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Foreword

Global Empire as the context of global ecumenical (inter-contextual) mission of Faith Community

The emergence of the Global Empire provides the new global context of theology. This context is ecumenical and universal. No theological reflection can avoid this context. All faiths and religions are bound to deal with this context. There may be different starting points, depending upon locus of the faith community. Whether one is at the seat and center of the empire or at its periphery, one is not outside of the Empire.

In 2001 the Manila Conference on the War on Terror and Globalization focused the issue of the global empire, with a publication of the "War on Terror" (Ninan Goshy, DAGA, 2001). The issue was not to revive the old ideological concept of the imperialism. It was to deal with concrete and empirical reality of the global empire, which enveloped the whole globe. This was one of the beginnings for Asian theologians to treat the issue of the global empire.

In the Latin America the issue of global empire has a long historical root, but it becomes a focus in recent decades (An example: Nestor Migues' treatment of the Book of Revelation). In the United States a several theologians and writers has begun to deal with this issue. The Drew Conference on the Empire (Drew University, 2003) is an example. Our African friends are increasing take up the issue of global geo-politics as a question for "new ecumenical space."

A major debate on the issue of the global empire has taken place at the 23rd General Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. It has adopted the emergence of the Global Empire as the sign of our time, which calls all the member churches and ecumenical community to take confessing stance on the issue of life, especially on economic injustice and ecological destruction. It also set the Global Empire as the context of global ecumenical (inter-contextual) mission of faith communities.

A young theologians group in Korea decided to have a workshop on the question of the Global Empire as a theological framework. This issue of the "Madang" contains some of the papers from this workshop. We hope that this will generate an interest on the issue for a global conversation for a convergence on the issue. We would like to invite theologians all over the world in this conversation.

The editorial committee was to express our appreciation to the contributors and to those who worked very hard in editing and copy-editing of this issue of the Madang.

Chief Editor, Kim Yong-bock

Madang, Vol. 10 (December, 2008), 7-23

"I am a peacemaker in Israel." (Cf. 2 Samuel 20.19) : Women Peacemakers in the Bible

Yoo Yani*

Violence and unpeace are pervasive and affect all in the world. Peace and life have become the keywords of the time. Christians turn to the Bible hoping to find answers. The Bible does not give us solutions to all our queries but it can allude to some. This essay aims at introducing some women peacemakers in the Bible. Through them, we hope to find clues for alternatives and for peace in the world of conflicts and crises.

The Bible contains many stories in which women are both victims of violence and active peacemakers. Women as peace-builders work at every level: to name a few, among individuals (Abigail, 1 Sam 25), in the royal family (a woman from Tekoa, 2 Sam 14), among conflicting groups (a woman at Abel, 2 Sam 20). Or, women are agents of resolving crises that fell upon their community (Esther and Judith). Sometimes, the saving acts of their community do not necessarily bring peace to everyone: the persecutors of the Jews in the book of Esther suffer from violence by revenge and the enemy of Judith's community experienced the same fate.

※ This paper was presented in Society of Asian Biblical Studies, at Methodist Theological University, Seoul, Korea, 14-16th July, 2008.

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This essay deals with three biblical cases where women are agents of finding alternatives in conflicts and crises. In these cases, the conflicts occur between different ethnic groups (Exod 1.15-22), between different groups within a nation (2 Sam 20.14-22), and between members in a family (Genesis 27). Through these stories we will witness to active peacemakers, Puah and Shiprah, Ms. Abel, and Rebekah.

Puah and Shiprah: Midwives Bringing Life amid a Death Decree (Exodus1.15-22)

The book of Exodus opens with a story of conflict. The Israelites find themselves living as a minority in the empire of Egypt. A new Pharaoh arises and is not favorable to them. The nameless Pharaoh is afraid that the Israelites are many in number and will take sides with the national enemy in the case of a war (1.9-10). So he puts the Israelites into forced labor. But the more they are oppressed, the more they multiply. So the Egyptians come to dread the Israelites and are ruthless. We need to note that this book is about the birth of the nation of Israel and is written from their viewpoint. So in this light we consider the ironies and the absurd ways the Pharaoh is described in the story.

Chapter one lists Pharaoh's three plans to oppress the Israelites: forced labor, killing Hebrew male babies through midwives' activities, and then genocide of all male infants. Our story (Exod 1.15-22) is sandwiched between the other two plans and serves as the plan B in which the midwives' cooperation is essential. Their refusal to follow the Pharaoh's command will cause a national policy of genocide, the plan C, but it too will be blocked by women (Exod 2.1-10).

When the Pharaoh finds out that the forced labor policy does not work he commands two Hebrew midwives, Shiprah ("beautiful") and Puah ("girl"),[1] to kill Hebrew boys upon birth. But the women fear God and do not follow the order. When scolded by the Pharaoh they say that unlike Egyptian women, Hebrew women are strong and thus give birth before the

1) The two midwives are given names whereas all other characters, even the Pharaoh, are not. For the meanings of the names, see notes 11 and 12 of Chery J. Exum, "You Shall Let Every Daughter Live: A Study of Exodus 1:8-2:10," *Semeia* 28 (1983): 70-82.

midwives' arrival. This response contains a sarcastic twist of Pharaoh's words and is a careful attack on his prejudice. Because of the words and behavior of the women, God is pleased with them and blesses them.

This short story is rich in irony, humor, and absurdity in the following ways. The king of a great empire stoops to communicate with ordinary midwives, in order to move his intentions forward. Why he should pick midwives, life-carriers, in handling death? There are only two midwives for the entire nation. The midwives get away with a simple explanation. The Pharaoh is foolish and ignorant of childbirth and he in the end commands killing of all boys, including the Egyptians ones unwittingly. These are to be understood as literary devices to enrich the story. Dichotomies such as girls/boys, life/death, Hebrews/Egyptians, the weak/the strong, and men/women are also at work in the process of reading.

It is worth making a few points from the story which are related to our discussion on peace building and life choosing.

Fear of God as the Principle

The reader is invited to ponder on who to be afraid of - human beings or God - especially in times like this. The Pharaoh's fear of the Israelites is epidemic and causes fear and thus racism among the Egyptians. It leads to violence and death. It makes the Pharaoh even resort to the indecent strategy of turning Hebrews against themselves (cf. 5.10-21).

By contrast, the Bible does not say that the midwives are ever afraid of the Pharaoh, a clear and present danger. Instead, they fear God. The fear of God is total reverence and trust in God and is an important theme in the Israelite wisdom tradition (cf. Prov 2.5-15). On the other hand, a practical wisdom for survival says, "Keep the king's command ··· for he does whatever he pleases. The word of the king is powerful and who can say to him, 'What are you doing?' Whoever obeys a command will meet no harm and the wise mind will know the time and way" (Eccl 8.2-5, NRSV). Like other biblical acts of defiance, the midwives' heroism involves an element of the sneaky. The powerless women would not openly disobey the Pharaoh, but deceive him instead, by saying that Hebrew women are strong and give birth before their arrival.[2] Fearing God, however, means going

2) The Bible tells many stories in which a weak party tricks a stronger, or in which

against the will of the king, the highest human power on the earth and risking their lives. They function as genuine wise women who put their faith in the Creator into action.

Life and only Life

This is a story of the victory of life over the seemingly stronger death. Life here implies more than increase of the population. The Pharaoh represents death and violence. Midwives, women giving birth, and babies being born are those whom we imagine represent life and peace. Life is the keyword in the story. The root appears in almost every verse (vv. 16, 17, 18, 19, 22). In verses 15 ("and she may live [*wachaya*]") and 19 ("vigorous [*chayot*]") anomalous derivatives of the root are used. The two occurrences of *hapax legomena* (unattested elsewhere in the Bible) may not be coincidental:[3] they draw the readers' attention to the meaning of the root, "life (*chai*)."

God's reward of the midwives is also life. In verses 20 and 21 where the word "life" does not appear, the concept of life is repeated: "God dealt well with the midwives and multiplied the people and made them very strong. Because the midwives feared God, God made to them houses" (vv. 20-21). The idiom, "make a house" means "give families" and in Akkadian and in Hebrew refers to founding a lineage.[4] Because of the women both their nation and their own families are blessed with life in abundance. The midwives themselves yield life and become mothers of many.

