academy, 2015), 265-266.

[479] Kim Yang-sun, *Han'gukkidokkyohaebang10nyŏnsa* [10 Years of Korean Christian Liberation] (Seoul: Taehanyesugyojangnohoech'onghoejonggyogyoyukpu, 1956), 141-143.

[480] Kim Yang-sun, *10 Years of Korean Christian Liberation*, 70-90.

[481] Kim Yang-sun, *10 Years of Korean Christian Liberation*, 140-143.

of the Lord has risen upon you", considering winning the battle as light and glory of God. Believers sang the hymn "A Mighty Fortress is Our God" and flocked to revivals and prayer meetings holding the Bible. For over 40 days, American missionaries and Koreans were greatly pleased and welcomed the UN and South Korean forces as liberation and salvation troops.[482] Church leaders used the metaphors "a wolf a lamb's skin" or "opium-poisoning" to describe atheistic communism and its followers. The front line of the Korean War was prescribed as the Christian boundary and the North Korean army as a "red puppet of the devil, communist demon and red Leviathan." [483] Therefore, Christians had to be warriors in a holy war to repel the communists. At the time of the Korean War, all churches were hostile to communism, morally and religiously, and justified the violence and killings. As Michael Barkun suggests "a theory of mistakes", which is a series of claims to rationalise the community's inadequacy in meeting the needs of its members, also helped to accept the misery of war by explaining causes and responsibilities of the war.[484]

There was no difference between churches both in the North and South. Although the majority of Protestants defected to the South to avoid persecution, communist-based churches advocated the North Korean army through religion. Prayer meetings were offered for victory in the war, when the North Korean army was winning battles, churches celebrated through special rallies and services.[485] The North Korean churches regarded the South Korean government and US army as devils, praying for God's curse, and describing American imperialism as the betrayer, like Judas, who sold Jesus. [486] Churches in North Korea claimed that the war was for the liberation of the homeland by attributing blame to the US and its partners. The US was charged with responsibility for the tragedy of the war, which had plunged South Korea into a dark land dominated by the US and described the struggle to liberate South Korea as the struggle for divine light. The narrative which imputed war to the aggression of the US developed into anti-

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[482] Harold E. Fey, "Signs of Recovery in Korea," *The Christian Century* (December 12, 1951), 1508; Harry A. Rhodes and Archibald Campbell (ed.), *History of the Korean Mission Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* Vol. 2 (The Presbyterian Church of Korea Department of Education, 1983), 100-103; Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity, 1950-1953," *Journal of Religion and Culture* 2 (2004): 34.

[483] Kang In-cheol, "Han'gukchŏnjaenggi Pan'gong Ideollogi Kanghwa Palchŏne Taehan Chonggyoinŭi Kiyŏ" in *Han'gukchŏnjaenggwa Han'guksahoe Byeondong*, ed. Korean Sociological Association (Seoul: Pulbit, 1992), 211-214.

[484] Choe Joong-hyun, "The Korean War and Messianic Groups: Two Cases in Contrast." Ph. D. Dissertation. Syracuse University, 1993, 71; Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity, 1950-1953," *Journal of Religion and Culture* (2004): 40.

[485] Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity, 1950-1953," 32.

[486] *Rodong Sinmun Newspaper*, Aug. 7, 1950; Ko Young-eun, "Puk'an Sahoeŭi Kidokkyo Inshik Pyŏnhwa Punsŏk" [Analysis of Changes in the Perception of Christianity in North Koran Society], *Korea Presbyterian Journal of Theology*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (2013): 233; Kim Heung-soo, *The History of Church in North Korea*, 500-503.

American and anti-imperialist ideology in North Korea following the war. In this ideology, the beasts, cannibals, and wolves were signified as metaphors for American imperialism.[487]

Even after the war, these metaphors and narratives of two Koreas continued to focus on political ideology more than on shared national experience and history. In South Korea, this hostility has been strengthened through religious connotations and developed into an anti-communist nationalism, bringing church growth, and expanding in keeping with church growth. The churches of the two Koreans had a similar attitude in using the Bible as a textual weapon, but their biblical interpretations show differences in their stance on imperialism. Condemnation by South Korean churches was concentrated in diabolising North Korea, whereas North Korean churches focused on condemning American imperial forces. As the church declined in North Korea, this biblical interpretation was absorbed into anti-imperial ideology, but in South Korea, this proclivity has been maintained for decades as the churches have aligned with the anti-communist stance of the US imperial strategy. Rather, the Bible has been used in South Korea in the Cold War to solidify pro-Americanism.

3.3.4.2 Churches as Auxiliary Services

The churches in both the North and South were at the forefront of providing "hardware" as well as "software" for war.[488] Justifying and encouraging participation in war, the churches of the two Koreas were also actively involved in direct war support activities, recruiting forces, collecting war funds, and providing munitions. In wartime, it can be said that the churches in the Korean Peninsula became subject to war through the combination of faith and ideology, as well as consent and obedience to the government which prosecuted the war. North Korean churches offered spiritual support through prayer meetings for victory and raised money for military supplies, considering war as being inevitable for unification, independence, democracy, freedom and peace. Pastor Kim Ik-du, the first president of the *Pukchosŏn'gidokkyodoyŏnmaeng* [North Korean Christian Union], encouraged the donation campaign with other pastors, evangelists and elders which spread throughout the North. [489] At a Christian rally of the clergy in August 1950, he appealed to "dedicate more fighters, tanks, and warships to the heroic North

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[487] Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity, 1950-1953," 40.
[488] Mitri Raheb uses the term "hardware" to mean "military equipment and advanced technology that provide the fuel to maintain the occupying power." He also uses the term "software" to indicate "the culture, the narrative, and the theology" that help to establish the ruling power. M. Raheb, *Faith in the Face of Empire*, 24.
[489] Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity, 1950-1953," 32.

Korean People's Army for the victory of the just war, according to Jesus' teaching to spare nothing in order to remove injustice and sin."[490]

The wartime support activities of churches in the South were not much different from the North. Protestants formed *Kidokkyoguguk'oe* [Christian Association for the National Salvation], with 30 branches in South Korea, collaborated with the government in order to recruit volunteer corps, take charge of the pacification work, and carry out the anti-communist struggle. A large number of youth, who most of whom belonged to the Northwest Youth Corps, enlisted voluntarily in the armed forces.[491] During the Korean War, 1,000 members of the Northwest Youth Corps were sent to territories in North Korea occupied by Alliance forces, and 3,000 Christian volunteers were mobilised through short-term military training, but all of them were defeated by the North Korean army. Christian volunteers used hymn "Stand up, stand up for Jesus" as their army song, and chapels were provided for them.[492]

When UN and South Korean troops won the battle and recaptured the major cities, South Korean churches also held a large rally. Pastors and American missionaries were engaged in missions and pacification work in the occupied territories.[493] In December 1950, church leaders and believers sent a message to the UN Secretary-General, US President, and UN Commander-General, saying that the Korean War was an inevitable skirmish of the final war between the Free World and the Communist camps. They also called on the government and UN forces not to retreat until the day the Free World was victorious.[494] In particular, when the truce talks were in full swing, the most upsetting backlash occurred among Protestants in the South. Christian rallies against ceasefire were held in major cities, a statement was issued advising the world churches and the US government to oppose armistice, arguing that Korean unification should be achieved by the surrender of communism, not appeasement with communism.

> "When we [South Koreans] seek God, they [North Korean communists] offer violence, when we seek love, they teach hatred, and when we speak mercy they vomit cruelty. Encouraging compromise with them is no different than forcing Jesus to compromise with the Devil in the forty days of the wilderness. We cannot find good reason why the Free World must appease and approve the sacrifice of Korea

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[490] *Rodong Sinmun Newspaper*, Aug. 7, 1950; Kim Heung-soo, *The History of Church in North Korea*, 502-503.

[491] Yun Jeong-ran, *The Korean War and Protestantism*, 268.

[492] Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity, 1950-1953," 33.

[493] Harry A. Rhodes and Archibald Campbell (ed.), *History of the Korean Mission Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* Vol. 2 (Seoul: The Presbyterian Church of Korea, Department of Education, 1983), 100-103.

[494] Kim Yang-sun, *10 Years of Korean Christian Liberation*, 89.

[the South]. The result of appeasement is the persecution of the church, the destruction of national destiny, the ruin of world order, and the end of human conscience."[495]

The warlike attitude of Protestants in the South is also found in a statement to US President Dwight David Eisenhower, who adopted the ceasefire policy. They expressed great disappointment in the ceasefire effort, and warned Eisenhower that the US regarded the communists not as an invincible devil, but as a good-sinner who could repent.[496] Giving a familiar example that China fell to the communist camp due to an appeasement policy, if the US wanted to make up for past blunders and be an advocate of democracy, they must fight to the end in this war to gain victory.[497] A firm stance against armistice was perceived, not as a warlike attitude, but as the correct stance by Protestants in the South, because communists were agents of the devil.[498]

As discussed in the introduction, ideology is not only a system of ideas, but also a programme of action.[499] Ideologies had a great influence on fulfilling the role of backup forces to reinforce the army in the Korean War by the churches of the two Koreas. As C. Geertz suggests the essential ingredients for ideology, the communist, anti-imperial, and anti-communists ideologies in the North and South provided the emotional resilience to support the necessary patience and resolution, the moral strength to sustain self-sacrifice and incorruptibility, and the vision of public purpose, anchored in a compelling image of social reality.[500] These elements motivated the social cognition, emotions, and action necessary to prepare for war, carry out war, and maintain the post-war regime. The Bible likewise worked in conjunction with ideologies on increasing moral-normative, affective, and cognitive gradients necessary to fight wars.[501]

3.3.4.3 The Rise of Pro-Americanism

The ramifications of the Korean War on the South Korean churches was not only anticommunism, but also the rise of pro-Americanism, which became a genetic code to understand the traits of the South Korean church. The advent of American Protestantism

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[495] Kim Yang-sun, *10 Years of Korean Christian Liberation*, 141-142.
[496] Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity, 1950-1953," 36.
[497] Paik Nak-jun, "Han'gukchŏnjaenggwa Segyep'yŏnghwa" [The Korean War and World Peace], *Sasanggye* (June, 1953): 9-10.
[498] Kim Heung-soo, "Korean War and Christianity, 1950-1953," 36.
[499] L. P. Baradat and J. A. Phillips, *Political Ideologies*, Chapter 1; T. Parsons, *The Social System*, 4-13.
[500] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 229.
[501] T. Parsons and E. A. Shils, "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action," 53-60, 105-106, 159-179.

led to the beginning of pro-Americanism in Korea, which was strengthened by US military occupation. It was, however, the Korean War that idealised the US as "the object of desire" for the majority of South Koreans, including Protestants. Adopting the concepts of Jacques Lacan; "the Big Other", "Subject", and "Symbolic Order", Kwon Jin-kwan claims that South Korean anticommunism was solidified by the image of an idealised America, considering America as the Big Other that colonises the soul of ordinary Koreans and Christians. He also argues that pro-Americanism or Americanised Korean Protestantism has caused prosperity theology, a binary worldview, literalism, and fundamentalism in South Korean churches.[502]

During the Korean War, owing to the migration of Protestants from North Korea, Protestantism emerged as major religion in South Korea. The largest migration from North Korea, including Protestants and Catholics, was the "January 4th retreat" in 1951, when UN forces retreated because of Chinese communist forces. From the liberation in 1945 to the end of the Korean War in 1953, the number of Protestants migrating from the North was estimated to be between 70,000 and 80,000, or 35-40 percent of the total number of Protestants in the North. [503] In a sense, the explosive increase of the Protestant population brought an expansion of their influence, religiously and politically. In the 1950s, Protestant refugees from the North built various anti-communist organisations, and 90 percent of the two thousand new churches, in South Korea.[504] Since then, at the instigation of Protestant refugees, Protestantism in the South has been staunch anti-communist and a pro-American under the influence of US in politics, economy and church.[505]

Kai Yun Allison Haga highlights the role of American missionaries in spreading anti-communist sentiment and pro-Americanism through relief efforts.[506] During the Korean War, international Christian organisations had a significant role in supplying goods for relief, building schools, orphanages, and widow's accommodations, offering medical care, and helping the resettlement of refugees. Generating a gracious image of Protantism and the US, the Protestant and America-centred relief significantly contributed to the spread of Christian mission, anticommunism and pro-Americanism in South Korea. Civilised western and American culture were conveyed to South Koreans

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[502] Kwon Jin-kwan, "The Cold War and the Korean Protestantism: An Analysis of the Korean Protestantism Structured by the Cold War System", *Theology and Society* 31 (2017): 9-43.

[503] Kang In-cheol, "Wŏllam Kaeshin'gyo Ch'ŏnjugyoŭi Ppu-ri" [The Origin of Protestantism and Catholicism from North Korea], *Yŏksabip'yŏng* 19 (1992); 134-135.

[504] Kang In-cheol, "Korean Society and Christians from North Korea," 94-97.

[505] Kang In-cheol, "Korean Society and Christians from North Korea," 91.

[506] Kai Yun Allison Haga, "Rising to the Occasion: The Role of American Missionaries and Korean Pastors in Resisting Communism throughout the Korean War" in *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, ed. Phillip Emil Muehlenbeck (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012), 88-110.

by various relief activities, and the churches were counted as places for gaining western food, goods, educational programs, and medical care. Orientalism, implanted by the American missionaries and Japanese imperialists, was strengthened in society and churches as the country became devastated and was considered to be in need of foreign aid. An elite group of Protestants from the North took the initiative in spreading American culture, utilising Christian newspapers.[507] As they have become mainstream in the Korean church, American-first ideology, Orientalism, and anticommunism also came to dominate the theological discourse.

As relief goods flowed to the churches, the positions of the US and American missionaries were strengthened, along with the churches, in the South. Their offices always had a mass of Korean pastors, who gathered for relief and church restoration costs, and the conflicts between pastors over the cost of reconstruction intensified. By sponsoring or excluding certain churches or denominations, American missionaries took the initiative in the Korean church in the 1950s. The biggest influence on the Korean church was an American relief organisation, the Church World Service (CWS), which was the umbrella organisation of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, aimed at protecting Korean Protestantism from the socialists. Relief goods were distributed by Presbyterian missionaries or Protestants from the North.[508] The ties with the missionaries and monopoly on relief supplies enabled North Korean refugees to grow as church leaders. Later, they had a cosy relationship with dictatorships, cooperated with government policies and benefited from the regime.[509]

Even before the war, people who studied in the US had taken centre stage in the Korean society and the overwhelming majority adopted Korean Protestantism. The ecclesiastical authority of Korean Protestant leaders depended upon how close the relationship was with the US. In Methodism, study abroad or a pastoral career in the US was a prerequisite, and a US degree was an indispensable factor in becoming a professor of the Presbyterian Seminary. The US government took advantage of this situation to enhance pro-Americanism. For example, a Methodist minister, Lee Yun-young, with the financial support of the US military intelligence agency, founded the *Pan'gongt'ongiryŏnmaeng* [Anti-communists Unification Union], and launched the anti-communist movement through lectures and magazines throughout the 1950s. With the help of the US, in September 1952, anti-communist prisoners of war, who were North

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[507] Han Gyung-koo, "Legacies of War: The Korean War - 60 Years On," *Asia-Pacific Journal* 31; Gwon Gwisook, "Reframing Christianity on Cheju during the Korean War," *Journal of Korean Religions* Vol. 6, No. 2 (2015): 95-96.

[508] Yun Jeong-ran, *The Korean War and Protestantism*, 75-77.

[509] Hur Ho-ik, "Ideological Conflict in South Korea and Reunification Theology," *Han'gukchojikshinhangnonch'ong*, Vol. 42 (2015): 174.

Korean prisoners of war, established Christian group *Shinuhoe*, where more than 150 prisoners became pastors. In the background of these activities, Protestantism became a symbol of the right wing in Korean society.[510]

Vladimir Tikhonov evaluates the role of the Christian Military Chaplaincy in reframing Protestantism as a kernel of anti-communism.[511] The Christian Military Chaplaincy in 1951 was established to install spiritual training by South Korean Protestantism and Catholicism. In 1954, 297 Korean military chaplains were trained by American military chaplains and they inculcated hundreds of thousands of the South Korean military with anticommunism as a state ideology.[512] With mandatory military service for most South Korean men, military chaplains served on the front lines of spreading anti-communist, pro-American, and belligerent Protestantism. In this way, ideologies influenced the constitution of all dimensions of social structure, and the Korean church was also constrained in many ways by these ideologies. Regardless of whether it is good or bad, true or false, or liberating or oppressive, the dominant ideology was considered to be incontestable religious doctrine.[513] As T. Eagleton argues, ideology functioned as a peculiarly "action-oriented" discourse, attending to the promotion and legitimation of the interests of state in the face of opposing interests. By contrast, contemplative cognition in society and churches was subordinated to the furtherance of "irrational" interests and desires.[514] The next section shows that the Bible continued to be subjugated to national ideology and interest, once again being mobilised into war as an auxiliary service.

3.3.5 The Vietnam War

3.3.5.1 Support of Churches

In 1971, a US Navy veteran testified before Congress why he turned against the Vietnam War, charging that "people were dying because America's pride will not admit that 'we have made a mistake' by going to Vietnam." [515] According to the *Pentagon Papers*, which were exposed by the New York Times in 1971, the US identified the main aim of the Vietnam War in 1965 as: "to avoid a humiliating US defeat to our reputation as a

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[510] Yun Kyung-ro, "Seventy Years after National Division: Cases and Nature of Korean Christianity's Adhesion to Power," *Han'gukkidokkyowa Yŏksa* 44 (2016): 27-65.
[511] Vladimir Tikhonov, "South Korea's Christian Military Chaplaincy in the Korea War: Religion as Ideology?" *Asia-Pacific Journal* 11 (2013). https://apjjf.org/2013/11/18/Vladimir-Tikhonov/3935/article.html
[512] Gwon Gwisook, "Reframing Christianity on Cheju during the Korean War," 95.
[513] R. Wodak and G. Kendall, "Critical Discourse Analysis."
[514] T. Eagleton, *Ideology*, 29.
[515] Rod Dreher, "Vietnam and the Father of Lies," *The American Conservative*, July 23, 2014.

guarantor."[516] Although America said that they made a mistake, or wanted to avoid a humiliating US defeat that cost the lives of 58,000 Americans and approximately one million Vietnamese troops and civilians, South Koreans would not pronounce the senselessness of this war. Although it was only a decade after the Korean War, the Korean church repeatedly supported the Vietnam War. This war cost over 16,000 casualties and approximately 160,000 people suffered from defoliants due to "American pride."[517] However, the Vietnam War, then as now, has been interpreted by considerable number of Protestants as divine judgment on communism, advocating military action under justification of a Holy War.

The US planned an international war through the cooperation of the UN, NATO and SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) for the Vietnam War, and asked allies in the Asia-Pacific region to contribute troops when thing did not go as planned. South Korea was the first country to dispatch a large number of troops to Vietnam, and took up a positive attitude in sending the troops 12 days prior to the arrival of US army.[518] When the war was going against the US, they asked South Korea to send additional troops, and Korea granted the request by sending several division-sized combat units. On August 26, 1966, the NCC (National Council of Churches) in Korea hosted a farewell service for the troops, and before this service they already sent nationwide letters of recommendation to churches for special worship and prayers for soldiers. The prayers and sermon for this service illustrate the position of the Korean church regarding the war and dispatch the troops at that time. Considering that there is no state religion in South Korea and that the population of Protestantism was not the largest proportion of religions, it was exceptional.[519]

In a speech at a farewell ceremony, President Park Chung-hee portrayed the Vietnam War as a battlefield where the free will of the Free World was encountering the ambition of communisation. He said that South Korea should help countries under the threat of communism, because the Viet Cong were communists who were the main culprits behind the Korea War. The US took the leading power in the Free World with two

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[516] "Annex-Plan of Action for South Vietnam", *The Pentagon Paper*, Gravel Edition, Vol. 3 (March 24, 1965): 694-702.

[517] US forces had 47,382 killed in action, 10,811 noncombat deaths, 153,303 wounded in action, and 10,173 captured or missing in action. Other allied casualties included South Korea, 4,407 killed in action; Australia 506; Thailand 351 killed; and New Zealand, 83 killed. In April 1995 Hanoi announced that 1.1 million Communist fighters had died, and another 600,000 were wounded. Hanoi estimated civilian deaths in the war between 1954 and 1975 at 2 million. Spencer C. Tucker, "Casualties" in *Vietnam War: A Topical Exploration and Primary Source Collection*, ed. James H. Willbanks (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2018), 191-192.

[518] R. B. Smith, *An International History of the Vietnam War, Vol. 2: The Kennedy Strategy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1985), 375-377.

[519] Ryu Dea-young, "Korean Churches' Attitude toward the Vietnam War," *Christianity and History in Korea* 21 (2004): 76.

principles, containment and massive retaliation by nuclear weapons, in confronting the Soviet Union. Park Chung-hee understood the Vietnam War to be based on the US-centred Cold War and anti-communism ideology, standing up to the expansion of communism.[520]

Ryu Dae-young points out that the Korean church had a view on the Vietnam War similar to the US and Park Chung-hee. The Christian media called allowing communist control of Vietnam a complacent peace, arguing that armed defence was the path of true peace.[521] The NCC also called for church prayer on a national scale, regarding the Vietnam War as an anti-communist war for peace in Asia and for the Vietnamese. Kim Hwal-lan, a Christian leader and an executive of the NCCK, called the troops "the crusade of liberty" dedicated to protecting human freedom, dignity and unpretentious peace. In his farewell address, Ryu Ho-joon, secretary of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, said that defeating communism was not just humanitarian but an issue directly related to the ideological frontline throughout the world, and that if a section of the front was broken, the freedom and peace of Korea, Asia and Free World would be at stake. Kim Jun Gon, the founder of Korea Campus Crusade for Christ, viewed the war as a way to free human beings from being enslaved by communism and prevent further sacrifice, even though the war itself was evil.[522]

Understanding the world through the Cold War worldview, defining the world as a dualism of good and evil, was further strengthened by Christian worldviews. Ryu Ho-jun insisted that God, who created the world and resisted evil, sent soldiers to Vietnam to defend their life and wealth, including Korea and Asia. Kil Jin-kyung also condemned the Viet Cong as an evil that destroyed peace, portraying Vietnam as being devastated by communist invasion and suffering from tyranny. Christian newspapers in Korea said that the name of Korean troops would shine because they were armed with the Spirit of Christ, in order to crush the red devil and atheist army.[523] Ryu Dea-young illustrates several ways churches imbued the war with the religious connotation. First of all, the Korean church highlighted many Christian commanders who took part in the war. According to a statistic, 88 of the 97 commanders were Protestants in April 1966, so churches could interpret the troops as Crusaders and the war as a Holy War. The "Immanuel Unit" played a significant role in giving a religious connation to this war. This unit consisted only of

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[520] Walter LaFeber, *The American Age: US Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad, 1750 to the present*, New York, 1994, 473-476, 540-544.; Ryu Dea-young, "The Vietnam War," 77.
[521] Ji Myung-kwan, "P'yŏnghwae Taehan Kyohoeŭi Chŭngŏn" [The Church's Testimony on Peace] *Christian Thoughts* (1966): 30-31.
[522] Kim Sung-hwan, "Puranhan P'yŏnghwa: Wŏllamjŏnjaenggwa Uri" [Unstable Peace: The Vietnam War and Us], *Christian Thoughts* (1967): 144; Ryu Dea-young, "The Vietnam War," 79.
[523] Ryu Dea-young, "The Vietnam War," 81-82.

Christian commanders and troops, which was given a Christian name, showing the cosy relationship between the government and the church. The secretary of the NCC referred to this unit as the Crusader of Faith and the Army of Justice, defining it as a twentieth-century free crusader in carrying out God's will and mission.[524] However, there was no biblical provenance for their argument judging good and evil. They did not draw meaning out of biblical text in accordance with the biblical author's context and discoverable meaning, but imposed their highly subjective ideological logic of the biblical texts.[525] Furthermore, we should take note of the fact that biblical writers hardly judge good and evil due to different religions, ethnicities, or beliefs. As I suggested in Chapter 1, prophetic condemnation in both the Old and New Testament depends mainly on practising justice, peace, and compassion. Given that the prophets criticised Israelites who belonged to the same political-ideological-religious communities, condemnation based on the logic of camp is biblically groundless. Above all, considering the counter-imperialistic features of the Bible, it would be more reasonable that the US and South Korea become the target of criticism, due to their inclination of violence in the Vietnam War.[526]

Army chaplains were also sent to Vietnam to strengthen the faith and mental armament of the troops. Above all, they played a bridge in linking the war and the church. In particular, the Korean government appointed Lee Chang Sik, who studied at an American military school, as the first army chaplain in Vietnam, indirectly showing the war as being held in connection with the US, the Korean government and the church.[527] The Korean chaplains in Vietnam often contributed to newspapers or magazines and posted letters to let the church and society know how matters stood . Chaplain Park Min Su said he hoped as many soldiers as possible would join the war, so as to instil patriotism and pride in democracy, to counter the brutality of communism. He likened what the Korean Army did in Vietnam to a Good Samaritan. Chaplain Son In-hwa called the war a spread of true faith and new Gospel in an idol-worshiping Vietnam. He insisted that South Korea should not evade their historical mission, and must send more support troops and missionaries. [528] The reports of chaplains tended to be optimistic that the war would be over soon, misleading the church, although the US realised that the situation

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[524] Kim Jun-young, "Wŏllamgihaeng" [Travel to Vietnam], *Christian Thoughts* (1967): 20; Ryu Dae-young, "The Vietnam War," 82.

[525] Jay G. Williams, "Exegesis-Eisgesis: Is There a Difference?" *Theology Today*, Vol. 30 (1973): 218-227; Fernando F. Segovia, *Decolonizing Biblical Studies: A View from the Margins* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000), 15.

[526] See Cathleen Kaveny, *Prophecy without Contempt: Religious Discourse in the Public Square* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

[527] Ryu Dea-young, "The Vietnam War," 82-83.

[528] Son In-hwa, "Wŏllamjŏn Sogŭi Han'guk-gun" [Korean Military in the Vietnam War], *Christian Thoughts* (1967): 76, 85; Ryu Dea-young, "The Vietnam War," 85.

of the war in general was bad and deteriorating.[529]

3.3.5.2 Churches Advocating War

During the Vietnam War, masses of people in the US, Vietnam and other parts of world constantly questioned the legitimacy of the US intervention, and methods. For example, the Clergymen's Emergency Committee for Vietnam, which was composed of Protestant and Jewish clergymen, the Interreligious Committee on Vietnam, initiated by Martin Luther King Jr. and John C. Bennett, and *Christianity and Crisis,* where Reinhold Niebuhr worked as an editor, were all in the anti-war movement. The World Order Study Conference of NCC in the US also adopted a joint resolution, calling upon the US government to have a dialogue with the stakeholders, stop the bombing in North Vietnam, and allow an autonomous political decision by the Vietnamese.[530] Many Christian organisations and churches stressed that negotiation, rather than war, would solve the fundamental problem of Vietnam. Only the Korean churches opposed this move.

Some Christian leaders criticised the anti-war movement of the Eastern Asian Christian Conference and Asian churches, arguing that those who had not been invaded and divided by communism, like the Koreans, would not understand the substance of communism because they did not feel the threat of communism. Kil Jin Kyung, the secretary of the NCC, supported the war, saying that Koreans could not have a dialogue with communists, because they had experienced the wicked tricks of the communists in the Korean War. His opinion differed from U Thant, the Secretary-General of the UN, who proposed dialogue as a resolution to the problem of Vietnam.[531] A secretary of the International Committee of NCC in South Korea, Kim Duk-soo expressed his concern over the US and Southeast Asian countries call for dialogue and compromise. He said that countries that had never been invaded by communism had unrealistic expectations for negotiation with communists. Kim also announced his plan to invite representatives of churches in the US, Europe, and Southeast Asia, to show the wickedness of the communist methods were and how unrealistic their negotiations for peace were, through the reality of South Korea confronting communism.[532]

The concern of the world churches about the Vietnam War led to the World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva, hosted by WCC. About 500 delegations from 164

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[529] "Annex-Plan of Action for South Vietnam," *The Pentagon Paper*, Gravel Edition, Vol. 3 (Mar. 24, 1965): 694-702.
[530] Mitchell K. Hall, *Because of Their Faith: CALCAV and Religious Opposition to the Vietnam War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 9-10; Ryu Dae-young, "The Vietnam War," 86.
[531] Ji Myung-kwan, "Testimony on Peace," 27; Ryu Dea-young, "The Vietnam War," 80.
[532] Ryu Dea-young, "The Vietnam War," 88.

churches in 80 countries took part in the conference held under the theme "Christians in the technical and social revolutions of our time."[533] At the Conference, it was declared that the bombings of Vietnamese villages and cities by the US air force could not be justified and urged all hostilities and military action be stopped.[534] Regarding the Conference as a pro-communist, however, the Korean delegations and the domestic Christian press strongly defended the US, expressing concern about the criticism of the war. It was also contested by the Korean delegate Baek Nak-jun that the Conference had substantially asked for the admission of the People's Republic of China into UN membership.[535]

Even so, while world churches worked toward an end to the war, opposition by the Korean church continued into the 1970s. At the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in August 1970, which exhorted a stop to the war, withdrawing US troops, and resolving conflicts peacefully, the Korean delegations, especially Han Wan-seok, insisted that the World Alliance delegates had not kept up with the Asian situation and were prone to misjudgement. As the war deteriorated and the US military continued to withdraw, churches held a rally to pray for the safety of the Korean military in Vietnam. Korean Church leaders united in the bitter denunciation of world church leaders, criticising their remarks and attitudes against the Korean religious ideological mission.[536]

In this way, the attitude of the Korean Protestant church toward communism had been frozen in time since the Korean War. Due to their own interests, and influenced by American missionaries, they simplified the war as a dualism of good and evil, a dichotomy of the angel and the devil, coloured by anticommunism, and a particular theological tendency that adopts a wait-and-see attitude. In spite of the intricate webs of interests among world powers and the complicated political background of the two Vietnams, a lack of political understanding of the Korean church sowed the seeds of ideological prejudice and discrimination. Ryu Dea-young claims that the Vietnam War clearly showed how the theological and ethical judgement of churches was distorted by the traumatic experience of the Korean War and anticommunism. As C. Geertz points out, this war was a matter of understanding how it was that religious notions of the people and the dispositions these notions, "coloured their sense of the reasonable, the practical,

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[533] M. M. Thomas and Pauil Abrecht, ed., *World Conference on Church and Society, Geneva, July 12-26, 1966, Official Report* (Geneva, 1967), 48.

[534] M. M. Thomas and P. Abrecht, ed., *World Conference on Church and Society*, 147-148.

[535] Lukas Vischer, "Committed to the Transformation of the World?: Where are we 40 years after the World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva (1966)?", *The Ecumenical Review*, Vol. 59 No. 1 (2007): 37; "Ch'in'gongjŏk T'aedorŭl Kyemong" [Enlightenment of the Pro-communist Attitude], *Kyohoeyŏnhapshinbo*, Aug. 28, 1966.

[536] Ryu Dea-young, "The Vietnam War," 93.

the humane, and the moral."[537]

3.3.6 Theological War Discourse under the New Military Dictatorship

Not only war, but also military dictatorships that lasted for decades, influenced the Korean church in terms of its theological view of war and peace. While, in the Korean War and the Vietnam War, images and metaphors that demonised communism were used to justify war, churches in the 1980s justified the conduct of war and the participation of Christians by considering the subject of war as God, and the survival of the state as the providence of God. The *Koonjinshinhak* [military theology] published by the Office of the Chief of Chaplains in 1985 contains a view of the war under the military dictatorships. In this book, written by several theologians, Seo Cheol-won highly praised the achievement of the Korean chaplains during the Vietnam War, and insisted that killings for the survival of the state, carried out during the war, were legitimated self-defence. He rationalised all wars by claiming that the existence of a state and its rights were given by God, thus, a war of aggression could be justified if mobilised by the state.[538] Viewing war as the result of God's judgment on all human sin, Kim Gab-dong argued that the ultimate aim of war was the new reign and construction of God. The reason war was theologically acceptable was that the establishment and upholding the state in the providence of God. Although Maeng Young-gil limited the use of forces advocating Just War theory, he criticised those who refused to participate in war.[539]

The largest denomination in South Korea, the Presbyterian Church of Korea published another book of military theology *Koonseonkyoshinhak* [military missiology], justifying war initiated by the state. Kang Sa-moon put emphasis on the obligation to serve in the military, saying that a Christian was also a member of the republic, who had to fulfil the duty of military service and participation in war. He deemed war and peace as both sides of God's providence in our history, sanctifying war and violence. By extension, Kwak Sun-hee professed that war was a vocation to establish justice on behalf of God.

> "Israeli soldiers wear a military cap with a white yarmulke to enter the synagogues. They think that there is no responsibility for killing anyone in a war, because they regard war as carrying out execution in the place of God. It is a kind of the "Shalom

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[537] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 124; Ryu Dea-young, "The Vietnam War," 97.

[538] Seo Cheol-won, "Chojikshinhakchŏk Kyŏnjiesŏ Kunjinshinhagŭi Koch'al [Military Theology from a Systematic Theology Perspecitve] in *Kunjinshinhag*, ed. Yukkunbonbujonggamshil (Seoul: Kunbokŭmhwahuwŏnhoe, 1985), 45-84.

[539] Park Qu-Hwan, "A Critique on the Statism," 190.

Theology" and our chaplains have to research this theology for military missiology. God works by using both left and right hands. The church is clearly the right hand of grace as it were, and there must be force on the left hand. There is a history of 'slashing', followed by mercy. The soldiers have a role to attain God's justice and law. In establishing God's Kingdom and expanding His Sovereignty, the church serves as "a grain of wheat" and the soldier has the mission to act for the justice of God by force."[540]

It was presumed that patriotism was insufficient for the army to risk their lives, and Yahweh's War was presented by several theologians. Oh Seong-chun suggested a war as a tool to establish God's justice, love and mercy, because God built an army and conducted a war to defeat evil forces and accomplish His Will in the Old Testament. Biblical narratives and images of war were utilised to strengthen the army, driving them on to believe that anything was possible in war with God.[541] Similarly, Kim Ki-hong drew an analogy to justify the existing power and its use of armed force.

"The earthly army was model of God's army, and the order of earth was also a model of eternal order. Those who desire eternal order must work for the order of the earth, and the people of heaven must be loyal to the armies of the earth. The apostles taught obedience to the world's governments and rulers. Their authority was given by God. The fathers taught that a wicked government is better than anarchy."

According to Kim Ki-tae, the chief of chaplains, God determines the outcome of war, so as to redeem the corrupted. He highlighted the significance of providing a theological foundation for the mental reinforcement of the Korean army, confronting evil communists. Kang Chang-hee raised objections to the nonviolence teachings in the New Testament, arguing that the army must have been regarded as an organisation necessity for order keeping by Jesus and Paul.[542]

However, these arguments are a problem that needs to be addressed in terms of biblical hermeneutics. It must be taken into consideration that there are several

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[540] Park Qu-Hwan, "A Critique on the Statism," 191.

[541] Oh Seoung-chun, "Kidokkyojŏk Salmŭi Wŏnch'ŏnŭrosŏŭi Kidokkyo Yŏngsŏnggaebal" [Christian Spirituality Development as a Source of Christian Life] in *Kunsŏn'gyoshinhak* [Military Mission Theology] (Seoul: Taehanyesugyojangnohoech'onghoech'ulp'an'guk, 1990), 185-221.

[542] Kang Chang-hee, "Shinyaksŏnggyŏngŭi Sŭngnija Kŭrisŭdoŭi Chujewa Kunsŏn'gyo" [Topics on Christ Who Is a Victor of the New Testament and the Military Mission] in *Kunsŏn'gyoshinhak* [Military Mission Theology] (Seoul: Taehanyesugyojangnohoech'onghoech'ulp'an'guk, 1990), 271-310.

theological prerequisites to interpret biblical texts. For instance, Genesis 4:1 has the grammatical possibility that Eve bore her son Cain through sexual intercourse with God, but this interpretation is excluded by theological prerequisite.[543] In the same manner, the nonviolence of the Jesus movement must be the basic premise of theological argument. In comparison biblical *shalom* with imperial peace illustrated in the introduction and Chapter 1, has a critical view of the use of violence, while imperial peace is marked by war, violence, and exploitation.[544] Therefore, the arguments of the scholars and preachers mentioned above are closer to imperial peace than to biblical peace.

It should be noted that self-contradiction is often found among theologians under ideologically divided societies and dictatorships. Conflict between scholarly conscience and the practical problems of defending state ideology under an authoritarian regime is one of the causes of this phenomenon. Seong Jong-hyun said that we do not always have to obey all existing social order and power. In fulfilling military duty, however he sought compromise to sanctity the obligations of earthly state: "The military duty for Christians is a part of the responsibilities implied by the eschatological freedom that God has given us." In order to resolve difficulties of the nonviolent Gospel in an ideologically divided society, in coining "army of Jesus", "army of peace" and "army of the Risen Lord", he suggested that the mission of the army was to spread the Gospel, which is the power of salvation and liberation.[545]

Intentionally or not, in setting up the nation as a divine institution established by God, the majority of Protestant theologians ignored pacifism. In discussing the Holy War or Just War, they quoted the Bible literally and used biblical narrative or metaphor without criticism, rather than elaborating a theoretical approach. For them, a practical theological challenge was national security as state ideology. In the strict sense, the military regime's emphasis on national security and anticommunism was used as a political tool to suppress criticism of illegal dictatorship and to defend their power, rather than raising a sense of security against the North Korean threat. Therefore, it can be said that the support of churches for the national ideology was an attitude associated with their safety and interests, pretending to be theological valid. Kim Sung-nae claims that the military regime's frequent abduction and torture of radical students and political dissidents, under the criminal charge of pro-communist activity, bears witness to a custom of national

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[543] David E. Bokovoy, "Did Eve Acquire, Create, or Procreate with Yahweh? A Grammatical and Contextual Reassessment of *qnh* in Genesis 4:1," *Vetus Testamentum*, Vol. 63 (2013): 19-35.
[544] P. D. Hanson, "War and Peace in the Hebrew Bible," 350-351; W. Carter, "Matthew Negotiates Roman Empire," 119-120.
[545] Seong Jong-hyun, "Kidokkyo Shinanggwa Kunsaenghware Taehan Shinyakshinhakchŏk Koch'al" [Christian Faith and a New Testament Theological Study on Military Life] in *Kunsŏn'gyo Shinhak* [Military Mission Theology] (Seoul: Taehanyesugyojangnohoech'onghoech'ulp'an'guk, 1990), 99-118.

security that has been practiced on a regular basis. Described as "the ritual of deaths" by Gregory and Timerman in Argentina during the military regime (1976-1984), this political persecution of enemies of the state must be seen as a process which both sensationalizes fear among the people and creates a mandate for totalitarian control of society by the state.[546] The attitude of the theologians and preachers in circumstances where physical violence had become commonplace should be understood in terms of the adoption of the totalitarian control of society by the state. In defending national ideology, although incompatible with biblical values, individual and institutional interests have played a crucial role in determining their attitude.

3.3.7 Benefit-Sharing of the US, Dictatorships, and Churches

The religion has a 'double function' as "apology and legitimation of the status quo and its culture of injustice on the one hand, and as a means of protest, change, and liberation on the other hand." As Berger described, religion is both a 'world-maintaining' and 'world-shaking' force, legitimating or challenging power and privilege.[547] Although the theory of secularisation and modernisation has emphasised the decline of the importance of religion in contemporary society, churches in an ideologically divided society have exercised significant influence in legitimating and challenging power, whether forced or voluntary. As stated above, the Korean church seemed to be separated from politics by the early missionaries. Like the missionaries, the churches became involved in espousing and reproducing state ideology, seeking their institutional interest or avoiding persecution by an authoritarian regime.[548]

  Park Qu-hwan claims that the reason Korean Protestantism has upheld state ideology has been due to the hieratic class who tried to strengthen religious power by producing and disseminating religious doctrine and practice in keeping with the strategy of the ruling class to expand and maintain power. Korean churches began to lean toward state ideology in the 1920s, when Korean Protestantism was dominated by people who had a dominant presence and enjoyed a stable status. At that time, emerging as the new religious, cultural and social aristocrats, church leaders preferred the preservation and

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[546] Steven Gregory and Daniel Timerman, "Rituals of the Modern State: The Case of Torture in Argentian," *Dialectical Anthropology*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1986): 63-71; Kim Seong Nae, "Lamentations of the Dead," 255.
[547] P. L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1967); Dwight B. Billings and Shaunna L. Scott, "Religion and Political Legitimation," *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 20 (1994): 173.
[548] Park Qu-Hwan, "A Critique on the Statism of the Korean Protestant Church: Through the Analysis of the War Discourse," *Kigokkyocheolhak* [Christian Philosophy] 12 (2011): 195.

expansion of institutional interests, rather than resistance to repression.[549] Church power has dominated theology, producing "state theology" and imbuing it into congregations to secure justification for the actions of the church. The deeper the bond between the church and the state, the more important the church's function as a breeding ground for national ideology.[550]

I mentioned in the earlier section that the church is not really separated from the state although it claims to be so. Effectively, not getting involved in political issues means to not challenge the existing order and power. As illustrated in the previous chapter, early missionaries and the royal family or colonial government maintained close relations, and the mainstream Korean churches also became closely intertwined with political power during US military rule, the Korean War, Rhee's regime, and the military dictatorships. The separation between the church and state or the depoliticisation of the church was the theological art of living to avoid a politically touchy situation, such as resisting colonial rule or dictatorship. Another facet is associated with the attitude of church leaders to monopolise their religious power and interests. The fact that the church has maintained an association with the political power can be interpreted as a close relationship between church leaders and the existing regime. The Korean church was a feature of lay-centred social movement, but was transformed into a clergy-centred community by the missionaries. From that time on, while church leaders limited the political consciousness of congregations, they have been opportunistically mingling with political power.

From a similar perspective, we can look at the issue of political authority in Romans 13. The state discourse of Korean Protestantism is based on Romans 13 and takes compliance with power or authority for granted, as mentioned in an earlier section. In recognising that a state or government has been instituted or legalised by God, the church produced a state ideology that gives divinity to power. As I pointed out, there are several exegetical problems in this interpretation. First, while it was the concentration of power into the hands of emperor and the ruling class in the Roman Empire, political power theoretically belongs to the people in a modern democratic society. Second, as in the example of kingships in ancient Israel, criticism of, resistance to, and removal of political authority are common in the Bible. The important thing in the Bible is not authority itself but the relationship with God.[551] Third, scholars who absolutise political authority

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[549] Park Qu-Hwan, "A Critique on the Statism," 195.