Resisting Together

Why two midwives and not one? Since the two speak and act at the same time, two characters for the same role would not have been necessary. We wonder if they worked together as a team at birth. One can be weak, but two are powerful enough to dupe the emperor.

Midwives did not belong to the high sector of society. If they were experienced midwives, they might be old. Midwives and old age do not

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characters engage in reciprocal, even competitive, trickery. Cf. Susan Niditch, *Underdogs and Tricksters: A Prelude to Biblical Folklore* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988).

3) William H. C. Propp, *Exodus 1-18,* Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 140.

4) Propp, *Exodus 1-18,* 140.

have a lot to do with power and wealth. But they have each other in the act of defying the emperor. Midwives can be ordinary, but working together brings forth an extraordinary result.

The narrator does not describe any active role of pregnant women or women giving birth. But the reader enjoys the freedom to fill in the gap. We can imagine the cooperation and conspiracy of those women giving birth. The solidarity among women to save a baby, Moses, is more elaborated in the following story of Exodus (Exod 2.1-10).

God's Blessings only after the Event

Despite the Pharaoh's deadly threat, God does not step into the scene to intervene. God does so only after the action of the midwives. Even then God does not take action against the Pharaoh. God appears only to bless midwives. There is no clue that they knew there would be God's blessing afterwards. By defiance, they are not only risking their lives, but also losing any possible reward from the Pharaoh, as other stories in the Bible attest (cf. Gen 12.10-20).

The midwives' courage and wisdom and God's concern leave the reader with some optimism. But there is no word in the text that even suggests that the future will be shaped only by what God will do. As Terence E. Fretheim puts, God too awaits a future where human activity, both negative and positive, will have an effect on God's own possibilities.[5)]

The Pharaoh's plan C is a national policy of killing all newborn boys: "Every boy that is born[6)] you shall throw into the Nile,[7)] but you shall let every girl live" (1.22). Why killing males only? The Israelites themselves treated prisoners of war in the same was as it is implied that Pharaoh did; killing all the men and confiscating the women (Num 31.1-18; Deut 20.14; 21.10-14; Judg 21.11-14; 1 Kgs 11.15; cf. Judg 5.30). This has remained a common practice worldwide.[8)] The ideology is based on the patriarchal idea

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5) Terence E. Fretheim, *Exodus,* Interpretation (Louisville: John Knox, 1991), 36.

6) The Masoretic text does not have "Hebrew" and thus indicates all male babies including Egyptians. But the Greek, Samaritan Pentateuch, and Targum add "Hebrew."

7) It is an irony in its reference to the Nile. The image of throwing babies into the Nile prepares for one of the ten plagues, turning the Nile into blood. At the end Pharaoh's successor and his armies will meet their end by drowning (14.26-28).

that life is continued through the male lineage. It is another irony in the story that males are saved by females. In Exodus 2, both Egyptian and Hebrew women will work together beyond ethnic differences to save a baby, Moses.[9)]

The readers who are oppressors would wonder why the Pharaoh did not carry out his plan in a more systematic and empirical way. The oppressed readers would wonder why midwives did not consult with their union and go on a strike. The narrator just presents us as calmly as possible the defenseless defiance of powerless women in the backdrop of forced labor and a national genocide policy. In a way the narrator invites us to ponder on what we would have done in that situation and what they would do in situations like that in this age.

The story points at what the most important thing is. The emperor has a wrong object to be afraid of, an ethnic minority in his empire. The story shows that if there is one to be afraid of at all in the world, it is God. If the Pharaoh knew it, he would not have had to make his people slave drivers and soldiers. If so, an ethnic group would not have to appeal to their God for revenge and curse out of their defenseless resistance. A vivid scene on TV about an Iraqi mother who lost her child leaves a lasting memory. She said, "O Allah, please watch this and remember this," crying and beating her bosom as gesture of lament.

A Wise Woman of Abel Beth-maacah (2 Samuel 20.14-22): A Peace-Talker

Our second story is about a situation of conflict between different groups within a nation. It is another biblical example of taking an alternative to violence and death. The story is the last episode in a series of stories called the Succession Narrative in which David consolidates his power and kingdom. The backdrop relates that David has several problems in having everything under his control: his kingdom is far from one unified one because of the uncooperative northern tribes; his sons have fights over the

8) Propp, *Exodus 1-18,* 141.

9) Exum rightly observes that the story of the midwives is part of a marked focus on women at the beginning of Exodus. "You Shall Let Every Daughter Live: A Study of Exodus 1:8-2:10."

royal throne; he wants to take diplomatic steps in consolidating the kingdom but a general of his, Joab, is so powerful that he does things on his own terms and thus undermines the king.

Now a man named Sheba stirs up the northerners: "We have no portion in David, no share in the son of Jesse! ⋯ Everyone to your tents, O Israel!" (2 Sam 20.1b). The Bible states that all the people of Israel withdrew from David and followed Sheba (2 Sam 20.2). It is hard to call his move a revolt since he did not organize soldiers. But still, Sheba's upheaval threatens the kingdom itself, whereas the prince Absalom's threatened David (2 Sam 15-18).

Joab appears on the scene pursuing Sheba, a symbolic figure of the obstructive northern tribes. In fact, Abishai is the general who is just ordered by David to follow Sheba. This is seen as David's attempt to curb Joab.[10] On the way, however, Joab kills Amasa, another general and his rival, and gets all the power in his hand even over Abishai. Sheba is accepted by his supporters and finds shelter at a northern city, Abel Beth-maach (20:14), one of the northernmost towns of Israel, situated a few miles to the west of Dan.

Now Joab and his soldiers arrive there. He and his soldiers throw up a siege-ramp against the city of Abel. It is a standard method of attacking a besieged city.[11] The mound was intended to act as a ramp enabling the besieging to undermine another part of the wall. Their forces are now battering the wall to break it down. The reader can imagine that this process takes some time and the northerners inside the wall are having an urgent meeting. They do not come up with a solution until the attack starts, but a nameless "wise woman" jumps into the situation at the last minute.[12] We would like to call her Ms. Abel following an old Korean tradition which called an adult woman according to her place of origin. Ms. Abel shouts from the city wall, expressing her desire to converse with Joab. She says to him,

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10) Fritz Stolz, *Das erste und zweite Buch Samuel (Samuel Sang and Ha,* Korea Theological Study Institute, 1991), 462.

11) Robert P. Gordon, *I & II Samuel* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 295.

12) Scholars find a number of verbal parallels in the stories of wise women of Abel and of Tekoa (2 Sam 14). See P. Kyle McCarther, Jr. *II Samuel,* Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 431; Gordon, *I & II Samuel,* 295.

"They used to say in the old days, 'Let them inquire at Abel';
and so they would settle a matter.
I am one of those who are peaceable and faithful in Israel;
you seek to destroy a city that is a mother in Israel;
why will you swallow up the heritage of the Lord?" (20.18, NRSV)

She speaks "in poetry, in a style that is elevated, ceremonially repetitive, and hieratic …"[13] Her persuasive speech moves from the city to "I" to the city again and finally to "you"; from the description of Abel's venerated wisdom tradition to herself as a faithful and wise woman and to a careful but powerful rebuke of Joab for his violence. Through the self-introduction in the middle of her speech, "I am one of those who are peaceable and faithful in Israel," she almost claims "I am a peacemaker," or "I want peace." She put the peacemaker, herself, and the one bringing violence, Joab, in subtle contrast. By her case she emphasizes there are plenty of peaceable people inside the wall. She calls her city the mother city and puts the city in parallel to "the heritage (portion, land) of the Lord." Her conclusion and last blow, "Why will you swallow up the heritage of the Lord?" almost puts in Joab's mouth a negative answer, "Far be it from me, far be it, that I should swallow up or destroy!" (20.20). Joab is now open to a peaceful resolution.

Joab explains why they are assaulting the city. He is the one who suggests a deal first: "Give him [Sheba] up alone and I will withdraw from the city." Even before consulting with her people, the woman specifies the way to deliver Sheba to him: "His head shall be thrown over the wall to you." When she goes back to her people with "her wise plan" (20:22) they follow it right away.

A few points about building life and peace in the story can be made as follows:

Ms. Abel, the Leader, Risks her Life for Many.

Although the story relates the courage and victory of a wise woman, it is filled with danger, fear, and tension. She is here dealing with the most violent figure in the Succession Narrative. Joab is a master of murder: he

13) Robert Altar, *The David Story* (New York: Norton, 1999), 325.

has killed King Saul's general Abner (3:27), the popular prince Absalom (18.14-15), and his rival general Amasa. He is also an expert of siege and destroying cities (11.1; 12.26-31). He is cunning and ambitious. It is always possible that he would refuse the peace-talk and kill the person who brings up the idea, Ms. Abel. It is rare to be equipped with both wisdom and courage. Maybe that is why Ms. Abel could appear only at the last moment when the attack has already started - after mustering some courage.

It is not hard to imagine that there are people inside the wall who take sides with Sheba and want to fight against Joab and his army to the end. We remember a scene in the Bible where a woman was thrown out from a building by people around her at the request of her enemy on the ground (Jezebel and Jehu in 2 Kings 9.30-37). It is also possible that people at Abel consider Ms. Abel as a betrayer and would harm her. Peacemakers are often caught between two opposing parties and risk their reputation and even lives. Ms. Abel is lucky because after all, Joab is the one who believes in the power of women's wisdom as described in the story where he sought for a wise woman to persuade King David to bring reconciliation between David and Absalom (a woman from Tekoa, 2 Sam14).

As King David was seeking consolidation of his kingdom, power was becoming centralized, inherited, and hierarchical and males took positions of public power. Still, the narrator portrays the wise woman as the representative of the people of Abel and as one who can make an important decision in matters of war and politics.[14] This leader who is a quick thinker and good talker, risks her life and saves the peaceable city and citizens and also David's honor and dignity from Joab's blind loyalty. She serves as an alternative to thoughtless violence and also to the power-greedy politics of David and Joab. True leaders are not afraid of personal risks in making peace for many lives.

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14) Jo Ann Hackett believes that the place may not have been much affected by the institutional structure of the monarchy and that older patterns of authority persisted. "1 & 2 Samuel," *Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1998), 95. Some scholars see this woman at Abel as the respected community leader. See Claudia V. Camp, "The Wise Women of 2 Samuel: A Role Model for Women in Early Israel?" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 43, 1 (1981): 14-29; Marcia L. Geyer, "Stopping the Juggernaut: A Close Reading of 2 Samuel 20:13-22," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 41, 1 (1986): 33-42.

Keeping the Principle of Peace

Just like Puah and Shiprah, Ms. Abel had a principle in mind to follow even in the most critical situation. If that principle was life for the midwives in Exodus 1, it is peace for Ms. Abel. In the beginning of her speech she quotes a saying, "Let them inquire at Abel." The city is known as a place where people with problems come to find solutions and alternatives. The city has many people with wisdom and creative ideas in solving problems. Ms. Abel, a wise woman, claims that she is "one of those who are peaceable and faithful in Israel." Thus finding a peaceful way to a problem is her tradition and principle. As Walter Bruggemann puts it, "The wise are those not trapped in conventional perceptions. They are those who can think of an alternative way around the present set of circumstances." [15)]

The phrase, "a mother city," [16)] invokes images of peace in the midst of a male warrior culture. In Bruggemann's expression, her mothering voice speaks for this mothering city.[17)] The city is figured as a mother and its destruction would be a kind of matricide. So he is engaged in a deal initiated by a woman. She is able!

Even the Most Violent Can Sit at a Peace-Talk Table.

The story suggests that even the most dangerous and ambitious person or group can be involved in rational negotiation and learn a way to avoid widespread bloodshed. But both parties need to be willing to communicate with one another. For that, invitation to be in communication is necessary. In our story a ruthless killer and a woman make an uneven match on the peace-talk table. Several times Ms. Abel had to invite the other party. She said, "Listen, listen" ··· Listen" (20.16, 16, 17) before Joab finally

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15) Walter Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel,* Interpretation (Louisville: John Knox, 1990), 331.

16) The literal Hebrew is "town and mother," a hendiadys which is a stylistic device indicating one concept using two words. Cf. Altar, *The David Story,* 325.

17) Bruggemann, *First and Second Samuel,* 332. The mother is used here in the sense of "mother-city" (cf. 'metropolis'), just as the 'daughters' of a city are its satellite villages (e.g. Judg 1.27). Gordon, *I & II Samuel,* 295. The phrase, "a mother in Israel," was used to refer to Deborah (Judg 5.7). She earns this accolade for her good and effective counsel.

responded, "I' m listening" (20:17).

The invitation is radical because it sounds impossible to work together with the untrustworthy enemy. But the invitation surprisingly makes Joab, with his own mouth, the first to come up with an alternative. Ms. Abel shows that even the most brutal party can be invited to peacemaking. In Tony Cartledge's words, conflict is inevitable; violence is not.[18] Whether it is in Palestine or Northeast Asia, peaceable negotiation is always preferable to physical aggression.

Giving up One Life for Many?

The alternative to Joab's massacre is to give up one life, Sheba. A person who has a different idea about David's reign is sacrificed. It is not his voluntary surrender. Sensitive readers are bothered by this solution.[19] The narrator presents that the sacrifice of one for the sake of the many is the best course of wisdom in this situation. But the readers hear the silent cry of the northerners who had to give up their kinsman and leader. The readers also feel the pain and sorrow of the mother of the city, Ms. Abel. The city and the mother lose one of their children. She would know that taking alternatives does not always guarantee the best of her interest. The modern readers are keenly aware of the fact that the sacrifice of one life is too many. In fact, the story urges the readers to work harder not to lose even one life.

Rebekah: The Mother Who Prevented Fratricide (Genesis 27)

Our third paradigm of women making peace in the Bible comes from Rebekah in Genesis 27. This time the conflict is located within a family. Rebekah the mother helps Jacob her younger son of the twins to get a blessing from Isaac the father who originally wished to bless Esau the elder. She overhears Isaac's speech (27.5) to Esau which reveals his will to bless him upon the latter's return from hunting. She cooks Isaac's favorite dish and disguises her homebody son Jacob as Esau. Isaac takes Jacob for Esau and blesses him.

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18) Tony W. Cartledge, *1 & 2 Samuel* (Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 2001), 634.

19) Gordon argues that "a wisdom which counsels the beheading of an individual in order to save a city is no mere ethereal, humanistic abstraction; it is more like the cunning 'wisdom' of Jonadab (13.3)." *I & II Samuel,* 296.

Scholars and preachers have often blamed Rebekah for the family feud: the conflict was caused by her preference to one of her sons and by her trickery.[20] The charge is not valid since it does not consider the literary role she is to play in the entire Rebekah narratives.[21] During her pregnancy, she, not the patriarch Isaac, received a divine oracle about the future of her descendants, which appointed Jacob the younger son as the heir (25.23). The narratives revolve around the oracle. Ever since the incident, Rebekah must have waited and prepared for the opportune time to fulfill the oracle. The so-called trick story in Genesis 27 narrates that she spontaneously responds to the given situation. As Mary D. Turner puts it, perhaps Rebekah's only alternatives were to deceive Isaac or do nothing at all.[22] If she is the only one who knows the secret of the heir, who else would be responsible for fulfilling the mission?

Esau returns from hunting and realizes his brother took his blessing. Esau makes his mind up to kill Jacob (27:41). Now Rebekah's task is to prevent fratricide, the potential tragedy of the family. She urgently calls Jacob and speaks to him. "Look! Esau your brother is consoling himself by planning to kill you. Now, my son, listen to my voice; rise and flee to my brother Laban in Haran and dwell with him some days until your brother's anger turns away, until your brother's fury turns away from you and he

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20) John Calvin said, "Her lie darkens the celestial oracle and abolishes ⋯ the grace promised to her son." *Commentaries on the First Book of Moses Called Genesis* (trans. J. King; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948), 84. Martin Luther lingers between two irreconcilable opinions regarding her behavior: "she accomplished the divine oracle wholly in faith and it was 'a serious and horrible sin against the husband.' " *Luther's Works: Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 26-30* (ed. J. Pelikan and W. A. Hansen; Saint Louis: Concordia, 1968), 110-21; Samuel R. Driver says her action is "utterly discreditable and indefensible." *The Book of Genesis* (London: Methuen, 1913), 255; Arthur S. Herbert says "nothing can excuse the deceit practiced on the aged and blind Isaac." *(Genesis 12-50,* London: Bloomsbury, 1962), 76.