[550] Park Qu-Hwan, "A Critique on the Statism," 195-196; *Idem.,* "Christian Faith and National Consciousness in Protestant Sermons during the Japanese Occupation", 251-279.

[551] Hayim Tadmor, "'The People' and the Kingship in Ancient Israel: The Role of Political Institutions of in the Biblical Period," *Journal of World History*, Vol. 11 (1968): 3-23; Norman K. Gottwald, *The Politics of Ancient Israel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), chapter 2 and 5.

do not hesitate to criticise communist regimes, or even leftist administrations, in South Korea. Fourth, in terms of biblical criticism, Romans 13:1-7 can be viewed as additional support by a biblical editor, due to contextual incongruity. Fifth, it may be a reflection of a general perspective rather than a biblical perspective on political power, because the word "God" can be interpreted as "god." Sixth, given a form of literary expression, these passages are closer to a secular motto or legal text than to religious teaching. Seventh, as P. Ricoeur suggests or as can be seen in the theology of the image of God, it is highly possible to indicate the divine authority of God or system of a nation, not individual authority. For instance, political power as the image of God is positioned as mandatory power for the reign of God, not discretionary power. As in the rule of King David, justice and peace must take precedence in all political practices. Eighth, considering the contexts of Romans, these passages highlight a Christian love for their enemy, such as Roman imperial authority. In this way, Romans does not intend to justify the political power.[552] Above all else, we need to pay attention to interpreter's pretext, as well as text and context, as the argument of H. G. Widdowson in introduction.[553] For church leaders, emphasis on political authority brings effectiveness in emphasising their own authority. Like the doctrine of separation between the church and state, Roman 13 has strengthened the religious authority of church leaders, and has allowed church leaders to take the initiative in church politics.

Kang Sung-young recounts how Christian faith has functioned in the modern and contemporary history of Korea. To sum up, first, political theology in line with fundamentalist theological inclinations, standing for separation of politics and religion, imbued by American missionaries, completely blocked the practice of the people who were aware of, and resisted, colonial oppression. The Bible and preaching silenced the societal transformational forces of independence, liberation and civil rights, which had erupted by integrating Christian nationalism and the Exodus faith of the Protestants who led the March First Movement in 1919. Since then, the majority of Protestant churches surrendered to colonialism and imperialism through pro-Japanese activities, resulting in a cosy relationship between politics and religion.[554]

Second, pro-American and anti-communist Protestants gained political hegemony in the South, supporting the US military regime during the liberation stage. By putting

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[552] Dorothea H. Bertschmann, "The Good, the Bad and the State: Rom 13.1-7 and the Dynamics of Love," *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 60 (2014): 232-249; James Kallas, "Romans XIII. 1-7: An Interpolation," *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 11 (1965): 365-374; W. S. Campbell, "Why Did Paul Write Romans?" *The Expository Times*, Vol. 85 (1974): 264-269; Krister Stendahl, *Final Account: Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).
[553] H. G. Widdowson, *Text, Context, Pretext*, Chapter 5.
[554] Kang Sung-young, "Overview and Reflection of Korean Protestant Political Ethics," 263.

anticommunism and pro-Americanism ahead of eliminating colonialism and achieving the ideal of national community, conservative Protestants gained political power and churches became mainstream in society. The conservative, pro-American, and anti-communist churches were mobilised to reproduce Cold War ideology.

For example, following liberation from colonial rule, Korean Protestantism gained vested interest through the pro-Protestant policies of the US military occupation and the Rhee Syngman regime, and the power group began to convert to Protestantism. The total Christian population then was about 2%, but, from 1945 to 1948, approximately 20-30% of the South Korean Christian bureaucrats and politicians participated in the US military government. A number of Christians, including President Rhee Syngman, participated in the First Korean Republic (1948-1960), supported the president and politicians in the general election and presidential election. The strategy of Rhee Syngman was to climb aboard the bandwagon of the international Cold War. The US was setting up a global strategy to restrain Soviet forces, so the international Cold War trend was a good opportunity for Rhee to take power.[555] In accordance with public opinion, the National Assembly enacted a law punishing pro-Japanese collaborators, but the pro-Japanese collaborators organised as a group under support of Rhee and threatened those who advocate their purge as communists. Seo Jeong-min points out that the Rhee regime offered loopholes under the justification of anticommunism to allow national traitors to get away with what they had done. Since then, it gave rise to the contradictory and absurdities that pro-Japanese collaborators were identified as anti-communist, while anti-Japanese activists were considered to be pro-communist.[556]

Third, the South Korean government and Protestants were incorporated into the Cold War bloc and became faithful political followers of the US. Religiously liberal groups were politically progressive during the industrialisation period in the 1970s. These groups criticised the oppression, exploitation, human rights abuses, and the threatened right to life, caused by military dictatorships and industrialisation. On the other hand, right-of-centre Protestant churches, on the basis of fundamentalism, conservatism and Evangelism, have focused on church growth and prosperity theology. Owing to these dichotomous positions, churches which resisted dictatorships have declined, but churches that upheld existing power have enjoyed status in the societal mainstream, with its prime beneficiaries.

Thus, since the Korean state has maintained legitimacy through ideological stress on national security, the mainstream of the South Korean church has been on the side of

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[555] Song Keon-ho, *Haebangjŏnhusaŭi Inshik* [Historical Perspective before and after the Emancipation of Korea] (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1981), 29.
[556] Suh Jeong-min, "Korean Christianity's Anti-communist Position," 66.

existing political power, regardless of the legitimacy of the regime, which has been the foundation for the explosive growth of the church. [557] Lee Man-yeol states that "it is a historical irony to mark the Christian regime as anti-democratic, representing dictatorship, injustice, and corruption, rather than practicing the original spirit of democracy that sovereign power resides with the people."[558] Adopting anticommunism as the dominant ideology had been used by the Korean regime to indicate a practice of liberal democracy, but the dictatorships committed anti-democratic atrocities. Protestantism also focused solely on defending the ruling ideology of the regime, ignoring violence, injustice and corruption.[559]

Fourth, Kang indicates that, along with the Gwangju democratisation movement, anti-Americanism, self-reliance, and unification ideologies emerged as a social movement. Despite the accusations and indifference of conservative churches, the relationship between church and society became close when the church maintained a critical distance from state ideology, and churches that colluded with state power and unconditionally defended state ideology have moved away from civil society. [560] The democratization in the early 1990s, along with the end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union, created an enormous challenge to find alternatives for a church that had created anticommunism and pro-Americanism. However, the remarkable theological features of the majority of the Korean church following the fall of the Cold War System can be said to be a prosperity theology and worldview based on a dichotomy of good and evil. Korean Protestants, in the course of colonial rule, war, dictatorships, and poverty, tried to find comfort and security through Christian faith. They have focused on satisfying the desires of the people with effective theological methods seeking mental well-being and materialistic affluence. Korean churches have grown significantly, with 23 of the 50 largest churches in the world in 1993.[561] Adapting to the political environment of Korea, these theological tendencies, which were imported from the American church, quickly took root in Korean churches. These features have developed into political conservatism, anticommunism and pro-Americanism in society, and have structuralised the subjectivity of Korean Protestants. Kwon Jin-kwan argues that the two conservative regimes in South Korea in the 2000s were largely attributed to these influential conservative churches.[562]

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[557] Kim Seong Nae, "Lamentations of the Dead," 273.
[558] Lee Man-yeol, *Han'gukkidokkyowa Yŏksaŭishik* [Korean Christianity and Historical Consciousness] (Seoul: Chishiksanŏps, 1981), 119-120.
[559] Suh Jeong-min, "Korean Christianity's Anti-communist Position," 68.
[560] Kang Sung-young, "Overview and Reflection of Korean Protestant Political Ethics", 264-5.
[561] Kang In-cheol, *Korean Protestantism and Anticommunism*, 39-40.
[562] Kwon Jin-kwan, "The Cold War and the Korean Protestantism," 29.

As the result, since the colonial regime, the political sector in South Korea has acted as a catalyst to incite social division rather than controlling social conflicts and pursuing social integration.[563] This feature is also found in the Korean church. Since churches stood in an anti-communist position in the process of the formation of the government, the division of Korea into north and south, and the Korean War, churches have connived with the illegality of dictatorships or collaborated with dictatorships, cooperating with the ideals of anticommunism. Rather than trying to promote social justice and the reconciliation of the two Koreas, prominent features of mainstream churches have been to encourage hostility toward North Korea and overlook the injustice and violence which were pervasive in society.

3.4 Conclusion

Since Korean Protestantism was introduced by the advancement of Western imperialist countries to the East, both Korean society and churches have not been immune to colonial-imperial implications. American missionaries, who laid the groundwork for forming the Korean church and theology, looked at Korea and did missionary work the ways imperialists used to. They could not overcome the imperial theology and strategy that brought them to Korea, which caused their gaze to be transplanted into the worldview and self-perception of Koreans. In situations of colonial oppression, ideological conflicts, and authoritative regimes, the Bible and Christian missions played a part in exercising colonial-imperial control enacted by persuasive imposition and explanatory justification. Despite the historical situation that urgently demanded biblical just peace, theological discourses created by missionaries could not entail refraining from power and ideology, criticising colonial injustices, and presenting alternatives.

Since the Korean War, the Bible has been also used as subserving in the Cold War ideology, resulting in otherisation and polarisation in Korean society and churches. On one hand there has been an inclination of mobilising the Bible to solidify political ideologies, on the other there has never been a theologically earnest effort to understand the relationship between biblical values and political ideologies. Biblical images, metaphors, and narratives have been mobilised to support war, violence, domination, oppression, and exploitation. The separation between the church and politics, verbal inspiration and inerrancy, biblical dualism of body and soul, dichotomy of good and evil, were uncritically utilised as hermeneutical tools to strengthen persuasion and

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[563] Kim Man-heum, "Han'gugŭi Chŏngch'igaltŭnggwa Chŏngch'ijawŏn" [Political Conflicts and Power Resources in Korea], *Korean Political Science Review* 29 (1996): 37-67.

justification. The reason imperialism, dictatorships, and churches colluded is that they had shared interests. The US, which advocated human rights diplomacy, tolerated the illegality and human rights abuse of the Korean dictatorships for political, economic, and military interests on the Korean Peninsula. On the flip side, the majority of Korean churches have likewise legalised political power and actively supported US policies. As the institutional interests of churches have been proportionated in close proximity to imperial forces, the majority of churches have become ideological state apparatus, advocating anticommunism, pro-Americanism, national security, and economic development.

  As a result, the Bible has not only been a casualty of political ideology under the Cold War politics, but the Bible has also been quarantined by the church from essential issue of justice and peace. As suggested in the introduction, one task of theology is to disclose social injustice and change those aspects of politics to avoid reinforcement of injustices.[564] Theological discourse and imagination, as a kind of superstructure to the material politico-economic base, must contain falsehood and endorse trueness in society and churches. To do this, Brueggemann proposes "risk-taking rhetoric", daring to posit, characterise, and vouch for a world beyond the dominant ideologies.[565] However, the Korean mainstream churches have turned a blind eye to falsehood and have adopted "profit-taking rhetoric", in order to be on the side of the interests. The megachurch phenomenon, the religious version of imperialism and Americanism, has become prominent in the Korean church, reducing the Bible as a tool for benefit and ideology. In each of the historical stages, they have exerted tremendous influence on social discourse and practices for several decades. In the next chapter, their homiletical discourse will be discussed by analysing biblical images, metaphors, and narratives, in terms of the relationship between biblical peace and imperial peace.

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[564] W. T. Cavanaugh and P. Scott, *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, 2-20.
[565] W. Bruegemann, *Struggling with Scripture*, 19; *Idem., The Prophetic Imagination*, 3-14.

4. Homiletical Discourses and Pro-Americanism

4.1 Introduction

The following two chapters explore sermons of Korean megachurches, ranging from the mid-1980s until quite recently, to grasp the homiletical discourses of the Korean mainstream churches. While the previous chapter examined various documents such as articles, essays, letters, books, and sermons, these chapter focuses on the megachurch phenomenon in South Korea and their sermons. Analysing their sermons under the categories used in the previous chapter aims at drawing the similarities and differences between the theological discourses directly influenced by American missionaries, colonial rule, war, ideological confrontation, and totalitarian regimes. In particular, this chapter includes analyses of the images, metaphors, and narratives used in the sermons, in order to confirm the close relationship between religious connotations and dominant ideology. In doing so, it can be measured how colonial-imperial ramifications have been internalised in Korean churches and society, how these influences have been sustaining and changing, in an era of monumental change, such as the end of dictatorships, the fall of the Communist bloc, and the détente between the two Koreas.

4.2 The Megachurch Phenomenon

The two tables below show that the megachurch phenomenon seems to be more prominent in South Korea than in other countries.[566] South Korea is home to five of the 20 largest congregations around the world, and has the world's largest Assembly of God, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches. Although neighbouring countries, such as India, Philippines and Japan, have a much larger population, and European countries have a much longer history of church, Korea has one of the highest concentrations of megachurches.[567]

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[566] A megachurch indicates a Protestant church that averages a weekly worship attendance of at least two thousand, counting adults and children at all worship locations. Scott Thumma and Dave Travis. *Beyond Megachurch Myths: What We Can Learn from America's Largest Churches* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2007), xvii-xxi; Rich Noack and Lazaro Gamio, "How U.S.-style megachurches are taking over the world, in 5 maps and charts", *The Washington Post*, July 24, 2015.

[567] Warren Bird, "Korea: Why So Many Mega churches," *Outreach Magazine*, June 18, 2015. https://outreachmagazine.com/features/11955-why-so-many-megachurches-in-korea.html

Table 2 Cities with the Most Megachurches 2015

Rank	City	Megachurches
1	Houston, the US	38
2	Dallas, the US	19
3	Seoul, South Korea	17
4	Chicago, the US	15
5	Charlotte, the US	15
6	Los Angeles, the US	14
7	Austin, the US	14
8	Atlanta, the US	14
9	San Antonio, the US	12
10	Nairobi, Kenya	12

Table 3 Cities with the Most Attendance 2015

Rank	City	Attendance
1	Seoul, S. Korea	825,000
2	Lagos, Nigeria	346,000
3	Houston, the US	211,936
4	Singapore	117,825
5	Santiago, Chile	95,000
6	Dallas, the US	89,797
7	Anyang, S. Korea	75,000
8	Nairobi, Kenya	72,500
9	Guatemala City	72,000
10	Manila, Philippine	71,000

According to Warren Bird, the aspects that make Korea the ideal setting for megachurches are rapid urbanization, economic boom, upward mobility, and adoption

of state-of-the-art technologies for their ministry.[568] As Robert Wuthnow, a sociologist of religion points out, the significant software and hardware of the megachurch phenomenon have concentrated in North America and its churches.[569] This feature also applies to the Korean megachurches. For example, the Kwanglim Methodist Church, the world's largest Methodist Church, emulated Rev. Robert Schuller and the Crystal Cathedral Church in many aspects of ministry. The Onnuri Community Church, the world's largest Presbyterian Church, also introduced an innovative form of worship including American gospel songs, and, as a result, the worship format of most Korean churches changed from traditional to contemporary. In general, Korean megachurches have been influenced by North American patterns and theology, rather than developing their own concepts or theological line.[570]

Several Korean scholars claim that another feature of the megachurch phenomenon is the relationship between the church and the dominant ideology. The birth of the Protestant megachurch in Korea originates from the churches established by those who migrated from North Korea to South Korea to avoid communism and had a religious background influenced by the American missionaries. In the growth process of Korean churches, American fundamentalism and anticommunism have played an essential role in almost all churches. As explained in the previous chapter, the subsequent collusion between the US and the dictatorships of South Korea has had a profound effect on the growth of the church. Contrarily, churches who advocated social justice and peace by resisting the authoritative regimes and their ideology fell behind in the competition of church growth. By jumping on the bandwagon of the dominant ideology shared by the South Korean and US governments, churches were able to avoid persecution by oppressive powers, and achieved growth through the benefit provided by political power. For example, the Yoido Full Gospel Church congregation reached 100,000 in 1979; 200,000 in 1980; 500,000 in 1985; and 600,000 in 1986, during the new military dictatorship.[571]

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[568] Warren Bird, "The World's Largest Churches: A Country-by-Country List of Global Megachurches", Leadership Network, 2019. http://leadnet.org/world/?/world; "Megachurch," Hartford Institute for Religious Research, 2015.

[569] Robert Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith: The Global Outreach of American Churches* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009), 94, 5.

[570] Robert J. Priest, Douglas Wilson, and Adelle Johnson, "U.S. Megachurches and New Patterns of Global Mission," Apr. 2010, 97.

[571] Yang Myung-soo, "Kidokkyo Yulliwa Hyŏndae Sahoe" [Christian Ethics and Modern Society] in *Kidokkyowa Segye* [Christianity and the World], eds. Lee Kyung-sook et al. (Seoul: Ewha University Press, 2013), 259-268; Sebastian C. H. Kim, "Mega Churches in South Korea: Their Impact and Prospect in the Public Sphere" in *A Moving Faith: Mega Churches Go South*, ed. Jonathan D. James (Los Angeles: Sage, 2015), Chapter 4.

4.3 Prosperity Theology

4.3.1 A Blessed Life through Positive Thinking

The most prominent feature found in the preaching of Korean churches is prosperity theology. Most scholars who research the Korean church agree that preachers have contributed to material prosperity and overcoming hardship in South Korean society.[572] As an example, it is worth noting the similarities between the rate of economic growth and church growth. The nation's GDP growth rate, from the 1960s to the 1980s, was 9.2%, on average, each year. The Korean Protestant churches had 1,570,649 members in 1972 and increased to 4,571,920 in 1981, 9.3%, on average, each year. This similar growth rate shows that church growth was related to economic growth.[573] The megachurch phenomenon has been in tandem with economic development in its causes, processes, and consequences. Thereby, their sermons are marked by exhortations for positive thinking and religious motivations for material abundance. These features can be found, in all of the preachers analysed in this study. In their sermons, expressions, such as "active", "positive", "not negative", "going well", "prosperity", "success", "development", "blessing", are mentioned in relation to prosperity, and eminent persons or celebrities from various circles are introduced as models for success.

For example, this theological tendency is evident in sermons of Cho Yong Gi, who was a senior pastor of the Yoido Full Gospel Church. His sermons and ministry are based on the "Fivefold Gospel", the "Threefold Blessing", and "Fourth Dimension Spirituality." The "Fivefold Gospel" indicates a Gospel of "regeneration", "fullness of the Holy Spirit", "gift of healing", "blessing" and "Second Coming." The "Threefold Blessing" means spiritual, environmental, and material blessing.[574] According to him, God is able to provide us with every blessing in abundance, so that by always having enough of everything, we can do all kinds of good things for others (2 Cor. 9:8). Cho frequently quotes biblical passages relating to material abundance, and often expresses God and the Holy Spirit as business partners, who create material abundance and share it, as Peter caught many fish under instructions of Jesus (Lk 5:1-7).[575] These keynotes are reflected in most of his sermons, and his ministry and preaching can be summed up in

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[572] Lee Sang-sung, "Church of Hope without Hope: The Emerging and the Problems of Mammoth Churches in Korea," *Critical Review of History* (2009): 174-207.

[573] Lee Sang-sung, "Church of Hope without Hope," 184.

[574] Kim Se-kwang, "sambakchaguwŏn, ojungbokŭme muťyŏ pŏrin yŏksa" [History Buried in Threefold Salvation and Fivefold Gospel], *kidokkyosasang* [The Christian Thought] 48, 2004, 44-50.

[575] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20* [The Complete Series of Sermons 20] (Seoul: sŏulmalssŭmsa, 1996), 36, 38, 170.

one word "blessing." Whether it is about society or the church, he says that negative thinking makes people a slave of anxiety and fear, arguing that God always accomplishes great things through positive and active attitudes.[576] Thereby, Harvey Cox and Walter J. Hollenweger regard the theological features of Cho Yong-gi as shamanistic.[577]

According to a study on the congregation of the Yoido Full Gospel Church in 1979, 72.3% of the respondents said "yes" to the question of whether his sermons gave hope for their life. In the question of what is most important for a successful life of faith, the proportions of sermon and Bible were the highest at 39.3% and 22.3%, showing that sermon was more significant than the Bible in their religious life. Moreover, 83.7%, 77.5% and 79.6% of respondents agreed, respectively, that their living standards were improved by faith, that wealth was always a sign of God's blessing, and that their anxiety disappeared.[578] When questioned about causes of social corruption or injustice, 85.1% of the respondents answered that these were due to individual moral and religious problems.[579]

Kim Sun-do is known for emphasising the positive thinking and active faith influenced by Robert Schuller, an American pastor and motivational speaker, who applied the concept of "positive thinking", popularised by Norman Vincent Peale, to his ministry. Following the example of Schuller, Kim Sun-do has become an apostle of positive thinking and a symbol of success in the Korean church.[580] Categorising the expressions used in his sermons, he exhorted his congregation to have positive and active thinking, over 71 times in 22 of 47 sermons, from January 1990 to April 1991. His sermons are presented with a number of illustrations, composed mostly of the success stories of church members and celebrities.[581] Although congregations were the wealthy class and

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[576] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 308.

[577] Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the 21st Century* (Mass: Addison-Wesley Publisher, 1995), 311-339; Water J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), 91.

[578] Choi Shin-duk, "kyohoee kwanhan sahoehakchŏk yŏn'gu" [Sociological Studies on the 'S' Church], *Korean Journal of Sociology* 13 (1979), 66, 62, 73, 65. (49-77).

[579] Choi Shin-duk, "Sociological Studies on the 'S' Church," 71.

[580] Norman, V. Peale, *The Power of Positive Thinking* (Prentice Hall, 1952); Kim Se-kwang, "Muŏsŭl Wihan Kŭngjŏngjŏk Sagowa Chŏkkŭkchŏk Shinangin'ga?" [What is Positive Thinking and Active Faith For?], *kidokkyosasang* 48 (2004): 50-57.

[581] Kim Sun-do, "kŭraedo ch'ongmyŏnghan saengmyŏngŭi enŏji" [Still the Life Energy], August 19, 1990; "kamsahanŭn chŏkkŭkchŏk shinang" [A Grateful Positive Faith], November 18, 1990; "kippŭn sŏngt'anŭi ŏnŏ" [Merry Christmas Language], December 23, 1990; "ŭmch'imhan koltchagirŭl kalchirado" [Even If You Go through a Dismal Valley], January 20, 1991; "chinshimŭl chik'yŏra" [Keep Your Hear], February 3, 1991; "toltŭri sori chirŭgi chŏne" [Before the Stones Scream] March 24, 1991; "puhwarŭi t'ŭrinit'l" [The Trinity of the Resurrection] March 31, 1990; "puhwarŭi pibŏmhan irŭl sŏngch'wihanŭn saram" [Someone Who Accomplishes Something Extraordinary], April 7, 1991; "kwangp'ung chungedo anshimhara" [Rest Assured, Even in the Wind] April 21, 1991; "midŭmŭro ŏnnŭn ch'oesŏnŭi chihye" [The Best Wisdom Gained by Faith], April 28, 1991; "haengbokŭl mandŭnŭn naŭi chip" [My Home that Makes Happiness], Jun 2, 1991;

leading people of the society, his preaching has retained these characteristics since the 1970s. Notably, it shows that in 96% of his sermons analysed, 45 out of 47 sermons, deal with the topic of blessing, success, and accomplishment. Both exceptions, which were delivered on Thanksgiving Day and Christmas Day, were three times shorter than the normal duration, due to communion.[582]

The influence of Peale and Schuller is likewise found in the sermons of Kim Hong-do. In his *Selected Sermons Book*, the two pastors are mentioned with American millionaires, presidents and prominent politicians, as role models of faith and success.[583] In 365 short sermons encouraging a pious daily life, Kim Jang-hwan always finishes on a note that "everything will go well, as you wish." Although this sermon book is about a holy life, the episodes, characters, books, metaphors, and images used as illustrations are related to luxury goods, prestigious universities, famous conglomerates, social celebrities, and success stories.[584] Cho Yong-mok criticises believers who have a negative and passive demeanour, who complain and bear grudges. Repeatedly encouraging a forward-looking attitude in 13 of 78 sermons.[585] Huh Do-hwa professes that, rather than criticism or

"chigŭm urinŭn muŏsŭl shimgoinnŭn'ga" [What are We Planting Now], Jun 9, 1991; "ch'oesŏnŭi sŏnmurŭl chunbihashin hananim" [God Prepared the Best Gift], Jun 16, 1991; "chinŭn kŏt kat'ŭna iginŭn cha" [It Seems to be Losing, But the Winner], August 25, 1991; "poktoen chanch'ie ch'odaebadŭn cha" [The Person who was Invited to the Blessed Feast], September 8, 1991; "pin kŭrŭse ch'aewŏjinŭn ŭnhyeŭi kijŏk" [Miracle of Grace Filled in Empty Bowl], October 13, 1991; "tansunhan shinangŭi wiryŏkŭl chŭnggŏhara" [Testify of the Power of Simple Faith], October 27, 1991; "i konghŏhan maŭmŭl ŏttŏk'e" [What Can I Do with This Empty Mind], November 3, 1991; "shinsajŏgin kŭrisŭdoin" [A Gentle Christian], November 10, 1991; "chŏngsange irŭnŭn ch'oesŏnŭi sam" [A Life of Doing One's Best to Reach the Top], December 1, 1991; "k'ŭrisŭmasŭwa sae kajŏng" [Christmas and New Home], December 8, 1991; "kkŭch'i paro shijagida" [The End is Just the Beginning], December 29, 1991.

[582] Kim Sun-do, "kamsaŭi sŏngmanch'an" [Eucharist of Thanksgiving], November 25, 1990; "k'ŭrisŭmasŭŭi ch'amttŭt" [The True Meaning of Christmas], December 25, 1990.

[583] Kim Hong-do, *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip 1* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons 1] (Seoul: pulgidungsa, 1985); *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip 2* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons 2] (Seoul: pulgidungsa, 1991).

[584] "Ferrari", "Concorde Jet", "MIT", "Harvard", "Stanford", "Chicago", "Johns Hopkins", "UCLA", "Columbia", "Oxford", "Eton College", "Wall Street", "Major League", "Tiger Woods", "Cristiano Ronaldo", "Neymar da Silva", "FC Barcelona", "Juventus", "Manchester United", "J. S. Bach", "Beethoven", "Dvorak", "Tolstoy", "Shakespeare", "Victor Marie-Hugo", "Honore de Balzac", "Albert Einstein", "Willy Brandt", "George I", "The British Prime Minister", "Churchill", "Napoleon", "Roosevelt", "Eisenhower", "Lincoln", "Benjamin Franklin", "Andrew Johnson", "John Adams", "William McKinley", "Richard Nixon", "Barack Obama", "Jimmy Carter", "King Sejong", "Genghis Khan", "*The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People* by Stephen Covey", "*The Law of Success* by Napoleon Hill", "Billy Graham", "Taylor Swift", "Oscar", "Grammy", "Billboard", "Hollywood", "Intel", "Kyocera", "Alibaba Group", "3M", "US Airways", "Wal-Mart", "Facebook", "WhatsApp", "Nokia", "Iphone", "Samsung", "Starbucks", "Michelin", "Baskin Robbins", "Coca Cola", "McDonald", "Bill Gates", "Elon Musk", "Steve Jobs", "Tim Cook", "Warren Buffett", "Carnegie", "Millionaire", "Made Man", "Noble family", "Lawyer", "President of a Bank", "Scholars", "Professors", "The Great Wall of China."

[585] Cho Yong-mok, *Ta Naegero Ora* [All Come to Me], Choyongmok Moksa Sŏlgyojip 1 [Rev. Cho Yong-mok's Selected Sermons 1] (Seoul: Yein, 1986); *Idem., Shihŏmŭl Iginŭn Kil* [The Way to Overcome Temptation], Choyongmok Moksa Sŏlgyojip 2 [Rev. Cho Yong-mok's Selected Sermons 2] (Seoul: Yein, 1987); *Idem., Shilp'aerŭl Sŏnggongŭro Pyŏnhwashik'inŭn Gil* [The Way

alternatives, the pulpit of the Korean church has pursed success and prosperity in earnest through the period of economic development, when society and individuals blindly pursued success and prosperity.[586]

4.3.2 Prosperity as a Theological Panacea

Placing success and prosperity high on a list of priorities, while urgency for biblical justice and peace are given a very low priority, closely mirrors the rhetoric of imperialism, colonialism, dictatorship, and American-style capitalism. The imperialists tried to conceal the actuality of imperialism and justify aggression by developing a logic to assert the necessity of imperial policy and the legitimacy of colonial rule. Under the pretext of modernisation, Japanese imperialists insisted that Korea could be modernised by Japanese colonial rule.[587] As illustrated in chapter 3, the process of Christianisation in the Korean Peninsula began as a handmaiden of colonisation, under the guise of a civilising mission. Although Korean people possessed a civilisation, which could challenge the world civilisations, the American missionaries devalued the beauty, spirituality and core values of traditional Korean culture and religions. Their American-style faith and capitalism, masked under the biblical prosperity and civilising mission, have functioned as the most insidious method of neo-colonialism. As the Korean Peninsula has experienced unforeseen and irreconcilable internal conflicts and external invasions caused by imperial settings, biblical justice and peace have been at stake. In the context of this ongoing neo-colonial mission, the religious and cultural invasion has been imposed through evangelisation and prosperity theology, and have disclosed disturbing colonial-imperial ramifications. Moreover, as the Christian missions took advantage of the Korean's vulnerability caused by colonial-imperial politics, the Korean

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to Change Failure into Success], Choyongmok Moksa Sŏlgyojip 3 [Rev. Cho Yong-mok's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Yein, 1987); *Idem., Ne Midŭmdaero Toelchiŏda* [Let It Be Done for You According to Your Faith], Choyongmok Moksa Sŏlgyojip 4 [Rev. Cho Yong-mok's Selected Sermons 4] (Seoul: Yein, 1988).

[586] Heo Do-hwa, "Prophetic Preaching as a Prototype for Biblical Preaching," *Shinhakkwa Sŏn'gyo*, Vol. 39 (2011): 117-152; *Idem.,* "Understanding the Social Dimensions of Preaching in the Old Testament Prophets' Preaching," *Shinhakyŏn'gu*, Vol. 62 (2013): 284-318.

[587] Betty L. King, "Japanese Colonialism and Korean Economic Development 1910-1945," *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia* (1975): 1-21; Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (eds.), *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Tourk, "Comparative Analysis of Economic Development in Colonial and Post-colonial Egypt and Korea," *Seoul Journal of Economics* 27 (2014): 223-255; Cho Younghan, "Colonial Modernity Matters?" *Cultural Studies* 26 (2012): 645-669; Jeong San-soo, *chegukchuŭi* [Imperialism] (Seoul: Book World, 2013), 31-32.

missionaries, who follow American precedents, are also aggressive in mass conversions and show little sensitivity and respect for the social upheaval the converts create.[588]

Korean leaders in every sector of society with close ties to the US have also acted as agents of American business and geopolitical interests. Along with national security, the reason economic development was a representative slogan of authoritarian regimes in South Korea can be understood through a neo-colonial perspective. The illegality of the dictatorships was dissimulated by their economic advantage over North Korea. The brutality and continued dominance of the US imperialists on the Korean Peninsula has been forgotten and tolerated under the name of national security and economic performance. Furthermore, South Korea has joined the ranks of developed countries that carry out neo-colonial policies. For example, the South Korean government and powerful Korean multinationals have bought farming rights to millions of hectares of agricultural land in underdeveloped countries. J. Diouf, the head of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) says that these types of businesses such as the global farmland rush can be interpreted as a form of neo-colonialism, based on massive economic disparities.[589]

Prosperity theology is like the locomotive of a rail transport vehicle, which provides the power for a train. Material abundance could be a good excuse for preachers that do not rate other theological issues high on their list of priorities. Whether connotation or denotation, imperial-colonial factors found in sermons have snowballed by interactions with prosperity. For example, the images of victory in war used in sermons indicate social achievement, success, prosperity and abundance. The illustrations of wars depict the comparisons, contrasts, and clashes between liberal democratic camps and communist countries, resulting in the reproduction of pro-Americanism, anticommunism and Orientalism. In some cases, the mention of the Satan or Devil amplifies the effect of imprinting the above factors on the congregation. As a better-matched metaphor, the combination of war images and the Satan justifies anticommunism through the use of armed forces, rationalises the accumulation of wealth at the expense of others in capitalism, and guarantees the material and mental superiority of the Occident. Cho Yong-gi portrays his homiletical core as follows:

> "I have concluded that with the Gospel we must testify God, who solves the
> problem of bread and butter economics here and now. In order for people to come

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[588] Mrinal Debnath, "The Invisible Agenda: Civilising Mission or Missioning Civilisation," *The International Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 16 (2012): 461-473.
[589] Eric Reguly, "UN Softens Stand on Rush to Buy Farmland," *The Globe and Mail*, Nov. 16, 2009; "Dave Durbach, "Korea's Overseas Development Backfire," *The Korea Times*, Dec. 4, 2009.

to church, the sermons and the hearts of the congregations must be linked together… Emphasis is placed on how the Word of God can solve the hardships of those who suffer from spiritual, mental, physical and social problems, and how church members become a people of heaven and succeed in this world."[590]

In pursuit of prosperity, the US and Western developed countries rise to the top of the list and the poorer countries become objects for civilisation and economic development. For the preachers, the result of the ideological struggle is declared to have ended in the victory of the liberal democratic system, by a material abundance superior to that of communist countries. For this reason, images of poverty, backwardness, corruption, passivity, pessimism and laziness are applied to communism in their sermons. In terms of preachers' view of blessings, poverty is deemed as the work of Satan or devil, taking away hope of life and debasing human dignity. Poverty itself is not God's will and deserves to be cursed, because God promises the blessings of life. Efforts to fight poverty are described as a struggle with the devil or a test of Satan, without considering political, economic, and social reasons.[591] Regarding poverty as the work of Satan can be connected to faith that believing in God enriches us. Rather than highlighting liberation images of the Exodus with a land flowing milk and honey are used as biblical grounds for prosperity (Ex. 3:8).[592] When preachers quote the Bible, they usually adopt the biblical texts of enjoying material affluence or performing miracles: Jacob's Prosperity (Gen. 30:25-43), Bread from Heaven (Ex. 16), Water from the Rock (Ex. 17), Blessings for Obedience (Deut. 28), Magnificence of Solomon's Rule (1 Kgs. 4:20-34), the Widow of Zarephath (1 Kgs. 17:8-16), Feeding the Five Thousand (Lk. 6:30-42). This tendency applies not only to individuals but also to church and society. Preachers claim that the church must expand, and those who criticise church growth defy the teachings of the Bible.[593]

4.3.3 Scarcity of Preaching for Justice and Peace

In general, the majority of preachers have ignored the mission of justice and reconciliation the church has faced historically, and they have avoided social problems, such as social polarization, animosity towards North Korea, regional conflict, and human

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[590] Cho Yong-gi, *Sŏlgyonŭn naŭi insaeng* [Semon Is My Life] (Seoul: Sŏulmalssŭmsa, 2005), 33-34.
[591] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 63-64, 72, 176-177.
[592] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 239.
[593] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 42-43.

rights violations. Although Don Baker suggests commonality or community spirit as a representative feature of Korean spirituality, the preaching of the Korean church has played a crucial role in the acceleration of personalisation with capitalist competition.[594] None of the preachers of megachurches criticised injustices, such as massacres and dictatorships. As Jeong Yong-seop maintains, the view of sin in Korean mainstream churches is similar to that of the moralism of the Puritans. Looking at the human as sinner, they believe that social and historical injustice and sin can be solved through personal morality. He stresses that, as evidenced by the Iraq War, although Puritan moralists look like a gentle sheep, there is a danger of enormous violence, because the self-tormenting anthropology that sees all human beings as sinners can advocate punitive justice against others.[595]

   This feature is found in most of the preachers of megachurches analysed in this study. The sermons of the 1970s and 1980s, when Korean society was experiencing the repression of military dictatorships and a dangerous escalation with North Korea, showthat the subjects of justice and peace were scarcely mentioned. In devaluing the social role of the church, Kim Hong-do and Kim Sam-hwan claim that the essential mission of the church is to rescue souls.

> "Finding and saving lost souls is more precious than seeking social justice, relief efforts for the poor and working for the development of the community. Owing to the passionate faith to save souls, God blesses and allows us to build the new largest church building in the world."[596]

> "Many people are mistaken about Christianity, which is known for doing social movements and helping the poor. This value was taught by Confucius, Buddha, and school, but church is not like that."[597]

The early sermons of Kwak Sun-hee in the 1970s are marked by three questions: How do we believe? How do we live? How do we work? From the 1970s to 2000s, there is no measurable change in the topics of his sermons. During the turbulent periods of Korean history, his sermons were focused only on personal faith and ethics. Similarly, over one

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[594] Don Baker, *Korean Spirituality*, Dimensions of Asian Spirituality 5 (University of Hawaii Press, 2008).
[595] Yoo Kyung-jae et al. eds., *Han'gukkyohoe 16inǔi Sŏlgyorǔl Marhanda* [The Sermons of 16 Preachers] (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 2015), 133-135.
[596] Kim Hong-do, *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons], 459.
[597] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3], 456-457.

hundred sermons from 1973 to 1983, listed on the Yoido Full Gospel Church website, are categorised by subject and content as follows: 1. Positive attitude and hope (31/ 29%), 2. Enthusiasm and maturity of religious life (20/ 19%), 3. Prayer and miracle (15/ 14%), 4. Spiritual experience and training (11/ 10%), 5. Prosperity (10/ 9%), 6. Love (4/ 4%), 7. Evangelism (3/ 2%), 8. Repentance (2/ 1%), 9. Others (worship, eschatology, the doctrine of God, the Reign of God etc. (11/ 10%).[598]

  His sermons focus on the personal and spiritual, with very few on social justice and peace. Although classified by a variety of topics, most sermons have a similar content and are closely connected. Positive attitude and hope are for prosperity and blessings, which are possible through spiritual experiences, training or a mature religious life. Prayer and miracles are also linked to spiritual experience and are prerequisites for the enthusiasm of faith and a positive attitude. Likewise, the vast majority of his sermons from the 1970's and 1980's is related to inspiring congregations to positive thoughts, giving hope, and devoting themselves to a life of faith. One of reasons for the absence of justice in his sermons is that Ha Yong-jo had a negative view of social justice.

> "Salvation is not justice, but love, mercy and grace. We can live before God because God has mercy on us. No one lives before God's righteousness and justice. Justice does not make the world righteous. Rather, it gets more ferocious. Look at anti-government students and activists. All they say is justice and righteousness. Look at politicians. They constantly speak of justice and righteousness. Yet the world does not become clean."[599]

This tendency risks falling into historical nihilism. Human effort and the struggle for the transformation of history cannot secure absolute legitimacy from an eschatological perspective, but the efforts of a Christian community to establish justice should not be ignored because the church is currently taking part in the reign of God, even though the reign of God is coming in fullness sometime in the future (Mk 10:15; Lk 11:2; Jn 18:36; Mt 6:10). Indeed, in Korean Protestant history, these attitudes of megachurch preachers have not only made their congregations uninterested in social justice, but also clashed with other pastors who were striving for justice and peace.

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[598] http://davidcho.fgtv.com/c2/c2_1.asp
[599] Yoo Kyung-jae et al., *han'gukkyohoe 16inŭi sŏlgyorŭl marhanda*.

4.4 Western-centred and Pro-American Propensities

4.4.1 High Frequency

One result of analysing sermons of Korean megachurches indicates that Western-oriented, pro-American tendencies are prominent. As shown in the table below, despite the preaching of Korean preachers to Korean congregations, in their sermons, illustrations of the Occident are at least two to six times more than those of Korea. Given that Korean sermons are composed of illustrations rather than the explanation and interpretation of biblical texts, it can be said that the major elements of the sermons are Western figures, history, and ideas.

Table 4 Frequency of Illustrations in Sermons of Korean Megachurches
(2645 illustrations in 889 sermons)

Preacher (Church)	Illustrations (Sermons)	The Occident	Korea	The Orient	Unidentified
Han Kyung-jik	427 (145)	226 (53%)	55 (13%)	19 (4%)	127 (30%)
Kim Hong-do	363 (100)	214 (59%)	77 (21%)	35 (10%)	37 (10%)
Kim Sun-do	632 (47)	350 (55%)	159 (25%)	67 (11%)	56 (9%)
Cho Yong-mok	104 (78)	67 (64%)	11 (11%)	6 (6%)	20 (19%)
Kim Jang-hwan	520 (394)	318 (61%)	67 (13%)	92 (18%)	43 (8%)
Kim Sam-hwan	366 (43)	169 (46%)	76 (21%)	34 (9%)	87 (24%)
Cho Yong-ki	100 (55)	48 (48%)	28 (28%)	9 (9%)	15 (15%)
Kwak Sun-hee	200 (37)	104 (52%)	45 (22%)	18 (9%)	33 (17%)

This frequency reveals pro-Americanism and Anglophilism. The Occident occupies the largest portion in all illustrations, of which the proportion of the US and the UK is the greatest, accounting for more than half of all Western illustrations. The proportion of the US and the UK in Western illustrations is as follows: Kim Sun-do (195 of 350, 56%); Cho Yong-mok (43 of 67, 64%); Kim Sam-hwan (94 of 169, 56%); Cho Yong-gi (26 of 48, 54%); Kim Jang-hwan (213 of 318, 67%); Kwak Sun-hee (62 of 104, 60%). Thus, the sermons have distinct pro-Western, pro-American, and pro-British propensities, in terms of the frequency of the illustrations. Considering the countries where many of the figures or events originated are not identifiable, a component ratio specifying the US or the UK is quite high.