21) The Rebekah narratives are a unified literary unit with theological purposes. They are Genesis 22.20-24; 24; 25.19-34; 26.1-11, 34-35; 27.1-17, 42-46; 28.8-9; 29.12; 35.8; 49.31. See Yani Yoo, *A Rhetorical Reading of the Rebekah Narratives In the Book of Genesis* (Ann Arbor: ProQuest Information and Learning, 2001).

22) Mary D. Turner, "Rebekah: Ancestor of Faith," *Lexington Theological Quarterly* 20 (1985): 46.

forgets what you have done to him; then I will send, and bring you from there. Why will I lose both of you in a day?" (27.42-45).

In her lengthy speech she employs her most commanding matriarchal tone and the same phraseology that she used to move Jacob twice before: "Now, my son, listen to my voice" (27.8, 13). She commands him with three imperative verbs (listen, rise, flee) and a verb (dwell) with the imperative sense.[23] She quickly lays out her plan that he should take refuge at her brother's house in Mesopotamia. In an attempt to persuade him to flee, she deliberately contrasts "your brother" (Esau) as a source of danger and "my brother" (Laban) as a place of safety.

Right after her speech to Jacob, Rebekah appeals to Isaac (27.46). This is her last speech in the Rebekah narratives. While she frankly shared her plan with Jacob her co-trickster about his shelter, with her husband she uses a different reason for sending Jacob away. She presents the best reason to persuade him: "I loathe my life because of the daughters of the Hittite. If Jacob takes a wife from the daughters of the Hittite like these from the daughters of the land, what good will my life be to me?" (27:46). She does not mention Esau at all. But the two references to the Hittite women bring to both Isaac and Rebekah a common memory: the Hittite daughters-in-law as Esau's wives brought bitterness to them (26.34-35). With the triple repetition of the word, "daughters," Rebekah intentionally conjures the memory. Isaac right away follows her advice and sends Jacob to Haran.

Contrary to old blames, Rebekah can be called a peacemaker:

The Mother Caring for Both Sons

Rebekah's fulfilling of the divine will leads to excluding another son of hers, Esau. If there was fratricide, she might lose both sons: one as a murderer who has to flee on account of the fratricide and the other as the murdered like the case of Cain and Abel (Genesis 4). Her concern about the well-being of both sons is eloquently demonstrated at the end of her speech, "Why should I lose both of you in one day?" (27:45). While most scholars see Rebekah as the mother who loves Jacob only,[24] Benno Jacob's

23) In Hebrew grammar, a verb in perfect tense with waw consecutive has imperative sense.

24) Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12-36,* Translated by J. J. Scullion. S.J.

observation is an exception: Rebekah's words skillfully appeal to Jacob's love for his mother, but also show that she cares for Esau.[25)]

Rebekah says Jacob's dwelling in Haran will last only *some days.* With *some days*, she may be intentionally presenting the time as very short to ease his parting.[26)] But "some days" will turn out to be many years. In fact, the mother and the son never get to see each other again.[27)] Paronomasia (a word play on sound) with the verbs "to dwell" (*yashab*), "to turn" (*shub*), and "to forget" (*shakach*) demonstrates her strategy: Jacob's "dwelling" at Laban's house will help Esau "turn away" his anger and eventually "forget" Jacob's deception. The repetition, "until your brother's anger turns away, until your brother's fury turns away from you," stresses that her two sons should not see each other until it is certain that they can be peace at each other.

Life Matters.

In her speech to Jacob she does her best to persuade him to leave home. She wants to separate her two sons to avoid fratricide, even if it will take a long time. She is determined to save two lives: Esau from being a murderer and Jacob from being murdered.

In her speech to Isaac the word *life* encircles her statement. Surely, it is a matter of life and death. It is interesting to see Rebekah use the word *life* twice in relation to herself, while she brings this issue to Isaac concerning Jacob's *life*. In fact, as the one who is responsible for transmitting the divine promise to the right heir, the loss of the life of the heir would be like losing her life's work and her life itself. The readers can imagine that the mother

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(Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), 443-44; Norman Cohen believes that Rebekah obviously has no great affection for Esau. "The Two that Are One: Sibling Rivalry in Genesis," *Judaism* 32/127 (1983): 337.

25) Benno Jacob, *The First Book of the Bible: Genesis* (New York: KTAV, 1974), 185.

26) Herman Gunkel, *Genesis* (Macon: Mercer Univ. Press, 1997), 307, trans. M. E. Biddle. *Genesis*. 3rd ed. (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1977).

27) Westermann argues, "She [Rebekah] knows now that her plan has achieved nothing - perhaps it has lost all. She is unable to announce a safe way out ⋯ Mother and son never see each other again ⋯ an implicit judgment on the deception." *Genesis* 12-36, 444.

must have suffered from Esau's exclusion from the inheritance and the blessing. There is a Korean saying, "Bite your fingers. Each hurts," that is, parents love their children equally.

Wisdom and Power of the Mother and the Wife

To fulfill her tasks of realizing the divine oracle and preventing fratricide Rebekah uses deceptive wisdom. Deception is an indirect means for the weak to achieve goals. She not only avoids potential conflict with Isaac over the deception but also prompts Isaac to give Jacob an additional blessing (28.3-4). She wisely and skillfully deploys her arguments to persuade Isaac to do what she wants. Although Isaac was aware of the conflict between his sons caused by the misplaced blessings, he does not take any initiative to resolve it. Instead, he passively follows the advice of his wife. He calls Jacob and asks him to "go to the house of Bethuel, *your mother's father,* and take as wife from there one of the daughters of Laban, *your mother's brother*" (28.2). It is interesting to see the way Isaac describes Bethuel and Laban: he depicts them in relation to Rebekah, when they are also his own cousins.

Although Rebekah moved men like chess pieces in the story, she was a woman in a patriarchal culture, who had to resort to a sneaky wisdom. It involved listening behind the scenes (27.5), employing her home making skills of cooking and clothing (27.9-17), and giving different rationales to persuade men (27.42-46). It is also women's power in a man's world that achieves success for oneself through the success of male children.[28] It involves as well a willingness to sacrifice oneself if necessary for the sake of the son: "Let your curse be on me, my son" (27:13).

Through her wisdom, Rebekah successfully resolved the family crises. No one was murdered; no one was marked with Cain's mark, either. No one lost two sons in a day. No one doubts that without Rebekah's efforts her two sons' reconciliation later (Genesis 33) would not have been possible.

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28) Susan Niditch, "Genesis" in *Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1998), 23. According to her, Rebekah is "so clever, so strong and sure, so completely superior in wisdom to the men around her" that she seems to be the creation of a woman storyteller … Women would have taken special pleasure in hearing the particular version of Rebekah and Jacob's story."

We have encountered some biblical women who built peace and life whenever crises occurred between ethnic groups, regions, and family members. The Hebrew midwives in Exodus 1 refused the Egyptian Pharaoh's command to kill Hebrew male babies. Their courage to defy the command and, instead, to respect human life came out of the principle of the fear of God. Their work was possible because they worked together. The wise and audacious woman at Abel in 2 Samuel 20 managed a brutal general to engage him in a peace-talk and prevent a massacre. Her case shows that our doing the best for making peace does not necessarily save every life but we are to do our best anyway. Rebekah the mother in Genesis 27 prevented fratricide, protected both sons, and eventually prepared for their future reconciliation.

In all three cases a common point is that the women had motherly roles; not just Rebekah who was a real mother, but also the midwives and Ms. Abel functioned as mothers, who bring and work for life. Another point in common was that all used communication as their primary means; they knew how to present their cases and conflict situations and what to say in given situations. Here, peace resides first on lips. In all three cases the women worked for alternatives to murder, battle, and fratricide. They in their own capacities used wisdom and power to bring peace and life, that is, achieving peace by means of peace.

There is no reward from God promised to the 21st century peacemakers. But the midwives, the wise woman at Abel, and Rebekah invite us to find alternatives in crises and choose peace in our mundane responsibilities. The women took actions, too: peace does not only reside on lips, but also in hands. When the rule of empire with its principle of power, ruling, domination and subjugation threatens our peaceable community, the biblical women urge us to join them in action.

Abstract

This essay deals with three biblical cases where women are agents of finding alternatives in conflicts and crises. In the cases, the conflicts occur between different ethnic groups (Exod 1:15 -22), between different groups within a nation (II Sam 20:14 -22), and between family members (Genesis 27). Through these stories we witness to active peacemakers, Puah and Shiprah, the wise woman Abel Beth?maacah (We call her Ms. Abel.), and Rebekah.

The Hebrew midwives' courage to defy the Pharaoh's command to kill Hebrew male babies came out of the principle of the fear of God. Their work was possible because they worked together. The audacious woman at Abel shows us that even the most violent can be invited to peace-talks. Rebekah's peace work not only prevented fratricide but also prepared for her son's future reconciliation.

In all three cases the women were common in their motherly roles: not just Rebekah who was a real mother, but also the midwives and Ms. Abel functioned as mothers, bringing and working for life. All were also in common in using communication as their primary means: they knew how to deal with conflict situations and what to say in given situations. Here, peace does reside first on lips and then in actions. In all three cases the women worked for alternatives to murder, battle, and fratricide, using wisdom and words to bring peace and life, that is, achieving peace by means of peace.

Key Words

Puah and Shiprah, the woman of Abel Beth?maacah, Rebekah, conflict, life, peacemaking, peace by means of peace.

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A Study on Isaiah, Kings and the Chronicle Tradition of the Hezekiah Period
- Asia's Perspective

Park Shin-bae*

Introduction

As one researches Isaiah in terms of the Deuteronomist History (Dtr) and Chronicle History,[1)] one discovers commonalities between Hezekiah's reform and the Deuteronomist movement. There have been many studies in which the Isaiah tradition has been closely related to the King's tradition in Hezekiah's reform. Here are we looking into the relations between Isaiah and the Dtr. Historical tradition. The Hezekiah story appears in 2 Kings 18-20, Isaiah 36-39, and 2 Chronicles 29-32. Until now, there has only been von Rad's traditional view of the Hezekiah story. He said that in David's Covenant, 2 Samuel 7 was written first, then Isaiah 55:3f next, and lastly 1 Chronicles 17. This is the traditional development theory; however the

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1) E. W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967), 119-124.

traditions of this story have come down, and each tradition might have existed separately.

According to von Rad's theory,[2] Hezekiah's episode was developed by steps in forming the tradition and von Rad focuses on language, hypothesizing the development of theological thinking. However, these three data come down by some *tradents* on each other's *traditum.* He did not consider if there was another theological opinion. They existed together, so their tradition, *traditum,* appeared in the Bible.

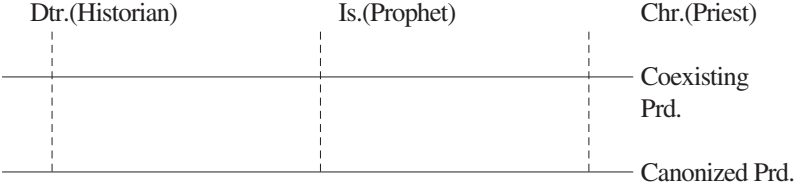
We take the three traditions to have existed simultaneously at that time.[3] They were developed together and influenced each other. Firstly, through inspecting the relation between Isaiah and Kings's data and researching the social background in Hezekiah's time, the tradents' situation and the group's theology can also be clearly taken. This study also considers the Asian perspective and context.

Traditions of Hezekiah King Period

G. von Rad's hypothesis focused on Biblical language differentiation, and the development of the theological Idea. His thought is limited however, because he did not think about the three data, or consider that tradents co-existed with different theological views which came together, as we consider, in the period of Hezekiah. We do not study the difference between the three traditions (Dtr., Is., Chr.) and the process of tradition (traditio), but the union of tradition in Hezekiah's period, the starting point of the three traditions. The Isaiah and Chronicle traditions seem both to have been

2) R. E. Clements, *Prophecy and Tradition* (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1975), 1-2. recited by, G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Vol. II, The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions* (Edinburgh and London, 1965), 155ff.

3) This graph is of the tradition data of Hezekiah's times and the tradition group (sociologistic viewpoint), showing the state of development process.
The article data for Hezekiah's reform



influenced by the Deuteronomist Historical tradition (Dtr.), which in turn conversely affected the other two traditions. We realize, therefore, that the resulting biblical text is the conclusion of this process.

These three traditions were during Hezekiah's time, and each traditionist wrote a historical Hezekiah from his viewpoint. They preserved the historical data, showing his later successes. Hezekiah received many traditions, as he helped, reformed and provided a centralization of the cult. So, such results remained in scripture as we find in the passages being considered in Isaiah, Kings and Chronicles. The Chronicles tradition written in Hezekiah's time was scribed by the Chronicler, with the final editors putting an addition in the canonizing period.

In Hezekiah's report, we assume that there are many more viewpoints than the three traditions in the Bible. We do not know the other traditions, but suppose that of the three perspectives of the Bible report Dtr. (Deuteronomist History) is that of the historical writers, scriber class, and wisdom people,[4] Isaiah's Hezekiah report producer (Prophets) is of the prophets group, and Chr. (Chronicle History) is from a priestly group. We can establish the relation of these three groups, which have an analogy in the text today.[5]

These three groups co-existed in Hezekiah's period. They might be considered as the Dtr. Historical group, Priestly group, and Prophet person which, respectively during the exile period, centered in political power, created an exile theology, and reinterpreted it in terms of Hezekiah's reformation. At that time Isaiah brought forth a salvation theology, in which Isaiah traditionist prophets had Jerusalem (Zion) ideology stemming from the national crisis.[6] After the return from Babylon, the restored people rebuilt Jerusalem, the Second Temple, the Priest System, and established the Priest institution. And again, at the time of the Chronicler, they had a new

4) I. W. Provan, *Hezekiah and the Books of Kings* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 1-31. Dtr writes about themes of David and bamoth (High Places).

5) N. K. Gottwald, "Sociological Method in the Study of Ancient Israel", 26-37; W. Brueggemann, "Trajectories in Old Testament Literature and the Sociology of Ancient Israel" in *The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics,* ed. N. K. Gottwald (New York: Orbis Books, 1983), 312.

6) G. von Rad, *The Message of the Prophets,* trans. D. M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 126-139.

theological thinking.

So the Chronicler wrote down a religious history. Thus, three groups existed simultaneously, and also conflicted with one another. During the canonizing periods, they even competed with one another, because the Chronicler insisted that the Hezekiah story had been written in four chapters (2 Chr 29-32). However, Josiah's story was written in only two chapters (2 Chr 34-35).[7] Through the fact that the Chronicle group was centered in the government office, which influenced the power, they held hegemony during the times of Hezekiah's reform.

Secondly, in chapter 18 of 2 Kings there are only four verses (2 Kgs 18.1-4) about the report of a religious reform. However, the concentration was on the political report, the Sennacherib Invasion report, and Hezekiah's illness pericope. Conversely, in the Josiah report, there was much written in the religious pericope. 2 Kings 22-23 consists of the Peshach (Passover), several cults, the discovery of law books, and religious reform.

It seems that the Dtr. and Chronicle historical writers had recorded them in different ways according to their own theological opinions. Nevertheless, the Dtr. historian played a minimal role in the Hezekiah period, which came to be larger later in the Josiah period.