Graph 1 The Proportion of the US and the UK in Western Illustrations
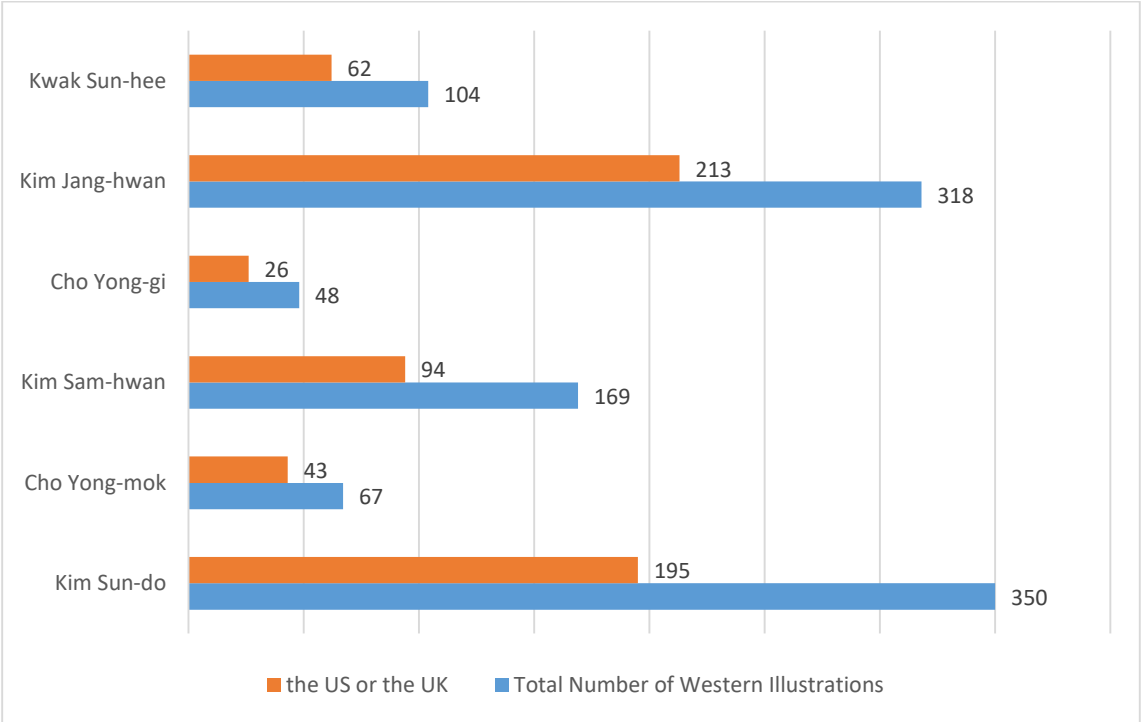
4.4.2 Strong Preference for the US

Analysing this frequency of preference for the ideology and policy of the US leads to more meaningful results. The contrast is more evident when we look at the differences in, not only the frequency, but also opinions about the US. When all preachers use

American examples in their preaching, they maintain a pro-American attitude at an overwhelmingly high rate.

Table 5 Preference for the US or the Occident[600]

Preacher	the US or the Occident	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Han Kyung-jik	226 (the Occident)	207 (92%)	11 (5%)	8 (3%)
Kim Hong-do	214 (the Occident)	199 (93%)	9 (4%)	6 (3%)
Kim Sun-do	155 (the US)	134 (86%)	9 (6%)	12 (8%)
Cho Yong-mok	31 (the US)	24 (77%)	1 (3%)	6 (20%)
Kim Jang-hwan	170 (the US)	151 (89%)	2 (1%)	17 (10%)
Kim Sam-hwan	81 (the US)	56 (69%)	10 (12%)	15 (19%)
Cho Yong-ki	23 (the US)	23 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Kwak Sun-hee	49 (the US)	28 (57%)	2 (4%)	19 (39%)

As shown in the table above, the attitude of Korean preachers is not simply a preference but more like blindly following the US or the Occident. This can be noted in the sparse negative preference, as well as the overwhelmingly high rate of positive preference. In the 980 Western or American illustrations, only 44 (4%) are portrayed negatively. Furthermore, the frequency of neutrally mentioning the Occident or the US can be considered to be a somewhat positive preference. Even if the preacher does not portray America positively or negatively, it can be perceived by the congregation as an important country, if the preacher frequently mentions it. Thus, a neutral position has a practically positive effect, and the contrast between positive and negative preference can be greater.

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[600] The number of Western illustrations, that are not US, is demonstrated in the case of Han Kyung-jik and Kim Hong-do, because there are too many equivocal Western illustrations, which are not possible to distinguish from American examples.

In general, the examples used to apply biblical texts to reality in sermons are mainly presented as best practices to the congregations, so the positive aspects are usually emphasised. However, by comparing the preference for American illustrations to Korea or the Orient, the pro-American propensity of preachers can be appreciated.

Chart 1 Comparison of Preference for Korea and the US
in the Sermons of Kim Sun-do
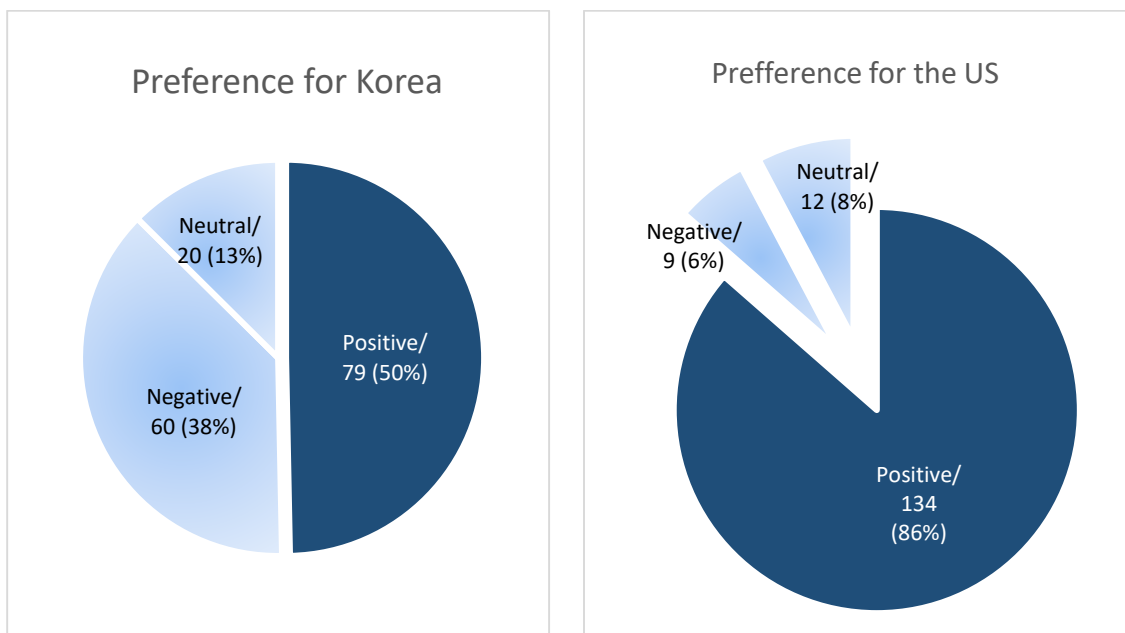
From the chart above, the degree of negative preference for Korea is over six times greater than that for the US. Kim often conveys the success stories of his members and ministry, and this study includes such cases as a positive preference for Korea. Thus, positive comments of Korea must be taken into account of being a lower percentage. Based on statistics, it can be likewise suggested that while almost all American figures, events, and ideas are mentioned as the best practices, Korean examples are demonstrated as a target of criticism. Given that Kim is well known for encouraging positive thinking, influenced by Norman Vincent Peale, his sermons make the impression that Koreans need to emulate the Americans and Westerners.

These differences of Korea and the US are similarly found in most of the cases analysed in this study. In the case of Kim Hong-do, of the 363 illustrations in 100 of his sermons, 59% were about the West, including the US, and 31% were about the East, including Korea. While he demonstrates the West and US as positive with 93% of his illustrations,

Korea and the Orient are presented as positive with 62% and 31% respectively. In the sermons by Cho Yong-gi, there is no negative preference for the US, while the proportion of negative preference for Korea is 64%, in 18 of 28 sermons. Considering that there are only 3 illustrations (8%), portraying Korea in positive way, negative images of Korea more are likely to be imprinted in the consciousness of congregations. The tendency to create extremely biased images is also reflected in the sermons of Kim Jang-hwan. While the greatest number of American instances are introduced, he demonstrates only 2 of 170 illustrations in relation to the US negatively.

Chart 2 Comparison of Preference for Korea and the US in the Sermons of Kim Jang-hwan
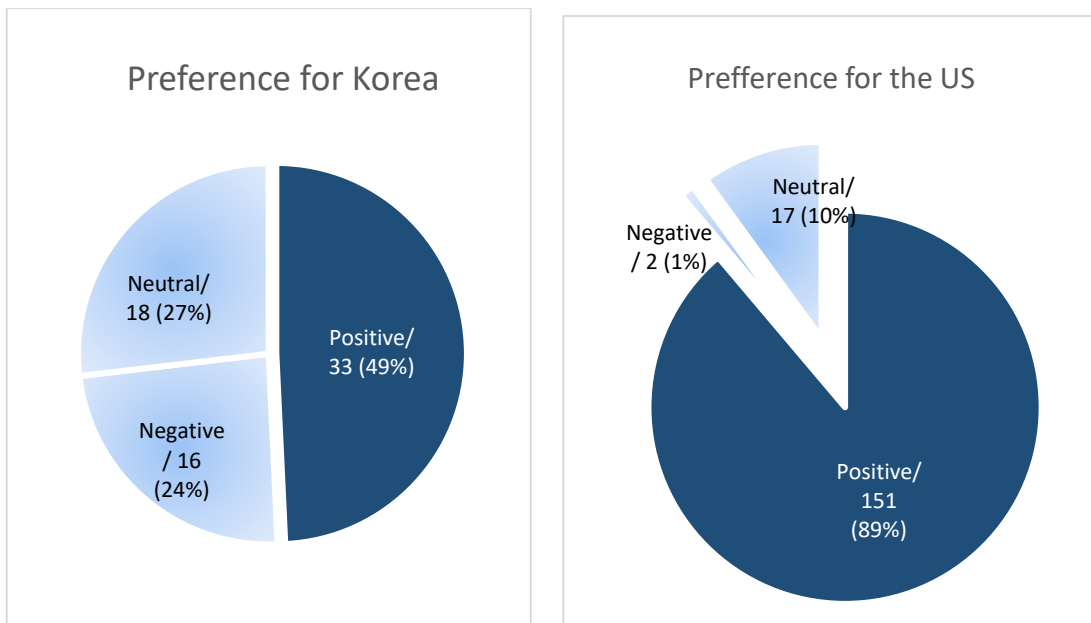
This characteristic is more prominent when compared to preachers of ecumenical or progressive churches who emphasise justice, peace and life. Park Jong-wha, who served as a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches (WCC) from 1991 to 2006, mentions the words "America" or "American" 23 times in 56 sermons, while Kim Sun-do mentions them 141 times in 47 sermons. In terms of preference, Park's use of "America" or "American" is neutral or critical, but Kim uses these words positively to a great extent.[601] The sermons of Kim Ki-suk consist of describing the socially

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[601] Park Jong-wha, *chuilmada nanunǔn hanǔl yangshik* [The Manna from Heaven Shared Every Sunday] (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 2015).

disadvantaged in Korean society rather than Western celebrities. While megachurch preachers view the socially disadvantaged protesting government and conglomerates as a force of social chaos and confusion, he is on their side. Unlike the preachers who use Western illustrations at an overwhelmingly high rate and revealing their positive preference for the US, most illustrations Kim mentions that are related to Korea and the Orient, are positively portrayed.[602]

Chart 3 Proportions of Illustrations and Preference for Korea
in the Sermons by Kim Ki-suk

Proportion of Illustrations

The US 10 (6%)
The Orient/ 27 (17%)
The Occident/ 32 (22%)
Korea/ 90 (57%)

Prefference for Korea

Neutral/ 14 (23%)
Negative / 2 (3%)
Positive/ 44 (73%)
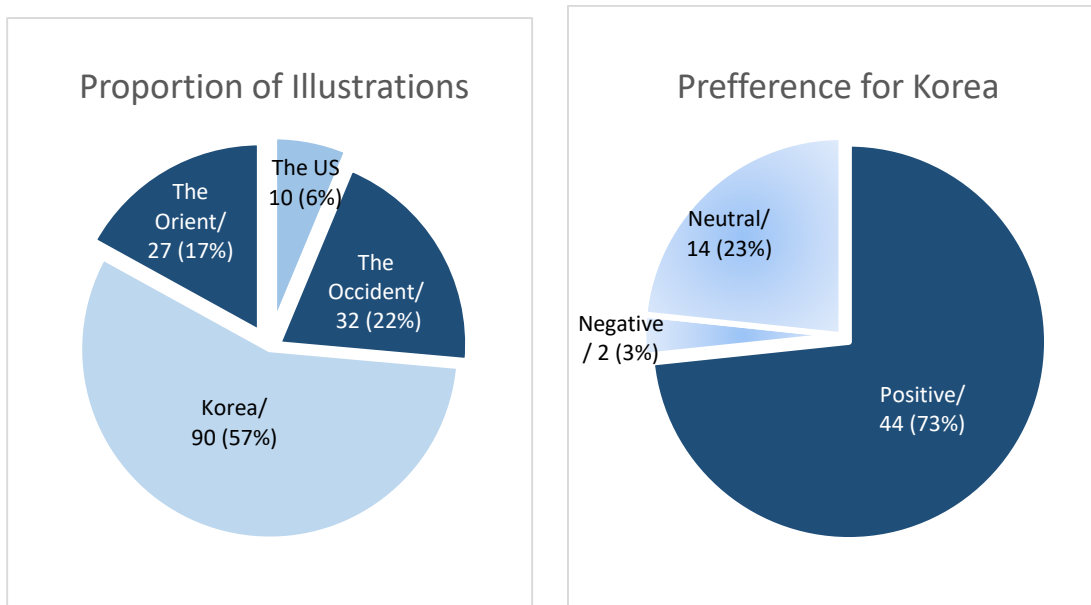
As well as this study, other researches also indicate the frequent use of Western-oriented illustrations in Korean megachurches. Jeong Yong-seop criticises this phenomenon as a problem with the consciousness or theology of preachers, regarding it as a kind of toadyism towards the West and the US. For example, Jeong gives examples of Lee Dong-won, who was the pastor of the Jiguchon Church which had 25,000 members as of 2011, and Ha Yong-jo, who was pastor of the Onuri Presbyterian Church which has 75,000 members as of 2020. According to Jeong's analysis, Lee Dong-won starts his sermons with Western illustrations in 11 of 15 sermons, and Ha Yong-jo had similar features where it is difficult to find criticism of America. Although no specific statistics

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[602] Kim Ki-suk, *Kashinŭn Kirŭl Ttaranasŏda* [Following Him along the Road] (Seoul: Korean Institute of the Christian Studies, 2009).

have been presented, other studies also claim that the preaching of megachurches tend to advocate the US in the frequency and preference of illustrations.

4.4.3 Historical Prejudice and Ideological Bias

Preachers play various roles in preparing and delivering preaching, as orator, exegete, consultor, mediator, historian, and theologian. In interpreting the Bible and citing illustrations, preachers have a great public responsibility, because preaching is a public act. In order to have a solid foundation, preachers must examine reliable sources when dealing with historical events or biblical texts, and their interpretations or illustrations have to be widely appreciated, like a historian and biblical scholar. The preaching should be evaluated whether it is the result of personal prejudice or partial interest in the church community. In particular, preachers, who interpret, write, and make church history, do not make sense apart from their responsibility to describe and explain in terms that people can relate to, and portray the effort to maintain the Reign of God through the missions of the church in and for society.[603] In the process of dealing with and introducing illustrations, however, preachers of Korean megachurches have a tendency for biased historical awareness and undetailed interpretation.

For example, Jeon Byung-wook shows a tendency to not deliberate on biblical narratives, historical events or literary works. Quoting from the story of *Les Miserables* by Victor Hugo, he portrays the police inspector Javert as a figure of justice and Jean Valjean as an eternal sinner and unchangeable convict, borrowing Javert's words. Jean Valjean, as is widely known, was given a severe sentence for stealing a piece of bread, and was sacrificed by inhuman reality. Considering the background of the story, which is pre-revolutionary France, under a feudal political and economic structure, Javert is regarded as a puppet of a repressive system that mistakes pre-modern injustice for justice. On the basis of simply dividing success and failure, however, Jean Valjean, who is running from police, is considered to be an idle sinner, whereas Javert, who chased criminals, is depicted as righteous.[604]

The concept of sin must take into account the existential sin of human beings who are weak, as well as structural sin by an unrighteous power that reigns in reality. Success, too, should be viewed by aspects of individual effort and structural exploitation. However, the sermons of megachurch preachers tend to lack an in-depth, structural, and historical

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[603] Nelson R. Burr, "The Church Historian: His Craft and His Responsibility", *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. 32, no. 3 (1963): 275-282.
[604] Yoo Kyung-jae et al., eds., *Han'gukkyohoe 16inŭi Sŏlgyorŭl Marhanda* [The Sermons of 16 Preachers] (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 2015), 297-305.

approach. Jeon illustrates his understanding of Native Americans, looking at the fragmentary side.

> "American Indians originally were all militant, but they began to weaken due to be taken into an Indian reservation, protected by others. Since they received government subsidies, they degenerated into the rabbles."[605]

This sermon does not mention the white atrocities that killed, exploited, and tried to exterminate the Native Americans, until they were put into reserves. There is no description of the Native Americans who are fighting the US government. A new generation of Native American leaders have gone to court to protect what was left of tribal lands or to recover that which had been taken by whites, often illegally, in previous times.[606] But, Jeon denounces them, without accurate judgment of their history and reality.

> "Because of government subsidies, they do not work and they enjoy themselves. The money, they receive, makes them slaves who do not work or travel. For 1,500 dollars, they sold out their vision and national consciousness."[607]

He said it may be an advanced colonial policy, but places the blame on the Native Americans rather than the whites. This bias is easily found in other sermons, particularly describing the Western imperialistic history. He argues that it was the Gospel that made it possible for Britain to become an empire where the sun never sets, and in referring to the "Andrew's Cross" drawn on the Union Jack, he highly appreciates the British Empire as a country of martyrdom and devotion. The atrocities committed by British imperialists for their own benefit, which can be seen without special knowledge, are ignored in his sermons.[608] In consort with a high frequency of mentioning the West and preference for the US, this interpretational inclination is a crucial characteristic of the sermons examined below.

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[605] Yoo Kyung-jae et al. eds., *The Sermons of 16 Preachers*, 308-309.
[606] Robert A. Williams Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourse of Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
[607] Yoo Kyung-jae et al. eds., *The Sermons of 16 Preachers*, 310.
[608] Yoo Kyung-jae et al. eds., *The Sermons of 16 Preachers*, 311-312.

4.4.4 American Greatness as a Basic Premise

4.4.4.1 Multifaceted Images of America

American greatness is uncontroversial in sermons. Preachers usually use "the greatness of the US" as "a subject" in their preaching. In the Korean language, this sentence structure indicates essential prerequisite for further explanation. For preachers, America is premised on great nations. The US and the West are often presented as role models for the exemplary virtues of Christianity. The vocabulary they use in his sermons is Pro-American. "The greatness of America is found in many areas, especially in the spiritual power of going to church and worshipping on Sunday."[609] Sermons by Ha Yong-jo assert the reason America has become a great nation, blessed by God, is due to the gospel.[610] Among preachers, there is a general consensus about the greatness of the US, thereby the only significant thing is to find a reason for the premise. Using the images of a land of milk and honey in the Book of Joshua, Cho Yong-gi delivers sermons on the topic of going well, depicting America as an ideal state. "Every time I go to America, I feel that America is the strongest and wealthiest country on the planet. America is a country which has huge land and natural resources, so all of Americans enjoy prosperity."[611]

This image of America is engraved in the Korean consciousness in multifaceted ways through historical experiences. American missionaries, who introduced the Christian Gospel and Western civilisation, were recognised as illuminators, and the US army, who defeated Japan in the Pacific War and brought Koreans out of colonial rule, were regarded as liberators. The US, who fought in the Korean War against the threat of communism, was considered to be a protector and even saviour. They, who provided economic aid to overcome extreme poverty, and maintain US forces in Korea, have been a helper and strategic partner during the Cold War era.

Theological criteria of preachers for guaranteeing American greatness is in line with the theological tendencies of the missionaries. American politicians and entrepreneurs are portrayed as great figures of faith, but the blemishes in their political or business activities are not deliberated. Even in the case of an unjust war or exploitation of workers, such as Bush and Rockefeller, American greatness is magnified by images of prayer and tithing. The dominant images of the US depicted in sermons are religiously and morally superior,

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[609] Kim Sun-do, "midŭmŭro ŏnnŭn ch'oesŏnŭi chihye" [The Best Wisdom Gained by Faith], April 28, 1991.

[610] Ha Yong-jo, *romasŏŭi pijŏn* [Vision in Romans] (Seoul: Duranno, 1998), 146; Yoo Kyung-jae et al. eds., *The Sermons of 16 Preachers*, 142.

[611] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 71.

their political, economic, cultural and religious systems are set as a paragon for Korean congregations.[612]

4.4.4.2 A Paragon of Faith

The positive preference by preachers for the US is marked by setting Americans as a paragon of faith. The most distinctive feature is that American figures are invoked at random. No one is questioned about their pros and cons, but American figures are exemplified as the pattern of a religious person. For example, Kim Sam-hwan mentions American presidents 15 times in his 43 sermons: J. F. Kennedy, J. Carter, R. Reagan, J. A. Garfield, A. Lincoln (4), G. Washington (2), D. Eisenhower, H. Truman, R. Nixon, J. Adams, G. W. Bush. Some of them have historical responsibility for the loss of innocent lives in their wars, but in sermons they are described as great believers, praying for war. Because of the large sums offered to the church, entrepreneurs such as Carnegie and Rockefeller, are held in high esteem.[613] In all of the sermons analysed in this study, the Puritans and Thanksgiving Day in the US are frequently illustrated as an example of gratitude.[614] Han Kyung-jik placed great significance on Puritan faith, and suggested that congregations model themselves on the Puritans in the US. The historical background and faith of Puritans has been explained many times in his sermons, as well as the first Thanksgiving celebrated by the Pilgrims in the 17th century.[615]

   Although, there is traditional Korean Thanksgiving Day, August 15th in the lunar calendar, which has been passed down for over 2,000 years, the majority of Korean churches celebrate Thanksgiving in November, in accordance with the American Thanksgiving. In order to highlight gratitude, simplified and unilateral opinions also dominate preaching, without historical evaluation. For example, Kim Jang-hwan asserts that "the gratitude comes from a high culture [like American culture] and cannot be found in vulgar people [like barbarians]", introducing John Wanamaker, an American merchant and politician, as an example of an appreciator.[616] Both Cho Yong-gi and Kim Sun-do

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[612] See S. Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

[613] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993).

[614] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 51-52; Song Yong-pil, Paik Ee-sun and Hwang Jin-su et al., "ch'ŏngdogyorŭl saenggak'amyŏ" [Thinking of the Puritans], *Kim Jang-hwan's Selected Sermons*, 147-148; Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 383; Kim Sun-do, "kamsahanŭn chŏkkŭkchŏgin shinang" [Grateful Active Faith], November 18, 1990.

[615] Lee Young-heon, *han'gyŏngjik yehwa* [Han Kyung-jik's Illustrations] (Seoul: Gyujanmunhwasa, 1993), 17-40, 132-134.

[616] Song Yong-pil, Paik Ee-sun and Hwang Jin-su et al., "kamsahamŭro" [Gratitude], *Kim Jang-hwan's Selected Sermons*, 56-57.

also use almost identical phrases, "the reason America became a great power today is because their ancestors gave thanks to God for the first crop they had ever farmed."[617] The Puritans, as founders of the American colonies, are considered to be a people chosen by God, and the land, which was forcibly taken from Native Americans, is legitimated as a blessed or promised land. Kim Sun-do even refers to this land as the Kingdom of God.[618] By simplifying imperialistic expansion into evangelism, Cho Yong-mok positively evaluates the US and the UK as models that South Korea should follow. "The British were zealous in preaching the Gospel, sending missionaries and providing financial support. In this reason, God blessed the British Empire, on which the sun never sets, and which became the strongest nation ever. We, like the US and Great Britain, can be a great nation by sending a lot of missionaries."[619]

4.4.4.3 Developed Moral Sense

Americans are portrayed a deeply religious people with a highly developed moral sense. The American views on Koreans found in missionaries are very similar to the preachers of Korean megachurches. Their sermons have tendencies to view America and the West as ethically superior. Despite the frequent involvement of the US in international disputes, Quoting Exodus 14:13 "Do not be afraid, stand firm, and see the deliverance that the Lord will accomplish for your today", Kwak Sun-hee depicts the US as a patient strongman. "Is not it possible to start a war if a boat is stolen? If they [Americans] were like savages, they would have already waged war. This is another [great] thing about America."[620] Kim Hong-do says that while Americans are honest and industrious, Koreans are untruthful.[621] Han Kyung-jik argued that the effort of American missionaries could be another step toward the extension of children's human rights in Korea.[622]

Kim Sun-do says that American people do not forget historical lessons and do not repeat their mistakes, while Koreans are easily excited and forgetful. Several of his sermons demonstrate Koreans as bluffing, half-hearted, and extravagant, unlike people

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[617] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 59; Kim Sun-do, "kamsahanŭn chŏkkŭkchŏgin shinang" [Grateful Active Faith], November 18, 1990.

[618] Kim Sun-do, "kamsahanŭn chŏkkŭkchŏgin shinang" [Grateful Active Faith], November 18, 1990.

[619] Cho Yong-mok, "Naŭi Sarang Minjok Sarangŭi kil" [My Love, the Way of Loving Our Nation] in *Ne Midŭmdaero Toelchiŏda* [Let It Be Done for You According to Your Faith], 106-109.

[620] Kwak Sun-hee, *chagi kyŏltanŭi hŏshil kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 29* [Weakness and Strength of Self-determination] (Seoul: Gyemongmunhwasa, 2002), 184.

[621] Kim Hong-do, "miyak'an tesŏ ch'angdaek'e toenŭn pigyŏl" [The Secret to Greatness in Weakness]", *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons] (Seoul: pulgidungsa, 1985), 610.

[622] Lee Young-heon, *han'gyŏngjik yehwa* [Han Kyung-jik's Illustrations] (Seoul: Gyujanmunhwasa, 1993), 180-183.

in developed countries, including Americans.[623] In the sermon commemorating Parents' Sunday, Kim Sun-do reminds the congregation about serving their parents with devotion, illustrating the filial love of President Lincoln, American Mother's Day, and Western maxims.[624] On Children's Sunday, he quotes a news article from American media. "While South Korea was poor country, that the key industry was rice production, now becomes a rich country which produces various electronic goods, including computers. But, violent demonstration screws up the country." In the same manner, he condemns the young Korean protesters who burned themselves to death as inofficious behaviour, and does not argue the cause of the sacrifice.[625]

Every nation has universal moral values modified by their own culture, but these sermons may leave the impression of American superiority. Self-immolation protests are the desperate expression of intentions of some, in order to resist oppression, fight against injustices, and restore democracy. Thus, Kim's condemnation reflects his political orientation to support conservative governments. Regardless of the church calendar and biblical texts, condemnation of the democratisation movement including demonstrations can be found in 11 of of his 47 sermons for Advent, Christamas Sunday, Palm Sunday, Children's Sunday, Parents' Sunday, Korean Memorial Sunday, anniversary Sunday of the Korean War, National Liberation Sunday, and the season of Penteconst. Most of these sermons include American or Western illustrations, which are suggested as a paragon of morality.[626]

4.4.4.4 Blindly Following American Things

Preachers appreciate the American culture, system, and ideals very highly. The questions and solutions for happiness and human rights are first raised in the cases of the US or UK, rather than in biblical texts. In a sermon on essential happiness, Kim Sun-do introduces statistics from an American magazine, and in explaining the extension of women's rights and exemplary society, suggests the opinions of American and British scholars.[627] Kim Sam-hwan goes as far as to commend American farming, saying that "agricultural products in the US are larger because they plant large things. They reap

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[623] Kim Sun-do, "pigŭkŭn yŏngwŏnhaji ant'a" [Tragedy is Not Eternal].
[624] Kim Sun-do, "chuanesŏ pumorŭl kippŭshige hara" [Make Your Parents Happy in the Lord].
[625] Kim Sun-do, "inmurŭl k'iunŭn pumo" [Parents Who Nurture Their Child as a Great Man].
[626] Kim Sun-do, "kŭraedo ch'ongmyŏnghan saengmyŏngŭi enŏji"; "p'ungnange tojŏnhanŭn shinang"; "hananimŭi sŏnt'aek"; "kippŭn sŏngt'anŭi ŏnŏ"; "toltŭri sori chirŭgi chŏne"; "inmurŭl k'iunŭn pumo"; "haengbokŭl mandŭnŭn naŭi chip"; "chigŭm urinŭn muŏsŭl shimgoinnŭn'ga"; "ch'oesŏnŭi sŏnmurŭl chunbihashin hananim"; "pigŭkŭn yŏngwŏnhaji ant'a"; "poktoen chanch'ie ch'odaebadŭn cha."
[627] Kim Sun-do, "haengbokŭl mandŭnŭn naŭi chip"; "chigŭm urinŭn muŏsŭl shimgoinnŭn'ga."

what they sow." He also praises the American welfare system, schools and politics.[628] In his sermon *widaehan kidoŭi saramdŭl* [The Greatest Prayers], Kim Hong-do calls a pastor who studied abroad in the US as an intelligent person, and a pastor who lived in Korea as an ignorant person.[629]

In addition, English expressions are frequently used in the sermons, and often suggest or emphasise the study of English. It may sound strange to highlight the learning and acquiring of a particular language for preaching, but these preachers value learning English. For example, Lee Dong-won often uses English words or expressions in his sermons. Using a mixture of the Korean and English words bears no relation to emphasis or perspicuity, but rather interrupts understanding of context.[630] Kwak Sun-hee also habitually uses English words. Even when book titles or famous sayings, inevitably expressed in English words, are excluded, there are 33 unnecessary uses of English expressions in 27 of his sermons.[631] Kim Jang-hwan claims that English is not a second foreign language but the necessary complement to our reality. He introduces success stories of pastors preaching in English in foreign countries.[632] Kim Sam-hwan also introduces successful cases in achieving social success through fluency in English. This emphasis on English has nothing to do with the biblical texts, but can be used to instil a biased perspective in congregations. For example, the title of a sermon where Kim Sam-hwan emphasises English study is "Sŏngnyŏngŭi Yŏksa" [the presence of Holy Spirit], it is difficult to find a connection between the tile and contents of the sermon.[633]

4.4.5 The Korean Version of the Orientalist Gaze

4.4.5.1 Seeing Koreans through the Eyes of Americans

"Korea is a country that wants to be recognised, particularly by Americans, even though Korea has in many ways overtaken the US." The legacy of Japanese colonial rule has

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[628] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 234.

[629] Kim Hong-do, "*widaehan kidoŭi saramdŭl*" [The Greatest Prayers]" in *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons] (Seoul: pulgidungsa, 1985).

[630] Yoo Kyung-jae et al. eds., *The Sermons of 16 Preachers*, 148.

[631] Kwak Sun-hee, *chagi kyŏltanŭi hŏshil kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 29* [Weakness and Strength of Self-determination] (Seoul: Gyemongmunhwasa, 2002), 25, 33, 34, 36, 45, 46, 50, 72, 76, 91, 114, 128, 164, 176, 180, 184, 198, 201, 202, 209, 217, 223, 227, 241, 242, 267, 282, 296, 297, 298, 301, 302, 313.

[632] Song Yong-pil, Paik Ee-sun and Hwang Jin-su et al., *Kim Jang-hwan's Selected Sermons*, 138-140.

[633] Kim Sam-hwan, "sŏngnyŏngŭi yŏksa" [The Presence of Holy Spirit], *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 161-162.

led a national inferiority complex that has led Koreans to conclude that their reputed backwardness is real. Micheal Breen calls this sentiment as the "constant bombardment of negative Japanese propaganda." However, Koreans are trying to overcome this colonialistic consciousness through the eyes of Amerian imperialists, not themselves.[634] This twofold meaning of colonialism and imperialism in Korea is becoming more noticeable through the Korean version of Orientalism in Korean preaching.

The preachers tend to use criticism from American media or experts to critisise Korean society rather than directly defining their position. It can be perceived as more accurate and superior to use a Western lens and judgment. Adopting an American perspective may be considered to be third-party credibility and have greater impact on the congregation.

In order to raise an ethical issue in his sermon, Kim Sun-do places coverage by CBS, and the research that Koreans have negative attitudes, tremendous stress, strong sense of rivalry and an immoderate drinking culture from of Duke University, before congregations, and.[635] Kwak Sun-hee uses the words of an American restaurant owner to rebuke the table manners of Koreans. As well as South Korea, when North Korea is mentioned, perspectives of American newspapers, broadcasting and scholars are offered as evidence to support his argument.[636] Kim Sun-do likewise looks at Korea through the eyes of American or Western scholars.

> "According to an analysis of the American media, Korea has developed from a poor agricultural country to a state-of-the-art product manufacturer, but now it is ruining our country with demonstrations… The only Korean society seen in Western media is the fierce demonstrations of students, throwing petrol bombs and the response with tear bombs. This culture is being learned by students from other countries. We do not have to forget, 'as one sows, so shall you reap.' When you plant something destructive, you reap something destructive."[637]

Preachers often make groundless accusations based on allegedly misleading information against Korean society, especially by comparing with the US or Western countries. Repeated groundless accusations through comparison with the US can lead

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[634] Michael Breen, *The New Koreans: The Story of a Nation* (London: Thomas Dunne Books, 2017); Colling Marshall, "The Comforts of South Korea's Coronavirus Response", *The New Yorker*, April 14th, 2020.

[635] Kim Sun-do, "kŭraedo ch'ongmyŏnghan saengmyŏngŭi enŏji."

[636] Kwak Sun-hee, *chagi kyŏltanŭi hŏshil kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 29* [Weakness and Strength of Self-determination] (Seoul: Gyemongmunhwasa, 2002), 82-83.

[637] Kim Sun-do, "Inmurŭl K'iunŭn Pumo."

congregations to view themselves as inferior. This Orientalist gaze has a characteristic very similar to that of the American missionaries examined in Chapter 3. Talking about labour-management disputes and confrontations between opposing parties, Kim Sam-hwan said that "the US, which is tens of times larger than Korea, is not put to the test, but we are."[638] In order to criticise excessive consumption in Korean society, Kim Sam-hwan also puts words into the American's mouth, saying that "when Americans come to our country and see people spend money, they say that Koreans are like American hillbillies."[639]

4.4.5.2 Effectiveness of Alternating Adulation and Self-depreciation

The pro-Americanism of preachers is amplified by baselessly depreciating Koreans and blindly following Americans. The structural characteristics of comparison, contrast, parallelism, and alternation are tools used to create pro-Americanism, toadyism, colonialism, Orientalism, and anticommunism. In other words, the effectiveness Pro-American, western-oriented, and anti-communist preaching is maximised through criticism of Koreans, non-Western people, and communists. Although the critical function of preaching, as by biblical prophets, is essential, the feature of preaching in Korean megachurches is that the backwardness or inferiority of Koreans are highlighted through comparison with Western countries and the US, rather than suggesting biblical values and directly pointing out problems in Korean society.

 Describing the General Sherman incident in 19th century, Kim Jang-hwan views Americans as victims of the Koreans, revealing a lopsided view of Korean modern history. Although missionaries died while trying to enter Korea to preach the Gospel, this incident was that an imperialist country used coercion by an armed force to open a port for their own interests.[640] What is noteworthy is the homiletic structure, than a simple description, that makes this feature more prominent. For example, Kim Sun-do does not only portray the American as positive and the Korean as negative, but also maximises the effect through extreme contrast in the structure of his sermons. In his sermon *shinsajŏgin kŭrisŭdoin* [Gentle Christian], giving an example in Acts 17:11 that the people in Berea were much nicer than people in Thessalonica and they welcomed the message very eagerly, he contrasts the manners of Americans or Westerner and Koreans as follows:

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[638] Kim Sam-hwan, "poktoen maŭm" [Blessed Mind], *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 268.
[639] Kim Sam-hwan, "38nyŏndoen pyŏngja" [A Patient for 38 years], *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 311
[640] Song Yong-pil, Paik Ee-sun and Hwang Jin-su et al., "wŏnsurŭl wihan kŭrisŭdoŭi kido" [Christ's Prayer for the Enemy], Kim Jang-hwan's Selected Sermons (Seoul: Kyujang, 1984), 107.

"Americans are gentle because they always use words 'thank you.'"

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"Some [Koreans] are rude without expressing gratitude. A thankful person is honoured."

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"Carnegie [American] was poor but succeeded with gratitude."

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"Korean Christians in a foreign country defame their pastor for winning recognition."

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"Because Americans are gentle, they often apologise, saying that 'I am sorry.'"

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"There are several members of our church, doing ungentle behaviour, while parking."

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"Tolstoy said that the more people are humble, the more they are free and powerful, and Wesley called humility the centre of all virtues."

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"According to the *News Week*, Koreans got so rich quickly that they are arrogant and vain."

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"Jimmy Carter is building houses for the homeless, Eisenhower worked on the farm after retirement, and J. C. Penney, who was an American businessman called the king of department store, said the cause of his success was humility."[641]

In his sermon *Grateful Active Faith*, about an unthankful attitude, Americans are described as those who express their thanks, but Koreans as those who grumble and resent.[642] In the case of other preachers, Kim Sam-hwan says that "our political parties are falling apart, but not in the US, because they started with prayer and the will of God. This is also true of the UK."[643] He does not hesitate to use unreasonable and groundless reprobation. "Our nation has no lofty ideals, ideas, or dreams to advance toward the

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[641] Kim Sun-do, "Shinsajŏgin Kŭrisŭdoin."
[642] Kim Sun-do, "Kamsahanŭn Chŏkkŭkchŏgin Shinang."
[643] Kim Sam-hwan, "hŏtsugohaji mapshida" [Do not Beat the Air], *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 414.

world." "We do not know how much our nation has ex-convicts, pickpockets, robberies, theft, prostitution, drug addiction, human trafficking and gambling."[644] Kim Sam-hwan said that "the administration and political parties in the US and the UK are good at surgery, but we have missed that opportunity."[645] He gives an example of American funeral culture in order to criticise Korean funeral culture.[646]

Another problem of his sermons lies in using a finite case of instances and generalising those instances. In generally, preachers tend to evaluate it as a national character through illustrations of unknown source.

> "Generally speaking, Americans and Westerners are affluent because of honesty. Few deceive people by fine-sounding arguments or puts on a good show of working. The reason Americans who own hotels do not hire Koreans is because they are deceitful."[647]

Illustrating the biblical scene where Elijah proves he is the Lord's prophet on Mount Carmel (1 Kgs. 18), Cho Yong-gi makes a comparison between the collapse of a bridge in South Korea and a success story in the US to overcome adversity, in his sermon "*pullo ŭngdap'ashinŭn shin, kŭga hananimishinira*" [The God Who Answers by Fire, He is God]. This biblical narrative shows strong contrast between Elijah as the epitome of good and the priests of Baal as the epitome of evil. In his sermons, South Korean society is connected to the deceptive prophet, while Americans are shown as the truthful prophet.[648]

However, if considering the historical background, this narrative can be interpreted with an entirely different meaning. The narrative in 1 Kings 18 is illuminated by comparing the narrative of Widow of Zarephath (1 Kgs. 17) with the Naboth's Vineyard (1 Kgs. 21). While the former describes the emancipatory feature of the Yahweh religion, the latter depicts oppressive power and religion. Jezebel, the daughter of the Sidonian King Ethbaal and the wife of King Ahab, is the centrepiece of these narratives, and is the only

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[644] Kim Sam-hwan, "muŏsŭl tŏ wŏnhashimnikka?" [What more do you want?], *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 394-395.

[645] Kim Sam-hwan, "38nyŏndoen pyŏngja" [A Patient for 38 years], *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 311.

[646] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 142.

[647] Kim Hong-do, "miyak'an tesŏ ch'angdaek'e toenŭn pigyŏl" [The Secret to Greatness in Weakness]", *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons] (Seoul: pulgidungsa, 1985), 606-610.

[648] Phylis Trible, "Exegesis for Storytellers and Other Strangers," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 114 (1995): 3-19; Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 359.

Northern Israelite Queen/Queen Mother blamed for the fall of the ancient Israelite monarchy and condemned as a cultic temptresses (1 Kgs. 16:29-31).[649] As a descendant of the Phoenician royal household and an Israelite Queen/Queen Mother, Jezebel played an active role in the political affairs of government, the court, and the cult.[650] She treacherously plotted to to have Nabath killed so that Ahab could obtain his vineyard, and had remarkable strength as a leader to proclaim a fast on the elders and nobles, through letter sealed in Ahab's name, as a manifestation of her powerful role as Ahab's counsellor (1 Kgs. 21:8-12). Her brutal response to Naboth's refusal can be understood from her point of view as an appropriate royal response to insubordination.[651] The Phoenician understanding of kingship gave Jezebel unconstrained royal authority. She disregarded the boundaries and limitations of ancient Israelite kingship, and Deuteronomistic theology of land (Deut. 17:14-20; 12:12; 14:27).

In this way, the narrative of Elijah's Triumph over the Priests of Baal does not simply mean a power struggle between Yahweh and Baal, or winnowing truth from falsehood. The reason the Deuteronomistic historian criticises Jezebel and her religion is that Yahwism and its social order were threatened by colonial-imperial ideology and religion. As discussed in Chapter 1, the majority of biblical content has been formed in colonial-imperial circumstances. Mitri Raheb suggests that the geopolitics and imperialistic ramifications on the land and people are an essential hermeneutical key to understanding of the message of the Bible.[652] Thus, biblical readers need to question whether Jezebel's Phoenician origins and religion are important pointers to concealed colonial agendas and the motivation of Jezebel's role as Queen/Queen Mother. The violations of the Yahwistic laws on ancestral inheritance by colonial infiltration should be

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[649] Athalya Brenner, "Jezebel" in *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible: The Apocryphal/Deutero-canonical Books, and the New Testament*, eds. Carol Meyers and Ross S. Kraemer (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 100-102; Peter R. Ackroyd, "Goddesses, Women and Jezebel" in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, eds. Averil Cameron and Amelie Kuhrt (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983), 245-259; Phylis A. Bird, "Images of Women in the Old Testament" in *The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics*, ed. N. K. Gottwald (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1983), 252-288; Carol Smith, "Qeenship in Israel? The Cases of Bathsheba, Jezebel and Athaliah" in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Suppl. 270, ed. John Day (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 142-162.
[650] A Brenner, "Jezebel," 101; Makhosazana K. Nzimande, "Reconfiguring Jezebel: A Postcolonial *Imbokodo* Reading of the Story of Naboth's Vineyard (1 Kings 21:1-16)" in *African and European Readers of the Bible in Dialogue: In Quest of a Shared Meaning*, eds. Hans de Wit and Gerald O. West (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 235.
[651] Claudia Camp, "1 and 2 Kings" in *Women's Bible Commentary*, eds. Carol A Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 110; M. K. Nzimande, "Reconfiguring Jezebel," 236.
[652] M. Raheb, "Land, People and Empire," 18-19.

noted in the interpretation of this narrative.[653] The narrative in 1 King 18 can be marked as resisting and overcoming colonial-imperial oppression. In this sense, the interpretation of Cho Yong-gi can be inverted by this postcolonial reading that American politics and religion are similar to the colonial-imperial Baal religion.