Commonalities between Isaiah and Kings

We should try to study the relationship between Isaiah 36-39 and 2 Kings 18-21 when we seek the tradition of Hezekiah first in Isaiah. In order to understand it better, we should search for unity and research all of Isaiah. Recently, rhetorical criticism has made vivid progress in the study of Isaiah. This study began when J. W. Rogerson (1976) tried to understand the whole part of the completed work of Isaiah.[8] R. Knierim suggested genre criticism as a substitute for form criticism.[9] W. G. Doty, J. A. Baird, W. Richter, and K. Koch insisted that form criticism was not suitable to deal with a literary unity from a continued work. The pioneers of form criticism is H. Gunkel.

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7) Park Shin-bae, *Guyakui gaehyeok sinhak* [Reformed Theology of the Old Testament] (Seoul: Christian Herald, 2006), 193-228.

8) J. W. Rogerson, "Recent Literary Structuralist Approaches to Biblical Interpretation," *The Churchman* 90 (1976): 173.

9) R. Knierim, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," *INT*. 27(1973): 456.

H. Gressmann, S. Mowinckel, C. Westermann, H. C. White, R. F. Melugin, A. Schoors, D. L. Christensen, A. Grsffy etc.[10] have also analyzed Isaiah. Today dealing with the question of the rhetorical coherence in the message of the book of Isaiah has become a major focus of scholarly endeavor. Scholars who have pursued this approach are E. H. Lovering, R. Rendtorff, B. S. Childs, R. E. Clement, W. J. Dumbrell, C. R. Seitz, C. A. Evans, and E. W. Bullinger etc.[11]

Recently, the result of Isaiah study shows that one need not separate 1 Isaiah, 2 Isaiah and 3 Isaiah.[12] So, 1 Isaiah (Is 1-39) texts reflect the 2 Isaiah context, or the 3 Isaiah context.[13] Otherwise, B. Peckham suggests that the Hezekiah story of the 1 Isaiah text is in the context of 2 Isaiah, and Isaiah 36.1-22; 37.1-38, 38.1-22, and 39.1-8 belong to it.[14]

The opinion of B. Peckham is different from the traditional 1 Isaiah viewpoint. It is important that the final text of the Hezekiah episode is during the exile period. However, we can understand that at least part of the Hezekiah report is reflected during the Hezekiah period. 2 Kings 18.17-20.19 was repeated in Isaiah 36-39 (Hezekiah's story). The story order of both reports is almost similar. The Kings' story order is Hezekiah's reform narrative - the Invasion of Sennacherib - Hezekiah's prayer - prophecy of Isaiah - Hezekiah's illness - healing of Isaiah - Ambassador of Babylonia - Isaiah's Prophecy.

Isaiah's Hezekiah pericope order is like the Kings,' namely Sennacherib's Invasion - Rabshakeh's address - Hezekiah's Prayer - Prophecy of Isaiah - Withdrawal of Assyrian Army - Hezekiah's illness - hymn, prayer - Babylonian Ambassador - prophecy of Isaiah. But the report on Hezekiah's reform is first, and extension of territory, and then North Israel's destruction.

Noticeably Hezekiah's pericope omits the first part of 2 Kings 18. It

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10) R. H. O' Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity,* JSOT sup. 188 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 15-17.

11) R. H. O' *Connell, Concentricity and Continuity,* 17. cf) note 2.

12) Ibid., 19-20.

13) Ibid., 29-30. repetition patterns: A. Gilead, W. H. Brownlee, bifid scheme: R. K. Harrison, C. A. Evans, concentric schemata: E. W. Bullinger.

14) B. Peckham, *History and Prophecy* (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 136. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66,* tr. D. M. G. Stalker (London: SCM Press, 1980), 8-27.

also abridges the introduction and conclusion. The two narratives have similar order and content. If one were looking for more details, one could soon find that Hezekiah's illness and the recovery story in Isaiah 38 and 2 Kings 20.1-11 are the same, but the difference is that the Isaiah story has the additional story of Hezekiah's recovering from his illness (Isa 38.10-20). Secondly, comparing Isaiah 38 and 2 Kings 20.1-11 there is the more important difference in the Isaiah story, namely, that it is shorter than that of 2 Kings. Because of this, there are many debates among scholars on what was written first, whether Isaiah or 2 Kings.

Until now, Hezekiah narrative study has been about how Dtr. (2 Kgs 18-20) and Isaiah (Isa 36-39) were related - what was first scribed, what later. Future study will present a *sitz im* leben for each story. It is more productive to study how each one was written, rather than the time order, so we will study the possible milieu of the text which the vivid tradition group and traditionist produced. So in 2 Kings 18-20, Isaiah 36-39, and 2 Chronicles 29-32, we try to scrutinize each tradition group, their situation, writer's relation, and the viewpoint of the Hezekiah reform. We ascertain from this hypothesis that each has a different perspective. This is necessary to discover tradition's theological understandings, and to see which one is original for the Hezekiah religious reform, and how that reformation is related with each traditionist.

If the 2 Kings text had borrowed Isaiah's data, then Isaiah's text must have existed previously.[15] If however, Isaiah depends on the 2 King's data, the Hezekiah narrative of Dtr existed first.[16] W. Genesius and Otto Kaiser suggested the theory that the Isaiah text was chosen from Kings. Hans Wildberger with A. Jepsen proposed the different view that the "Isaiah miracle pericope" had already existed as a complete form in the second edition of Kings. This means that the Isaiah text was presented first.

There is much debate about the contradiction in this thesis. Clements and Jones believe that 2 Kings is original, Isaiah is secondary, and added by an editor.[17] The two reports start with the common phrase, "In the

15) H. G. M. Williamson, "Hezekiah and The Temple," in *Text, Temples, and Traditions,* ed. M. V. Fox (Indiana: Eisenbranns, 1996), 47. Of the same opinion are K. A. D. Smelik and C. R. Seitz.

16) A. H. Konkel, "The Sources of the Story of Hezekiah in the Book of Isaiah," *VT* 43 (1993): 462-463.

17) G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* (Grand Rapids and London, 1984), 556.

fourteenth year of King Hezekiah" (2 Kgs 18.13 = Isa 35.1). This phrase is originally shortened in Isaiah, but the chronological writings are in 2 Kings, and later Isaiah had an addition. Perhaps the original form of 2 Kings comes from Isaiah's autobiographical data. The data primarily consisted of the poetic oracle at the end of the episode, maybe edited later in the additions of the Isaiah tradition.

R. E. Clement said that this text was prudently injected into Isaiah, and set up a bridge between the Assyrian background (Isa 1-35) and the Babylonian background (Isa 40-66).[18] Further, he suggested that the key understanding of this data is in the Kings' background rather than Isaiah's. Such a view proves that the 2 Kings' story is authentic.[19]

And in a third theory, H. G. M. Williamson expressed a new concern. He said that the Isaiah text was influenced by the King's story. According to that theory, the correlations of Kings and Isaiah are not one-sided, or existing exclusively, but that they impacted mutually. It is noted that this theory studies the connecting point, the character of the two texts. Williamson's theory is that the Isaiah tradition coexisted with Dtr's tradition (2 Kgs 18-20). Although we accept that theory, the editor imagined that the Dtr. writer of Hezekiah times was written first. The written tradition thus influenced Isaiah's editors. During the Babylonia deportation era, after the Hezekiah period, they might edit the Hezekiah story, Isaiah 1-35 (Assyrian text), between Isaiah 40-66 (Babylonian text).

Therefore, through Hezekiah's story, as Israel was delivered and saved in the Assyrian imperial time, so they should be restored from the Babylonian deportation period. Because of the structure of Isaiah, the middle place of Hezekiah made it clear that the editorial step reflected Babylonian times. The study of Isaiah is shown in literary perspective, also in historical approaches. Ehud Ben Zvi proposed making the situation historically concrete at the prophetic text, so that the context of the history is presented as an integral part of the social system. One can indeed see a political, cultural, and religious situation in the written period in the Prophetic books.

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18) R. E. Clements, "The Unity of the Books of Isaiah," in *Interpreting the Prophets,* ed. J. L. Mays and P. J. Achtemeier (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 52-54.

19) G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings,* 556.