4.4.5.3 The Background of Korean-style Orientalism

Kim Jongtae points out that South Koreans have constructed their own "Orient" reflecting Western Orientalism and perceive other non-Western countries through this Orientalist framework. Even Koreans are not free from the Korean version of the Orientalist gaze.[654] It can be said that Korean Orientalism, which cannot be simply explained by Said's Orientalism, has been formed in the geopolitical environment of the Korean Peninsula. Firstly, Japanese imperialists have had a unique perspective towards Asia and themselves, such as the theory of *t'araipku* [Exit from Asia to Europe in Civilised Time]. Japan was the first among Asian countries to accept a modern West, achieved national modernisation, proceeded rapidly with Westernisation, and eventually developed into imperialism. Japanese imperialists thought they should no longer be Asian, but rather enter the line of Western super-powers. Japanese looked down on Asians as backward, sluggish and inferior, while looking up to the West.[655] They sought tp subjugate their own continent with the idea of racial hierarchy, in order to empower and enrich themselves.[656] Japan, which colonised the Korean Peninsula, is not a Western country, but they embraced Orientalism. Japanese attitudes towards East Asia, including Korea, remain

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[653] Jerome T. Walsh, "Of Methods and Meanings: Multiple Studies of 1 Kings 21," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 112/2 (1992): 193-211.

[654] See Kim Jongtae, *Eurocentrism and Development in Korea* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

[655] Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit suggest the term "Occidentalism" as a counterpart to the term "Orientalism." In late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century, Japan viewed the West in the same way that the West looked at the East. Western modernity was deemed as a threat to "a holistic traditional Orient united under divine Japanese imperial rule", which would restore the warm organic community to spiritual health. The modern West was also regarded as the land of the infidel and sinful world. However, Occidentalism did not originate in the East, but arose in Europe as a reaction against the European commitment to science, the Enlightenment, and the separation between the church and state. According to an Occidental gaze, the modern West is a machine-like society without human soul, and the impurities of urban civilisation should be eradicated by dreams of spiritual or racial purity. Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004), 3; Ian Buruma, "The Origin of Occidentalism," *The Chronicle Review*, Vol. 50, Issue 22 (Feb. 2004): B10. http://chronicle.com/free/v50/i22/22b01001.htm

[656] Van Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), 331; Ruth Benedict*, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2005), 96.

in large part that they would still prefer to look at themselves as Westerners rather than Asians.[657]

Accoding to the educational rules of the Japanese colonial government, the education policy for Koreans had the following characteristics. First, Koreans had to become loyal subjects, ruled by the Japanese Empire. This was the process of enslaving Koreans to be absolutely loyal and obedient to their Japanese Empeor and Empire. Second, in order to dumb down Koreans, lower levels of education were provided. It was an education based on ethnic discrimination, to notify Koreans of their obligations as Japanese subjects, and vocational education that trained them as low-quality workers. Third, Japan aggressively pushed Koreans to assimilate into Japanese culture, forcing their language, lifestyle and way of thinking.[658]

Secondly, as well as the Japanese version of Orientalism, Koreans had also been influenced by the Sinocentrism prior to modern times. There was a hierachical system of international relations, based on the Sinocentric system, regarding Korea as a vassal of China. Ever since the Joseon Dynasty in the Korean Peninsula, Korean literati, who were mostly Confucian, voluntarily engaged themselves into the Sinocentric system, so as to encourage the entrenchment of Korean Confucian ideals and doctrines in society. However, after China was invaded and ruled by the Manchu, following the fall of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Korean intellectuals challenged the stature of China as the leading Confucian state in the 17th century, insisting that Korea was the cultural centre of Confucianism, or *Sojunghwa* [Little China]. Because the Qing from Manchuria were considered to be barbarians, the destruction of the Ming by the Qing was considered the collpase of civilisation based on Sinocentrism. Like the *Sojunghwa*, proto-nationalist sentiment likewise emerged in Tokugawa Japan (1600-1898), a golden age for the development and influence of neo-Confucianism.[659]

Thirdly, following the liberation from Japanese colonial rule, South Korea has been no different from an American colony. Since the advent of the American missionaries, the Korean version of Orientalism has been deformed under American ramifications. Orientalism was deeply rooted in Korean consciousness by the Japanese imperialists and American missionaries, but there are also contradictory attitudes, which look down on the Orient, including China and Japan. From the liberation on, subordination by the

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[657] Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 45-46, 272-316.

[658] Jeong Jae-cheol, *ilcheŭi taehan'gukshingminjigyoyukchŏngch'aeksa* [A History of Japanese Colonial Education in Korea] (Seoul: Iljisa, 1985), 294-296.

[659] Q. Edward Wang, "Between Myth and History: The Construction of a National Past in Modern East Asia" in *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, ed. Stefan Berger (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 126.

US was not only political, military, and economic, characterised by the pro-Americanism, anticommunism and division, but cultural and academic elements have also played a decisive role. As in the example of Japanese colonial rule, imperialism must have a high-level political and cultural structure that justifies structural violence, as well as dominantion through exploitation and oppression. In this regard, education exemplified by the school system as the idelogical organisation and significant means of colonisation, has promoted American-style capitalism through the acquisition of skills and knowledge, and serves to maintain the social and cultural conditions. A program of study abroad in the US, which was designed through US strategy, made American-oriented values more prevalent in South Korea. Amerian scholarships, such as the Fulbright Program, contribute to the production of an elite Korean power group, who studied abroad in the US, and then grasped power in the administration, judicial, political, and financial circles. In fact, the intellectual preponderance of the US was pointed out in the Korean academic circles.[660]

Table 6 The Proportion of Koreans Studying in the US,
from the 1950s to the 1970s[661]

	1952-60	1961-70	1971-79	Total
Number of Koreans Studying Abroad	4,501	7,422	3,851	15,774
Number of Koreans Studying in the US	3,849 (86%)	6,118 (82%)	2,997 (77%)	12,944 (82%)

The Korean church has had the greatest reliance on the US. Ever since American missionaries had taken the initiative prior to Japanese colonial rule, the subordination of the Korean church to the US preceded other societal fields. Most of the preachers of Korean megachurches have experienced study or ministry in the US. The relationship of the Korean megachurch pastors with the US can be easily found in the following their academic background.

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[660] Jeong Il-jun, "Cultural Imperialism and Korean Students Studying in the US after Liberation", *Critical Review of History* (1991), 131-136. 130-142.
[661] Jeong Il-jun, "Cultural Imperialism and Korean Students Studying in the US after Liberation", *Critical Review of History* (1991), 140. 130-142.

Table 7 Megachurch Pastors Studying in the US

Pastor	School in the US
Han Kyung-jik	The College of Emporia Princeton Theological Seminary
Kim Sun-do	Wesley Theological Seminary Fuller Theological Seminary
Kim Sam-hwan	New Brunswick Theological Seminary (Honorary) San Francisco Theological Seminary (Honorary)
Kwak Sun-hee	Princeton Theological Seminary Fuller Theological Seminary
Kim Hong-do	Fuller Theological Seminary Indiana Wesleyan University (Honorary)
Cho Yong-gi	Regent University (Honorary)
Kim Jang-hwan	Bob Jones University
Ha Yong-jo	Trinity Evangelical Divinity School (Honorary) Biola University (Honorary)
Lee Dong-won	William Tyndale College Southeastern Baptist Seminary Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

4.4.5.4 From Victim of Orientalism to Perpetrator

The modern self of Koreans was created by a complex relationship with colonialism, modernity and nationalism, as traditional identity was reinterpreted or transformed in the process of modernisation. This was driven primarily by a changing worldview, according to changes in the international community, and was largely influenced by the dominant ideology of Japanese colonialism. Chung Yong-hwa enunciates that in the course of accepting and resisting the modern Western civilisation that replaced traditional Sinocentrism, Koreans developed their own civilizational, ethnic, national, and personal self-consciousness. In particular, the Orientalism, instilled by the introduction of Western civilisation, and the Japanese version of Orientalism, had a decisive effect on forming Korean self-consciousness. As a result, inferiority to the West, twofold sentiment to Japan, prejudice toward Korean tradition, and self-contradiction occurred and Korean society is still under the influence. Chung argues that Japanese Orientalism, which was

"anti-eurocentric eurocentrism", has particularly influenced the formation of Korean modern self.[662]

The colonial-imperial legacy, infused by Japan and the US, is also found in the sermons of Korean megachurches. Koreans occupy a position as a middleman, inferior to the West, including the US, and superior to other Asian, Latin American, and African countries. Notably, Gospel, civilisation, and material abundance are the factors that determine this self-contradiction. The way preachers describe the Orient is no different from Western missionaries in the 19th century, explaining Koreans. Their salient features of Orientalism can be summarised as follows.

First, they are inclined to judge the world on the basis of the criterion of civilisation developed by Christianity. This is the reason that Western civilisation centred on Christianity is superior, as is evidenced by advanced technology and accumulated wealth. Cho Yong-mok said that "wherever Christianity spreads, history has proved that civilisation, industry and people's lives have improved."[663] Kim Hong-do argues that American or Western values are presupposed, and the Orient, including Koreans, has to accept the supremacy of Western Christian civilisation and their advancement toward the Orient. "Civilisation has always belonged to the church and Christ. A country with Christianity has always developed incomparably more than a country without Christianity.[664] Kwak Sun-hee describes the non-Western world as needing the aid of Western countries, including the US.[665] What is worse, Kim Hong do asserts that the barbarian people were tamed by Christianity, and the cannibals who cut off people's heads and ate people were turned into people of peace. Evil pagans can gain good habits through Christianity."[666]

Second, a striking difference, or discrimination, is shown between the West and non-West in the use of images. When success is emphasised in preaching, American or Western figures or cases are introduced, and when explaining sin or failure, Korean or Oriental figures or cases are mentioned. Westerners, including Americans, are businessmen, philosophers, poets, thinkers, generals, athletes, doctors, pastors, and missionaries. The images given to the Orient are "the Pahlavi dynasty moving their assets abroad", "Philippine monkeys", "Indian bloody tiger", "idolatry in Korea",

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[662] Chung Yong-hwa, "Koreans' Formation of Modern Self and Orientalism", *The Korean Review of Political Thought* 10 (2004): 33-54.

[663] Cho Yong-mok, *Shilp'aerŭl Sŏnggongŭro Pyŏnhwashik'inŭn Gil*, 72-73.

[664] Kim Hong-do, "kyohoeŭi kwijungsŏng [Preciousness of the Church]", *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons] (Seoul: pulgidungsa, 1985), 677.

[665] Kwak Sun-hee, *chagi kyŏltanŭi hŏshil kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 29* [Weakness and Strength of Self-determination] (Seoul: Gyemongmunhwasa, 2002), 184.

[666] Kim Hong-do, "kyohoeŭi kwijungsŏng [Preciousness of the Church]", *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons] (Seoul: pulgidungsa, 1985), 677.

"deteriorated rural areas in China", "corruption of Ethiopian kings", "rivers in Africa which have a strong current", "hostage cases by Iranians", "a president in South America who demeans his ancestor", "North Korean athletes running riot in sports games", "a Chinese cleaner compared to American celebrities", and "Africans unable to buy shoes."[667] In sermons of Kim Sun-do, Asian countries, such as Philippines, India, Vietnam, and Bangladesh, are given images of primitiveness, immaturity, laziness, hopelessness, unfruitfulness, dissipated lives, natural disasters and starvation.[668] Expressions used by Kwak Sun-hee to explain the Middle East, India, Cambodia, and Bangladesh are also war, destruction, ruins, searing heat, earthquakes, disaster, famine, human organ trafficking and death. These words do not only link negative images to non-Western countries, but also extend to religious and moral images, that is, starvation and death are connected to religious starvation and moral death respectively.[669]

Third, images and metaphors are used to denigrate non-Western history, culture, and religions. Of course, anyone who wants can raise an objection that the intentions of preachers who speak these expressions are not intended to directly demean the East. However, the imagination created by these images gives a skewed view of non-Westerners. Defamation and false arguments, with crafty and overheated expressions, are shown in several passages. The cultural and historial background of the Bible belongs to the Orient, but preachers generally link biblical images or narratives to the West. While the marriage feast at Cana is connected to breakfast prayer meetings in the US, and breakfast meetings at the Houses of Parliament in the UK, Kim Sun-do says twice rejecting the invitation to a feast in the Middle East is like a declaration of war.[670] Cho Yong-gi devalues African and Islamic wedding traditions, and highly praises Western civilisation, saying that "accepting Christianity, European countries have developed through numerous discoveries and inventions."[671] "According to Western missionaries, there were not enough concepts and words in Africa to interpret the Bible, and so African culture is often caricatured by jokes."[672]

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[667] Lee Young-heon, *han'gyŏngjik yehwa* [Han Kyung-jik's Illustrations] (Seoul: Gyujanmunhwasa, 1993), 172-174; Kim Hong-do, *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons], 67-74, 170-176, 378-384, 389-395, 590-598, 599-605; Kim Sun-do, "midŭmŭro ŏnnŭn ch'oesŏnŭi chihye" [The Best Wisdom Gained by Faith], April 28, 1991. http://klmc.net/broadcast

[668] Kim Sun-do, "Chonjunghi Yŏgimŭl Pannŭn Chaa."

[669] Kwak Sun-hee, "p'agoewa kŏnsŏrŭi ŭimi" [The Meaing of Destruction and Construction], *kunjung soge pŏryŏjin cha kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 39* [A Person Abandoned in the Crowd] (Seoul: Gyemongmunhwasa, 2004); "ch'ungsŏngdoemŭi chihye" [Wisdom of Loyalty], June 14th, 1998.

[670] Kim Sun-do, "Poktoen Chanch'ie Ch'odaebadŭn Cha" [A Person Who Is Invited to the Blessed Feast], September 8, 1991. http://klmc.net/broadcast

[671] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1* [The Complete Series of Sermons 20] (Seoul: sŏulmalssŭmsa, 1996), 30, 183.

[672] Kwak Sun-hee, "mogi kodŭn paeksŏng" [The Stubborn People], August 19th, 1997.

In order to highlight positive thinking, Cho Yong-gi quotes that God promised Abraham many descendants. When it all seemed hopeless, he still had faith in God and became the father of many nations (Rom. 4:18). His sermon, however, presents racist ideals under the guise of encouraging positive faith. "Latin Americans do not understand the deep and complicated content of preaching, because they are unsophisticated and ignorant." "They must take off their beggar's clothes and boldly abandon their begging life, facing themselves as being blessed life like Abraham." Without taking the ramifications of colonialism into account, Cho Yong-gi looks down on Latin Americans, Southeast Asians, and Africans, expressing them as poorly conscious and ignorant.[673] Kim Sun-do does not hesitate to make immoderate remarks, "ignorant shepherd in Africa."[674] He also scathingly denounces Hinduism, Gautama Siddhartha, Confucius, and Muhammad as inferior to Western and American Christianity.[675]

Fourth, more importantly, Western-centred predispositions lead to justification of the violence committed by imperialists. Preachers first raise the belligerent and unethical issues of the Orient, giving congregations the impression that the non-Western people are responsible for the violence they face. Kim Sun-do says that Arab countries, such as Kuwait, are a depraved and war-like society, deserving to be invaded.[676] Introducing news article of *Time* magazine covering the Arab-Israeli War, Kwak Sun-hee explains that after an Arab mother lost her three sons in the war, she told her fourteen-year-old son to grow up quickly and take vengeance on Israeli. Kwak criticises war in this sermon, arguing that unbelief and selfishness are the cause of the war. He put the responsibility of the war on the Arabs, instead of the Israelis or the Americans, using the example of a vindictive Arab family. Insisting that war takes the place of the judgment of God, he cites only the Vietnam, Kosovo, and the Gulf War.[677]

In history, the "discovery" of other lands by European invention and technology caused violence and exploitation towards non-Western people, but preachers simply compare Western and non-Western worlds in terms of Eurocentric ethics and civilisation. Kim Jang-hwan contrasts European sailors, who "found" a small island in the Pacific Ocean, and the natives of that island, who "were found" by the civilised people. While the sailors, who harassed the native people, were considered to be virtuous, the aboriginal people,

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[673] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 94-95.
[674] Kim Sun-do, "ŭmch'imhan koltchagirŭl kalchirado" [Even If You Go through a Dismal Valley].
[675] Kim Sun-do, "chinŭn kŏt kat'ŭna iginŭn cha" [It Seems to be Losing, But the Winner]; "poktoen chanch'ie ch'odaebadŭn cha" [A Person Who Is Invited to the Blessed Feast]; "chonjunghi yŏgimŭl pannŭn chaa" [Ego Respected by Others]; "pin kŭrŭse ch'aewŏjinŭn ŭnhyeŭi kijŏk" [Miracle of Grace Filled in Empty Bowl]; "chŏngsange irŭnŭn ch'oesŏnŭi sam" [A Life of Doing One's Best to Reach the Top]; "kkŭch'i paro shijagida" [The End is the Beginning].
[676] Kim Sun-do, "chigŭm urinŭn muŏsŭl shimgoinnŭn'ga" [What are We Planting Now].
[677] Kwak Sun-hee, "chaenanŭi shijak" [The Beginning of a Disaster], June 20th, 1999.

who were plundered, are described as disorderly and brutal. He illustrates how the birds of the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean were fattened, and eaten by Portuguese sailors. Kim sets similar story composition, blaming the fattened birds for their life of ease, and advocating the sailors who advanced into Indian Ocean and invaded the island. Rather, these imperialist sailors are portrayed as explorers overcoming all kinds of hardships, unlike the birds which were comfortable. In another illustration, Kim mentions a British warship sailing to Kingston, Jamaica. He links a story that British sailors found a document involved in the illegal arms trade, to religious meaning that there is no secret before God. Ignoring the British colonial rule in Jamaica, preacher just focused on legitimacy of authorised warships as above the surface of the water and illegality of smuggling as a boat under the water.[678]

As mentioned above, these images and metaphors used by preachers are consistent with those used by Western missionaries. While their descriptions of the US and the West depict Korea and the Orient as inferior to the West, their expressions towards non-Western countries also connote degrading and arrogant attitudes. Korean preachers are Asians, but often reveal their perspective of Orientalism, without pointing out the atrocities Westerners committed in Africa, Asia, or Latin America, whilst the Westerners are portrayed as blessed, charitable, and trailblazing. This way of producing discourse created by preaching can be seen as a colonial legacy that was forced on Koreans by the imperialists. The Korean version of Orientalism, reproduced by the Korean pulpit, can be marked as a comprador, sponsoring the West, or a middle person between the Orient and the Occident.

4.5 Conclusion

This analysis underlines the colonial-imperial features of the homiletical discourse formed by the megachurches. The megachurch phenomenon in South Korea and America is a noteworthy indicator of the close connection of Korean churches with US churches that demonstrates Western-oriented and pro-American propensities, strengthened by the Orientalist gaze. The megachurches have played a significant role in social discourses and practices. Comparing their homiletical disposition with the historical context depicted in Chapter 2 shows that megachurch preachers tend to keep pace with the state ideology. The next chapter will analyse sermons of megachurches in

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[678] Kim Jang-hwan, *pandǔshi sǔngniharira* [I Will Definitely Win] (Seoul: Nachimban, 2016), 268th, 307th, and 313th sermon.

the same way as in this chapter. In particular, the use of biblical images, metaphors, and narratives will be discussed with regard to political ideologies, such as anticommunism and national security, prevailing in each of the historical stages.

5. Homiletical Discourses and Anticommunism

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the sermons of megachurches, in terms of anticommunism and religious justification of war and violence, following the topic of Americanism and prosperity theology in the previous chapter. These sermons ranging from the 1980s to the present include the historical situation of dictatorship, democratisation, the end of the Cold War, and economic development. This chapter discusses questions of how the theological discourses of Korean mainstream churches have been influenced by these political circumstances, and have also influenced social discourses and practices. Anticommunism and Cold War ideology have been dominant in society and churches since the division of the Korean Peninsula. This chapter is intended to grasp correlations among anticommunism, view of war, and homiletical discourses during the Cold War and post-Cold War era. In doing so, colonial-imperial ramifications ingrained in theological discourses will be affirmed by a critical discourse analysis.

5.2 Anticommunism

5.2.1 Complementarities of Anticommunism and Pro-Americanism

Pro-American and anti-communist inclinations are like two sides of the coin. Pro-Americanism functions not only to advocate the US, but also to disparage North Korea, whereas anticommunism can be suggested as a basis for pro-Americanism as well as for ridiculing the North. In fact, anti-communist sermons tend to pair with pro-Americanism. Preachers often use the expression, "the free world" indetifying themselves as in a coalition of US and anti-communist forces, rather than indicating specific nations.[679] As we can see in the graphs below, anti-communist content was usually paired with pro-American illustration, and there are especially no azygous cases in sermons by Kim Sun-do. In the example of a Christmas sermon, while the US is portrayed as a scene where President Roosevelt worked late into the night and pledged to humble himself by gazing at stars in the night sky, the Soviet Union is depicted as red, false, and an ideological star, which killed tens of millions of people.[680]

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[679] Kim Sun-do, "Kŭraedo Ch'ongmyŏnghan Saengmyŏngŭi Enŏji."
[680] Kim Sun-do, "K'ŭrisŭmasŭŭi Pyŏl."

The two ideologies, characterised by the ideological conflict composition of Cold War System, complement each other in the sermons analysed in this study. Whether preachers are criticising communism or defending the Free World, the US is presented as a basis for guaranteeing the superiority of the system. These features remind us of West-centred and pro-American propensities, escalated by Orientalism and toadyism. The dichotomous characteristics, division into the West and non-West, the Orient and Occident, the Free World and communism, South and North Korea, sacred and secular, body and soul, and God and Satan, are a crucial key to understanding the sermons of megachurches.

Chart 3 The Ratio of Anticommunism Paired with Pro-Americanism
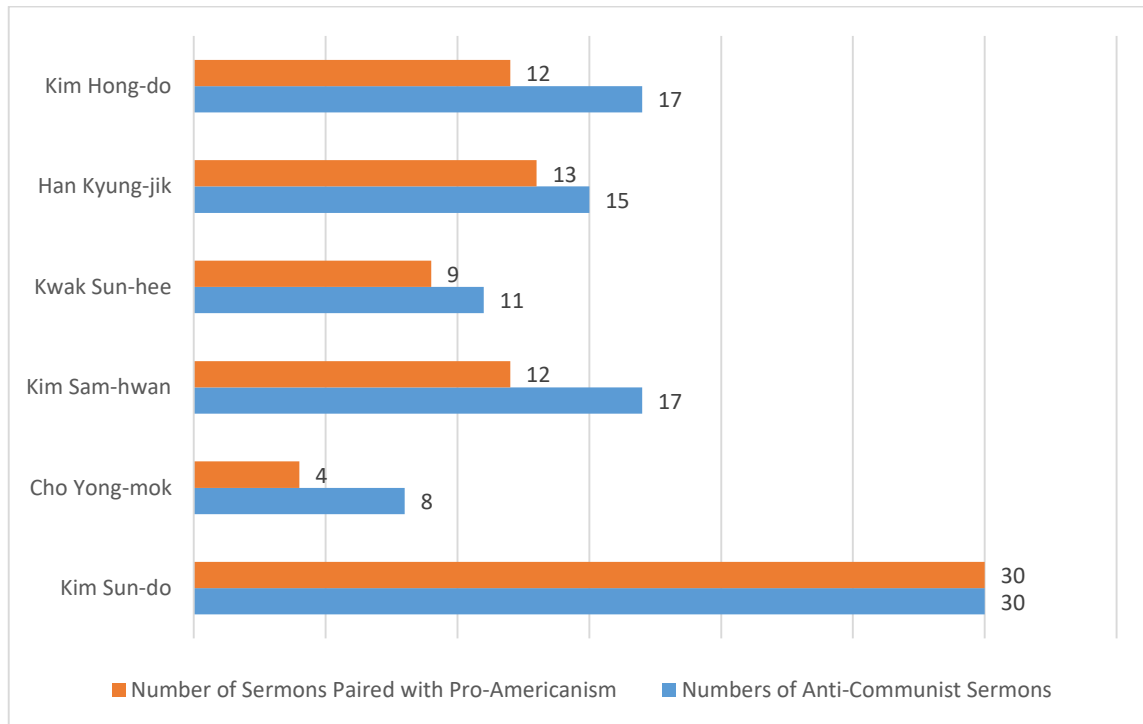
5.2.2 Recalling Memories and Inciting Conflict

Human conflicts are not only fuelled by memories but also always involve memory. As Douglas John Hall points out, Americans remember that their entry into two wars was tipped the balance against victory for German and Japanese imperialism. Few however seem to recall that other kinds of US involvement have constituted and continue to create for many nations and peoples an imperialism far subtler. The majority of Americans saw the war on Iraq through the rationale of the Bush administration, and regarded reconciliation with Iraq in an atmosphere of cautiousness and fear, created by the events

of September 11th, 2001, as ridiculous or being "un-American."[681] Likewise, memories recalled by Korean preachers in their sermons are random, romanticised, or self-absorbed, isolated from any broad awareness of context and being devoid of critical consciousness. A similar propensity to pay attention to lopsided stories is demonstrated by preachers of Korean megachurches. Although, preaching should be critically self-reflective rather than idolatrous and pretentious, the sermons are characterised as stories, ideologies, and simplistic worldviews, moulded by traumatic experiences, institutional interests, and national ideology.

A remarkable feature of the sermons analysed is to recollect traumatic memories to present punitive justice, rather than reconciliation and restoration. All preachers examined in this study cast back to the Korean War or violence committed by communists. The way of representing memories is not a rhetoric using "though", "but" or "nevertheless", but "due to", "for" or "the more so because." According to these sermons, the communists are like devils due to the pain we suffered. They must be punished for their wrongdoing. All the more so because they do not repent. The general nature of the war in which both sides are forced to do evil is neglected by separating an allied army, which was unconditionally good as opposed to the enemy forces which were unconditionally evil.[682] This logic is no different from political propaganda or malicious criticism, considering the dispersed families and massacres committed by the US and South Korean armies. In the Korean traumatic experience, it is impossible to accurately separate the perpetrator and the victim. They were members of the same family, but millions were divided into South and North Koreans. The perpetrators of the victimisation by division, war, and dictatorships were largely South Koreans.

Another feature is a distorted memory or to intentionally distort memory. As a tool of anticommunism, preachers of megachurch often recall historical events. Several preachers give the example of the Pueblo Incident in 1968, and the media reports.[683] The Pueblo Incident was that the USS Pueblo, an environmental research ship, attached to Navy intelligence as a spy ship, was attacked and captured by North Korean forces. According to *Time Magazine*, this incident showed that "the strong endure", alluding to the US which did not retaliate against North Korea.[684] While the US stated that the ship

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[681] Douglas John Hall, "Preaching reconciliation in the world of long memories", *Journal for Preachers* 26, no. 2 (2003), 10-11.

[682] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3], 99; Kwak Sun-hee, *chagi kyŏltanŭi hŏshil kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 29*, 293.

[683] Lee Young-heon, *han'gyŏngjik yehwa* [Han Kyung-jik's Illustrations] (Seoul: Gyujanmunhwasa, 1993); Kwak Sun-hee, "kakkai hayŏ tŭnnŭn saram" [A Closer Listener], *chagi kyŏltanŭi hŏshil kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 29*, 184; Kim Sun-do, "Hananimŭi Sŏnt'aek."

[684] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3], 17-18.

was in international waters at the time of the incident, North Korea maintained that the vessel had deliberately entered their territorial waters and that the logbook showed several intrusions over time.[685] Later investigation showed that the ship had deliberately entered North Korean territorial waters. The South Korean and US governments took the position that the ship was not a deliberate seizure of North Korea, but rather a simple mistake. A declassified US document states that an order was issued to reach as closely as possible to the North Korean territory to learn their response.[686] As Hayes discloses, the initial response of American decision makers was to drop a nuclear bomb on North Korea, rather than the "endurance of the strong." All the strategic bombers "held on constant alert on Korean airfield", were loaded with only nuclear bombs.[687]

The slaughter of the innocent people during the American military regime and Korean War is also used selectively by Cho Yong-gi, in order to magnify the brutalities of communism.[688] His sermons are based on manipulating history for political interest. The historical incidents which killed civilians were committed by not only communists, but also by South Korean and US troops, whether civilians were mistakenly identified as communist collaborators, or intentionally killed due to a political cause. In Korean society, the victims and perpetrators, and their families and descendants with traumatic experiences are entangled, so clarification of the truth often leads to political and social turmoil. For example, in the case of a massacre, the Northwest Youth Corps, who belonged to the church where Han Kyung-jik was pastor, killed many civilians. Many historical facts had been concealed by authoritarian regimes, and these traumatic memories have been manipulated by political power. The recall of the memories used in the preaching can be characterised as ideological adoption or rejection. This is exactly why Kim Jang-hwan praises the Northwest Youth Group, because they were Christians, despite the massacres of civilians that they committed.[689]

Historical events related in sermons involving Korean dictators, American politicians and entrepreneurs, also tend to be devoid of critical consciousness, falling into the trap of pandering to a prejudice that is unable to distinguish rumour, hearsay, and biased generalisations from fact. Cho Yong-mok and Kim Sam-hwan uses a rumour that he prayed in war and was able to win the battle to make Lee Syngman a hero, despite the

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[685] Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 458, 460, 468-469.
[686] Han Yoon-jeong, "*Pueblo* p'airŭi chinshil" [The Truth of Pueblo File], *The Kyunghyang Shinmun*, September 28, 2001.
[687] Peter Hayes, *Pacific Powderkeg: American Nuclear Dilemmas in Korea* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1991), 47-48.
[688] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 2* [The Complete Series of Sermons 2], 109.
[689] Song Yong-pil, Paik Ee-sun and Hwang Jin-su et al., *Kim Jang-hwan's Selected Sermons*, 46.

blood purges and mass killings he committed.[690] Their sermons occasionally find a role model of patience, virtue and bravery from infamous dictators or American leaders who violate human rights.[691] No person can, of course, be perfect in every way. However, the indiscriminate acceptance and admiration of those who are known for violence, exploitation and oppression, raises questions about the social responsibility of Christians, including preachers.

5.2.3 Religious Connotations Created by Metaphors

5.2.3.1 The Devil, Satan, and Evil

Prominent among these sermons is the use of biblical images to portray anticommunism. In an ideologically divided society, certain ideologies are imprinted by specific metaphors, because most people do not fully understand the theories of communism, socialism, and Marxism. Rather than applying a theoretical approach to ideology, metaphors related to communism, such as red goblins, pigs and evil, had been produced and indoctrinated by anti-communist education and propaganda for decades. Even in the churches, these images were further implanted by religious symbols created primarily in sermons, where preachers use images and metaphors to function as powerful tools of expression to support national ideology.

The most stereotypical image is the Devil, Satan, or Demon, which has been used for anticommunism since the 1940s. The use of these images reflects on the theological perspective of preachers, based on dualism, emphasising human sinful nature, repentance, personal ethics, and salvation after death. Jung Yong-seop points out that the frequent comments of the Satan evoke a sense of guilt for yielding to political and religious authority, and theological discourses of sin in the sermons of Korean preachers are marked by making sin an abstract which is predestined, an influence of American missionaries.[692] Ha Yong-jo does not hesitate to ascribe human sin to the Devil, saying that "it is the Devil who presides over sin."

The preachers examined in this study have a similar feature that they frequently use these images in their sermons. Cho Yong-mok and Kim Hong-do mention Satan or Devil respectively in 21 of 78 sermons, and 22 of 100 sermons. For Kim Hong-do, the Devil is

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[690] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3], 111.
[691] Kim Sam-hwan, *sŏlgyojip 3*, 233.
[692] Jung Yong-seop, "kŭnbonjuŭijŏk kanghaesŏlgyoŭi chogŭpchŭng" [An Impatience of Fundamentalist Expository Preaching], Yoo Kyung-jae et al. (ed.), *han'gukkyohoe 16inŭi sŏlgyorŭl marhanda* [The Sermons of 16 Preachers]. 196-197

the one who tests, destroys, and temps us from what is holy, and living an ethical life.[693] Kim Sam-hwan places importance on the Satan, serialising it in his sermon book, while he does not systematically deal with the Trinity, which is the core teaching of the Christian faith. The Satan is portrayed as the objective reality behind suffering, destruction, and death of all mankind.[694] Because all problems are from the Satan, there is no responsibility for humanity itself. When someone commits a crime, it is that the Satan caused that person to perpetrate the crime, so we must hate Satan, not the human. Jesus did not come to earth to fight evil, but to eliminate it. The ways to defeat Satan are through the filling of Holy Spirit, reading the Bible, church-centred life, and prayer.[695]

By this theological positioning, communism, which is connected to Satan, becomes an object of judgment, destruction and abhorrence. Communism is depicted as the Satan or Devil that we have to resist and fight.[696] Kim Sam-hwa warns that communist and socialist ideas are prevalent in Korean society, repeatedly saying that "The devil does not say that he is the devil."[697] The words of Satan or Devil are mentioned in 27 out of 43 sermons in *Kimsamhwan Sŏlgyojip 3 Chunimŭi Otcharak Chapko* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3], and most of these mentions is liked to communism.[698] Kim Sun-do, quoting a parable of the Return of an Evil Spirit in Luke 11:23-28, elucidates the "seven evil spirits" worse than other evil as communists.[699]

5.2.3.2 The Bible as the Foundation for a Specific Ideology

Anita Shapira recounts how the Bible, which is a bridge between past and present, has functioned to set the cornerstone of new Hebrew Identity. With the emergence of modern Zionism, Aliyah *immigrants*, particularly the second wave, 1904-1918, identified sites, plants, and animals on the basis of biblical descriptions, which created a sense of

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[693] Cho Yong-mok, *choyonggi moksa sŏlgyojip 4 ne midŭmdaero toelchiŏda* [Pastor Cho Yong-mok's Selected Sermons 4] (Seoul: Yein, 1988); Kim Hong-do, Kim, Hong-do, *Kimhongdo Moksa Sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip 1, 2, 3, 4* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons]. Seoul: pulgidungsa, 1985, 1991.
[694] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 chunimŭi otcharak chapko* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3], 269-272, 211-213.
[695] Sim Kwang-seop, "kŭrisŭdoinŭi salmŭl wihan sŏlgyowa shinhak" [Preaching and Theology for Christian Life], Yoo Kyung-jae et al. (ed.), *han'gukkyohoe 16inŭi sŏlgyorŭl marhanda* [The Sermons of 16 Preachers]. 196-197; Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 10 chunimŭi otcharak chapko* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 10] (Seoul: Siloam, 2003), 181-199, 201-219, 221-244.
[696] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 chunimŭi otcharak chapko* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3], 31-33, 349.
[697] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 chunimŭi otcharak chapko* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3], 403.
[698] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 chunimŭi otcharak chapko* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3], 31, 60, 211-213, 233, 238, 269, 272, 304, 316, 332, 349, 403, 448, 470.
[699] Kim Sun-do, "I Konghŏhan Maŭmŭl Ottŏk'e."

continuity between their biblical ancestors and present-day descendants.[700] The Bible continuously endows specific ideology with mythological-theological-historical foundations to strengthen its distinctiveness, as the Hebrew covenantal structure has lasted from the early Israel community in the 13th century BCE to the present as shown in the Introduction and Chapter 1.[701] In particular, the suffering and emancipation experienced during slavery in Egypt, the Exodus, and settlement in Canaan became an essential factor in forming the faith, ideology, and social system of biblical Israel. In history, there have been the myriad cases of mobilising biblical images, metaphors, and narratives as the foundation for political ideologies and practices, as shown in the cases of South Africa, Northern Ireland, and the US in Introduction.[702] The early Korean churches had followed it to fortify themselves in the colonial and imperialistic whirl of confusion, but now preachers mobilise biblical resources on the side of imperialists, in order to conceal their superiority complex and to flaunt their superiority, which had been subordinated by the former master, between the free world and communist bloc.

Many images of the North Koreans or communists are as an antagonist of God or Jesus. They are like the teachers of the Law of Moses who did not believe in a Jesus who could forgive sin (Mk. 2:1-12).[703] South Koreans are chosen by covenant of Abraham (Gen. 12:1-19), while North Koreans are Atheists, pagans, barbarians and the abandoned.[704] The threat of communism is considered to be similar to the persecution by the Roman Empire.[705] These images give legitimacy to the concept that North Korea as an unregenerate sinner should be burned, destroyed and expelled, through images of Sodom, Gomorrah, Nineveh, and Canaanites.

In addition, preachers apply the geographic environment of the Bible to the Korean Peninsula. They regard North and South Korea, or communists and Christians, as Sodom and Gomorrah, Egypt or Nineveh and Israel or Jerusalem respectively.[706] These biblical applications have facilitated Korean Protestants equating themselves with "new Israelites", whilst attempting to link the enemies of the Israelites with North Koreans.

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[700] Anita Shapira, *Israel a History*, translated from the Hebrew by Anthony Berrs (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2012), 31-32, 51; "The Bible and Israeli Identity," 17.

[701] Lim Youngseop, "Counter-imperialistic Features in Biblical Israel" in *Resistance to Empire and Militarization: Reclaiming the Sacred*, ed. Jude Lal Fernando (Sheffield: Equinox, 2020), 234.

[702] D. H. Akenson, *God's Peoples*, 356-357; G. Dorrien, "Consolidating the Empire," 37; E. Runions, "Desiring War," 112-128; R. A. Horsley, "The Bible and Empire," 1-7.

[703] Kwak Sun-hee, *chagi kyŏltanŭi hŏshil kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 29*, 270.

[704] Kwak Sun-hee, *chagi kyŏltanŭi hŏshil kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 29*, 131-142, 184; Kim sun-do, "Mijiŭi Segyerŭl Kanŭn Poktoen Paeksŏng."

[705] Song Yong-pil, Paik Ee-sun and Hwang Jin-su et al., *Kim Jang-hwan's Selected Sermons*, 169.

[706] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3], 38-50; Cho Yong-mok, *choyonggi moksa sŏlgyojip 4 ne midŭmdaero toelchiŏda* [Pastor Cho Yong-mok's Selected Sermons 4], 100; Kim Sun-do, "Chigŭm Urinŭn Muŏsŭl Shimgoinnŭn'ga."

These ideologically processed imaginations challenge the peaceful co-existence and reunification of the two Koreas. From Cho Yong-mok, "If we think of reunification of two Koreas, North Koreas should be expelled from the Korean Peninsula."[707] Even though they are the same Koreans, there is no imagination in sermons that Koreans can become one. In this regard, for Koreans living in communist countries, Kim Jang-hwan depicts South Korea as the place that can only be reached after death.[708]

In another typical example, Cho Yong-gi uses biblical symbols to criticise communism, quoting Luke 10:19, "See, I have given you authority to tread on snakes and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing will hurt you." Cho Yong-gi says following this quotation that "if communists invade Israel, they will be wiped out. According to the Bible, the communists will come to the Middle East and be destroyed, taking only seven months to remove the bodies. After that ten European countries and Israel will sign a seven-year treaty, which is the beginning of the tribulation, ruling the world for seven years, as the Bible tells of the Antichrist."[709] He continues to speak while applying this interpretation to the Korean reality.

> "Even if there is war against North Korea, we can defeat the communist forces, because we have a mighty army of 600,000, 2 million reserves, and very strong anticommunism… We can be optimistic theologically, because there are many people who believe in Jesus. If Christians look to the cross and draw a picture of victory through Christ, the victory is ours. The reason we were defeated in the Vietnam War is due to the lack of mentality to fight and win."[710]

Preachers induce congregations to connect between biblical images and armed confrontation on the Korean Peninsula and in Palestine. That the images in this sermon are intricately connected with the realities of the South Korean society evokes complicated feelings of militancy, hostility, relief, fear, and solidarity. The Antichrist, snakes and scorpions, which are belligerent, lethal, and cunning, remind congregations of North Korea, communists, and enemies of the current Israel, whereas South Korea, the Christian countries, current Israel, and churches are vested with overall authority to destroy their enemies through God. Anticommunist consciousness and the use of armed forces are also justified by metaphors of Jesus, cross, and victory of Christ. Cho mentions American illustrations and Israeli military technology, making "jet planes",

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[707] Cho Yong-mok, *Ne Midŭmdaero Toelchiŏda*, 100.
[708] Song Yong-pil, Paik Ee-sun and Hwang Jin-su et al., *Kim Jang-hwan's Selected Sermons*, 124-125.
[709] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 376.
[710] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 304-305.

"atom bombs" and "hydrogen bombs", resulting in feelings of solidarity with the US and current Israel, and superiority to communist forces. Finally, he concludes the sermon by describing communism as "one of corruption, such as Sodom, Gomorrah, and Noah's flood."[711]

As Cho Yong-gi mobilised God and the Holy Spirit to assure prosperity in the sermons analysed earlier, Jesus is likewise conscripted into ideological conflict, regarding *Immanuel* for reconciliation and peace as ideological side taking.[712] Imperialist preachers in the UK and US quoted the Great Commission in Mt. 28:18-20, which played an essential role in recalling the significance of evangelism, to legitimate colonial missions.[713] The Great Commission is redirected by Cho, stating that although North Korea tries to destroy South Korea, Jesus, who has been given all authority in heaven and earth, does not abandon South Koreans, even until the end of the world. Christians are obligated to teach people to do everything Jesus has told, which indicates a world and knowledge unknown to materialism. Interpreting "until the end of the world" eschatologically, he places North Korea in the position of the Devil which "will be forgotten as the past" to be judged at the end, while South Korea is placed as the chosen people and disciples, using the images of a "new person" (2 Cor. 5:17).[714]

Especially, Kim Hong-do regards Cambodia and Vietnam, which was communised, as a ransom for South Korea, applying biblical Israel as a liberal democratic state, and Egypt, Ethiopia and Seba as communist states, quoting Isaiah 43:3 "I give Egypt as your ransom, Ethiopia and Seba in exchange for you."[715] However, as discussed in Chapter 1, a biblical standard to distinguish between right and wrong is not based on ideology, ethnicity, nationality, or religion. Seeing essential features of early Israelites, prophetic condemnation, and historical reflection in a national crisis, the biblical judgment focuses only on whether it is emancipatory or oppressive. According to A. Pieris, all religions and ideologies are ambivalent due to the risk of becoming the opposite of truth. Because both religions and ideologies can be liberated or suppressive, they are not antithetic but complementary and value neutral.[716] In all countries, ideologies, or religions, we can find both emancipatory and oppressive factors. The reason the Bible particularly criticises imperialistic order is that justice is more denied, discrimination is more enforced, and the

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[711] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 376-378.
[712] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 170, 218-219.
[713] Chung Yonghan, "A Postcolonial Reading of the Great Commission (Matt 28:16-20) with a Korean Myth," *Theology Today* Vol. 72 (3), 2015, 276-288.
[714] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 8* [The Complete Series of Sermons 8], 395; *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 218-219, 230.
[715] Kim Hong-do, "yŏndan'gwa samyŏng" [Trials and Mission], *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons], 373.
[716] A. Pieris, "Ideology and Religion," 325-349.

society is more in an organised conspiracy to oppress, exploit, and degrade, than other societies. Thus, the sermons of megachurches, characterised by otherisation, polarisation, and stigmatisation, are closer to imperialistic values than to biblical values.

5.2.3.3 Stereotypical Images Used in the Ideological State Apparatus

During the authoritarian regimes, cultural policy, which was a part of ideological policy, affected prominent alterations in schools, broadcasting, cinema, and art circles. For example, animation films focused on anticommunism ideology, since the movie-related laws and regulations were enacted in the 1960s. The expressive characteristics, created by pressure or intervention of the regulator or the regime, had a massive influence on society as a whole, and even on churches.[717] In the process of mobilising cultural devices and ethical education for the manifestation of hostility, churches also served to stamp these images in congregations with religious connotations, rather than creating alternative discourses. Expressions and biblical passages used in sermons by Cho Yong-gi and Kim Sun-do analysed in this study have a similar feature with South Korean media, which has played an essential role in the formation of North Korean images.[718]

Table 8 Expressions Used for Anticommunism in the Sermons of Cho Yong-gi

Biblical Images	Expressions
A sinking ship (Jon 1:4)[719]	Heinous,[725] Rebellious, Atheistic[726]
Destroyed tents (2 Cor 5:1)[720]	Bashing,[727] Rotten[728]
Evil, Ghost (Rev, Gospels)[721]	Tragic, Riot, Confusion, Wound, Murder[729]
Enemies of shepherd (2 Chr 20:17)[722]	

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[717] Kim Wang-bae, "The Memories of the Korean War and the Fixation of Anti-communist Consciousness: An Oral Life History of an Elderly Couple at 'Namjeong-Li' Village," *Korean Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 42 (2009), 39-79; Jang Yeon-yi, "A Study for Expressing the Image of Anticommunistic Ideology Reflected in <Ttori Jangun>," *Catoon and Animation Studies*, No. 15 (2009), 109-122.
[718] Jeon Young-sun, "A Study on North Korea Based on Images and Memories of the Enemy," *Culture and Politics*, Vol. 5 (2018), 77-105.
[719] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 19.
[720] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 377.
[721] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 8*, 395.
[722] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 211.
[725] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 19.
[726] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 304-305.
[727] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 376.
[728] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 378.
[729] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 18*, 107-115.

| Egyptian army, drowned in the sea (Ex 14:28), Canaanites (Josh)[723] | The Scud missile[730] |
| The devil, who had power over death (Heb 2:14)[724] | Overflowing with idolatry, Oppression[731] Enslavement,[732] Disunion, Enmity[733] Demagogy, Demolition, Mutiny[734] Minus[735] |

Table 9 Expressions Used for Anticommunism in the Sermons of Kim Sun-do

Biblical Images	Expressions
Lot's wife, who looked back and was turned into a block of salt (Gen 19:26)[736]	Negative, Backward, Faithless[743]
The storm at sea (Act 27:9-26)[737]	Persecution, Atheist, Disuse[744]
Sodom, Gomorrah, and Nineveh[738]	Economic difficulties, A shortage of food,
Wicked Satan[739]	Uncreative, Unpraised,[745] Falsehood,[746]
God's judgment[740]	Censorship, Queue-jumping, Black hat,[747]
A blind man (Mk 8:22-26)[741]	Lie, Idolisation,[748] Explosion,[749]
A demon, who could not talk,	Useless, Damage, Shaking, Corruption,[750]
Seven other evil spirits (Lk 11:14-32)[742]	Family breakdown,[751] Contradiction, Hollow, Mutinous, Trashy, Immorality, Anachronistic, Violent, Disturbance,

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[723] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 212.
[724] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 219.
[730] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 16*, 365.
[731] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 16*, 367.
[732] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 8*, 395.
[733] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 14*, 315.
[734] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 74.
[735] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 230.
[736] Kim Sun-do, "Mijiŭi Segyerŭl Kanŭn Poktoen Paeksŏng."
[737] Kim Sun-do, "Kwangp'ung Chungedo Anshimhara."
[738] Kim Sun-do, "Chigŭm Urinŭn Muŏsŭl Shimgoinnŭn'ga."
[739] Kim Sun-do, "Pigŭkŭn Yŏngwŏnhaji Ant'a."
[740] Kim Sun-do, "Pigŭkŭn Yŏngwŏnhaji Ant'a."
[741] Kim Sun-do, "Chinŭn Kŏt Kat'ŭna Iginŭn Cha."
[742] Kim Sun-do, "I Konghŏhan Maŭmŭl Ottŏk'e."
[743] Kim Sun-do, "Kŭraedo Ch'ongmyŏnghan Saengmyŏngŭi Enŏji."
[744] Kim Sun-do, "Yŏndandoen Midŭmŭro Shihŏmŭl Igirira."
[745] Kim Sun-do, "Kippŭn Sŏngt'anŭi Onŏ."
[746] Kim Sun-do, "Mijiŭi Segyerŭl Kanŭn Poktoen Paeksŏng."
[747] Kim Sun-do, "Umch'imhan Koltchagirŭl Kalchirado."
[748] Kim Sun-do, "Chinshimŭl Chik'yŏra."
[749] Kim Sun-do, "Toltŭri Sori Chirŭgi Chŏne."
[750] Kim Sun-do, "Yodongch'i Annŭn Tosŏnge Kŏhara."
[751] Kim Sun-do, "Nae Chibŭro Toraora."

	Purge, Destroying Culture, Tombstone, Suicide, Rotten,[752] Profanity, Disgrace, Bundle of straw, Denial,[753] End, Mammon, Vodka, Alcoholism, Trick, Hostility, Mammonism, Moral gangrene,[754] Brainwashing,[755] Backwater, Closed, Restricted, Ignorant, Despise, Disdain, making light of human dignity, Beg,[756] Wasteland, Fat-brained, Nonsense,[757] Red flag, Red song, Poor,[758] Black bread, Old apartment, Sere food, Detainment,[759] Red star, Deceptive star, Ideological star[760]

In social constructions of reality, North Korea has been depicted through belligerent, hostile, and inhuman images. During the Lee Syngman regime and military dictatorships, the media functioned as an ideological state apparatus to socially mobilise anticommunism.[761] As shown in the table above, churches have never been different from the ideological apparatus in terms of creating anti-communist images. Rather, preaching has served the state with richer and more creative hostile images towards North Korea. In the case of Kim Sun-do, there are 30 anti-communist sermons, out of 47 sermons, in less than a year. It can be imagined how the view of congregations would be fixed through these images. Above all, serving as an ideological state apparatus to conform the common interests of the regime and church.

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[752] Kim Sun-do, "Chigŭm Urinŭn Muŏsŭl Shimgoinnŭn'ga."
[753] Kim Sun-do, "Chinŭn Kŏt Kat'ŭna Iginŭn Cha."
[754] Kim Sun-do, "Kŭrŏmŭro Ijenŭn."
[755] Kim Sun-do, "Ne Shingmurŭl Mul Wie Tŏnjyŏra."
[756] Kim Sun-do, "Chonjunghi Yŏgimŭl Pannŭn Chaa."
[757] Kim Sun-do, "I Konghŏhan Maŭmŭl Ottŏk'e."
[758] Kim Sun-do, "Shinsajŏgin Kŭrisŭdoin."
[759] Kim Sun-do, "K'ŭrisŭmasŭwa Sae Kajŏng."
[760] Kim Sun-do, "K'ŭrisŭmasŭŭi Pyŏl."
[761] Lee Chang-hyun, "" [The Inter-Korean Conflict and Anti-communist Ideology Reproduced by Korean Broadcasting], in a collection of essays 'Post-Cold War and Korean Democracy', the academic convention for the 20th anniversary of June Democratization Struggle hosted by Korea Democracy Foundation, The 23rd June 11th, 2010, 58-69.

5.2.4 Warlike Illustrations Justifying Violence and Murder

5.2.4.1 A War Too Lightly Mentioned

In situations of conflict, such as the Korean Peninsula, Christian faith emerges with different faces. The pulpit is simultaneously dedicated to building peace and testifying to the inclination for violence. Religiously motivated violence, in the name of justice, is contrasted by accelerating peacebuilding efforts, based on absolute forgiveness and reconciliation.[762] Michael Boxter says that peace is gift from God, given by Jesus to the apostles with the greeting, "peace be with you." This gift of peace is intrinsic to the mission of church. Although Jesus did not say that the blessed are not peace lovers but peacemakers, Korean preachers hardly mention peace, let alone to make or love peace.[763] Speaking lightly of war is one of the characteristics of the sermons examined in this study, which, despite their capacity for serving peacebuilding, tend to nurture the inclination to violence. With regard to war, preachers speak outright on the side of liberal democracy or allied forces, rather than criticise war. They recount horrible scenes and endorse wars which left a great number of casualties without compunction. Biblically promoted ideological bias, such as anticommunism and Pro-Americanism supported by biblical images, gives congregations an excuse for violence in the name of national security and protection of faith.

In an illustration of World War II, for example, Winston Churchill is highly praised for his ability to defeat German troops. In the case of the Falklands War, Margaret Thatcher is highly valued in waging and winning war, in spite of the opposition of her cabinet. The logic that the allies are always right, while the opponents are always wrong, tends to be applied to perspectives on war and peace.[764] In the sermon *Language of Merry Christmas*, by Kim Sun-do, the reason Jehoshaphat's kingdom was at peace is that the people of Judah had fasted and God had defeated Judah's enemies. The Ammonite and Moabite troops attacked and destroyed people from Edom, and every soldier in the enemy's army was lying dead on the ground, in the biblical narrative in 2 Chronicles 20. The preacher however emphasises peace to justify killing 145,000 and winning military victories in war, even in his Christmas sermon, talking about the arrival of the king of peace.[765]

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[762] Marc Goblin, *Between Eden and Armageddon*, 13.
[763] John Kleiderer, Paul Minaert, and Mark Mossa, Just War, Lasting Peace: What Christian Traditions Can Teach US (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Book, 2006), 32-33.
[764] Kim Sun-do, "Hananimŭi Sŏnt'aek"; *Idem.,* "Kamsahanŭn Chŏkkŭkchŏk Shinang."
[765] Kim Sun-do, "Kippŭn Sŏngt'anŭi Onŏ."

Kim Sam-hwan, credits J. F. Kennedy with not hesitating to wage war in order to deter the Soviet Union from building a nuclear station in Cuba. Although he often criticises the US, the criticism is not about politics, economy or military, but is limited to shrinking church growth.[766] Preachers often use warlike images of Western war heroes, praising them for their faith and courage, no matter how many people they killed.[767]

5.2.4.2 Communists Deserve to Die

A sermon, delivered by a famous television preacher and pastor of a megachurch, aroused public criticism in 2019. Jang Kyung-dong provoked controversy by saying North Koreans should be slaughtered at all costs.

> "If North Korea attacks South Korea, they are not a patch on us, because North Korea has a population of 20 million, while South Korea has 50 million. If we kill North Koreans and die together, 30 million South Koreans remain. The babies can be born again soon. Members of my church and I agreed to do so."[768]

Jang Kyung-dong has gained massive in popularity through the public appearances and revival, and his sermons have drawn national coverage by the media. After this sermon caused heated controversy, Jang explained that he meant to highlight national security. This dispute demonstrates how Korean preachers create violent and hateful images in their sermons. The cheapening of human life can be said to be a widespread feature.

Kim Hong-do and his sermons are also known for a stauncher anti-communist propensity than anyone else. In his sermons, violence and murder are made acceptable by dehumanising communists, and he speaks lightly of very violent illustrations. Theological core discourses, such as wisdom, benedictions, grace, belief, and even Jesus, are used as a tool for killing communists.

> "Once I had caught a lot of 'red' suspects, and I was ordered to shoot them all. Because some of them were real 'reds' and some were not, I thought it was not fair if I kill them all. God gave me wisdom while I was giving the benediction before

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[766] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 28-29, 73.

[767] Song Yong-pil, Paik Ee-sun and Hwang Jin-su et al., "John the Baptist", Kim Jang-hwan's Selected Sermons, 109-112; Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 111.

[768] Park Min-woo, "sŏlgyo tojung mangmal nollan, changgyŏngdong moksa" [Rev. Jang Kyung-dong and Controversy in His Sermon], *Ilyosisa*, May 31st, 2019.
 http://www.ilyosisa.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=205983

they ate. I thought that if people say grace before eating they would not be reds because they believed in Jesus. There were about 100 people who prayed, and we killed everyone except those who prayed."[769]

Jean-Jacques Rousseau said that although the aim of war is to destroy the enemy, as soon as they lay down their arms and surrender they cease to be enemies and become simply men. For Rousseau, "war is not a relationship between one man and another, but a relationship between one state and another, in which individuals are enemies only by accident, not as men, nor even as citizens, but as soldiers; not as members of the fatherland, but as its defenders."[770] As the Geneva Conventions of 1949, limiting the barbarity of war has been considered to be the standard of international law for humanitarian treatment in war. Seeing the third Geneva Convention which applies to prisoners of war, "persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely without any adverse distinction."[771] Theological discourses on war, created by the pulpit mentioned in this study, are the opposite to these general suggestions of the international community which are founded on common good.

In the following quotation, God is described as a god who enjoys the slaughter of humans, and advocates the inhumanity of prison camps.

"There were many shooting accidents in the army, causing many casualties. The commander warned that someone would be executed if they created a shooting accident. But people died because of the accidents. Troubled by this issue, the commander killed a captive North Korean soldier instead of the young soldier who had caused an accident. The young soldier, who was watching this scene, shed tears of emotion and never created accidents again. Thus, we can listen to God's voice with wisdom and revelation."[772]

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[769] Kim Hong-do, "hananimŭi ŭmsŏngŭl tŭnnŭn pŏp" [How to Hear God's Voice], *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons], 683-684.

[770] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du Contrat Social, ou Principes du Droit Politique* (1762), paragraph I. iv, in Victor Gourevitch (ed. And trans.), *Rousseau: The Social Contract and other Later Political Writings* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 46-47; David Rodin and Henry Shue (eds.) *Just and Unjust Warriors: The Moral and Legal Status of Soldiers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 233.

[771] The Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 75 U.N.T.S. 135, entered into force Oct. 21. 1950; The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols, International Committee of the Red Cross, October 29, 2010. https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/war-and-law/treaties-customary-law/geneva-conventions/overview-geneva-conventions.htm

[772] Kim Hong-do, "hananimŭi ŭmsŏngŭl tŭnnŭn pŏp" [How to Hear God's Voice], *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons], 684.

As the illustrations disparaging the Orient are used to justify violence committed by the West, anti-communist preaching also supports the use of armed force to defeat communists. In descriptions of war, preachers have callous attitudes toward the suffering of others. Preachers do not have compassion for communist troops who were mercilessly slaughtered in the tragedy of the fratricidal war. The following episode is often spoken of by preachers, such as Kim Jang-hwan, Cho Yong-mok, Kim Sam-hwan, and Cho Yong-gi, for the purpose of highlighting the prayer and patriotism,

> "During the Korean War, one day when the weather improved, UN forces were able to carpet bomb the North Korean army, because the pastors, who had been evacuated, and fasted and prayed. As a result, the North Korean army retreated."[773]

5.2.4.3 The Use of Militant Images to Encourage Faith

Another characteristic of these preachers is that they often use images or metaphors related to war or violence. Preachers do not consider whether violent images would bring adverse effects. According to Barbara Brown Taylor, biblical texts containing divinely sanctioned violence are the most difficult texts in the Bible to preach. Preachers tend to avoid the Book of Joshua and Judges, and are seldom eager to proclaim Elijah's slaughter of the prophets of Baal as good news.[774] This means that preachers should take great care when adopting and interpreting biblical text related to violence. Military and militant culture have been prevalent in Korean society for decades through ideological education, compulsory military service and the media as an ideological apparatus.[775] These images that promote hostility have been used as a tool for criticising others, as well as North Korea, in various societal conflicts. The violent rhetoric adopted by preachers has produced inadvertent effects, but the cruel and violent content pervades their sermons.

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[773] Cho Yong-mok, *choyonggi moksa sŏlgyojip 4 ne midŭmdaero toelchiŏda* [Pastor Cho Yong-mok's Selected Sermons 4], 108; Kim Hong-do, "yŏndan'gwa samyŏng" [Trials and Mission], *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons], 373; Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 111; Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 2*, 113-114.

[774] Barbara Broi Taylor, "Hard Words," *ChrCent* 118.14 (2001): 24.

[775] Lee Tae-sook, "The Division Ideology and a School as a Space of Education: Focusing on the School Stories of Jeon Sang-guk", The Korean Language and Literature, Vol. 173 (2015), 249-280; Lee Chang-hyun, "" [The Inter-Korean Conflict and Anti-communist Ideology Reproduced by Korean Broadcasting], in a collection of essays 'Post-Cold War and Korean Democracy', the academic convention for the 20th anniversary of June Democratization Struggle hosted by Korea Democracy Foundation, The 23rd June 11th, 2010, 58-69.

A striking feature of the sermons analysed is that preachers do little to hide images of war. Korean preachers publicly express that their pastoral philosophy is to train members as strong warriors of God, and they use militant terms while encouraging congregations to have positive, active, and successful faith.[776] Kim Sam-hwan says that "The Bible calls us soldiers and recruits us as the military", and borrows military images in order to explain the power of the Gospel.[777] Cho Yong-mok connects victory to faith, rather than criticise a war which ruins people's lives and causes the loss of lives. In talking about the Civil War in the US, the World War II, and the Korean War, the cause of victory is placed in the prayers of the people and politicians, such as Lincoln, Churchill and Rhee Syngman.[778] Kim Dong-ho likens cultivating men of ability to capturing the enemy's hill.

> "To win conventional ground battles, we must capture the high ground. According to military experts, by capturing the highlands, they are strategically at least three to five times superior. Thus, all battles are centred on the highlands. The same is true of spiritual battles. To build the kingdom of God and plant the culture of Christ on the earth, people of God must occupy the highlands."[779]

This war image is linked to elitism and status-seeking, indicating that occupying the highlands is to occupy influential positions in society. Kim Dong-ho says that those armed with Christian faith can succeed.[780] There are several cases of biblical warriors and battles, such as Joshua, Gideon, and David, that he connects to American or British commanders to praise their faith, which brought victory.[781] The biblical images however are often applied differently from the common meaning. For instance, the cross, the image of absolute love, forgiveness and reconciliation, is misused as an example of the Crusade. Although, there is a metaphorical correlation between the cross and violence, it is not meant to attack others, but indicates that the violence against the vulnerable is committed by the powerful. However, Kim Sam-hwan says that "the cross of Christ fires a missile at us, destroying the Satan and the power of death in us."[782] In a sermon, *shipchagaŭi to* [The Way of the Cross], quoting 1 Cor. 1:17-18, he focuses on 'the power

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[776] Yoo Kyung-jae et al. *The Sermons of 16 Preachers*, 297-298.
[777] Kim Sam-hwan, "*shipchagaŭi to*" [The Way of the Cross", *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 13-26.
[778] Cho Yong-mok, "Naŭi Sarang Minjok Sarangŭi Kil," 106-109.
[779] Yoo Kyung-jae et al. *The Sermons of 16 Preachers*, 202-203.
[780] Yoo Kyung-jae et al. *The Sermons of 16 Preachers*, 204.
[781] Kim Sun-do, "Puhwarŭi Pibŏmhan Iirŭl Sŏngch'wihanŭn Saram."
[782] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 240.

of God', using war images. With regard to this biblical text, he delivers a violent scene that he experienced while in military service.

> "Christ sent Paul to proclaim the Gospel, and not with eloquent wisdom, so that the cross of Christ might not be emptied of its power. For the message about the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved, it is the power of God."

> "I served in the armoured troops. If you look at the bullets, from both cannons and guns are very small. But when the trigger is pulled, the gunpowder explodes, revealing tremendous power. The spot where a soldier who committed suicide was shot looks small, but there is a big hole in his back. Once you shoot a cannon, the sound rings around hillside and the ground shakes. The power of the Gospel is like dynamite. When the power of the Gospel falls [like a bomb], the nation and family shake."[783]

5.2.4.4 War as the Providence of God to Make a Better World

Among the preachers of Korean megachurches, the terrible devastation caused by war is often simplified to make a better world. Jeon Byung-wook, a pastor of megachurch who is well-known for youth-oriented ministry, describes World War I as the power of God over human history to judge the days of apostasy. Kim Hong-do justifies war, saying that "if there was not the bitter experience of Koreans, our country would become communist country. Disarrangement and hardship are beneficial in many ways and should be appreciated."[784] War is also interpreted as divine providence, so as to accomplish the mission through withstanding trials.

> "We had been invaded by surrounding countries, lost our country and experienced war. This is not a coincidence, but God trained our people to carry out our important mission in the last days."[785]

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[783] Kim Sam-hwan, "*shipchagaŭi to*" [The Way of the Cross", *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 13-26.
[784] Kim Hong-do, "hwannannare sŏngdoga ch'wihal chase" [The Attitude of the Believers on the Day of Hardship], *kimhongdo moksa sŏlgyo 100sŏnjip* [Pastor Kim Hong-do's Selected 100 Sermons], 137.
[785] Kim Hong-do, "Yŏndan'gwa Samyŏng," 371.

"We awoke from ignorance through the Japanese occupation and the Korean War. This tragedy was due to the fall of the sectarian struggle in politics and the religious power struggle of the churches. God woke us for repentance and turning away from unbelief by the whip of the Japanese and the communists."[786]

These sermons correspond to their theological tendencies, as influenced by the American missionaries. Since early on in Korean Protestantism, missionaries and Korean preachers tended to trans-historicise, personalise, and spiritualise historical, political and social issues. The Korean pulpit has facilitated Christians depoliticising themselves with "political distancing", looking away from structural violence. However, political distancing does not mean that they do not involve themselves in politics, but obey the state for their interests. Religious and national goals were interlocked with the US, American mission societies were financially supported by the US government. The distance between church and politics was determined by their stake.[787] As illustrated in Chapter 2, nineteenth century mission boards worked closely with the US government, and American churches often ignored the theoretical separation of church and state.[788] The American missionaries in Korea also identified their religious goals with national purposes, even though they emphasised depoliticisation of church. They believed that God worked through nations, as well as through individuals to accomplish His purpose.[789]

Likewise, the historical understanding of Korean preachers is that history does not work according to human will. Historical progress is determined by God, and all things happen for a reason.[790] Kwak Sun-hee puts forward his reason why millions died in the Korean War.

"Millions of casualties occurred and everything was destroyed, but today exists due to the destruction of the past. If there was no war, we would have been communists. The devastation has led us to build today and live in a free world. God destroys and rebuilds. He establishes His reign and righteousness. We must

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[786] Kim Hong-do, "Yŏndan'gwa Samyŏng," 372.
[787] Lionel Caplan, "Introduction" in *Studies in Religious Fundamentalism*, ed. L. Caplan (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987), 1-24.
[788] K. J. Clymer, "Religion and American Imperialism," 30.
[789] K. J. Clymer, "Religion and American Imperialism," 31.
[790] Kwak Sun-hee, "p'agoewa kŏnsŏrŭi ŭimi" [The Meaing of Destruction and Construction], *kunjung soge pŏryŏjin cha kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 39* [A Person Abandoned in the Crowd] (Seoul: Gyemongmunhwasa, 2004).

accept the sacred history, respond to the Word, and live by seeing the work of God destroying and constructing."[791]

In another sermon, Kwak puts the blame for historical and societal evil on the Devil and human destiny. Rather than the effort for social justice or peacebuilding, a shakeable personal belief is designated to overcome historical and social evil, because the Devil always makes humans evil. In his sermons to commemorate the March First Independent Movement, liberation from colonial rule, and the Korean War, there has been little direct mention of imperialism or structural violence. Instead, he attributes the historical tragedy to individual corruption or the province of God, arguing that "Angels directly glorify God, and Demons indirectly glorify God."[792]

  His sermons could prevent the vicious circle of violence through revenge, but on the contrary, they lack imagination to resist the existing structural oppression. He belittles political protest to gain freedom and emancipation, stating that "when we try to implement justice, we end up with more extreme evil."[793] A sermon he delivered on Liberation Sunday signifies colonialism, which is endemic in Korean society, but his postcolonial perspective is that the onus for colonial oppression rests with the moral corruption of Koreans. He states that the colonial legacies that we must eliminate are illegal behaviour and the drinking culture. It is suggested that a law-abiding spirit and crusade against alcohol are an urgent assignment to overcome colonialism.[794] Thus, his view of war, violence and political suppression, based on providence of God, seems to be naïve and simplistic, accepting war and violence as unavoidable elements of human life and the result of individual immorality.

5.2.4.5 Advocating Military Culture and War Experiences

In the formation of the modern South Korean military, the Koreans, who had served in the Japanese Army, played a crucial role due to the threat of communism, despite their

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[791] Kwak Sun-hee, "p'agoewa kŏnsŏrŭi ŭimi" [The Meaing of Destruction and Construction], *kunjung soge pŏryŏjin cha kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 39* [A Person Abandoned in the Crowd] (Seoul: Gyemongmunhwasa, 2004).

[792] Kwak Sun-hee, "sŏnŭro akŭl igira" [Beat Evil with Good], *tu yebaejaŭi kwanshim kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 15* [Two Worshipers' Attention] (Seoul: Joeun community, 2017), a Sunday sermon, delivered on June 15th, 1997.

[793] Kwak Sun-hee, "sŏnŭro akŭl igira" [Beat Evil with Good], *tu yebaejaŭi kwanshim kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 15* [Two Worshipers' Attention] (Seoul: Joeun community, 2017), a Sunday sermon, delivered on June 15th, 1997; "chongŭi mŏngerŭl meji malla" [Do Not Come under a Yoke of Slavery], August 9th, 1998.

[794] Kwak Sun-hee, "chongŭi mŏngerŭl meji malla" [Do Not Come under a Yoke of Slavery], August 9th, 1998.

collaboration with Japanese colonialists. The military confrontation of the two Koreas and military dictatorships have caused military culture to deeply root in society.[795] Although Korean military culture has been criticised as a remnant of Japanese colonialism and military dictatorship, preachers often value militant culture and their military experiences. The reason is that war or weapons themselves are not considered to be negative, but rather unavoidable or necessary. Cho Yong-gi often speaks of war from his own experience, but the horror of war is wrapped up with help, power, victory and judgment of God.[796] Rather than worrying about how to achieve peace in reality, his war experience is portrayed as a rite of passage to a new heaven and earth, so "war is nothing to be afraid of."[797] For this reason, the war stories, presented in 10 out of 13 of his sermons, primarily specify the cause of victory or defeat, rather than the cause or aftereffects of the war itself, as if preparing for the next war. Only 3 out of 13 sermons demonstrate the misery of war.[798]

Kim Sun-do expresses a positive position on Korean military culture, which is generally criticised in Korean society, saying that "military culture is positive, for young people are trained through suffering. My little son grew up through military service as he endured hardships."[799] Collin Powell, an American politician and retired four-star general, is used as an example that he, a native of the slums, was a great soldier who led the US to victory in the Gulf War.[800] He also links the march of Jesus on Palm Sunday, American victory in the Gulf War, and the American Independence Day parade. Describing the march of Jesus as victorious parade, he introduces his experience of inspecting an honour guard as an inspiring moment when he visited the US Naval Academy as a Korean chaplain. Moreover, he condemns demonstrations for democratisation in South Korea, that there is no such parade of triumph in South Korea only a negative demonstration.[801]

Several problems can be pointed out in this sermon. First, the march of Jesus on Palm Sunday, which could be interpreted as a critique of the triumphal march of the Roman Empire, was turned into a military image, advocating military conquest. Second, the link between biblical imagery and the Gulf War risks religious justification for wars conducted for the benefit of the US. Third, comparing Korean demonstrations with the US parades

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[795] Han Hong-ku, "ch'onggisagŏnŭl t'onghae pon han'gugŭi kundaewa sahoe" [South Korean Military and Society as Observed through Firearm Accident], *Hwanghae Review* 73 (2011), 222-236.

[796] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 304-305.

[797] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 426.

[798] Cho Yong-gi, *sŏlgyojŏnjip 1*, 55, 155-156, 304-305, 375, 425; *sŏlgyojŏnjip 2*, 113-114; *sŏlgyojŏnjip*, 207, 211-212, 396-397, 400; *sŏlgyojŏnjip 16*, 366; *sŏlgyojŏnjip 20*, 385-386.

[799] Kim Sun-do, "Sewŏllo Hearil Su ŏmnŭn Insaeng."

[800] Kim Sun-do, "Puhwarŭi Pibŏmhan Iirŭl Sŏngch'wihanŭn Saram."

[801] Kim Sun-do, "Toltŭri Sorijirŭgi Chŏne."

can give the impression that American politics, religion, culture and history are superior. Above all, repeated advocacy of military culture and experience contributes to building a consciousness justifying violence, and the misunderstanding of biblical meanings.

Kim Sam-hwan often shares his military experiences, and uses many military images as well. The overall mood of his sermons is militant, violent, and conflictual, 27 out of 43 sermons include war images, episodes, experiences, and anti-communist expressions, in the *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3]. The use of these images, however, is seldom associated with sermon subjects and biblical texts. The comparison of several sermons and expressions is as follows.

Table 10 Comparison of Sermon Titles, Biblical Verses, and Words

Topics and Biblical Passages	Words and Expressions
The Way of the Cross (1 Cor 1:17-18, Christ Is God's Power and Wisdom)	War, Hostage, Pueblo Incident, Iran hostage crisis, Power, Violence, Military service, Gun, Armoured Division, Bullet, Artillery, Trigger, Gunpowder, Suicide, Bullet wound, Dynamite
Bring in Everyone (Lk 14:15-24, The Great Banquet)	Arlington National Cemetery in Washington D.C., US army, Korean War, Troops, Nuclear station in Cuba, Brigade commander, Going to War
The Ruling of God, (Gen 41:37-43, Joseph Is Made Governor over Egypt)	Forward Unit, Division commander, Troops, Tunnel of Aggression, North Korea, Truce line
First and Second (Mt 22:34-40, The Most Important Commandment)	Friedrich the Great, Henry Kissinger, Napoleon, Admiral Horatio Lord Nelson, War, Subordinate
Let's Go Pray (Isa 38:1-8, Hezekiah Gets Sick and Almost Dies)	Korean War, Progress of battle, US Civil War, American Revolutionary War, World War II, Eisenhower, Admiral Horatio Lord Nelson
Cross of Power (1 Cor 2:1-5, Telling about Christ and the Cross)	Air force forces, Combat plane, Missile, Bomber, Target training, Destruction, Shooting down, Army, National Security Agency, Enemy plane
Old Patient (Jn 5:1-9, Jesus Heals a Sick Man)	Iraq, Kuwait, Invasion, Vietnam, Red China, US, Soviet Union, President Bush

5.2.4.6 War from the Point of View of State Interests

Another feature is that preachers view war in a dimension of national interest. Although national interest has been a representative state ideology to justify war and violence, preachers have not criticised this ideology from biblical standpoint. They often highlight self-defense and national interest to support war, and also apply this logic to wars in other countries as well. For example, their stance which advocates war in terms of anticommunism in the Cold War era, was easily altered to uphold national interest in the post-Cold War era. When the decision of government to send troops to Iraq was controversial, Gil Ja-yeon, a megachurch pastor and president of the Christian Coucil of Korea (CCK), asserted that "sending troopis is inevitable for national interest, so it is desirable to follow the US policy." Many pastors supported the dispatch of armed forces overseas, in the name of ROK-US alliance, the economic benefits of restoring Iraq, and the national interest of securing a stable supply of oil.[802]

Kim Jin-hong, an influential pastor who engages in public welfare service, including the relief of the poor, espoused the troops deployment to Iraq in his sermon, for reasons of strengthening the ROK-US alliance, securing national interests, and oil resources. Because he was a pastor who joined the democratisation movement, his preaching caused much controversy in society.[803] He later insisted on paying back US favour to prevent the communism, serving the national interest, such as exports, and opening the way for mission to the Muslim world.[804]

Kim Sun-do views the escalating war in the Middle East as an energy crisis that is to come, rather than wakening the horrors of war. Commenting on the war crisis in the Middle East, he highly praises speeches by Jimmy Carter in response to the energy crisis. Given that an acute situation in the Middle East is often related to intense American involvement, widening the rifts among the nations, his sermon, focusing on national interests and support for the US, leads congregations to a narrow-minded viewpoint of war.[805] Kim Sam-hwan cites the Iran Hostage Crisis as an example, and argues that no matter what happens, governments have to save the hostages regardless of the use of

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[802] Woo Hyung-geon, "irak'ŭ p'abyŏng ch'anbannollane puch'yŏ" [A Heated Debate over Korea's Troops Deployment to Iraq], *Christian Today*, October 15th, 2003.
[803] Kim Jin-hong, "Tamdaehara" [Be Bold], July 22nd, 2004 in served for troops deployment to Iraq.
[804] Yang Jung Ji-geon, "kimjinhong moksa irak'ŭ p'abyŏng 1sŏk4cho" [Pastor Kim Jin-hong, the Troops Deployment to Iraq as Killing Four Birds with One Stone], *Newsnjoy*, July 28th, 2004.
[805] Kim Sun-do, "Kŭraedo Ch'ongmyŏnghan Saengmyŏngŭi Enŏji."

force or violence, or going to war.[806] Using the war in Iraq, where many people died, Kim Sam-hwan also argues that it should be considered how this war benefits our country, rather than criticising the war itself.[807]

These attitudes of preachers can be found in other cases of war. The Falklands War, which was a war between Argentina and the UK in 1982, had nothing to do with South Korea, in terms of international relations. Even allowing that the UK was a steadfast ally of South Korea, it is unusual for preachers to make supportive comments for the UK or Margaret Thatcher. Kim Sun-do praises her determination for warfare, that despite the dissenting opinion of her cabinet, Thatcher decided to plunge into the Falkland War.[808] Comparing Thatcher with David in the Book of Samuel, Kim affirms that she delivered good leadership while in office, like David, in terms of saving the country from threatened ruin. He does not consider the people weighed down by the war, and historical background of the Falklands, which had undergone the occupation of British, Spanish and French imperialism.[809]

Consequently, this propensity of preachers shows that their main concern is not pondering on the theological legitimacy of war itself, but the benefit of suporting the national ideology. As mentioned earlier, instead of exploring whether war is just, in the light of biblical justice and peace, we can see preachers approaching the dominant ideolgies of pro-Americanism, anticommunism, economic development, and the institutional interests of churches.

5.3 New Phase of Ideological Dispute in the Post-Cold War Era

5.3.1 Democratisation of South Korea and a Break-down of Communism

As discussed in the preceding chapter, throughout authoritarian regimes since the Korean War, the anticommunism of the Korean church has been dominated by demonization of communist countries, including North Korea. Anticommunism in the twenty-first century may be considered anachronistic, but it is still one of the salient features found in Korean sermons. Anticommunism, however, was undergoing a major transformation following the fall of the Soviet Union. With the democratisation of

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[806] Kim Sam-hwan, "*shipchagaŭi to*" [The Way of the Cross", *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 17-18.
[807] Kim Sam-hwan, "*shipchagaŭi to*," 13-26.
[808] Kim Sun-do, "Hananimŭi Sŏnt'aek."
[809] Kim Sun-do, "Hananimŭi Sŏnt'aek."

communist countries where only North Korea remained as the object of anticommunism, anti-communist attitudes shifted somewhat from the general demonization of communist countries to hostility, derogation and objectification towards North Korea. As churches watched economic growth in South Korea, and as popular uprisings for democratic reforms resulted in the fall of communist governments, their feeling of disliking communists turned into their own sense of superiority to communism. In this regard, the images used in Orientalism were mobilised to describe the old communist bloc.

Another significant turning point was the democratisation of Korean society around the same time. The Korean mainstream churches, which had maintained a non-political tone throughout the authoritarian regimes, began to change their attitudes. Along with an anti-North Korean stance, they have been marked by a moderate conservatism, pro-Americanism, and pro-market capitalism. Notably, since the democratisation in the late 1980s, the sermons have been found to stigmatise the progressive and those who advocate reconciliation and reunification with North Korea as "*chongbukchwap'a*" [the pro-North Korean leftist]. That is why their stance to support the conservative right of political issues is prominent in the sermons examined in this study.[810]

A notable change in the early 1990s can be found in several sermons by Kim Sun-do. Maintaining his previous preaching style, he revealed a new perspective on the old communist countries. Even if a preacher avoids direct references, the development process of preaching alone can create specific meaning. Kim Sun-do uses a well-structured configuration of illustrations and biblical passages. In his sermon "yodongch'i annŭn tosŏnge kŏhara" [Dwell in a City That Does Not Shake], he organises the order of his sermon to highlight unshakable moral effort: 1. Quoting Psalm 46 that God is our mighty fortress, and in that city which will not be shaken. The Lord All-Powerful is with us. 2. The US army and President Bush, who talked about a war against moral corruption in a firm tone. 3. The church inviting communist people. 4. Church members to help communists. 5. The corruption of communist countries. [811]

In interpreting Psalm 46, Kim Sun-do connects "the city of God, which will not be shaken" to the morality of the American people. Kim Sun-do says that "when 'heroes' returned after the Gulf War, President Bush said that we had to restart a war against gangs, drugs, and violence." By listing passages from Psalms and illustrations of war, the US army and Bush alluded to those who are not shaken as dwellers in the city of God. In addition to listing American military heroes, Bush, and Psalm 47, he announces that the people of

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[810] Yang Kwon-seok, "posu kidokkyowa up'a chŏngch'iŭi kyŏrhap" [Conservative Christianity Combined with Right-Wing Politics], *The 3rd Era*, Vol. 119 (2017): 5-14.
[811] Kim Sun-do, "Yodongch'i Annŭn Tosŏnge Kŏhara."

communist countries visited their church and church members helped them. In succession, he mentions the corruption of communist countries, such as Russia.[812]

Consequently, this sermon connotes multiple meanings, due to biblical passages interwined with ideologically biased illustrations. First, Koreans and Americans who belong to the free world are dwellers of an unshakable fortress, protected by God. Second, they are morally superior. Third, by describing the US army as 'heroes' and commending speeches by Bush, the Gulf War for their interests can be justified by religious connotation. Third, comparing the moral corruption of communists with the moral superiority of the free world, Koreans and Americans are considered dwellers living in the city of God, while communists are outside the city. Fourth, although the preacher's intentions may not be known, pro-Americanism and anticommunism are subconsciously imprinted on congregations. Above all, the affronte images, cultivated by the Orientalist gaze, are fully used in exposing pro-Americanism, a sense of superiority, and a new phase of anticommunism according to the political change of the period.

5.3.2 New Anti-communist Images Imputed by the Orientalism

With the fall of the Communist bloc, most megachurch preachers believed that the battle over the superiority of ideology and political systems had ended with a decisive, one-sided victory by the free world. Admitting that most of the old communist was the Occident, it can be said that the preachers' gaze toward them was very similar to that of Orientalism. For example, the former Eastern bloc, including Russia, was regarded as politically confused, economically undeveloped, ethically corrupted, and in a religious vacuum. Korean preachers, who were looked as barbarians by the Western missionaries, Japanese imperialists and Americans, in turn looked down upon the former communist countries along the same lines. Preachers use certain images to disparage these countries and to reinforce their sense of superiority. As preachers viewed communism as an enemy of Christianity, emphasis is placed on the ideological, political, economic, and religious superiority of the free world, including South Korea.[813]

The stereotypical images of the old communist countries were unbelief, starvation, and backwardness. It was common that the underdeveloped East Germany was compared with developed West Germany, to highlight ideological superiority.[814] Kim Sam-hwan said that the Eastern bloc was an orphan seized with fear because they had left father

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[812] Kim Sun-do, "Yodongch'i Annŭn Tosŏnge Kŏhara."

[813] Song Yong-pil, Paik Ee-sun and Hwang Jin-su et al., "Korean Christianity Being in Second Century", Kim Jang-hwan's Selected Sermons, 141-142.

[814] Lee Young-heon, *han'gyŏngjik yehwa*, 270-271; Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3*,141

God, so it would be difficult to accept the Gospel.[815] He emphasised that while Christian countries were rich and powerful, the old communist bloc was poor.[816] According to Kim Sam-hwan, although religion was deemed as the opium of the masses by Karl Marx, it was communism that was the opium of masses.[817] For Kim Sun-do, biblical justice is connected with the supremacy of the political system. The collapse of the Soviet Union and other communist states is presented as the most tangible evidence of biblical righteousness.[818]

Another remarkable feature is the ridicule heaped upon the fall of the communist camp. Kim Sam-hwan asserted that "Eastern Europe became the house not built by God, a house of regret, and a house on the sand, whilst in Western Europe with their lives centred on the church, have been blessed, even with land, water, and rivers.[819] Red China is expressed with the malicious comment, saying that "Mao Zedong never brushed his teeth, never bathed." "Their toilet was very dirty."[820] Their way of framing the old communist bloc brings up the image of Korea as depicted by American missionaries.