Isaiah 14.24-27 and Isaiah 31.4-9, represent that Assyria defeated Judah in 701 B.C. Isaiah 31.8 was written as an apocalyptic and proto-apocalyptic response to this event. None of Isaiah 10.24-27, 14.24-27, or 31.8-9 (all anti-Assyrian texts) appear in Hezekiah's times, but in Manasseh's (ca. 697-642 B.C.). Ben Zvi wrote that the background of the Isaiah text was settled in the Hezekiah and Manasseh periods.

However, H. A. J. Kruger contends that the Isaiah text should be viewed in an unbiased way to have a theological character as narrative coherence.[20] He notes that past concern was primarily the historical background of Isaiah 36-37. Because Isaiah's report had some possible relation to Sennacherib's invasion, Isaiah's historical verses are still difficult and confusing to history scholars in terms of exact historical frame. Some study this chapter, positing this background from a different point of view. In balance, it should be mentioned that it is not historically exact, but possesses narrative coherence with theological character. We concede Kruger's theory in respect to harmonizing an extreme hypothesis: for example, archaeological evidence in the text emphasized the historical aspect. Otherwise, it is noted that there is too much emphasis on the document that the historicity of data is not considered as much as the literary work, and we do not accept any of them.

Thus, we might understand Hezekiah's story in the Isaiah text to contain a certain narrative coherence. It is located at Isaiah 36-39 in the middle of the Assyrian and Babylonian background, where the theological messages in Babylonian times are delivered.

On the other hand, other opinions differ in respect to possibly much more advanced type of data than the sources of the story of Hezekiah in the book of Isaiah and Kings.[21] Konkel insists that there is an original source of Hezekiah, such as Vorlage, original texts and Q data. He compares the Masorah text with one from the first Qumran Isaiah and LXX Isaiah by the use of literary textual criticism. He states that the way Hezekiah's story was adapted to the one included in Isaiah is revealed only when the differences

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20) H. A. J. Kruger, "God's For Argument's Sake: A Few Remarks on the Literature and Theological Intention of Isaiah 36-37 (Part 1)" *OTE* 9 (1996):52-67.

21) A. H. Konkel, "The Sources of the Story of Hezekiah in the Book of Isaiah," 462-463.

of the original source are compared with the Masorah text in Kings, especially as proved by Kaige. A significant revision could be discovered in Isaiah 38, where the story of Hezekiah was altered, shortened, and poems were added. These alterations were done for the theological purposes of the writer of Isaiah.

The story of Isaiah is, as Smelik contends, absolutely unified in grand literary form. However, one cannot conclude that Isaiah was composed for the first time in Persian times. Theological interpretation in a poetic form is not interpretable as is that in the book of Kings. The story of Hezekiah is a much more advanced form of literacy than the one found in the book of Isaiah.[22] His conclusion is that a Dtr. historian and Isaiah writer recorded Hezekiah's story, focusing on his theological purpose using the data from the third Hezekiah's original script. Hezekiah's third original story form can be known from Konkel's view as follows.

Konkel's "third data theory" is persuasive since it came from data comparison, but it also has shortcomings as to certain facts.[23] In terms of tradition, Hezekiah's story was composed by people in his time, and finished early in the Dtr. history edition by unifying David and Isaiah's Jerusalem tradition for salvation after accepting the northern tradition. This was as it appeared in the Nechustan tradition in Kings 18-20 through northern Hosea, Dtr., and the Exile tradition. Isaiah co-existed with them, and wrote the Isaiah tradition in their own book of Isaiah.

The third story of Hezekiah can provide material to the final editor for the history of Deuteronomy and also for Isaiah. Nevertheless, one would do better to understand that the Hezekiah story in the book of Kings is the combination of the people with Hezekiah and tradition, for it appears in the edition of Deuteronomy during Hezekiah's time. Isaiah (followers) must exist during Hezekiah's time, though one must still be open to the possible existence of Third Isaiah (followers) at that time (Isa. 1.1; 7.14,18; 10.5,6,21,22; 11.1-3; 12.1-6; 31.8-9). Since they are delivering the article of Hezekiah's reform, it remains in the book of Isaiah. One can guess that the Isaiah group joined Hezekiah's reform during Hezekiah's time through the fact of cult centralization; it was reported by Isaiah that worship was to be only in Jerusalem (Is. 36.7).

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22) Ibid., 463.

23) Ibid., 482.

First Isaiah points out the elimination of high places and the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem. Therefore, Isaiah and the Isaiah group might have been interested in the policy of cult centralization conducted by Hezekiah. The following story comes from the article of Isaiah or Kings, that King Hezekiah sent palace officials to the prophet Isaiah and let them listen to him after hearing a humiliating speech from Rabshakeh (Isa. 37.4; 2 Kings 19.1-5). The next scene is that Isaiah the prophet encourages Hezekiah who was waiting for the reply from God against Rabshakeh's speech, requesting surrender in the national crisis caused by the invasion of Sennacherib from Assyria, while activating cult centralization. Through this, the Isaiah group assented and participated in the action for cult centralization of Hezekiah, in the dimension that the centralization was to recover the religiously pure belief of Yahweh with a political purpose.[24] Also, they ascertained the situation that Isaiah and Deuteronomy co-occupy in the Hezekiah tradition. It is proved that Isaiah had accepted the early historical tradition of Deuteronomy.

Asian Perspective and Context

Now how do we interpret and apply this text? First, the Hezekiah text helps one to understanding Asia's present reality.[25] In the realm of mission, intuitive power can be important. So let us try the Hezekiah religious reform again in Asia's situation, utilizing such a view as the horizon of Missio Dei. Asia is up against a new imperial nation, namely, power. This is just what Hezekiah of Judah faced. As when he conquered the national crisis caused by the Assyrian invasion, when Judah seemed to be destroyed, so Asia faces an aggression by the power of capitalism, and human rights are lost by dictators. When we try to clarify who is Sennacherib, Rabshakeh, and what is the new Assyrian nation, we might then find the way to solve the problem of South Judah, also seeking the key to resolve Asia's difficulties.

Looking at the horizon of Hezekiah's reformation, Asian biblical interpreters must find what is important in Asia's perspective. We should understand such a view, seeking the group producing a Bible story, priest,

24) N. K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 368-369.

25) James Barr, *The Bible in the Modern World* (London: SCM Press, 1983), 141.

scribe (historian), and prophet. What is their contemporary function and role? Today's prophet is a missionary, the priest is a church pastor or evangelist. The historian (scribe) is a theologian.[26] When the Christian community is united and each part maintains its own duty, these co-exist, and participate jointly in the union. Asian mission is required to be fulfilled as planned.

Hezekiah had a cult centralization and reform in order to escape from a national crisis. Likewise, the Asian belief community has to build the system and ideology to do similar work. The Asian mission center and community is organized first. Asian biblical theologians recognized the multi-cultural, multi-religious, and poor third nations.[27] The Asian religious situation is Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Shamanism, Taoism, and Islam, etc.[28] Asian nations have long been subdued by communism, Buddhism, and Islam. In this atmosphere, we have to inquire again what is cult centralization, religious reform, destroying the high places, and demolishing the idols.

Who is Hezekiah in Asia today? What is religious reform in Asia?

Asia's religious reform is different from the past Hezekiah period. This current reform needs a strong unity and solidarity because Asia has another religion and culture, and very different national politics. This reform is not physical. Its dimension is psycho-spiritual and mental. Moreover, Asia's religious reform is not one ethnical group, so that many difficult challenges come to us. This charge is not imposed on one person, another Hezekiah, and his leadership alone. The Asian reform can be achieved through the work of missionaries and Christian theologians. They should endeavor to discover the identity of Satan, first revealing society's reality. The awareness of third world theologians is needed to lead the study of the phenomena of Asian society and the evil of structure. The modern Hezekiah is "Asia's Mission Community." Through this Society of Asian Biblical Studies, Asian scholars have to speak their own theology, and proclaim the Asian

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26) Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel* (Kentucky: W. John Knox Press, 1995), 1-8.

27) Sunand Sumithra, *Christian Theologies from an Indian Perspective* (Bangalore: Theological Book Trust, 1990), 3-22.