The Kwanglim Methodist Church, pastored by Kim Sun-do, was the church that most actively began missions in these countries, following the fall of the communist bloc. Thus, references to these countries often appear in his sermons, which is a good example of recognising the perspective of the Korean church toward the old communist bloc. From Table 4, words and expressions he uses are closely related with Orientalism. As Korean society had been viewed as backward, false and inferior by the missionaries, we can find a coterminous style in his sermons, representing Russia, China, and the Eastern Europe as the polar opposite of the free world.

5.3.3 Ideological Stigmatisation Inciting Social Division

5.3.3.1 A Sermon and Social Repercussions in 2020

Even in the post-Cold War era, many preachers insisted that communism was an enemy of Christianity, saying it was Satan and the anti-Christ in the twenty-first century. In a prayer meeting in downtown Seoul, pastors and believers said that the US was taking a

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[815] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3*, 142, 148.
[816] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3*, 290, 350.
[817] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3*, 350.
[818] Kim Sun-do, "Chinshimŭl Chik'yŏra."
[819] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3*, 414, 464.
[820] Kwak Sun-hee, *chai kyŏltanŭi hŏshil kwaksŏnhŭi moksa sŏlgyojip 29* [Weakness and Strength of Self-determination] (Seoul: Gyemongmunhwasa, 2002), 55, 58; Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3*, 473.

lead role in the fight against communism and Satan. Participants even declared the division of two Koreas a blessing of God, supporting the US because the biblical and American worldview are the same. In a sermon in this prayer meeting, a preacher claimed that South Korea had to be a helper of the US, as God said "I will make him a helper as his partner" (Gen 2:18b). The preacher also said that Satan promoted anti-Americanism, because the greatest fear of Satan was the South Korea-US alliance, giving theological meaning to the political alliance and anticommunism. Suggesting a prayer for the US, another pastor stressed that God posted the American sentries, so as to end North Korea's communist dictatorship and unite the two Koreas. As we have seen in this study, the premillennial biblical interpretation, dualistic worldview and aversion towards communism have been characterised by American missionaries' theological inclinations, and the formation of anticommunism under colonial rule, division, war and dictatorship, especially under the influence of imperialism.

One sermon Hong Jung-gil delivered at a prayer meeting for the nation in February 2020, had social repercussions, in terms of long-running ideological debates. Hong Jung-gil, a Korean evangelical leader and megachurch pastor, has contributed to social movements, helping the disadvantaged and hunger in North Korea. Although his career was of efforts for North Korea, his preaching intensifying ideological strife can be said to be a typical sermon of the Korean megachurches, even in the 21st century.

Explaining how liberal democracy has developed in the South Korean society, Hong Jung-gil argues that "if the election so far has been to select parties with good people and policies, the [political] system will be chosen in the upcoming election in April." Firstly, he highlighted 'sin', 'penitence', 'forgiveness', 'grace', and 'blessing.' For example, word 'sin', 'penitence' and 'forgiveness' were mentioned 60 times, and 'grace' and 'blessing' were 35 times in this sermon. Along with these doctrinal terms, 'the parable of the prodigal son' (Lk. 15:11-32) and biblical passages in relation to sin, repentance, atonement, and salvation were presented in the midst of the sermon: Rom. 5:8; Jer. 2:13; 1 Jn. 1:9; 2 Chr. 7:14; Jer. 33:3; Isa. 1:2-3. These expressions and quotations instil a dichotomous consciousness into congregations, divided into good and evil, God and Satan, and salvation and judgment. Then, Hong Jung-gil described the modern history of Korea as struggle between these two forces. He linked colonial rule, shrine worship, communism, war and dictatorships to the images of evil, Satan, and judgment, while he depicted faith, revivalism, liberation, anticommunism, and democracy initiated by the missionaries as the salvation and grace of God through repentance.[821]

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[821] Hong Jung-gil, "Hananimkkero Toragaja" [Let's Go Back to God], Sermon delivered at the prayer meeting for nation on February 12, 2020.

Following this theological basis, he calls the present government a socialist regime. If so, what framework of perception would work in the final criticism of the present government as a socialist regime? Most critical of all is that the present government can be coloured as the images of evil, Satan, and judgment by a dichotomous way of thinking. In criticising the policies of the government as socialist policies, the typical expression, 'communism', 'totalitarian state' and 'sign of national decay' were used by the preacher, warning that a new form of country that has never been achieved by communism or totalitarian states, might come. Above all, Hong gives religious connotation by ending this sermon with the following assertion along with criticism of the current regime.

> "Historically, we have always overcome the crisis and developed in a better direction whenever there are signs of national decay. We must first repent and pray that God will lead the nation in the right way."[822]

By this conclusion, the current regime is stigmatised as causing crisis, hindering development, and going the wrong way, and sermons are interspersed with the images of evil and Satan, that God will not lead, and will judge. As well as direct criticism, the images, metaphors and narratives, mobilised by preachers, have been used as tool for criticising or advocating particular ideology, under the theological and ideological dichotomy. Other preachers who attended the prayer meeting had also stigmatised the current or progressive regime as communist, socialist, and pro-North Korean.

6.3.3.2 Negatively Branding the Liberal Administrations with a Pro-North Stance

Despite the persecution by the dictatorships, liberal denominations and Christians, who actively participated in the democratisation movement, have been leading the social participation of the churches. Conservative churches, which have been silent in the face of social injustice, have been involved in a social movement following democratization, amid a sense of crisis, being alienated from social participation. Although reform-oriented political forces seized power, the forces defending the Cold War and anticommunism still held the lead in all areas of Korean society.[823] The sermon of Hong Jung-gil mentioned above was not coincidental by a preacher, but one of the new characteristics that appeared in most megachurches after democratisation. Conservative preachers who criticised the democratisation movement of Protestant progressives for violating the

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[822] Hong Jung-gil, "hananimkkero toragaja" [Let's Go Back to God].
[823] Ryu Dae-young, "Understanding Conservative Christians' Pro-American and Anti-Communist Activities in the Early Twenty-First Century," Economy and Society 62 (2004): 72-73.

separation between politics and church during the military dictatorship era, defined the Kim Dae-jung administration as pro-communist and pro-North Korean, when it was launched in 1997. The attitude of Korean mainstream churches towards the Kim Dea-jung administration is significant to grasp the relationship between church and state. It was the first case that a liberal government came into power, so it can be said that the conservative Korean mainstream churches were given a challenge theologically and politically.[824]

It is no wonder the mainstream churches changed their position towards the regime and opposed the Kim's regime, considering their cosy relationship with military dictatorships and conservative regimes. Conservative media, which was considered to be in a similar position with the conservative churches, wrote a special article entitled 'Only Anti-communist Churches Can Oppose the Pro-North Korean Forces.' It was argued that "the North Korean dictator Kim Jong-il was an enemy of Christians, who persecuted churches, and the unification policies of Kim Dae-jung regime were a repression of conservative Protestantism." Several preachers blamed Kim Dae-jung and his 'Sunshine Policy' for helping the North Korean regime survive, and Kim Jung-il as being caught by Satan.[825]

Following the Kim Dae-jung regime and the Roh Moo-hyun administration in 2003, they began to protest, portraying the progressive regime as extension of the left wing. In 2003, covering the square with the American flag, the Christian conservatives held a large prayer meeting and rally to profess cooperation with the US, eradication of pro-North Korean forces, and elimination of the North Korean regime. Encouraged by the pro-American rally of Korean conservative Christians, President Bush sent a letter in August 2003 to thank to Pastor Gil Ja-yeon, secretary of the Christian Council of Korea (CCK), for his support for the US. In 2004, when the Roh Moo-hyun government tried to revise the National Security Law, the CCK, over 300 conservative Christian organisations, and pastors held a large-scale rally, holding both the national flags of South Korea and US. On this day, many megachurch pastors who represented the Korean church, such as Cho Yong-gi, Gil Ja-yeon, Kim Hong-do, Park Jong-soon and Kim Ki-soo, participated in this rally, reasserting the need for the end of the leftist regime, the collapse of the North Korean regime, and in opposition to the abolition of the National Security Law. Kim Hong-do argued that South Korean society became a paradise for the spy, and the Korean

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[824] Lee Won-gue, "Sociological View of Korean Church and Fundamentalism," *Studies in Religion* (2002): 56-58; Kim Seong-gun, "Political Participation of Korean Protestant Churches: A Sociological Observation," *Asian Journal of Religion and Society* (2010): 7-36.

[825] Ryu Dae-young" Understanding Conservative Cristians' Pro-American and Anti-Communist Activities," 70-72.

church should take the lead in fighting pro-North Korean and left-wing forces, so that communist spies had no place in society.

Sermons supporting certain conservative political forces continued, and preachers have negatively branded government endeavours to discuss ways of moving toward dialogue, reconciliation, and reunification as pro-North Korean moves. Kim Hong-do has never hidden his hostile attitude towards communism or socialism, including the North Korean government, in his preaching and writings. His sermons, which reveal a strong anticommunist perspective, generally have weak biblical grounds, extreme dichotomy, political bias, and use hateful language. He said that "In the next regime, a party with anticommunism must be created and supported, and an anti-communist to the bone must be a president or member of the National Assembly."[826] In his sermon, "Socialism and Communism" (2011. 11. 4.), he adopted the Parable of the Talents in the Book of Matthew and Solomon's Wisdom in Judgment in the Book of 1 Kings to criticize the socialist economic landscape.

> "Although South Korea currently is reaching the tenth largest economy in the world, we are faced with a crisis of economic collapsed by North Korean sympathizers, anti-Americans and leftist force, because of welfare policies, such as free meals, free medical care and free education… The Bible does not oppose private property. When one talent was buried in the ground and brought to the master with no effort, he was rebuked as 'wicked and lazy servant.' In Matthew 25:29, 'For to all those who have, more will be given, and they will have an abundance; but from those who have nothing, even what they have will be taken away. As for this worthless slave, throw him into the outer darkness, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.'… In 1 Kings 3, when two women argued who was a real mother before Solomon, a false mother shouted to cut the baby fairly. Do not those who follow communism today argue to divide wealth fairly even if the country would perish?"[827]

In this sermon, Kim Hong-do also insisted that the communists are cruel murderers and liars. Quoting John 8:44, 10:10, and Revelation 12:10, we refer to those who advocate communism, including North Korea, as devils.

Apart from the fact that President Kim Dea-jung was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize, Kim Dea-jung and the Roh Moo-hyun government pursued neo-liberalistic policies, and

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[826] Kim Hong-do, "Han'gugi Wigiesŏ Pŏsŏnaryŏmyeon" [To Get Korea Out of the Crisis], *Christian Today*, August 27, 2011.
[827] Kim Hong-do, "Socialism and Communism," November 4th, 2011.

were criticised by the progressives. In the case of Roh Moo-hyun, his decision to send Korean troops to Iraq, at the request of the US, caused fierce controversy in the progressive camp. Under the Roh and the current Moon Jae-in regimes, trade unions have complained that the government turned pro-business and cracked down on union activities in labour disputes. Responding to provocations by the North, the Moon's regime has been more focused on strengthening the national defence against possible aggression, compared to other conservative regimes, while making continuous efforts to give dialogue a chance to improve inter-Korean relations. These regimes, which are regarded as liberal, are considered to be conservative by international standards. Therefore, the sermons that criticise the regimes as socialists or pro-North Korean leftists can be understood as a kind of ideological stigma.

5.3.3.3 Sermons Inciting Societal Division

Stigmatisation that denounces a certain group of people is one of the features often found in megachurch sermons which criticise pro-democratic activists, student movements, and labour movements, whilst praising dictators and conservative politicians. Preachers tend to assert multiple contradictory positions. They highlight the importance of democracy while criticising communism, while spreading negative attitudes towards democratic activities and supporting dictatorships.[828] Notably, they often criticised student and labour movements as activities supportive of North Korea and incited social division.[829] Quoting biblical passages, Job 12:12, "Is wisdom with the aged, and understanding in the length of days?" he said that "nowadays, young people rebel against the elderly people and view them as old-fashioned, unwise and irrational, especially the anti-government students."**[830]**

Quoting the narrative of Jesus' Walk on Water (Mt 14-22-33), Kim Sun-do enumerates political, economic and ethical problems, likening social problems to wind and waves. However, by referring to the democratisation as an era with social problems, congregations may deem problems as a side effect of democratisation, even though we do not know intention of preacher.[831] In regards to criticism of social problems in his Christmas sermon, Kim Sun-do indicates personal ethics and riots by people rather than the oppression of Roman Empire. At the same time, he says that "our society is democratised but because the ethical problems are severe, the crime rate is high. If you

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[828] Kim Sun-do, "Chigŭm Urinŭn Muŏsŭl Shimgoinnŭn'ga."
[829] Song Yong-pil, Paik Ee-sun and Hwang Jin-su et al., "Korean Christianity Being in Second Century", Kim Jang-hwan's Selected Sermons, 356.
[830] Kim Sun-do, "Kŭraedo Ch'ongmyŏnghan Saengmyŏngŭi Enŏji."
[831] Kim Sun-do, "P'ungnange Tojŏnhanŭn Shinang."

talk a lot about negative things, you will not be blessed."[832] Highlighting positive thinking, he often vilifies dissatisfaction with the state, and the Minjuing theology, which was advocated by scholars and activists deeply involved in the democratisation movement.[833]

On the contrary, advocacy for the dictator is a common feature of these preachers. Despite the brutality of dictatorship, megachurch preachers rate dictators and their policies positively. Kim Sam-hwan put a high value on Park Chung-hee, particularly his achievement in building the expressway, and says that there has not been another leader as good.[834] Cho Yong-mok calls Syngman Rhee a prayer person, who led country to victory in war.[835] However, the presidents praised by these preachers are all regarded as dictators, who violated the Constitution, human rights and democracy.

Although Kwak delivered a sermon, referring to the problems of dictatorships and criticising the government, in chŏngŭirŭl hasugach'i [Justice like a River], all of these sermons have been since the 1990s.[836] There is no mention of dictatorship in the 1970s and 1980s when people suffered from tyranny and corruption of the regimes. Most of the sermons on social issues during this period are limited to helping disadvantaged neighbours. Furthermore, sermons critical of the regime mostly criticised the liberal regime from the perspective of anticommunism and conservatism. Even when Kwak contrasts between dictatorships and democratic regimes, dictatorship is deemed as an inevitable process of historical development, expressing the freedom of speech, press and assembly in social disorder and confusion.

> "It is human history that the problems of democratic society emerge only after experiencing this absolute corruption [of dictatorships]. Though democratisation prevented dictatorship, it causes confusion and disorder."[837]

Another cause is absurdities of modernisation, which has been focused on economic growth. Since the Park Chung-hee regime in the 1960s, the modernisation pursued by state power has been directed only to economic growth, excluding the political and

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[832] Kim Sun-do, "Kippŭn Sŏngt'anŭi Onŏ."
[833] Kim Sun-do, "Tansunhan Shinangŭi Wiryŏkŭl Chŭnggŏhara"; *Idem.,* "I Konghŏhan Maŭmŭl Ottŏk'e"
[834] Kim Sam-hwan, *kimsamhwan sŏlgyojip 3 paro parabora* [Pastor Kim Sam-hwan's Selected Sermons 3] (Seoul: Lifebook, 1993), 233.
[835] Cho Yong-mok, *choyonggi moksa sŏlgyojip 4 ne midŭmdaero toelchiŏda* [Pastor Cho Yong-mok's Selected Sermons 4], 106.
[836] Kwak Sun-hee, "chŏngŭirŭl hasugach'i" [Justice like a River], *i sedaee puhan cha* [Rich in This Generation] (Seoul: Gyemongmunhwasa, 1998), 202.
[837] Kwak Sun-hee, "urirŭl tasŭrige hasosŏ" [Let Us Rule], *moseŭi komin* [Moses' Worries] (Seoul: Gyemongsa, 1992), 264-265.

cultural aspects. Even economic development has focused on quantitative growth, overlooking labour, the environment, human rights, distribution, welfare and rationality.[838]

  Kim Hong-do delivers sermon as follows, interpreting Matthew 26:52 "Put your sword away. Anyone who lives by fighting will die by fighting."

> "People think of Hitler as the worst murderer who killed 6 million Jews, but Stalin killed 45 million people in his country as a pretext for revolution. China killed 64 million people in the last 50 years … Communists would use vulnerable points of our society, causing social chaos, in order to overthrow state power. For example, if they want to communise a country, they first break down the regime by destruction, arson and murder, taking the opposition party side. After coming into power by overthrowing the existent government, they take over the country, defeating the opposition party. How worrying it is today that many students and workers are tacitly conscious of communist thoughts and cause social confusion through terrible destruction and lies… Jesus taught nonviolent thinking. Communism is stealing, killing and destroying, and is Satanism, and it is lamentable that even pastors, evangelists and seminaries are immersed in communism. In this way they are trying to destroy churches."[839]

5.4 Conclusion

Following the previous chapter, this chapter also shows that homiletical discourses of megachurches have kept pace with the national ideology, in their stances toward North Korea, communism, war, economy, and international relations. Their sermons are closer to the American theology and strategy given in Chapter 3 and 4, than just peace tradition discussed in Chapter 1. The images, metaphors, and narratives used in the sermons are almost identical to those mobilised for the justification of war and anticommunism, despite a time difference of several decades. Even in domestic issues, the sermons show a conservative political inclination, in mentioning the democratisation movement, labour movement, and certain political issues. Rather than forgiveness, reconciliation, and social integration, the homilies are inclined to promote stigmatisation, social splitting, and

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[838] Park Sang-un, "The Affinity of Capital and Korean Protestant Church, and the Elimination of Theology," *Journal of Religion and Culture* 25 (2015): 111. (103-126).

[839] Kim Hong-do, "Shilsangŭl Ponŭn Midŭm" [Faith to See the Evidence], March 12th, 1989. http://www.kumnan.org/?_filter=search&act=&vid=&mid=board_nAPf62&category=&search_key word=%EC%8B%A4%EC%83%81%EC%9D%84+%EB%B3%B4%EB%8A%94+%EB%AF%BF %EC%9D%8C&search_target=title_content

ideological bias. In this regard, they are in a position to justify violence as a method of bringing justice and peace. Not only are militant images often used, but when describing war, they evaluate those wars from the perspective of the US and the UK, rather than criticising war itself. No pointing out of current colonial-imperial ramifications on the Korean Peninsula and highlighting just peace have been found in sermons, while prosperity, church growth, and individual ethics are emphasised, as American missionaries preached in the past. The homiletical consecutiveness of colonial-imperial implications, encompassing the Cold War and post-Cold War era, show that this phenomenon is not temporary, but entrenched enough to be found in sermons in 2020. As the role Herod filled for the Roman Empire in the Gospels, it can be said that certain Korean churches, which shared their interests with domestic political powers and external forces, have been beneficiaries rather than victims of the colonial-imperial phenomenon. Their position, which was critical of ecumenical movements that struggled for just peace, can be understood through the Herod-Roman empire analogical connection. As a result, Korean megachurches have been functioning as ideological state apparatus forged by colonial-imperial circumstances, their theological discourses have been confined by political ideologies. In the next chapter, I will discuss the efforts that attempted to transform social discourse and practice through the Bible, from early Korean church to present. These endeavours can be marked as a resistance to the colonial-imperial phenomenon through biblical justice and peace.

6. The Bible as a Key Driver of Social Change

6.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates efforts of Korean Protestants to overcome social contradiction, to resist foreign oppression, and to suggest alternatives. The beginning of the chapter introduces the outstanding features of early Korean Protestantism, which accommodated biblical faith in attempting to overcome the contradiction of feudal society. Certain historical scenes of early churches before and after the Western missionaries, show how Korean Protestants embraced biblical emancipation and how this became a key driver of social practice. The minority of theologians and preachers who pursued just peace, beyond ideological confrontation, are introduced in the latter part of this chapter. In particular, the feasibility of theological imagination for just peace is discussed by describing the efforts of the Korean ecumenical movement, which influenced inter-Korean dialogue and reconciliation in the 1980s and beyond. By analysing the biblical citations and imagination of the 88 Declaration, essential differences are suggested between theological discourse, confined by colonial-imperial ramifications or seeking just peace.

6.2 The Early Korean Protestantism as the "Bible Christianity"

6.2.1 A Longing for the Bible

In Christian history, most missionaries first set up churches as missions and then translated the Bible after learning the local language. Korean Protestantism, however, has several remarkable features in relation to the foundation of its church and the Bible. The Korean people in the 1880s spontaneously adopted to the Christian faith, unlike other countries which embraced Christianity predominantly through Western missionaries. Koreans, who converted to the Christianity from neighbouring countries, translated the Bible in those countries and brought it to Korea to spread the Christian faith. Before the missionaries came to Korea, there were Christian communities

established by the Korean people, and Koreans were reading a Bible which had been translated into the vernacular.[840]

Western missionaries, such as Karl F. A. Gutzlaff, in 1832, and Robert J. Thomas, in 1865 and 1866, attempted to spread the Gospel on the Korean Peninsula, but failed in the face of strong opposition from the Korean government. Later, in 1884 and 1885, Horace N. Allen, Horace G. Underwood and Henry G. Appenzeller became first official missionaries in Korea. But before the missionaries arrived, the Synoptic Gospels and Act of Apostles had been translated by John Ross and McIntyre in Manchuria, with the help of Koreans. In 1885 Korean Lee Su-jeong also completed a Korean translation of the Gospel of Luke, and many Korean colporteurs were able to build Christian communities, due to the translations.[841] In the words of H. G. Underwood, there were already over one hundred Christians, who had accepted the Christian faith through the Bible, in Uiju, when he first visited there for evangelism in 1887.[842] For this reason, Korean Protestantism, from its earliest history, was marked by "Bible Christianity" and a "Bible believing and Bible loving church" to borrow an expression from missionaries.[843]

As soon as the missionaries arrived, the crying need of the Korean Protestants was a full the translation of the Bible, because only some of the Bible was currently available.[844] As a result of the lack of translation around 1898, believers living in Pyongyang said, "the food of believers is the Bible, waiting for the Bible as the water of the thirsty and the meal of the hungry."[845] When Cameron Johnson, a missionary in Japan, visited various mission stations in Korea, he gained a perspective on the significance of the Bible. He observed that every congregation attending worship services opened the Bible, found and marked the text as soon as the pastor announced the scriptural passage for delivering the sermon.[846] Longing for the Bible indicates a sign of the spiritual desire and

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[840] Hwang Jea-buhm and Oh Ju-choel, *Saero ssǔnǔn han'gukkaeshin'gyohoesa* [A New History of Korean Prostestantism] (Seoul: Handǔlch'ulp'ansa, 2015), 61, 75.

[841] Yi Mahn-yol, *Taehansǒngsǒgonghoesa 1* [A History of Korean Bible Society] (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1993), 120-176.

[842] H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908), 137-138.

[843] Charles A. Clark, "Fifty Years of Mission Organization, Principles and Practice" in *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, eds. Harry A. Rhodes and Richard H. Baird (Seoul: n.p., 1934), 56-57; Lee Man-yeol, "han'gǔl sǒnggyǒng wanyǒk ch'ulp'an'gwa han'guk sahoe" [Korean Bible Translation and Korean Society], *Han'gǔl sǒnggyǒngi han'guk kyohoewa sahoe, kugǒ munhwae kkich'in yǒnghyang* [The Effect of the Korean Scripture on the Korean Church, Society and Culture] (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 2011), 7-54.

[844] *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of Methodist Episcopal Church 1891* (New York: Methodist Episcopal Church, 1856-1923), 274.

[845] *Taehank'ǔrisǔdoinhoebo* [Korean Christian Newsletter] 2:18, May 4th, 1898.

[846] Cameron Johnson, "When I Went to Church in Korea", *The Mission Review of the World* 31 (March 1908), 200; K. Kale Yu, "Korea's Confucian Culture of Learning as a Gateway to Christianity: Protestant Missions in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *Studies in World Christianity* 22.1 (2016), 37-56 (42).

implies that the Bible will be an essential element that will have a great impact on the Korean churches and society. Western missionaries reported that in Korea the Bible itself, as well as in all other nations, had been remarkably emphasized as the greatest element of evangelism, but in the ministry of Korea, the Bible and sermon occupied a unique position.[847]

6.2.2 The Minjung and Hangul

As discussed in Chapter 1, an essential value of biblical justice and peace typified by the Exodus is to describe a God who takes sides, intervening to free the oppressed.[848] Biblical Israel grasped an emancipatory sense of God and a core value in its own vocation, namely freedom. The liberating Exodus is not an event solely for the Hebrews but rather the manifestation of a liberative plan of God and His unfinished historical project for all peoples.[849] The conception of the Exodus as a socio-political revolution by and for the oppressed was derived from the suffering they experienced as the lowest class and their memories, as Jude Lal Fernando highlights.[850] Although the Exodus tradition was often ideologised as a cover for maintenance of the political status quo, the Israelite people continuously processed themselves to be the descendants of a wandering Aramean, and God to be the God of the Hebrew (Duet. 26:5; Ex. 2:24; 3.6; 3:15-16).[851] The sections below show how the early Korean Protestants understood a liberating sense of the Bible, and identified with the voices and memories of the oppressed with their own voices and memories.

The power, spirituality, eagerness for prayer, and generosity towards the poor in the early Korean churches came from knowledge of the Bible.[852] The essential feature of

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[847] The number of Bible sales in Korea was about 300 in 1896, soared to 127,269 in 1906, and 826,635 in 1915. Yi Mahn-yol, *A History of Korean Bible Society*, 324, 359.

[848] Robert M. Brown, *Theology in a New Key: Responding to Liberation Themes* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978), 88.

[849] J. Severino Croatto, *Exodus: A Hermeneutic of Freedom* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1981), 15, 28.

[850] Jude Lal Fernando, "Prophetic Imagination and Empire in Asia," 91-116; Robert M. Brown, *Theology in a New Key*, 90.

[851] George Pixley, who reconstructs the history of the Exodus story, suggests that the Exodus story was a four-stage evolution, and the overall movement is one from political religion to apolitical religion. In particular, he argues that when the Israelites community became a monarchy, the Exodus tradition was recast, from a class struggle to a national liberation struggle. In the Second Temple period, long after the monarchy had fallen, the Exodus was transformed into the foundation story for the depoliticised Jewish community. As discussed in the previous chapters, the ideologisation of biblical stories as a cover for maintenance of the political status quo has been common in the history of church, including the Korean church. George V. Pixley, *On Exodus: A Liberation Perspective* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1987), xviii-xx; Jon D. Levenson, "Exodus and Liberation," *Horizons in Biblical Theology*, Vol. 13 (1991): 134-136.

[852] See Charles Allen Clark, *The Nevius Plan for Mission Work: Illustrated in Korea* (Seoul: YMCA Press, 1937).

early Korean Protestantism was that communities and their faith were rooted in and developed by the socially weak. What made this possible was the social phenomenon of *Minjung*, traditional religious culture, their language *Hangul* and fervour for the Bible. For example, their voluntary devotion came from what they had practiced in Shamanistic life, gathering a handful of rice every day to sacrifice to spirits, but they changed this practice after reading the Bible and accepting the Christian faith.[853] C. D. Morris, a Methodist missionary, stated what happened in the Bible study meeting, in his report "Self Support and Self Sacrifice."

> "The noteworthy phenomenon of the Bible study meeting I witnessed is that self-sufficiency is strengthened. Participants showed their willingness to pay for the operational costs of their church and living expenses of their pastors. By the time this letter was written, they had decided to donate the cost of living for nine evangelists in their region. Even with great sacrifices, they made a decision to do it. Some members determined to donate a tenth of the food they needed to eke out a living, the other member promised that she or he would only eat millet and save the rice and money for the offering."[854]

This feature of "Bible Christianity" was based on the people and their language, who belonged to low social ranks. John Ross, a Scottish Presbyterian missionary who translated the Korean Bible with Koreans in China, attributed this characteristic to the merits of Korean language.

> "Korea has a population of only 15 million, and their language has a significant feature that even women can read and interpret within a few days. It is the easiest country to spread the Bible and evangelism documents, so translation of the Bible in Korea is the most important thing. The letters they use are phonetic letters, and they are so beautiful and simple that anyone can learn them quickly and easily."[855]

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[853] W. G. Cram, "North Ward Circuit, Songdo", *Annual Report of Korea Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1905, 35.; Rhie, Deok-Joo, "Study on the Formation of the Korean Early Indigenous Church and Her Religious Culture: A Historical Theology's Approach to the Indigenization Theology," *Theology and World* 50 (2004): 187-188.

[854] C. D. Morris, "Self Support and Self Sacrifice", *The Korea Methodist* (Dec. 1904): 10.

[855] John Ross, "The Christian Dawn of Mission," *The Missionary Review of the World* 3, No. 4 (1890): 242.

The Bible was translated into *Hangul*, which was the Korean language of the people, not the Chinese text used by the intellectuals and the ruling class. Theodore de Bary called *Hangul* "one of the most ingenious writing systems ever devised", but said that *Hangul* was considered the language of the lower classes and therefore disregarded by the upper class and intellectuals.[856] People encountered the biblical stories through reading the *Hangul* scripture, not listening to sermons. Anna W. Pierson, a missionary in Korea, said that in Korea reading could be almost universal by the literacy movement, and "even those who have had no education and have passed middle age, when they become Christians, can learn to read their Bibles in a few weeks."[857] The *Hangul* Bible stimulated the use of *Hangul* in newspapers and resulted in the common usage of the written language in present day Korean society. Christianity was a foreign religion, unfamiliar to Koreans at that time, but the use of *Hangul* gave the common people a lasting influence to encounter biblical stories and to apply them without difficulty.[858]

We need to pay attention to the unique notion and culture of the *Minjung*, which later became the conceptual basis of the Minjung Theology, even though this term was used in earnest following the Japanese colonial rule.[859] In Korean language, the word "*Minjung*" is composed of two Chinese letters, which means "people" and "masses" respectively. The notable meaning of the *Minjung* indicates a political and social status of oppressed people. In Korean society, there have been a large number of unspecified people who suffered from the constant invasion of the foreign powers surrounding the Korean Peninsula, the tyrannical rule of the ruling class, and the structural discrimination of the Confucian society. Later, these downtrodden people were conceptualized as the *Minjung*.[860]

The vulnerable were able to identify with the Hebrew slaves sharing their aspiration for liberation in the Book of Exodus, and make the messianic hope in the prophecies and the Gospel their own. The stories and songs of the disadvantaged in society, which include the sorrows of their lives and shamanistic spirituality, helped them accept the Bible and Christianity. The folktale, which contains the history, culture and identity of

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[856] William Theodore de Bary*, East Asian Civilizations: A Dialogue in Five Stages* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 61.

[857] Anna Pierson, "Korea-The Land of Opportunity," *The Missionary Review of the World* 24 (April 1911): 271.

[858] Jeon Chang-hee, "The Role of Minjung's Narrative Tradition and Literal Reading of Scripture in the Early Korean Christianity", *Korean Journal of Christian Studies* 86 (2013): 219. (217-241)

[859] Choi Jeong-un, *Han'guginŭi T'ansaeng* [The Birth of Koreans] (Seoul: Mijibuksŭ, 2013), 485-486.

[860] Suh Nam-dong, "Toward a Theology of Han" in *Minjung Theology* (Singapore: CCA, 1981), 58; Takashi Hatada, *A History of Korea*, trans. Warren W. Smith (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio Press, 1969), 142; Ahn Suk-mo, "Toward a Local Pastoral Care and Pastoral Theology: The Basis, Model and Case of Han in Light of Charles Gerkin's Pastoral Hermeneutics" (PhD diss., Emory University, 1991), 305; Jeon Chang-hee, "The Role of Minjung's Narrative Tradition," 219-221.

Koreans, was a space of collective memory where the bitterness and hope of the socially weak were gathered and united. The moral perceptions and worldview shared by story tellers and readers are also included in the folktale, as well as memories experienced by the people. Folktales, typical form of spreading the story among the people, was a principal means of transforming the suffering, which occurred under the external repression of hierarchical society, into hope of liberation.[861] A traditional dramatic song, such as *Pansori*, which was popular around the time Christianity was introduced, was a medium to satirize the ruling system, criticize the contradictions of the status system, and expose economic injustice. Jo Dong-Il points out that the storytelling tradition of Korea consists mainly of suffering and overcoming, giving the people space for new social initiatives rather than fixed destiny. Most of all, the way these stories were formed and adopted was a foundation for embracing the Bible and Christianity.[862]

6.2.3 Traditional Scriptural Culture and Grass-roots Based Interpretation

Korean scriptural traditions helped Protestantism take root as the "Bible Christianity." The concepts and contents of traditional religions created an affinity with Protestantism and its scripture. These religious culture and customs helped Korean Protestants to understand and practice biblical values, even though the missionaries, though their Orientalist gaze, devalued all things Korean as uncivilised. Firstly, as an American missionary George H. Jones stated, Koreans in a Confucian society in the 19th century symbolized educational achievement as power and influence for those who possessed it, and considered it as the most significant measure of social respectability.

> "The Korean people may be said to be scholarly people. They have an unfeigned and voluntary admiration for learning. It is a prerequisite condition to social standing and caste… The higher classes therefore value education because of the power which it gives them, and the lower classes value it because it is a mark of noble birth and prominence of station."[863]

Since Korean culture had been dominated by Confucianism, more than any other ideology or world view, the connections between the Confucian culture of learning and

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[861] Ro Yong Chan, "Symbol, Myth, and Ritual: The Method of the Minjung," in *Lift Every Voice: Constructing Christian Theologies from the Underside*, eds. Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite and Mary Potter Engle (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers, 1990), 48; Jeon, Chang-hee, "The Role of Minjung's Narrative Tradition," 226.
[862] Jeon Chang-hee, "The Role of Minjung's Narrative Tradition," 227-228.
[863] George H. Jones, "Christian Education in Korea," *The Gospel in All Lands* (Dec. 1896): 559.

the Bible can be valuable in understanding the development of Korean Protestantism. In accordance with this cultural background, people perceived the knowledge of the Bible as an essential way to salvation, and by extension, read and memorized passages from the Bible to experience the manifestation of religious revelation.[864] Alexander Kenmure, the secretary of the British Foreign Bible Society between 1890 and 1904, said that the printed Bible was being recited and memorized in unimaginable ways in Korea.[865] Confucian culture offered a cultural framework to plant and grow biblical faith, even though Confucianism was considered to be an oppressive and inferior system by Western missionaries. The power of education has functioned as a conduit to channel Koreans' deep-seated imagination to Christian faith.[866] Moreover, the biblical faith led to vital changes in the Confucian hierarchical society. A notable example is that servants were treated as equally as the nobles in the church, and if their servant became a pastor, it was taken for granted that the nobles served their servant. In this way, the egalitarianism of biblical anthropology played a decisive role in reforming the Confucian class society.[867]

Another religious tradition contributing the indigenization of Christianity and the dissemination of the Bible is the scriptural culture, stemming from Buddhism and Confucianism, to pay reverence to scripture. Choi Jin-bong examines the Buddhist and Confucian tradition of scripture, outlining the hermeneutical pre-understanding of Korean preaching. He contends that Korean Buddhism and Confucianism, as scriptural religions, have played a salient role in forming elements of intellectual civilization, such as a social consciousness, worldviews, ideas of heaven and human, and ethical systems over for 1700 years.[868] In reading Christian scripture and delivering sermons, these two religious traditions have functioned as a hermeneutical background, understanding God, human, truth, Gospel and salvation. Buddhist scriptures especially were considered not only to help find enlightenment but also to possess mystical power.[869] In doing so, early Korean Christians viewed the Bible as a subject of worship and expressed their highest esteem with religious reverence. The person who sold the Bible recommended that the Bible

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[864] K. Kale Yu, "Korea's Confucian Culture of Learning as a Gateway to Christianity: Protestant Missions in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Studies in World Christianity* Vol. 22, No. 1 (2016): 38-39.

[865] *The British Foreign Bible Society Annual Report* (1901), 291.

[866] K. Kale Yu, "Korea's Confucian Culture," 50.

[867] Song Hyeon-gang, "The Characteristics of Leading Advocates of Christianity in Central and Southern Region in Late Chosen Korea," *Han'gukkidokkyowa Yŏksa* 25 (2006): 5-31.

[868] Choi Jin-bong, "A Critical Reflection and Challenges of the Korean Churches' Hermeneutical Pre-understandings for Preaching the Gospel: On the Basis of the Buddhist and Confucian Faith Tradition of Scripture", *Korea Presbyterian Journal of Theology* 50 (2008): 171-194.

[869] Edward Conze, *Selected Sayings from the Perfection of Wisdom* (London: The Buddhist Society, 1955), 18; Choi Jin-bong, "A Critical Reflection and Challenges," 175.

should be kept on a high shelf so that the children were not able to damage it, and that both hands should always be used to move it.[870]

Based on Buddhist and Confucian scriptural cultures, Christians gathered to read and recite the Bible. The Bible study meetings, which reflected Korean scriptural culture, generally lasted from a week to more than a month, regardless of region and social class. The way Buddhists had read, memorized, sung and written scriptures to achieve enlightenment and get mysterious power was applied to the Bible study meetings. In the words of missionaries, the Bible meeting had become an everyday thing for farmers and workers to be part of processions of several of kilometres, in spite of the growing season.[871] Scriptural traditions of Korean Protestantism had been formed and varied as a result of these influences, contributing to the explosive spread of early Korean Protestantism.[872]

Paying attention to the effectiveness of the ritual of reading scripture aloud, Yoo Yo-han points out that these scripture readings influenced religious conversion into Christianity and strengthened Christian faith. For instance, the Bible study meeting at Pyeongyang, when 1 Corinthians 12:17, "Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it", was read aloud, participants repented openly that they did not love each other, and said that they were all together in the body of Jesus. To this end, Yoo argues that it can be deemed to be performative in the way initiated by J. L. Austin, driving his argument on theory of performative speech, and elaborated by Roy Rappaport, describing indexical function of ritual.[873] The conditions Austin suggests is customary procedure, special persons and situations, full participation and implementation in the procedure, and intention and practice of participants for implementation.[874]

This reading tradition had disappeared in Western Protestantism, but it was embraced by Korean Protestants who had a religious tradition of reading the scriptures aloud and obtaining spiritual enlightenment through mystical experience.[875] Yoo believes that these public scripture readings allowed Koreans to play an active and leading role in growth of the church. By reading the Bible in their native language, in public, Koreans could read

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[870] Lee Duk-ju, *Ch'ogi han'guk kidokkyosa yŏn'gu* [A Study on Early Korean Protestant History] (Seoul: Han'guk kidokkyo yŏksa yŏn'guso, 1995), 509.
[871] Harold Coward, *Scripture in the World Religions* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1988), 146; Edward Conze, *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousands Lines and Its Verse Summary* (Bolinas: Four Seasons Foundation, 1973), 266-267.
[872] S. H. Moffett, *The Christians of Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), 52-53.
[873] Yoo Yo-han, "Performative Force of Public Scripture Reading in Korean Protestantism: Comparative Analysis of Religious Scripture Reading Ritual", *Inmunnonch'ong* 59 (2008), 3, 13.
[874] J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 15.
[875] William A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspect of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 155-159.

and understand it in their own way of reading, rather than unilaterally learning it from missionaries, and their role in the church could grow.[876] Moreover, the Bible study meetings, which were open for anyone from all over the country, led to the recognition of Christianity as a religion of social emancipation for the vulnerable, beyond social class.

James W. Watts argues that there are textual, performative, and iconic dimensions in religious scriptures. Religious communities ritualize the scripture on these three levels.[877] Catherine Bell notes that ritualization is accomplished by believers acknowledging the Bible as a sacred text.[878] As Rappaport cites in an example, at a knighthood ceremony, even if no one knows who is eligible or who is a knight, by ritual some can be identified as knights, and participants agree without any guidance or force.[879] In the public reading rituals of early Korean Protestantism, the performative force of reading was gained from the ritualizing the act of reading and from the Bible itself. The Bible study meeting as a ritual had indexical functions, allowing participants to listen to the biblical texts, accept a new identity as Christian, and repent their sin.[880] Due to these features, the Bible study meeting based on Korean scriptural traditions enabled the lay leader and lower classes to participate and play an important role in formation of Christian community, rather than being led entirely by the ruling class or missionaries.[881]

In a class-ridden society, the autonomously formed congregations and the voluntary introduction of the Bible enabled an egalitarian community without hieratic class. In the absence, or due to the absence, of Western Christian traditions, doctrines and missionaries, early communities were able to take root with the possibility to surmount social contradictions and to embrace the sufferings of the vulnerable. The affection toward the Bible and scriptural tradition gave hope to the people that the biblical narratives of liberation could be theirs. These characteristics of early Korean Protestantism are in line with biblical justice and peace, which are counter-imperialistic and oriented toward the oppressed, as described in Chapter 1.[882] Despite the tension between the hierarchical nature of Confucianism and the oppressed people's aspiration

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[876] Yoo Yo-han, "Performative Force of Public Scripture Reading," 11-12.

[877] James W. Watts, "The Three Dimensions of Scriptures", *Postscripts: The Journal of Sacred Texts, Cultural Histories, and Contemporary Contexts*, Vol. 2, No. 2-3 (2006): 135-159.

[878] Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 92, 138-139.

[879] Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 125.

[880] Yoo Yo-han, "Public Scripture Reading Rituals in Early Korean Protestantism: A Comparative Perspective," *Postscripts: The Journal of Sacred Texts, Cultural Histories, and Contemporary Contexts*, Vol. 2, No. 2-3 (2006): 226-240; *Idem.,* "Performative Force of Public Scripture Reading," 17.

[881] Yoo Yo-han, "Performative Force of Public Scripture Reading," 25.

[882] Andrew E. Kim, "Korean Religions Culture and Its Affinity to Christianity: The Rise of Protestant Christianity in South Korea," *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 61 (2000): 117-133.

for liberation, the Korean Protestants embraced the biblical value that all people are equal before God. In my opinion, it has a great theological significance in that theological imagination induced by biblical justice could change dominant ideology and practices in Korean society at that time.

6.2.4 Desire for Social Change Based on the Bible

There were several factors that allowed Koreans to accept Christianity. First, Confucianism was the dominant religion, but it functioned as maintaining the political status quo, despite the prevailing injustices. Buddhism had been weakened by a suppression policy for hundreds of years. Shamanism, by its nature, permeated daily life in the form of folk religion, but it was not an organised religion which dominated a society. This situation created a space for Christianity to enter Korean society, where people were looking forward to a religion that promised a new world. Second, it is important to deduce what changes were made in terms of the socio-psychological attitudes of Korean people when they accepted Christianity. Although there was a belief in a divine being in traditional religions, but it was perceived as a functional god based on polytheism rather than an absolute. In Buddhism the view of the absolute was shamanistic, because of its character of emphasising enlightenment by one's own efforts, and belief in various *Bodhisattva*, including *Maitreya*. It was interesting for the Koreans to pursue the will of the absolute in order to solve personal and social problems. Third, when Protestantism was introduced, Korean society was in the process of an involuntary transformation from traditional to modern by foreign powers. New ideas and methods were needed to overcome political confusion, and to set society in the right direction.[883] The desire for the social change induced by the Bible was the main reason for the conversion to Christianity from traditional religions. The early Korean churches became consciousness-raising groups of social justice and national liberation with the poor and oppressed as the central figure.

  F. A. McKenzie, who came to Korea to cover the Russo-Japanese War and published several books in Korea, described the Bible as the source of a struggle for independence for Korean Christians. Protestantism was characterised as a counter-ideology to resist the problems of feudal order, despite the conservative religious tendencies of Koreans. The Bible not only became spiritual nourishment for Christian individuals, but also encouraged readers to realise social responsibility. Another influence was democratic

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[883] Park Chung-Shin, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 23-26.

civil rights. The foundation of democracy is that all men are equal. In order for Koreans to ensure equality, they had to overcome the rigid caste system of feudalism. The Biblical anthropology that "all men were created equal" instilled an egalitarian consciousness into the Korean Christians. For this reason, the new state that the church was aiming for was a democratic society. But, this idea was directed toward human rights and pantisocracy, rather than direct resistance to colonial rule, because free expression of the masses was stifled by the colonial government. Nonetheless, following colonial rule, it laid the foundation for the introduction of a republic, rather than the restoration of the monarchy.[884]

From an economic point of view, Korean churches were greatly concerned about the economic collapse caused by colonial exploitation policies. Emphasising the importance of labour, Christians presented plans such as labour unions, farmers' associations, and improvements of the tenant farming system. Progressive Christians were influence by communism and insisted on Christian socialism, which stressed the similarity of biblical economic principles and socialism, particularly in the Book of Exodus and Apostles. Protestant communities included people of various professions and classes, ranging from wealthy merchants and intellectuals to tenant farmers and labourers. When they participated in national and social movements, all of the Christians generally had a similar pattern in their political economic ideology and practice. Early Korean Protestants were able to look at society and history through biblical worldviews and values, transcending class backgrounds. Their beliefs and practices were not merely a reflection of economic interests, but developed into a principle of action with a biblical value system.[885]

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Korean Protestants who resisted imperialism during the Japanese occupation had a sense of historical responsibility for justice and peace through the Bible. Many church leaders and Christians participated in independence movements, such as the March First Independence Movement, the Provisional Government, the armed resistance and the nationalistic movement. Biblical narratives that the Israelites resisted imperial forces and overcame their national crisis was a sobering reminder of Korea's oppression and patriotism during colonial rule. At that time, many Protestants including Woo Duk-soon who supported the army for national independence linked Jesus to the armed struggle against imperialism.

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[884] Yi Mahn-yol, "Han'gŭlsŏnggyŏng wanyŏk ch'ulp'an'gwa han'guksahoe" [Translation and Publication of the Korean Bible, and Korean Society] in *Han'gŭlsŏnggyŏngi han'gukkyohoewa sahoe, kugŏ munhwae kkich'in yŏnghyang* [The Effect of the Korean Bible on the Korean Church, Society, and Language] (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 2011), 7-54.
[885] Park Chung-Shin, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*, 17-49.

"When I constantly pray, the Lord Jesus be my witness! Please save the Korean Peninsula as we yearn. Wicked old enemy [a Japanese political leader], if you give virtue to our 20 million compatriots, you will receive benefits, and if you commit a crime, you will receive punishment. I will kill not only you but your own 50 million Japanese, starting today, with my own hands."[886]

Yun Chi-ho also called God as the bastion of Korea against the Japanese imperialists, and described Korea as a nation protected by God, regarding Koreans as crusaders. Gil Sun-ju, a pastor who led the Great Revival in Korea in the early 20th century, stated that "the God of Moses, Jesus and the Israelites is our God, the power given to Moses, the love given to Jesus, and the salvation given to the Israelites will be given to Korea people."[887]

In 1908, a nationalistic newspaper the *Taehanmaeilshinbo* [Korean Daily Newspaper] published a leading article, saying that "the best scheme for prosperous a nation was to call the name of Jesus and return to God, taking the Bible in their hand."[888] Discovering the nation through Jesus in the Gospel and focusing on the Jewishness of historical Jesus, Protestant nationalist testfied of Jesus existing in the suffering of the nation. The image of the passion of Christ had a great ripple effect, and could provide imagination for biblical liberation to the Koreans under harsh colonial rule.[889]

A critical mind that opposes the existing social order and seeks meaningful social change was triggered by the Bible. The historical consciousness of the Korean Protestants gradually shifted from the religious to the political, economic, social and cultural. The biblical narratives, including the Exodus, which illustrate struggle and salvation in the history of the Israelites, inspired Korean Christians to the conclusion that they were a chosen people and could be liberated from colonial rule, sparking nationalism and becoming a driving force in the actual national movement. Although the revival service, initiated by the missionaries, focused on personal, psychological and transcendental dimensions, civic consciousness, nationalism, and pacifism were also promoted by biblical faith, which became a key driver of social change.[890]

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[886] Min Kyung-bae, *Korean Christian Church History* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2007), 251-252.

[887] Hoe Ho-ik, *Kilsŏnju moksaŭi mok'oewa shinhaksasang* [Theology and Ministry of Rev. Gil Sun-ju] (Seoul: Korean Christian Literature, 2009), 258-264.

[888] "Sŏhomundap," *Taehanmaeilshinbo*, March 1908, 5-18.

[889] Chung Sung-woo, "How Jesus Came to be a Religious Icon of Nationalism and Anticommunism in Korean Modern History," *Korean New Testament Studies* 20 (2013): 574.

[890] Park Hea-nam, "Colonial Modernity and Christianity: Focused on the Formation of Korean Protestant Ethic in the Period of the Korean Empire," *Asian Journal of Religion and Society* (2010): 7-43.

6.2.5 Sermons of the Early Korean Preachers

Preaching in early Korean Protestantism was led by the missionaries and a few Korean preachers. Korean Protestants such as evangelists, elders and teachers also stepped into the role of delivering sermons due to the lack of preachers. During the Japanese colonial rule, preaching was not limited to a religious character, but became a space for forming public opinion and solidifying social consciousness. In addition to the Sunday worship services, Protestant churches held early morning prayer meetings, Wednesday services, all-night prayer meetings, united revival and the Bible study meetings, so that churches became a public sphere, discussing social issues and fostering social consciousness.[891] Considering the social impact of hundreds of people crowded into church meetings, preaching was an ideal vehicle for Koreans to produce and disseminate political discourse.[892]

According to the *Paikmok Kangyn* [The Sermons by One Hundred Pastors and Teachers], which was the first sermon collection in Korea in 1920, Korean preachers pursued an attempt to create awareness of colonial reality and inspire national identity through biblical narratives, metaphors and images, even though criticism of colonial rule was strictly restricted. The suffering and liberation of biblical Israel, oppressed by the Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Roman Empires, brought direct empathy from the Korean congregations. The Israelites, who had been made captive by the Babylonians, were considered to be Koreans, as the tragedy of Koreans was likened to the history of biblical Israel. Imagining Daniel getting down on his knees towards Jerusalem three times to pray and praise, Korean Protestants, as the people of God, realised what they should do to overcome imperialistic oppression with faith (Dan. 6:10).[893] The Exodus and the Return to Zion where the Israelites returned to the Land of Canaan from slavery in Egypt and Babylonian exile were read as the biblical foundation for the liberation of Koreans during the Japanese colonial period.[894]

> "The power of God, which delivered the Israelites out of Pharaoh's hand and defeated tens of thousands of Assyrian soldiers overnight, was not lost… Let us

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[891] Park Chung-Shin, *Kŭndaehan'gukkwa Kidokkyo* [Modern Korea and Christianity] (Seoul: Minyoungsa, 1997), 57.

[892] Ryu Dea-young, *Han'gukkŭnhyŏndaesawa Kidokkyo* [Korean Modern History and Christianity] (Seoul: P'urŭnyŏksa, 2011), 117.

[893] Lee Susanna, "Naege Innŭn Kŏt" [What I Have], *Paikmok Kangyun*, 160-161.

[894] Kim Young-je, "Insayngun Nakuneyla" [Life is Traveler], *Paikmok Kangyun* [The Sermons by One Hundred Pastors and Teachers] (1920), 18-19; Park Qu-Hwan, "Christian Faith and National Consciousness in Protestant Sermons during the Japanese Occupation", *Christianity and History in Korea 39* (2013), 255.

endure until that day, and do according to God's will for the happiness of our nation, the advancement of mankind, and the coming of heaven."[895]

In the history of Israel, apocalyptic literature and eschatology that foretells supernaturally inspired cataclysmic events that will transpire at the end of the world was formed during the time of the imperial domination or political chaos. Similar features are found in the sermons of the early churches. Under the colonial oppression, a pessimistic view of reality became coupled with an expectation of an apocalyptic scenario, which is marked by an imminent crisis, a universal judgment, a supernatural resolution, and specific biblical expressions "naked we come into the world, and naked we leave it", "Jesus will return to earth", and "we expect to return to our heavenly home."[896]

Park Qu-Hwan points out that eschatological metaphors and images such as "the imminent return of Jesus" were not used to evade their responsibilities as a nation, but became the driving force for eliminating real problems. Unlike the missionaries, preachers did not highlight a dichotomy of the sacred and the profane, and did not depoliticise the church. They believed that heavenly people were social beings to do good in this world, so Christians must learn about the Jesus who loved "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 10:6). Reform of a corrupt society was emphasised for a better life, and national consciousness and resistance to imperial rule was suggested to achieve biblical love, justice, liberation and peace.[897]

The early Korean preachers deemed Christianity as a religion of justice that proclaims the reign of God as a society in which God's justice is realised. In many sermons the emphasis was placed on humanitarianism, justice and peace based on the biblical ideal, criticising the law of the jungle and suggesting coexistence of the weak and the strong. Cha Hyung-eun in his sermon *liberation*, preached that biblical justice was liberation from all forms of repression and liberation of all nations, beyond the confines of a particular nation or sphere.[898] Several preachers followed the example of Jesus, rather than Old Testament narratives and images, urging congregations to be Christians who establish justice. They proclaimed that the days of aggressiveness and imperialism were over, and the age of moral justice was coming.[899] Likewise, Gil Sun-ju and Ju Ki-cheol had

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[895] Kim Hwal-lan, "Turyŏwŏhaji Mara" [Do Not Be Afraid], *Paikmok Kangyun*, 76-81.
[896] L. L. Grabbe, "Introduction and Overview" in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationship*, eds. L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 2-43, esp. 22; Greg Carey, *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature* (St. Louis, MO: Chalice, 2005); Kim Sang-jun, "Ch'usuŭi Pirŭl Pilta" [Pray for Rain to Harvest], *Paikmok Kangyun*, 168-172.
[897] Park Qu-Hwan, "Christian Faith and National," 256-258.
[898] Cha Hyung-eun, "Haebang" [Liberation], *Paikmok Kangyun*, 93.
[899] Park Qu-Hwan, "Christian Faith and National," 258-259.

conservative theological views, but paid attention to national issues, professing liberation and the role of the prophets in opposing structural oppression. Ju Ki-cheol particularly understood the sermon as the prophetic voice of God, often referring to Elijah, Jeremiah and John the Baptist.[900]

Park Qu-Hwan argues that early preachers fostered social consciousness, despite the backscratching relationship between Japanese imperialists and Western missionaries. Since the first Korean pastors were produced in 1907, Protestantism was the birthplace of national movements throughout 1910s. As mentioned in Chapter 3, American missionaries tried to depoliticise the church with a discourse of separation between the church and a state which forced compliance and obedience to state power. Despite conflict with the missionaries and the persecution of the colonial government, Korean preachers inspired the hope of independence by instilling a sense of justice and resistance. The nonviolent resistance found in the March First Movement, in 1919, can be attributed to the sermons of the early Korean preachers.[901]

After a nationwide protest against colonial rule, Japan changed their colonial governance from the direct military rule of the first ten years to a cultural rule, allowing a limited degree of freedom of expression. It seemed to be an appeasement policy, but was a deceptive policy in a bid to forestall bad international publicity caused by the brutal suppression and massacre of the independence movement. This alteration in colonial rule had a great impact on the Korean Protestant church, responding to the policy of the missionaries to form a cosy relationship with colonial authorities, and focus on expansion of the church. A change of attitude brought high growth to the church, resulting in the number of Protestants exceeding 250,000 in 1924 and 300,000 in the early 1930s. On top of the superficial adjustments, salient changes had been made in the preaching and faith pattern. Since the 1920s, preaching had prompted churches to move toward strengthening ecclesiastical authority and conforming to the existing state system. The majority of preacher instigated separation between faith and national issues, saying that Christians who followed Jesus for social improvement or national consciousness were improper, and the church was not a place to discuss social political and international issues.[902]

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[900] Lee Sang-kyu, "Han'gukkyohoe Kangdanŭl Marhada" [Discussing the Pulpit of Korean Churches], 55-56.

[901] Park Qu-Hwan, "Christian Faith and National," 259-260.

[902] Kim In-seo, "Nŏhŭido ttohan kagoja hanŭnya" [Do you also want to go?], *Shinangsaenghwal* (1932): 7-10; Song Chang-guen, "Onŭl chosŏn'gyohoeŭi samyŏn" [The Mission of the Korean Church], *Shinhakjunam* (1933), 21-26.

6.2.6 Theology of War and Peace in Early Korean Protestantism

Shortly after Korean Protestantism began, Korean Protestants were confronted by the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, but there was no room for pondering on war in the light of the Christian faith. The people, who were not protected by state power, fled to the churches for protection for their lives and properties, affording churches an opportunity to grow.[903] As a result of World War I, when Japan had participated as a member of the Allied Powers, Korean Protestantism started to pay attention to the issue of war and peace. Protestants who got news of the war were shocked by the devastation of millions of lives and ruined countries, including churches, in Europe. Analysing Korean Christian magazines and newspapers at that time, Yang Hyun Hye outlines several causes of the war noted by Korean Protestants: 1. Human egotism, greed, and hatred, 2. State supremacy of European modern civilisation, 3. Scientism, 4. National egotism based on capitalist competition.[904]

Yang assessed that the early Korean Protestantism correctly recognised fundamental contradictions of Western modern civilisation. Since then, Korean churches paid more attention to international actions, such as the Washington Conference in 1921, discussing the reduction of armaments, the League of Nations for peace-keeping in 1920, and the Pacific Conference established in 1925, where intellectuals from the Asia-Pacific region and Europe gathered to discuss common interests. In particular, the *Kidokshinbo* [Christian Newspaper] reported the following about the Pacific Conference from November 1921 to February 1922:[905]

> "Christians should pray sincerely in the face of this crisis and not be swept away by temporary feelings. First of all, it is our duty to pray for the representatives of each country not to be dominated by national egotism, and to get a favourable solution and goodwill under the principle of humanity."[906]

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[903] Han'gukkidokkyoyŏksahak'oe, *Han'gukkidokkyoŭi Yŏksa* 1 [A History of Korean Christianity 1], (Seoul: Han'gukkidokkyoyŏksayŏn'guso, 1990), 254-255.
[904] "Kyohoewa Chŏnjaeng Munje" [An Issue of Church and War], *Kidokshinbo*, September 2, 1931; "Segye Kaejowa Chonggyoŭi Chikpun" [World Reform and Role of Religion], *Ch'ŏngnyŏn*, May 1923; "Munmyŏngŭi Chaegŏn" [Reconstruction of Civilisation], *Kidokshinbo*, September 7, 1921; Yang Hyun Hye, "Korean Protestant Understanding of War and Peace of the Colonial Era," *Journal of Church History Society in Korea* 34 (2013), 291-295.
[905] Yang Hyun Hye, "Understanding of War and Peace," 295-296.
[906] "T'aep'yŏngyanghoeŭie Taehayŏ" [The Pacific Conference], *Kidokshinbo*, November 23, 1921.

In his article, Woon Yong said that war cannot be a means of peace, and had only a function of destruction, criticising Western countries who justify war.[907] Lee Gun-choon encouraged introspection by the church, indicating that European churches lost the spirit of love and adhered to state supremacy over the church, instigating war.[908] Scrutinising the relationship between Christian tradition and war, Park Hyung-ryong, a theologian in the early Korean Protestantism, said as follows.

> "War is an incomparable tragedy, with countless sacrifices of life and property. Both winners and losers fall into terrible moral corruption. War destroys tens of thousands of innocent families, makes society a den of poverty, widows, and orphans, preventing the development of civilisation. To condemn and abolish war is a thing that any person with a modicum of conscience cannot overlook. It is incomprehensible to be unable to draw a conclusion by debating whether war is just or unjust."[909]

Comparing Pacifism with Just War Theory, Park claimed that the different viewpoints on peace arise from differences of biblical interpretation. He, through biblical interpretation, defined his position on justification of the war.

> "It is true that there are passages in the Old Testament that seem to accept a war for defence. But they seem to be similar to that of the wickedness of the time, in which Moses law allowed a man to forsake his wife. The abandonment of the wife, even if sexual immorality was not the cause, was acceptable in the time of the Old Testament, when human ethics were not fully developed. In the New Testament, however, Jesus who perfected the law and prophecy said that 'it was because you were so hard-hearted that Moses allowed you to divorce your wives, but at the beginning it was not so,' and condemned abandoning a wife. Although war is temporarily accepted at a time when moral consciousness was imperfect, it would be rightfully discarded in the perfect time."[910]

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[907] Woon Yong, "Chŏnjaenge Taehan Kidokkyodoŭi T'aedo" [Christian Attitude to War], *Ch'ŏngnyŏn* (July 1924).

[908] Lee Gun-choon, "Christmaswa p'yŏnghwa" [Christmas and Peace], *Ch'ŏngnyŏn* (December 1924).

[909] Park Hyung-ryong, "chŏnjaenge taehan kidokkyoinŭi t'aedo" [Christian Attitude to War], *Sinhakjinam* 44 (1929): 23-28.

[910] Park Hyung-ryong, "Christian Attitude to War," 23-28.

Park also viewed the Crusade as a result of a desacralized church, defining Pacifism as a desirable attitude toward war. Given that Park studied at the Princeton Theological Seminary and from his position as a theologian, his opinion was likely to be accepted in churches.[911]

Before studying Protestant theology, most early Korean preachers grew up educated by the traditional ideals. In a situation where Protestant theology and faith were not yet deeply rooted, their biblical interpretation had to be influenced by their Buddhist and Confucian backgrounds. This, in turn, provided an opportunity for early preachers to gain insight into the reality of the Korean Peninsula with minimal impact from the missionaries and their theology. However, biblical interpretation by the vulnerable-oriented, and integrated by traditional ideas, did not last long, and later became completely different by Westernised theology and political chaos.

6.3 Pioneers Overcoming Ideology and Nurturing Prophetic Imagination

6.3.1 Following or Resisting the Tide of the Times

Ever since liberation from colonial rule in 1945, until the 1960s, churches maintained an amicable relationship with government power to such an extent as to support military coups and dictatorships. Although several church leaders expressed dissenting voices during the Korea-Japan diplomatic normalization in 1965, the majority of churches upheld the views of state policies, on the pretext of separation between church and politics.[912] This situation was not different in the 1970s when the tyranny of military government reached a boiling point. Despite growing concerns and resistance to political power, most churches still had a favourable attitude toward state power, devoting themselves to church growth. Due to the tragic legacy left by the Korean War, no one was free from ideological conflict and almost all South Korean preachers became anti-communists. For this reason, it is difficult to find sermons relativizing ideology and claiming reconciliation with North Korea for a considerable period of time after the war.

Nevertheless, there were preachers, who objectively tried to criticise communism as an ideology rather than demonising it. They were able to escape from ideological prejudice by looking at the series of conflicts on the Korean Peninsula through the macroscopic

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[911] Yang Hyun Hye, "Understanding of War and Peace," 303-304.
[912] The National Council of Churches in Korea, *Kidokkyoyŏn'gam* [Christian Yearbook], 1972, 296-297; Kim Myung-bae, *Han'gukkidokkyo Sahoeundongsa* [The History of Christian Social Movement] (Seoul: Book Korea, 2009), 107-109.

system of oppression caused by imperialism. By comparing attitudes toward communism from preachers who had similar conditions, we come up with possibilities that war and ideological confrontation can be overcome through the Bible. For example, Kim Jae-jun (1901-1987), Kang Won-yong (1917-2006), Han Kyung-chik (1903-2000), and Park Hyung-yong (1897-1978) were significant figures in the history of the Korean church, fortifying the foundations of the church and theology. Because of their similar features in many ways, their theological ideological differences are prominent.

First, they were contemporaries who experienced the Japanese colonial rule, Korean War, Cold War, dictatorships, democratisation and economic growth. Second, they defected from the North to the South. Third, they had personal traumatic experience of communism and the Korean War. Fourth, all four studied in the US and thus had a pro-American background in terms of the school they graduated from and the ties they had with other alumni. Fifth, they were all Presbyterian pastors, who had once belonged to the same denomination. Sixth, after the Korean War, they were all staunch anti-communists. Seventh, the impact they have on Korean churches and society is still massive. In spite of these conspicuous similarities, there are notable differences in their understanding of communism and anticommunism motivation.

As other theologians did, Kim Jae-jun and Kang Won-yong revealed anti-communist opinions, immediately following the Korean War. Kim described the characteristics of communism as fear, purge, refusal of freedom, and stated that it is delusional to want to live freely under the communists. The incident in which his closest friend Rev. Song Chang-Keun was abducted and taken to the North, along with the suffering and devastation brought by the war, predisposed him toward animosity regarding communism.[913]Kang Won-yong was also antipathetic toward communism because of coming from North Korea to South Korea to avoid persecution by communists. Kang was shocked that a Communist Party was being rebuild and expand in the South, and this situation became the trigger for his anti-communist campaign.[914] To greater or lesser degree, Park Hyung-ryong and Han Kyung-chik likewise took a lasting stand against communism for the whole of their lives. That is not unusual in the situation where most of the churches in South Korea were subjected to anticommunism after the Korean War.

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[913] Kim Jae-jun, *Pŏmyonggi* [The Autobiography of Kim Jae-jun] (Seoul: P'ulbit, 1983), 202-205.
[914] Hong In-pyo, "Understanding of Communism" Journal of Korean Association of Church History 34, 2013.

6.3.2 Relativizing Ideology

It is significant that Kim Jae-Jun and Kang Won-yong changed their anti-communist attitude, relativizing communism, not as an absolute evil but as an ideology. With a few years between them, massive changes occurred in their attitude toward communism. Kim insisted that communism as a specific ideology had its advantages and disadvantages, similar to liberalism. Accordingly, he did not criticise communism itself, but pointed out the problems of dogmatic communism. It was unprecedented and very dangerous to stress this opinion under the regime, which had adopted the strict anticommunism as its national ideology.[915]

> "It seems that the deficiency of the communism is exaggerated due to the tension in the conflict. Thus, we must grasp the essentials. Marxists believe that they are mastering the philosophy of history and science. But it is only an apocalyptic illusion. It is a romantic hallucination that if human beings are totally deprived of individual economic prerogatives, human selfishness is transformed into humanity without possessiveness. Humans cannot transform humanity itself. They can change the ruler, but they cannot change the nature of the ruler. They only adhere to communism and do not tolerate a position that transcends it. Therefore, there can be no real self-criticism."[916]

His critique of ideology was influenced by Reinhold Niebuhr, who saw modern society as a confrontation between God and sinful human rather than between communism and liberalism. He warned that if any ideology is submerged in dogmatism, it could become an idol replacing God, and condemned the dictatorship for exploiting anticommunism to maintain the regime.[917]

  In fact, his anti-communist position did not come from a theological-ideological deliberation, but was a briefly held stance due to his personal experience of certain brutalities by the communists. Prior to the Korean War, there was no exclusive expression of communism found in his lectures, sermons and articles. Rather, his impression of communism in his writing "Christian founding principles of nation", in 1945, was as follows.

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[915] Hong In-pyo, "A Study on the Understanding the Communism of Kim Chai-choon: Comparing with Han Gyung-Jik and Park Hyong-Ryong," *Journal of Church History society in Korea* (2013): 335-369.

[916] Kim Jae-jun, "Kidokkyowa chŏngch'i rainholt'ŭ nibŏŭi kyŏngu" [Christianity and Politics: A Case of Reinhold Niebuhr] in *Sasanggye yŏnginbon* 13 (Seoul: Sejongmunhwasa, 1988), 18-19. First published in 1962.

[917] Kim Jae-jun, "Christianity and Politics," 17.

"Although communism has been based on philosophical grounds of materialism and atheism, there are also many people who are materialistic and atheistic among Christians and non-Christians. If social and religious liberty are allowed, we can act as light, salt and leaven in any era and society. Even though a society is based on selfishness and capitalisation, as an almighty weapon, mechanises, slaughters people and monopolises the market by injustice, looting, war and greed, the church has walked its own path. Seeing their efforts to carry out scientific reforms of political systems for human dignity and improvement in quality of life, we are not able to disparage them, even if they are non-Christians…… Therefore, if communists realise themselves as the servant of God for the establishment of social justice, the church will be able to work closer with the communist than the capitalist and help each other."[918]

According to this article, the church can cooperate with communism or any ideological institution if they have the same goals. Furthermore, he stressed that communism, rather than capitalism, is closer to fundamental Christian values. Kim had the willingness to accept the communist government if Korea were unified and guaranteed religious and political freedom. His opinion contravened the fundamental principles of the regime, and the social conventions of an ideologically divided society. There was a serious risk of being punished by the National Security Law or being oppressed by the regime. As Chae Soo-il argues, Kim aimed for a third way to overcome and to consolidate both communism and the Free World.[919]

An attitude of relativizing ideology can be also found in the sermons of Kang Won-yong. Instead of advocating liberal democracy or disparaging communism, by using biblical imagination he likened the Cold War itself to the crisis of the Deluge. Whether it was the US, the Soviet Union, or a third force, he prevised historical optimism, claiming that there are limits to peace by a certain ideology or state, even if our side would win in the ideological conflict.[920] Kang focused on the mission of churches to prevent the recurrence of war and overcome the division of the two Koreas, rather than blaming communism and North Korea. He said in his sermon that "in the meantime, we cannot

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[918] Kim Jae-jun, "Kidokkyoŭi kŏn'guginyŏm" [Foundational Ideas of Christians] in *Changgong kimjaejun nonmun sŏnjip* [Kim Jae-jun's Collected Papers] (Osan: Hanshin University Press, 2001), 333-334.
[919] Chae Soo-il, "Changgong kimjaejunŭi che3irŭi sŏn'gyoshinhak" ['The Third Day' Missiology of Kim Jae-jun] in *Changgong sasang yŏn'gu nonmunjip* (Osan: Hanshin University Press, 2001), 466; Hong In-pyo, "Understanding the Communism," 356-360.
[920] Kang Won-yong, *Toltŭri sorich'irira* [These Stones Will Start Shouting] (Seoul: Korean Literature Society, 2016), 16-21.

know if we will hate, aim a gun, and kill each other, turning this land into a bloody slaughterhouse. We should fix this split fortress and bring peace to our land. This the voice of God is asking us."[921] Even in the period of bearing the scars of being at a war, Kang focused on pointing out the contradictions of the political system concerning unilateral hostility toward communism, totalitarian states and capitalism, while majority of preachers supported dictatorships and their national ideology. In a time when criticism of the regime, capitalism, or democracy was considered to advocate communism, this sermon brought danger of being tortured and murdered, but Kang did not despise or absolutize certain ideologies unilaterally, highlighting overcoming any contradictions through biblical love accompanied by justice.

> "The rulers of the totalitarian state are not responsible for both God and citizens, idolising ruling power. Citizens are subjected to absolute obedience, deprivation of liberty, and annihilation of human rights…… Capitalism is no different, in terms of monopolising the resources and possessions God has given to mankind. Capitalism, promoting class division, caused forgetfulness of the responsibility to protect large numbers of citizens from exploitation…… Democracy needs to protect the rights of the people from the tyranny of the ruling powers, but due to the desire for power, ruling powers tend to use democracy make the regime permanent."[922]

6.3.3 Discerning Colonial-Imperial Implications

While most preachers, including Han Kyung-chik and Park Hyung-ryong, considered North Korea as a target to be defeated, Kim and Kang accentuated Korea as a country of one people. Kang considered reconciliation to be the most important role for Christians, saying that "the Gospel we have to preach is, above all, the Gospel of peace, and our mission is to fulfill the task given to us as an envoy of reconciliation."[923] He pointed out the factors that hinder peace prevailing in the depths of life and social structure in South Korea. Criticising internal problems giving rise to disunity and conflict, Kang also broadened his horizon by accusing imperial countries of responsibility for war, violence, and division.[924] In his sermon, exemplifying a war widow, Kang found the cause

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[921] Kang Won-yong, "Tchogaejin sŏngŭl koch'ira" [Fix the Spilt Fortress] in *Han'gukkyohoe 120in sŏlgyojip* (Seoul: The Christian Council of Korea, 2006), 322.
[922] Kang Won-yong, *These Stones Will Start Shouting*, 37-40.
[923] Kang Won-yong, "Fix the Spilt Fortress," 326.
[924] Kang Won-yong, *These Stones Will Start Shouting*, 24-25.

of her suffering in both the domestic political-economic problems driving her into poverty, and the clash of the international Cold War system on the Korean Peninsula. [925] Regarding the missionaries who were highly valued at the Korean church, Kang claimed that the Korean church should stand in a position of companionship through self-reliance, rather than a subordinate position with unilateral aid.[926] The purpose of his preaching was to broaden the perspective of congregations, reminding them of the colonial-imperial implications, and that they must be freed from both the oppression and dependence of foreign powers.

Likewise, Kim Jae-jun judged the division of Korea and ideological conflict from an imperialistic point of view, while looking at communism through a de-ideological perspective without being locked into the pro-Americanism and anticommunism of other theologians and church leaders.

> "Because the division of the Korean Peninsula is a pain in our nation, reunification means resolution of our deep sorrow. It is the passion of patriotism to regain the original state of the nation that caused the North to invade the South, and the South wants to reunify through attacking the North. However, the superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union divided the Korean Peninsula into the South and the North, creating two Koreas, satellite states, respectively. Thereby, reunification has remained difficult task until now."[927]

While most Korean preachers focused on the confrontation between the two Koreas, Kim understood war, division, and domestic politics under a framework of an imperialistic strategy of superpowers. In particular, preachers endorsed the US assigning a role for the Korean Peninsula, but Kim criticised collusion between the US and the Korean dictatorship to advance their own political interests.[928] Contrary to the pro-government propensity of the churches, Kim and Kang were critical towards existing political powers, including Korean dictatorships and imperialistic countries. For example, when the Park Chung-hee government came onto power via military coup, his first commitment was to formulate anticommunism as the most important national policy. Accordingly, Christians in South Korea, who had enmity toward communism and North Korea, considered him as a guardian of the church and state, even though he was a dictator. However, Kim mentioned that Park Jung-hee used anticommunism as a national ideology, in order to

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[925] Kang Won-yong, *These Stones Will Start Shouting*, 36.
[926] Kang Won-yong, *These Stones Will Start Shouting*, 44.
[927] Kim Jae-jun, *Pŏmyonggi* [The Autobiography of Kim Jae-jun] (Seoul: P'ulbit, 1983), 191.
[928] Kim Jae-jun, *Kimjaejun chŏnjip 14* [The Complete Works of Kim Jae-jun] (Seoul: Hanshin University Press, 1992), 14-18.

suppress political opponents. Kim criticised the policy saying that anticommunism could be illustrated as almighty amulet to protect the dictatorship, sentencing political dissidents to severe punishment by charging them as a communist, spy or national traitor.[929]

6.3.4 The Causes of the Differences in Biblical Interpretation

It should be noted that while Han and Park often mobilised the Bible as a tool to justify anticommunism, Kim and Kang did not conscript biblical texts, even when placing blame on the communists. What is the decisive factor that created these differences? As Hong In-pyo argues, although all four figures had similar conditions and backgrounds, Park and Han were greatly influenced by American missionaries, taking a similar position in the literal interpretation of the Bible, puritanical ethics, and anticommunism.[930] Jang Dong-min also argues that the early education of Han and Park by American missionaries played a crucial role in becoming anticommunist, despite studying at an American school with a relatively liberal stance on biblical criticism.[931] On the other hand, Kim and Kang were born in a Confucian setting and studied Korean traditional ideas. In the case of Kim, his biblical viewpoint was formed by influences of various Korean and Chinese scriptures, and the biblical studies he specialised in.[932] For this reason, Kim and Kang who were from North Korea, studied in the US, and were once anticommunist, but their biblical point of views were completely different from Park and Han. Kim, particularly, held that Christians cannot self-identify with the existing ideology and that the any ideology existing in this world would be criticised by biblical values. Thus, Park and Han presented biblical images in attacking communists, exemplifying a red dragon, evil, or Satan, but, Kim and Kang expressed their anticommunist stance based on their traumatic experiences, rather than religious connotations.

The propensity of the missionaries to justify the dominant ideology through providing biblical evidence can be also found in the cases of Han and Park. Contrariwise, Kim and Kang, who introduced biblical criticism and applied it to the Korean church, recognised communism as an ideology through a historical approach to biblical texts. We cannot know the intentions which led to the differences in their interpretation, but the results were a more different reality than the interpretation itself. These political moves were

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[929] Hong In-pyo, "Understanding the Communism," 356-360.
[930] Hong In-pyo, "Understanding the Communism," 341.
[931] Jang Dong-min, *Pak'yŏngnyongŭi Shinhak Yŏn-gu* [A Study on Theology of Park Hyung-ryong] (Seoul: Han'gukkidokkyoyŏksayŏn'guso, 1998), 79-83.
[932] Kim Eun-seop, "The Lives and Thoughts of Han Kyung-Chik and Kim Chai-Choon," *Theological Forum* 81 (2015): 45-77.

directly linked to the growth of the church. The churches that advocated and served the state ideology were able to grow into mainstream churches. In this regard, Han and Park achieved theological-pastoral success and the church Han ministered became a representative megachurch through supporting state ideology, whilst Kim and Kang were imprisoned and suffered hardship because they refused the state ideology and resisted oppressive regimes.

Above all else, the biblical viewpoint of Kim and Kang has influenced theologians and pastors who viewed justice and peace as the essence of the church, supported reconciliation with North Korea, and committed themselves to the movement for democratization. Although they were in the minority, the efforts of South Korean churches, particularly those belonging to the ecumenical movement endeavouring for social justice and nonviolence peace, contributed to political change for peacebuilding. It is noteworthy that in this camp, the theologians and pastors who first became anticommunist through the Korean War, have gradually demonstrated features of de-ideology, instilling theological imagination for just peace into the society and church. These faith-based endeavours have resulted in the possibility of creating public opinion and bringing about changes in political decision-making.

6.4 The Influence of Theological Imagination on Social Practices

6.4.1 Efforts to Build Inter-Korean Peace

The biggest dilemma in modern Korean society has always been whether to sacrifice peace for justice or to yield justice for peace. The division has hindered the realisation of democratic politics. In the threat of war, defeating the enemy was the most significant task, so national security was superior to democracy and human rights. As analysed in the previous chapters, theological discourses created by churches could hardly be free from this ideological circumstance. If the church in wartime focuses only on the victory of war and does not care about killing masses of people, churches and their homiletical discourses function as reinforcing national ideology and interests. In order to gain political, economic, and military advantage over the enemy, it was felt necessary to give the regime maximum power, so a blind eye was turned to political terrorism, the death penalty, torture, brainwashing by ideology, deception, and corruption. For this reason, the subject of justice and peace was hardly found in the sermons of megachurches, let alone criticism of social injustices committed by existing power. A national security

doctrine, promoted by the US, to protect the world from the threat of communism had been discouraging churches from making efforts toward inter-Korean peace and reunification.[933] In South Korea this doctrine was enacted in 1948 as The National Security Law (NSL) in response to threats from North Korea, but has been misused as a tool of political persecution by subsequent regimes.[934] Since its enactment in 1948, this law has been revised seven times and is still being used to curtail the freedom of expression, press, and assembly. Anyone working for the realisation of human rights was automatically assumed to be a communist or pro-North Korean. Due to this political oppression, human right activists concluded that it was necessary to democratise South Korean society, before supporting the reunification of the two Koreas. Hence, endeavours for just peace among a few churches were also centred around the democratisation movement.[935]

The Kwangju massacre in 1980, however, caused the realisation that political repression will continue, unless the tensions between the two Koreas are reduced. Following the massacre, Christian leaders came to the conclusion that peace-less social problems, such as economic injustice, human rights abuses, and social disintegration, cannot be overcome by democratisation only, as long as the structural violence of the division-system remains.[936] For this reason, inter-Korean dialogue was prioritised in the ecumenical movement, so as to ease tensions between the South and North. The National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCK) took the lead this movement, the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea declared reunification a missionary task for the church in 1980, and several civilian organisations were established for the reunification movement in the 1980s.[937] The awareness of the limitations of justice without peace made this move possible, and in this sense, this is considered to be the beginning of social practice for just peace.

Under a draconian NSL, any contact with North Korea was restricted by the South Korean government, and anyone who visited North Korea was deemed as a dupe of communism. The discussion of reunification initiated by Christians, including ecumenical

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[933] Cho Eun-sik, "A Study on Reunification Movement of the South Korean Churches: From 1945 to 1990s," *Mission and Theology* 15 (2005): 15-23.

[934] Diane Kraft, "South Korea's National Security Law: A Tool of Oppression in an Insecure World," *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 24 (2006): 627.

[935] Erich Weingartner, "Ecumenical Accompaniment for Building Justice and Peace in Korea" (Dec. 2013). This article was written for a discussion on "The Korean Peninsula: Towards an Ecumenical Accompaniment for Building Justice and Peace" at the 10th General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Busan, Republic of Korea, from 30 Oct. to 8 Nov. 2013.

[936] Sugata Dasgupta, "Peacelessness and Maldevelopment: A New Theme for Peace Research in Developing Nations" in *Proceedings of the International Peace Research Association, second Conference*, Vol. 2, 1968, 19-42.

[937] Ministry of Unification, Republic of Korea, *T'ongilbaeksŏ* [Unification White Paper] (Seoul: Ministry of Unification, 1995), 375.

leaders, was consistently blocked by the authorities, and those who advocated inter-Korean dialogue or reunification were arrested and tortured. The decisive opportunity to make it an issue came from the fourth Korean-German Church Conference in June, 1981, under the overarching theme "Christian Confession in a Divided Nation" and the secondary theme "Confessing Sin and New Responsibility." At this conference, while confirming that the reunification of the divided nations was an essential mission work of churches, there was also a suggestion to establish an organisation to deal with the reunification issue. Pursuant to this suggestion, in 1982, the KNCC established an Administrative Committee for the Institute of Reunification Issues as a special committee.[938]

The trigger for the reunification movement in the Korean church was a consultation on "Peace and Justice in North-East Asia, Prospects for Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts", held by WCC and CCA, in Japan 1984, which is now known as the "Tozanso Process." It was the first official contact between South and North Korean churches at the non-governmental level since the Korean War. The Tozanso consultation stated as follows: firstly, peace and reunification on the Korean Peninsula was the specific practice and goal of the Gospel. Secondly, peaceful unification is not a unilateral mission of South Korean churches but common assignment for both South and North Korean churches. Thirdly, peace and reunification of the two Koreas is the common mission of world church. In determination of this consultation, world churches decided to provide an institutional strategy, in order to visit and contact North Korean churches, in which South Korean churches participated in subjectively. The Dozanso consultation became a historic turning point in formulating the issue of peace and reunification on the Korean Peninsula, and making cooperation and solidarity with world churches for reunification as mission work.[939]

In September 1986, this ecumenical meeting in Tozanso led to the historic, first direct encounter between Christians from the north and south in Glion, Switzerland, as part of an ecumenical process on peace and the reunification of Korea led by the WCC. Under the auspices of global ecumenical partners, many more direct encounters between the

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[938] Yi Mahn-yol, "Korean Protestants and the Reunification Movement" in *Christianity in Korea*, eds. Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Timothy S. Lee (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 244-245.

[939] Erich Weingartner, "The Tozanso Process: Ecumenical Efforts for Korean Reconciliation and Reunification" in *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Churches*, eds. G. Baum and H. Wells (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2009), 67-78; *Idem.,* "Twentieth Anniversary Reminiscences on the Tozanso Process Efforts in Korea" in *Windows into Ecumenism: Essays in Honor of Ahn Jea Woong* (Hong Kong: CCA, 2005), 376; Olav Fykse Tveit, "Ecumenical Accompaniment for Building Peace and Reunification in the Korean Peninsula," in *Cultivating Peace, Proclaiming Hope*, 31-32. International Conference in Celebration of the 30th Anniversary of the 88 Declaration of the NCCK, March 5-7, 2018.

two Korean Christian groups have continued following the Glion meeting. As a result of consultations in Korea, North and South Korean Christians, government representatives, and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA (NCCCUSA) adopted a significant policy statement on "Peace and the Reunification of Korea." United Methodist representatives participated in the development of this statement, in consultation, and in an official ecumenical delegation to North and South Korea in 1987. All those efforts coordinated by global ecumenical partner churches greatly influenced reunification movements and policies, in both the civilian and government sides. [940]

6.4.2 Imagination for Reunification Based on Minjung Theology

Minjung theology emerged in the 1970s from the experiences of South Korean Christians in their struggle for the reinstatement of civil rights. Ahn Byung-mu who was cofounder of Korean Minjung Theology viewed "Minjung", which means the "people", as people who are oppressed by foreign powers and dictorships. As a people's theology, it is a development of the political hermeneutics of the Gospel in terms of the Korean conflict.[941] Although Minjung theologians have focused on the establishment of social justice, their biblical interpretation and discussion of peaceful reunification have exerted an influence on the ecumenical movement for peace in South Korea. Firstly, Minjung Theology has contributed to dismantling the ideological confrontation between the two Korean through the concept of *Minjokkongdongch'e* [national community]. Ahn Byung-mu urged that the first priority of Koreans should be overcoming the division of the Korean Peninsula and accomplishing reunification as an ethnic community, not two states. This concept reaffirmed that South and North Korean people have a common fate and they could pave the way for reconciliation and cooperation beyond ideological conflict.[942]

Secondly, they have set forth a Minjung-centric view that the subject of the reunification movement shoud be the people, not political forces. Looking back on the past, they argued that the people played a leading role in social change in the history of Korea, and advocated a civilian-led peace movement in which all people participate.[943] Park Hyung-

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[940] Olav Fykse Tveit, "Ecumenical Accompaniment for Building Peace and Reunification in the Korean Peninsula" in *Cultivating Peace, Proclaiming Hope*, 30-35. International Conference in Celebration of the 30th Anniversary of the 88 Declaration of the NCCK, March 5-7, 2018.

[941] David Kwang-sun Suh, "A Biographical Sketch of an Asian Theological Consultation" in *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History*, ed. Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia (New York: Orbit Books, 1983), 17.

[942] Ahn Byung-mu, *Han'guk Minjogundonggwa T'ongil* [Korean National Movement and Reunification] (Seoul: Korean Theological Study Institute, 2001), 207-208.

[943] Ham Seok-heon, *Saenggak'anŭn Paeksŏngiraya Sanda* [Be a Thinker to Survive] (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1985), 138; Ahn Byung-mu, *Han'guk Minjogundonggwa T'ongil*, 157, 160-162.

kyu, Ahn Byung-mu and Moon Ik-hwan claimed that the church must always stand on the side of Minjung, and become an organisation that thinks and acts with Minjung, in order for the church to act as a conciliator for peace. They also regarded faith-based endeavours for peace and reunification as people-centred movements, above all else.[944]

Thirdly, they have also relativized ideoloiges from a critical perspective as mentioned by Kim Jae-jun above, and opened the possibility for reconciliation between the North and the South, overcoming blind faith or satanisation in a specific ideology. They paid attention to the suffering of the oppressed people rather than political ideology or system, and deemed the suffering of Minjung as a problem of both South and North Korea. When most South Korean Christians maintained an anti-communist stance, Moon Ik-hwan criticised dictatorships in both North and South Korea, and clarified that Christians should focus on reunification to surmount the tragedy and suffering of the nation, rather than anticommunism. [945] This perspective contributed to transforming the ideological confrontation between the two Koreas and addressing the structural violence in the societies.

Fourthly, they have understood the division of the Korean Peninsula to be a result of colonial-imperial politics. At that time, the majority of Korean Protestants regarded the Korean War and division as internal issues, and were unaware of the colonial-imperial strategy surrounding the Korean Peninsula. However, as Ahn Byung-mu points out, although Korean people were liberated from Japanese colonial rule, it was only "a tragedy of unfulfilled liberation", caused by superpowers.[946] For Ahn, the liberation of the Korean people does not indicate "unification" that unites with North Korea, but "re-unification" that means returning to the previous state. The peace he pursued is to build an independent community free from colonial-imperial suppression.[947]

Lastly, a decisive contribution of Minjung Theology regarding the subject of this study is to inspire the Korean church and society with postcolonial imagination, breaking away from the net-like dominant ideology. Their hermeneutics, starting from the experiences of the oppressed people, contributed to a rethink of theological discourses created in the mainstream churches and of the dominant ideology imposed by ideological apparatus.

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[944] Park Hyung-kyu, "Hwahaeŭi Pokŭmgwa Nambugŭi Taehwa" [Gospel of Reconciliation and Dialogue between the Two Koreas], *Chesamil* 13 (Sep. 1971); Lee You-na, "The Formation and Character of the Unification Theory of Moon Ik-Whan," *Christianity and History in Korea* 27 (2007): 182-183; Ahn Su-kang, "An Analysis Study on Byeong-Mu Ahn's Reunification Theory based on Minjung Theory," *Christian Social Ethics* 40 (2018): 94-95.

[945] Lee You-na, "The Formation and Character of the Unification Theory of Moon Ik-Whan," 181.

[946] Ahn Byung-mu, "Nae-ga Majŭn 8. 15 Haebang Chaengch'wihaji Mot'an Haebangŭi Pigŭk" [My 8. 15 Liberation: A Tragedy of Unfulfilled Liberation], *Yŏksabip'yŏng* 28 (1995): 15, 19; Ahn Byung-mu, *Han'guk Minjogundonggwa T'ongil*, 299-300.

[947] Ahn Byung-mu, *Han'guk Minjogundonggwa T'ongil*, 300-302.

Minjung theologians likened the reconciliation between God and human through the crucifixion of Jesus Christ to the reconciliation between the two Koreas. Images of "the Year of Jubilee", "Exodus", and "Jesus Movement" were utilised as cultural and moral resources for peace. Imagination for peace, reunification, and liberation based on Minjung Theology continued to influence theological and social discourses, inspired social movements for peace and reunification, and promoted the participation of Minjung in overcoming the ideological conflict and division.[948]

6.4.3 The 88 Declaration and Its Theological Features

Following the democratisation of South Korea in 1987, the NCCK announced the "Declaration of the Churches of Korea on National Reunification and Peace" (the 88 Declaration) in February 1988. According to Kim Dong-Jin, democratisation brought opportunities to discuss peace and unification, and the democratically elected regime was obligated to give careful attention to public opinion in the peace process with North Korea. The Declaration was the first time that civil society in South Korea was included in the principle of democratic participation for all people in the unification process. The significance of high-level negotiations in the Korean peace process was also recognised by the 88 Declaration, advocating the three principles of the July 4 Joint Communique; 'independence', 'peace', and 'national unity', suggesting two additional principles underlining the roles of all levels of society: respecting human rights, and guaranteeing democratic participation for all people.[949]

The Declaration outlines the mission tradition of Korean churches for justice and peace, the reality of people in a divided Korea, a confession of the sins of division and abhorrence, and basic principles of the churches of Korea for reunification. The 88 Declaration used biblical citations to disclose ways Korean churches had disregarded the crucial meanings of biblical values because of colonial-imperial ramifications.[950] Biblical texts also functioned to provide theological imperativeness for national reunification and peace, in terms of implementing biblical justice and peace. First, the Declaration referred to Gen. 1:1, Rom. 8:14-17, and Gal. 3:26, 4:7, in order to emphasise that all people are invited to become the children of God, rising above racial, national, and ideological differences. Also, all Christians were depicted as being bonded to the

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[948] Ahn Su-kang, "An Analysis Study on Byeong-Mu Ahn's Reunification Theory," 100-105.

[949] Dong Jin Kim, *The Korean Peace Process and Civil Society: Towards Strategic Peacebuilding* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 131; *Idem.,* "Building Relationships Across the Boundaries," 522.

[950] Dong Jin Kim, "The Peacebuilding Role of the Ecumenical Movement in Korea during the 1980s'" in *Mining Truth: Festschrift in Honour of Geraldine Smyth OP–Ecumenical Theologian and Peacebuilder*, eds. John O'Grady, Cathy Higgins, and Jude Lal Fernando (EOS, 2015), 279-280.

one God and the one Christ, as "the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ" (1 Cor. 12:12). Second, the Declaration reminded that the salvation history of God centres on peace, reconciliation, and justice (Eph. 2:13; Lk. 4:18; Jn. 14:27; Acts. 10:36-40). All Christians, including Koreans, have been called to work as apostles of peace, united in the Holy Spirit (Col. 3:15; Mt. 5:23-24). Korean Christians particularly have the task to practice the Gospel of peace and reconciliation, and to share in the life of the suffering of people (Eph. 2:14-17). Third, just peace was underlined to consider peace as the fruit of justice, and a peace based on a domination-subordinate relationship as a false peace (Isa. 32:17; Jer. 6:13-14).

Fourth, referring to Matthew 22:37-40, the Declaration claimed that Korean Christians had been violating the commandment of love, "Love your neighbours as yourself", due to the sins of bearing enmity toward compatriots who were dependant on, and subjugated to, foreign powers (Rom. 9:3; Jn. 13:14-15, 17; 4:20-21). Fifth, the Declaration cited Psalm 33:16-17, 44:6-7 to point out the sin of supporting rearmament with state-of-the-art and powerful weapons, plus the reinforcement of troops and expenditures under the pretence of preventing another war. Sixth, absolutizing the idols of ideologies enforced by their respective systems was considered to be a betrayal of the ultimate sovereignty of God, based on God's commandments (Ex. 20:3-5; Acts. 4:19). Lastly, by proclaiming the year 1995, the 50th year after liberation, to be the "Year of Jubilee for Peace and Reunification", the Declaration linked theological imaginations overcoming of all the conflicts caused by the repressive political power to the possibility of sustainable emancipation in a Korean Peninsula torn by division, conflict, and oppression (Lk. 4:18-19; Lev. 25:8-25).[951]

Compared to biblical justice and peace in Chapter 2 and the theological propensities of Korean mainstream churches in Chapter 4 and 5, it can be said that the theological features of the Declaration are closer to the former. First, by seeing communism as the evil, mainstream preachers justify their enmity toward communists as implementing justice, but the Declaration views the division and hatred as sins, regarding all people as children invited by God, not separated by ideology. Second, mainstream preachers blame communists and North Korea for the division, but the Declaration points out that the division is a sinful fruit of the present world political structure and ideological systems, caused by a colonial-imperial phenomenon. Third, the Declaration notes that the core value of Christian faith is justice and peace, unlike the preachers who highlight prosperity,

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[951] The National Council of Churches in Korea, "Declaration of the Churches of Korea on National Reunification and Peace," February 19, 1988.

individual ethics, and spiritual salvation after death. Fourth, whether communism or capitalism, absolutizing a certain ideology is regarded as a betrayal of the ultimate sovereignty of God, even though mainstream preachers classify certain ideologies as good or evil. Fifth, mainstream preachers advocate the use of armed forces in the name of justice and peace, the Declaration argues that militarisation, the use of military force, and justification of violence are sins. Sixth, anticommunism is considered to be sin by the Declaration, whilst it is asserted as God's will to protect churches by mainstream preachers. Seventh, by relativizing ideologies, the Declaration suggests allowing free criticism of ideology, unlike preachers who unilaterally support the state ideology.[952]

The Declaration can be said be the most decisive example of providing theological imagination to overcome dominant ideology. Considering that the representative political propaganda of the North Korean regime is the withdrawal of the US forces, it was not mentioned in the Declaration. In addition, in social discourse, the term "reconciliation" is hard to find, even in the homiletical discourse analysed in this study, but it could be adopted in an ideologically divided political sphere. For example, the use of the words "reconciliation", "children of God", and "unity" maximises effectiveness by the re-pairing of the words used in an antagonistic relationship. South Korea has always been generally paired with the US, as North Korea was paired with the Soviet Union. As we saw in the previous Chapter, communism has been considered to be idolatry. This structure, however, can be dismantled by matching anticommunism to idols, the South to the North, and the US to the Soviet Union, China, and Japan, revealing that the colonial-imperial forces have a fundamental responsibility for the division-system. Likewise, the imagination of the "reign of God" and the "Great March toward the Jubilee Year" envision the full range of possibilities to solve ideological-historical-political-military conflicts, discerning what is biblically and theologically relevant in a given situation.[953]

It is also valuable that the Declaration recalled the mission tradition for justice and peace of the Korean churches. As this study described above, the Declaration distinguished the early Korean churches that made great efforts to realise the true hopes of liberation and independence, guided by the Bible, from the later history where churches committed many errors. According to the Declaration, Korean forebears in faith preached the Gospel to the poor, planted the hope of liberty and independence among the oppressed, and pursued the mission of national liberation and independence under the slavery of the colonial rule. By dividing the history of Korean church into periods of

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[952] The NCCK, "Declaration of the Churches of Korea on National Reunification and Peace," February 19, 1988.

[953] Mark Johnson, *Moral Imagination: Implications of Cognitive Science for Ethics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), ix-x.

resisting oppression and complying with the colonial-imperial division-system, the Declaration shows the true meaning of justice and peace that churches have to pursue. In the mission tradition for justice and peace, the Korean church could not find the true meaning of peace in the complacency and security of a life bowed down in slavery. South Korean Christians have had a long-standing, deep-seated mistrust and enmity toward the communist regime, staying blindly attached to an anticommunist ideology. The Declaration, inspired by the grass-roots based community of early Protestantism, argues that in order for the promotion of the people's participation to overcome the division, neither the north or south government may exercise a monopoly over information about the other side, nor monopolise the discussion on reunification. Guaranteeing freedom of speech is highlighted to encourage people to participate in the process of discussing and establishing policies for reunification. To do this, there must be systemic and realistic guarantees for the activities of civilian organisations in terms of the reunification issues.[954]

6.4.4 The Influence of the 88 Declaration on Social Practices

After the 88 Declaration, there was backlash in the majority of Christian churches, directed at the reunification movements initiated by the KNCC. The objection to the Declaration was a concern for a security vacuum caused by the withdrawal of the US forces and nuclear weapons. The peace that transcends the ideologies contained in the Declaration, that is, a neutral position on democracy and communism, was also criticised. Moreover, the opposition camp refuted the statement that North Korea does not have freedom of religion, so that exchanges between churches in South and North were not valid, and that the issue of division cannot be discussed in Christian theory, because it is a matter for the political sphere.[955] The conservative Protestant camp also criticised the people-led reunification, as going into anarchy. They suggested that the Free World and communism cannot be treated equally in discussing reunification, claiming that reunification is not to overcome ideology but to change communists and their ideology by the power of the Gospel. Except for a few ecumenical figures, the majority of Korean churches could not break away from their ideological boundaries.[956]

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[954] The NCCK, "Declaration of the Churches of Korea on National Reunification and Peace," February 19, 1988.

[955] Dong Jin Kim, *Hanbando P'yŏnghwaguch'ukkwa Kidokkyo Ecumenical Undong* [Peacebuilding on the Korean Peninsula and the Christian Ecumenical Movement] (Seoul: The Korea Theological Study Institute, 2011), 215-216.

[956] Lee You-na, "The Unification Movement of the National Council of Churches in Korea and the Unification Activities of Several Groups 88 Declaration," *Christianity and History in Korea* 32 (2010): 263-296.

Despite the opposition of mainstream churches, the 88 Declaration is the best example of the influence of theological imagination on social practice. The Declaration became a turning point that aroused the consciousness of the reunification of the Korean Peninsula in the churches, which had been passive in the discussion of reunification. First and foremost, the theological discourses and imaginations suggested by the Declaration were applied to government policies toward North Korea, such as the "July 7 Declaration", "Korean National Community Unification Formula", "Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between South and North Korea" (the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement) signed on December 13, 1991, and the "Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula" signed on January 20, 1992.[957] Also in the student movement, activists copied and distributed the Declaration, proposed contact and dialogue with students in North Korea, and expressed active support for the Declaration. The major news media rated the Declaration a historical document that sparked a debate over reunification throughout society. At the time, officials of the Ministry of Unification highly praised the Declaration and a lecture introducing it was held at the Ministry of Unification.[958]

The 88 Declaration played a major role in advancing the July 7 Declaration in July 1988, which was special declaration by President Roh Tae-woo, containing the basic direction for the inter-Korean relations and Nordpolitik, based on the principles of self-reliance, peace, democracy, and welfare. President Roh announced a government initiative to promote civilian exchanges between the North and South. The high-level talks led the respective Prime Ministers to sign the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement in 1991, in which the two sides pledged to respect each other and to promote reconciliation and cooperation.[959] The ecumenical movement welcomed the agreement and pointed out that the key proposals of the 88 Declaration were reflected in the essence of the Basic Agreement. The agreement focused on mutual respect, the renunciation of armed aggression, exchange and cooperation in many sectors, and the guarantee of free exchange of people between the south and north. The South and North recognised that their relations constitute a special interim relationship stemming from the process towards reunification, rather than a relationship between two states. They also expressed the desire to realise multi-faceted exchanges and cooperation to advance prosperity and

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[957] Kwang Soo Choi, "Korean Unification: Problems and Future Prospects" in *Korea in the 1990s: Prospects for Unification*, ed. Steven W. Mosher (London: Transaction Publishers, 1992), 39-46.
[958] Oh Jae-sik, "P'yŏnghwat'ongil Tamŭn 88Sŏnŏn Manjangilch'i Ch'aet'aek" [Unanimous Adoption of the 88 Declaration that Included Peaceful Unification], *Hankyoreh*, April 28, 2013; *Hankyoreh*, May 22, 1988.
[959] Gabriel Jonsson, *Towards Korean Reconciliation: Socio-Cultural Exchanges and Cooperation* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), 57; Dong Jin Kim, *The Korean Peace Process and Civil Society*, 134.

common national interests, as in the 88 Declaration. The South and the North determined to recognise and respect each other's systems, to not slander or vilify each other, and not attempt any action of sabotage or subversion against each other. In Article 6, the agreement included that the two sides would not use force and not undertake armed aggression against one another. In order to implement and guarantee non-aggression, the two sides decided to phase in reductions in armaments including the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and attack capabilities, and the verifications thereof.[960] The similarities between the 88 Declaration and the Agreement were meant to align the influence of civil society in South Korea to the Korean peace process. The Declaration was recognised positively by policy makers in the government, and helpful in forming a public opinion, which approved the new government initiative toward North Korea.[961] Therefore, the theological discourse, which had been mobilised to strengthen state ideology in the Cold War and division system, has been an example of acting as a driver of societal change similar to the early Korean Protestant communities.

6.4.5 Theological Imagination for Social Change

Even without the role of the ecumenical movement, the peace process between two Koreas would have progressed, but it is obvious that the ecumenical movement functioned as a catalyst to provide impetus and justification. Religious leaders in the ecumenical movement realised that their imagination based on the religious sphere was a viable alternative in realpolitik. Kim Dong Jin says that the churches were able to generate a collective belief for peace by biblical values and norms in addition to recognising sociocultural contradictions, that the religious characteristics of Christians who shared these beliefs have the potential to contribute to peacebuilding by inducing social change. He argues that the ecumenical movement showed possibilities for establishing peace on the Korean Peninsula and a political change from conflict to peace, in which groups in various areas participated, sharing moral imagination.[962]

In relation to the subject of this study, there needs to be more mention of the kind of imagination which functions in an ideologically divided society. What is more important than identifying the presence of imagination is the feature and kind of imagination? As seen in Chapters 5 and 6, the sermons of Korean churches are swamped by images, metaphors, and narratives, creating imagination, but these are mainly used to strengthen

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[960] Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between South and North Korea, 1991. https://peacemaker.un.org/korea-reconciliation-nonaggression91
[961] Dong Jin Kim, *The Korean Peace Process and Civil Society*, 139-140.
[962] Dong Jin Kim, *Peacebuilding on the Korean Peninsula*, 203.

the dominant discourse, narrative, and ideology. I suggested the essential functions of imagination in the Introduction as refraining from power and ideology, identifying the lay of them, facing the falsehood of them, and presenting alternatives. However, the sermons of mainstream churches are completely allied to the dominant power and ideology by religiously justifying or concealing the falsehood of them. W. Brueggemann argues that the preaching and its imagination are the staging and performance of a contest between the dominant narrative account that is cast among us as though it were true, and the alternative narrative showing the Yahweh account of reality is more adequate and more reliable (1 Kgs. 18:21). For Brueggemann, offering theological imagination means to contradict the taken-for-granted dominant narratives, such as militarism, consumerism, rat race, US exceptionalism, and royal consciousness of the Jerusalem in the Old Testament. Thus, the imagination must be emancipated and take place in a context where a different conversation about reality, along with refusing the domesticated categories of settled control, opens an alternative possibility, and generates a new world.[963]

However, the metaphors used in the sermons of Korean megachurches are characterised by paralysing the emancipatory imagination in the Bible. For example, using the metaphors of Satan, evil, devil, war, disease, and business, their sermons have functioned as prophetic indictments to criticise the opponents of ruling power, and as spoon-feeding government propaganda to bolster the interests of the ruling power.[964] Fairclough says, "the ideological effect of disease metaphors is that they tend to take the dominant interests to be the interests of society as a whole, and construe expressions of non-dominant interests (strikes, demonstrations, and riots) as undermining (the health) of society *per se.*"[965] The concepts, metaphors, and narratives, used by preachers structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to our neighbours.[966] The use of these types of metaphors govern our thought and everyday functioning, saying that we must fight, defeat, segregate, and keep our distance from others. Thus, rather than "ethics for others", these metaphors are used for "ethics of otherisation", marked by stigmatisation, snobbery, and social splitting. As Richard

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[963] Walter Brueggemann, *The Practice of Prophetic Imagination: Preaching an Emancipating Word* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2012), 3, 22; Lee Roy Martin, "'Your Sons and Daughters Will Prophecy': A Pentecostal Review of Walter Brueggemann's *The Practice of Prophetic Imagination*," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 22 (2013): 155-163; See Terry Eagleton, *Reason, Faith, and Revolution: Reflections on the God Debate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
[964] Julia Todoli, "Constructing Public Opinion through Metaphors" in *Critical Discourse Analysis: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, eds. Megan Short et al. (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2009), 171-181.
[965] N. Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 120.
[966] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live by* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 3-9.

Lischer claims, the task of preaching in an age of violence such as the history of Korea, speaking God's peace and reconciliation is to discern our complicity in the sins of the world.[967] Few preachers can free themselves from the political-economic-social-cultural-religious issues they live in. Considering the biblical cases of prophetic indictments against biblical Israel, the prophets stand with the people being condemned and on whom the wrath of God is expected.[968] Even in the oracles against nations (Amos 1:1-9:10), Israel and Judah are not excluded from criticism. Most of the prophetic imagination in the Bible is based on introspection or joint liability, rather than trying to separate 'them from us.' In this regard, significant features of prophetic indictment are empathy, mercy, and compassion, backed by the virtue of humility before God and irony or paradox.[969]

  Analysing the biblical prophetic rhetoric of American practitioners and exploring possibility of condemnation without contempt in the public square, C. Kaveny contends that their condemnation tends to mutate into contempt. Although the words *condemn* and *contemn* are very close, they have quite different meanings. While the word condemn conveys a context of law and justice, the word contemn comes from the Greek word *temnein*, which means "to cut or cut off", "to prune", or even "to wound or maim." She asserts that the American tradition of prophetic indictment will not be able to contribute to the repentance, reform, and renewal of the US, if it cannot make room for compassion, even for their moral opponents.[970] Her argument is also true of the situation of Korean churches and society. The prophetic indictments adopted by Korean preachers are closer to "contempt" than "condemnation", as seen in the previous Chapter. Even compassion in the sermons of Korean megachurches tends to drip of condescension toward moral unequals, or be lacking in mutual respect toward ideological-political-theological opponents as morally equal citizens. In that sense, the imagination offered by the 88 Declaration can be considered to be an alternative narrative, prophetic preaching, and subversive imagination. As in Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech in 1963, prophetic imagination inspires people to seek a vision, and opens imaginative possibilities for practical reasoning in line with John Dewey's definition of "deliberation" as a "dramatic rehearsal in imagination of various competing possible lines of action."[971] Kim Dea-jung, President of the Republic of Korea from 1998-

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[967] Richard Lischer, *The End of Words: The Language of Reconciliation in a Culture of Violence* (William B. Eerdmann Publishing Co., 2005), 147.

[968] Cathleen Kaveny, *Prophecy without Contempt: Religious Discourse in the Public Square* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 352, 421.

[969] C. Kaveny, *Prophecy without Contempt*, 415-418.

[970] James F. Childress, "Prophecy without Contempt: Metaphors, Imagination, and Evaluate Criteria," *Journal of Religious Ethics* (2018): 170; C. Kaveny, *Prophecy without Contempt*, 418.

[971] John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct: An Introduction to Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1922), 132; Martin Luther King Jr., "I Have a Dream…", Speech by

2003 and Nobel Peace Prize recipient, cooperated with Christian leaders based mainly on Minjung Theology in the democratisation movement, and his political beliefs, such as democracy, productive welfare and peaceful reunification, are rooted in the realisation of God's love and justice, inspired by prophetic imagination.[972] In particular, the fundamental principle that he did not surrender was nonviolent resistance, influenced by the Christian camp pursuing just peace, which could be regarded as having affected his North Korea policies such as the Sunshine Policy.[973] It can be also said that his imagination led to the adoption of the "Statement on Peace and Reunification of the Korean Peninsula" at the WCC Busan Assembly of 2013, urging world churches to "call upon all stakeholders in the region to participate in a creative process for building peace on the Korean Peninsula by halting all military exercises on the peninsula, by ceasing foreign intervention, withdrawing foreign troops and reducing military expenditure."[974]

6.5 Conclusion

Korean Protestantism was introduced during a time the Korean Peninsula was an arena of great power-rivalries. From the early history of Korean Protestantism, just peace tradition, as crucial drivers of social change, were being grafted onto the most disadvantaged as well as reform-minded intellectuals. Early Korean Protestants could relate to the suffering of a biblical Israel pinned in between empires and adapted the biblical narratives, images and metaphors that described the liberation of an oppressed people to their own reality. In the encounter with the Korean language, religion and culture, the Bible became a focal point of faith and life, and a driving force for establishing just peace. Later, as western imperialistic missionaries took the lead in the Korean church, early Korean Protestan churches were subjected to fundamental change in terms of biblical interpretation and faith patterns. Since then, while mainstream churches, influenced by the missionaries and colonial-imperial phenomenon, have functioned as an apparatus advocating and reproducing state ideology, there have been a minority of churches, preachers and theologians resisting oppressive political power, discerning

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Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. at the "March on Washington." https://www.archives.gov/files/press/exhibits/dream-speech.pdf; J. F. Childress, "Metaphors, Imagination, and Evaluate Criteria," 171.
[972] Kim Dae-jung, *Prison Writing* 1, 47-49.
http://www.kdjpeace.com/home/bbs/board.php?bo_table=d02_06&wr_id=245&sca =&sfl=wr_subject&stx=%C6%F7%C6%B2&sop=and.
[973] Choi Doo-hyun, Kim Dea-jung's Dialectical Faith and Social Mission,
[974] World Council of Churches, "Statement on Peace and Reunification of the Korean Peninsula," adopted by the WCC 10th Assembly as part of the Report of the Public Issues Committee. November 8, 2013.

imperialistic ramifications, and creating an alternative discourse for just peace. The Kwangju massacre in 1980 was the impetus for realising the limitations of justice without peace, and the urgency of reconciliation under the division-system. The 88 Declaration, announced by the KNCC, gathering the opinions of its affiliated denominations, was the fruit of these efforts and realisation. The concepts and imagination described in the 88 Declaration, shared with Korean society, influenced alterations in government policy, and contributed positively to the progress of the inter-Korean peace process. Considering the discursive features of mainstream churches in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, the theological imagination for just peace, discussed in Chapter 1 and also found in the 88 Declaration, is adequate and reliable in an ideologically divided society.

7. Conclusion: Theological Imagination for Just Peace

7.1 Discerning Just Peace Tradition Threatened by Imperial-Colonial Ramifications

The concluding chapter of this investigation follows up the research questions which have guided this study: *what caused the division and conflict in the Korean church, in terms of the relationship between just peace and imperial peace?* In order to find answers to this question, this thesis is carried out in several steps. The first step is to explore the just peace and imperial peace in the Bible. The geopolitical and historical similarities between biblical Israel and Korean Peninsula facilitate the understanding and application of biblical justice and peace. As the relation with empires and surrounding states have been a decisive factor in forming just peace tradition, imperial peace has likewise acted as an essential catalyst for colonial rule, division, war, dictatorships, Cold War, and even the birth and development of the Korean church. However, due to the complexity and various facets of historical circumstances, imperialistic ramifications have not been recognised by society and churches for a long time. Apart from the Japanese who directly ruled the Korean Peninsula, America has been regarded as evangelist, liberator, ally, supporter, and guardian, instead of being viewed as an imperialist who provided the fundamental cause for war and division. The brutality, illegality, and corruptibility of Korean dictatorships sponsored by the US have also been concealed under the name of national security, anticommunism and economic development.

The second step to answer the research question, thus, begins with discerning the imperialistic ramifications underlying the biblical, theological and homiletical texts through a postcolonial reading. Regarding the biblical text as anti-imperial, this study rereads the history of biblical Israel and Korean church in terms of colluding with or resisting imperial forces. Since the advancement of Western imperialist countries to the East, both Korean society and churches have not been immune to colonial-imperial effects. American missionaries laid the groundwork in forming the Korean church and theology. They looked at Korea and did missionary work the ways imperialists used to. Despite the historical situation that urgently demanded just peace, theological discourses created by missionaries did not entail refraining from imperial peace and presenting alternatives. Rather, the Bible played a part in exercising colonial-imperial control and subserving political ideologies. The separation between the church and politics, and biblical inerrancy and dualism were uncritically mobilised as hermeneutical tools to

strengthen ideology and practices of imperial peace. This was to unmask the nature of imperial peace which promotes national security, economic prosperity, and individual well-being. For example, war drove churches to anticommunism rather than reconciliation and peace, poverty caused churches to put prosperity above justice, and authoritative regimes triggered churches to become more concerned with institutional interests and survival than implementing core values of faith.

Another noticeable ramification is the Korean version of the Orientalist gaze, found in the sermons of megachurches. Drawing from E. Said's theory of Orientalism, I analysed how the theological discourses of the missionaries and Korean mainstream churches participated in constructing an Orientalist representation of Korean peoples, cultures, and ideas. Because the Korean Peninsula was colonised by non-western Japan, this Orientalist gaze has a more complex geopolitical and theological background than simply the structure of western and non-western. South Korea's emergence as a developed country has meant increasing attention to its position. Preachers of Korean megachurches have shown an ambivalent attitude of superiority toward African, Latin American, Asian, and communist countries, while feeling a sense of inferiority toward western developed countries. Notably, their homiletical discourses have adopted the way that colonial-imperial forces have manufactured the cultural, religious, and political "others." Needless to say, imperialism lies at the foundation of all these structural contradictions and violence, and the main purpose of this research is to critically analyse, classify and specify the imperialistic propensities structured in these social and theological discourses.

The third step is to investigate the universality and peculiarities of these propensities through researching Korean megachurches. To begin with, analysing the sermons of megachurches further accentuates the traits mentioned above. Approximately 1,300 sermons examined in this thesis show prominent pro-Americanism, anticommunism, Orientalism, and belligerence. Under the imperialist or/and capitalist system, prosperity, security, and interests function as a means to cover up, distort, and justify structural contradictions. Similar to Japanese colonial rule, US intervention on the Korean Peninsula, and Korean dictatorships claimed their suitability or/and validity on the pretence of the fore mentioned, coessential features found in homiletic discourses. One reason Korean churches have been growing explosively was that they shared benefits with domestic and external political power, as described in Chapter 3 and 4. The result of analysis verifies that their theological discourses have corresponded with colonialism, imperialism and authoritarianism. In spite of the generation gap, we can also find theological homogeneity between American missionaries and preachers of Korean megachurches. Investigating biblical interpretations ranging from the late nineteenth

century until now is significant in this study to affirm the ubiquitous and permanent ramifications of imperialism, which have been reproduced and enlarged in Korean society, including churches.

Another significance of analysing megachurch sermons is to discern a peculiarity of imperialistic Korean megachurches. A difficulty in disclosing imperialistic damage is that diverse factors are intricately connected with historical uniqueness. Korea was directly colonised by non-Western Japanese, but has not been immune to the impact of American imperialism. Except for a handful of intellectuals, few Korean people are able to link the colonialism to the US. In an ideologically divided Korean society, America is still seen as a strong ally rather than the face of an imperialist. In Americanised Korean churches, this phenomenon is more prominent. Korean Protestantism has benefited from the US, and pastors have played a role in advocating American ideals. Most importantly, megachurch preachers have been in the position of beneficiary or pawn, rather than victim. The development of each sector of society likewise has made their consciousness more ambiguous. As revealed in the Korean and Japanese version of Orientalism, national development has stimulated the desire to dominate others, while dulling the awareness of being oppressed. This evokes the imperial influences spread by Korean churches, which are sending the second largest number of overseas missionaries in the world. These universalities and peculiarities include the answer to another research question, *what are the features of the relationship between the Bible and imperialism in the Korean Peninsula?*

7.2 Reaffirming the Feasibility of Overcoming Imperial-Colonial Contradictions through Postcolonial Imagination

In order to answer the third question, *what are the possibilities of the re-enactment of the theological alternative to the dichotomies and conflicts of churches and society,* this study suggests the importance of homiletical efforts for creating theological imagination for just peace. The symbolic system of Korean society has been represented by the National Security Law, anti-communist metaphors, and pro-American sentiment, created by the education, media and religions. The biblical and Korean traditional legacy of just peace were interrupted by colonial rule, war, and division. Along with direct resistance such as pro-democracy movements, the images, metaphors, and narratives produced in civil society made a relevant contribution to the social change. Led by a minority of theologians and preachers who believed life, peace and justice as the crucial task of the time, inspired by the biblical emancipation, leading the way in democracy, peaceful

reunification, and liquidation of colonialism and imperialism. Especially, prophetic imagination and Korean Minjung Theology have provided them with the ability to discover and evaluate the possibility of just peace alternatives, pulling away from a net-like or mapping of dominant ideology. Their biblical interpretative inclination, which was immune to the impact of American missionaries, can be deemed as a decisive role in relativizing ideology and infusing postcolonial imagination into society.

One example that drew social-political-international attention is the "Declaration of the Churches of Korea on National Reunification and Peace" (the 88 Declaration) in February 1988. The 88 Declaration has been appreciated as an exemplary case where theological imagination led directly to a change of political ideology and government initiatives.[975] The Declaration re-described the prevailing images, metaphors, and narratives tied up by imperial-colonial phenomenon. While emancipatory factors in the Bible had been confined or incapacitated, wittingly or unwittingly, by collusion between the church and politics, this declaration clarified the validity of decolonisation and counter-imperialistic justice and peace in the Bible in this day and age. Not long after this declaration, the government policy toward North Korea began to change, resulting in adaptation of an engagement policy and the beginning of the high-level talks between the two Koreas. Consequently, a series of political changes, caused by theological imagination, reaffirmed the feasibility of overcoming the imperial-colonial division-system through postcolonial imagination.

7.3 Implying for a Further Theology in the Korean Context

The significance of this study is to discern whether the Korean Protestant church has been affected by the protracted Korean conflict, not only in terms of its political affiliations but also in terms of theological discourses. This study reconstructs the history of the Korean church, the relationship between church and state, and the impact of American church and politics, through innovative methodological approach that combines postcolonial studies and critical discourse analysis. Redescribing the Korean church history and analysing sermons created in the Korean mainstream churches from the postcolonial perspective can contribute to giving insight into the theologies of conservative Korean churches and ecumenical institutions.

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[975] Dong Jin Kim, *The Korean Peace Process and Civil Society: Towards Strategic Peacebuilding* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 131-140.

This study also implies that biblical interpretation begins with the experiences of oppressed people, delivering a critique toward Christian theology as a theological enterprise and proposing postcolonial theology of difference as the alternative. [976] Informed by postcolonial hermeneutics and Minjung Theology, the dissertation maintains that biblical interpretations should be extended to an exploration of how theological discourse interact with social discourse and practices. The results of analysing homilies show how biblical interpretation can be influenced by political ideologies, affecting societal norms and increasing structural violence. In view of postcolonial studies, this thesis discusses historical and theological backgrounds of imperial phenomenon, which is beyond the western and non-western binary presented in post-colonialism. The position of church in post-colonialism can be determined by the theological tendencies, whether is aimed at human liberation or institutional interests, rather than by the nation, state, or society the church belongs, that is whether one is the coloniser or the colonized.

By researching the period from the late 19th century to the present, this study also suggests how long, deep, and comprehensive the colonial-imperial ramifications are in the Korean church and society. Analysis of sermons and several examples of sociological findings illustrate that homiletical discourses can influence formation of public opinion, political motivation of congregations, decision-making, and government policy. This study impiles that discourses created in the pulpit can be utilised not only as a resource for human liberation, but can also be mobilised to justify and promote human oppression. On the other hand, the key issue raised from this study is the need for creating postcolonial imagination in the practical realm, as mentioned below.

7.4 Searching for Theological Imagination; Coping up with a New Phase

Just peace on the Korean Peninsula does not materialize through short-term agreements, declarations, or events, but through sustainable processes and structures. Korean churches and society still have a sea of challenge at home and abroad, such as the deteriorating status of the church, deepening social conflict, and fast-changing political circumstances surrounding the Korean Peninsula. In several respects, this drastic change requires the church to discuss further theological responses to meet the demands of the time. Firstly, new megachurches have recently emerged in Korean society in addition to the existing megachurches. Considering their growing social

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[976] Hans Abdiel Harmakaputra, "Postcolonial Turn in Christian Theology of Religions: Some Criticial Appraisals," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Vol. 51, no. 4 (2016): 604-621.

influence, it is worthwhile to investigate the homiletical features that are produced in the generation following democratisation, economic development, globalisation, and digitization that did not directly experience colonial rule and war. Unlike the first generation of Korean megachurches, examined in this study, their theological tendency is commonly known as ambivalent about social issues and political ideologies. Expressing their discursive change according to generational change can be material to assessing current imperial-colonial ramifications and coming up with alternatives.

Second is the requirement to define their complicity with capitalism, imperial-colonial designs, and prosperity theology, given that capitalism is the omnipotent dominant ideology of the contemporary age.[977] In Korean society and churches, a capitalist system has functioned as an unfailing source of supply to culturally, politically, economically, militarily, and religiously solidify the imperial-colonial phenomenon. Although Chapter 4 of this study dealt with prevailing prosperity theology, more sophisticated and extensive explorations are needed to unmask its configuring faces justifying the imperial-colonial dominance principle. Due to professing a well-being cultural space which centres on the upper middle class, their homilies underline the accumulation of wealth and culture led by Christian ethics, which seems to avoid direct mention of ideological issues, and outright hatred or stigmatisation of those with different faith or ideology. However, the Korean capitalistic system, which was transplanted as a part of an imperial-colonial design without an industrial revolution, has been forced to subordinate to the great powers, as the Korean economy was placed on the international division of labour. Besides, as Eagleton points out, culture is not equivalent to ideology, but is close to the broader meaning of the term culture, denoting the whole complex of signifying practices and symbolic processes in society.[978] Even looking at the example in Korean society, culture and economy cannot be separated from colonial-imperial forces and their ideologies. It is necessary to examine the homiletical discourses of newly rising culture-oriented churches, which minimise biblical *mishpat* and *shalom* to the well-being of a privileged minority, unless a pristine biblical justice and peace be effected in both discourse and practice.

Lastly, it is urgent to elaborately design a theological discourse creating imagination for just peace, counteracting the ramifications of systematic, sophisticated, and long-term imperial strategies. Prophecies and the Jesus movement resisting imperialism did not bring armed struggle or physical battle, but resistance to the imperial images, metaphors, and narratives. Crossan specifies that the Roman Empire was spread and maintained

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[977] Jude Lal Fernando, "Introduction," 2.
[978] T. Eagleton, *Ideology*, 28.

by Roman imperial theology, which was advertised by poems, inscriptions, coins, images, statues, altars, and structures, saying that "a small coin that your hand wraps around a large structure that wraps itself around you."[979] In the ideologically divided society, meaning is given to specific words by their political context rather than a dictionary definition or theological meaning. Since the communist regime of North Korea has long criticised American imperialism, a rebuke for imperialism in South Korean society was regarded as taking a political position as a North Korean communist. The use and emphasis of specific terms, such as liberation, people [*Inmin or Minjung*] and self-reliance, also provoked condemnation as being a pro-North Korean leftist or political dissident. Communism has been replaced by a different signifier and symbol, created by ideological state apparatus and those who have traumatic experience under the communists.

Notably, there is also the problem of negation, or the negation of negation. For example, discourse criticising anticommunism indicates advocating communism, and the double negative of communism, such as anti-anticommunism, is not different from communism in the positive.[980] This dialectical problem has influenced theological discourses. Even in sermons, preachers with an emphasis of justice, peace, and emancipation appeared to oppose the authoritative regime. Criticism of the massacre of the American military or the brutality of the dictatorships has been viewed as a prejudice supporting certain ideology, as well as a government, even by conservative congregations. In this regard, biblical quotations and interpretations, speaking with acrimony of prophets, the conflict with the Roman Empire in the Gospel, and the equality of the early Christian community tended to be excluded from the sermons.

A crucial feature, found in Korean preachers and listeners, is that "perpetrators" and "victims" have been coexisting in the same community. Various forms of violence have always been involved in the course of the colonial rule, independent movements, ideological mass killings, war, dictatorships, and democracy movements. The perpetrators, victims, their families, and stakeholders have been forced to coexist in society and churches. In this situation, the preacher faces a dilemma that homiletical discourse aims for reconciliation, but cannot yield any elements of justice and peace. Expressing ideological tendencies or criticising certain violence has provoked a backlash for those with different ideology and interpretation. That is why Korean churches have

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[979] John Dominic Crossan, "Roman Imperial Theology," chap. 4 in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 59-73.
[980] Ho Duk Hwang, "Stairs of Metaphor: The Vernacular Substitution-Supplements of South Korean Communism," *Verso* (Oct. 2016): 2. https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/2890-stairs-of-metaphor-the-vernacular-substitution-supplements-of-south-korean-communism

been divided by political ideology, as well as theology, and as in the cases of prophecies and Gospels, imaginative and poetic languages are more demanding than demonstrative and explanatory languages. It is indispensable to scrutinise the process of employing, interpreting, proclaiming biblical texts, and reify the materialisation of theological imagination.

As examined in this study, imagination in itself does not imply falsehood or truth, but is value-neutral, similar to the concept of ideology. Theological imagination as a hermeneutical device is not a fixed medium that a preacher gives unilaterally to a listener. It can be a tool of oppression or emancipation.[981] In an ideologically divided society, theological imagination can open the possibility of moving beyond net-like imperial-colonial suppression, and of resuming our journey towards just peace and life, as the theme of the Busan Assembly. "The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life, so that one may avoid the snares of death" (Prov. 14:27).

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[981] Gordon S. Mikoski, "A Failure of Theological Imagination: Beginning to Deal with the Legacy of Princeton Seminary on Matter of Slavery and Race," *Theology Today*, Vol. 73 (2016): 157-167.

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