28) D. Kwang-sun Suh, *The Korean Minjung in Christ* (Hong Kong: CCA, 1991), 89-117.

reformation, so that the Asian church of Christ is enlarged, and the reconstruction of the proper mission network is surely achieved.

Modern times are not just like biblical ones, when a strong nation invaded the weak and small nations by sheer physical power. Now, the imperial power has come by the unseen forces which exist in the kingdom of darkness; such things as poverty, disease, illiteracy, and idols, all of which comprise a formidable power. Here Asian religious reformers must find the way to centralize their cult, and Korea is strategically centered among the Asian nations. The Korean Christian Church is large, has great economic power and also an ever multiplying theological population, seen in its Korean biblical scholars who have contributed much to world theology. Korean theology (Minjung theology, Pung Ryu theology) can play a central role in the idea and practice of cult centralization, eventually to bring out the potential power of needed religious reform.[29)]

Now, when we think about cult centralization, the Korean church is right in the middle of this religious reform. This means that first our Korean churches have to be reformed and purified; then the work of the mission of God should be preceded by missionaries. This reinterpretation of religious reform is needed, which means a deep understanding of the Asian religious situation. This is not to neglect other religions, or physically oppress or persecute differing world views, but to stand in open attitude with genuine talk, building good fellowship and growth to reach a way of truth. Then, the counterparts in other religions might surely try to join the good work, and work even harder to help each other. Now, we do not linger in the realm of a superficial religious reform, but go deeper into the world of minds and spirits, to change Asian people's spiritual minds, and their character, first of all.

About high places and the demolition of idols, we rather consider the religious reform from the relation of culture and evangelism. Also, it is first necessary for us to understand what is Asia's culture. We then try to get at the root of Asian high places, searching for the Ashera and Massebah in the physical and spiritual dimensions. Beyond the barrier of Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism and Islam, we look forward to the evangelism of Christ. Freed by truth, we should deeply study Asia's religious reform, and all Asians should

29) Yim Tae-soo, *Minjung Theology towards a Second Reformation* (Hongkong: CCA, 2006), 9-41.

step forward into the evangelistic and mission field.

Through the Society of Asian Biblical Studies and understanding of the Asian Bible (Asian Biblical Hermeneutics), and the Movement of the Asian Bible, I wish to study a kingdom of heaven, and extend that eternal country. Just as Hezekiah of Judah is remembered forever in the Bible, the future of Asia will be bright.

Conclusion

We have examined a common phrase among the book of Isaiah, the book of Deuteronomist History (Kings), and the Chronicle tradition, especially focusing on the book of Isaiah from those traditions, except for that in Chronicles. Regarding the study of Isaiah, we have come to see there is the third data, the original one, and to propose that Isaiah, the Deuteronomist history, and the book of Kings co-occupied their theology and the tradition of the story of Hezekiah. Early Deuteronomic historians accepted the Isaiah tradition, made their own theological improvements, and made use of it for the Deuteronomy reform.

Moreover, the first Isaiah and early Deuteronomist (Dtr1) traditions influenced each other and made mutual improvements of the tradition. The record from the book of Isaiah on cult centralization is the assurance of the historical fact of Hezekiah's reform. The research into the Chronicles tradition is not done in this thesis. It remains as a further research project. I expect that much more study is to be done on the theory of the co-existence and the "win-win" relation of the three traditions that were concurrent and mutually interacted, based on Chronicles, and not on the theory of development from the Deuteronomist history to the Isaiah tradition or from Isaiah to the book of Kings tradition.

An Asian perspective of the Hezekiah tradition study suggests a suitable and meaningful insight into current unsolved assignments. As Hezekiah from Judah is to the Sennacherib army of Assyria, so Asia's poor situation is to the gigantic power of capitalism, and its accompanying power infiltrating into the market. We realize that the problem is to understand the Bible in view of the first world.[30] No matter how today's new imperial

30) Noh Jung-sun, *Eiagi Sinhak* [Narrative Theology] (Seoul: Hanul, 1993), 157-159.

situation has appeared, it is important for how an Asian biblical scholar studies. The right understanding of Asia's existence and the bright future of Asia depend on this kind of Biblical interpretation. It remains for us yet to do many assignments in this perspective.

Abstract

Hezekiah's story appears in 2 Kings 18-20, Isaiah 36-39, and 2 Chronicles 29-32. Until now, there has only been von Rad's traditional view. He said that in David's covenant, 2 Samuel 7 was the first written, then Isaiah 55.3f, and lastly 1 Chronicles 17. This is the traditional development theory. Hezekiah's episode is developed by traditional steps. He focuses on language, assuming that his hypothesis is the correct development of theological thinking. However, these three data came down through each other's *traditum,* and *tradents*. He did not think about the existence of another theological opinion. They exist altogether, so their tradition traditum appeared in the Bible.

I seek these three traditions as existing simultaneously at that time. They developed, and built up each other. First, through the relation of Isaiah and Kings' data, the Hezekiah period's social background is researched, and the tradents' situation, and group's theology is clarified. Also, this study scrutinizes the Asia perspective and context.

Key Words

Hezekiah's tradition, Religious reform, Commonalities between Isaiah & Kings, Asia's Perspective.

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A Reading of Isaiah 11 in the Context of the Divided Korea with focus on a Reunification Theology of Isaiah in his Messianic Prophecy

Kim Hae-kwon*

Introduction: The National Reunification Theology of the 8th century BCE prophets

The present paper is an exegetical inquiry into Isaiah 11 with special focus on its realpolitikal implication for the reconciliation between southerners and northerners. The Davidic-Solomonic kingdom was divided in 922/921 BCE into two kingdoms during the reign of Rehoboam because of its violation of the unity of the league of Twelve Tribes. About 170 years after the division of the Davidic-Solomonic kingdom there appeared four great prophets: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. The Neo-Assyrian empire was just launching its military expansion toward Palestine-Syria and Egypt

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when these prophets arose as heralds of divine judgment against the two divided kingdoms. In this transitional period these four great prophets analyzed the international and domestic state of affairs (the threatening advance of Assyria to Palestine) in the light of God's intention and purpose and went on to propose a way of escaping the catastrophic avalanche from the north.[1] Extremely shocked at the untimely termination of the northern kingdom in 722/721 BCE, they proclaimed various oracles to kings, power elites, and commoners regarding how to cope with and survive the Assyrian deluge. One of the common oracles among them was an oracle of the reconciliation and reunification of southerners and northerners. Interestingly enough, all of them saw the destruction of the northern dynasty as an opportunity for the resuscitation of a Davidic kingdom (Amos 9.11-14; Hos 2.14-23; 3.5; Isa 9; 11; 32; Mic 5.2).[2] Isaiah above all best represented this prophetic vision in that he saw the downfall of Israel as a middle stage for the reconciliation and reunification of the southerners and the northerners. In particular, his oracles about both the remaining people of the northern kingdom and a messianic king functioned as a realpolitikal propaganda for the remaining northerners to return to an ideal Davidic kingdom, not the current kingdom of Judah (cf. 2 Chr 30.1-4[es[/ v. 8]; Isa 10.20-23).[3]

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1) Martin Noth's comment on the prophetic view of human history as the arena for the fulfillment of divine intention and purpose merits direct quotation: "The [8th century] prophets were the first to interpret the events of their time from this universal point of view, not explaining the past retrospectively or making a vague forecast of the general trend of future event, but discerning in the events of their own age the beginning of the operation of a divine plan" (Martin Noth, *The History of Israel* (London: Adam and Charles, 1956), 256).

2) Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39 with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 61.

3) For a more elaborated discussion of this topic, refer to my two papers written in Korean: "Messiah Yeonsi Isaiah 9:1b-7(MT 8:23b-9:6) eh daehan Juseokjuk Igki" (An Exegetical Reading of a Messianic Poem Isaiah 9:1b-7(MT 8:23b-9:6)," *The Korean Journal of Old Testament Studies* 15(2003), 147-173; "Nameun Ja Sasang eh natanan Isaiaheui Minjok Tonghap Shinhak" (Isaiah's Theological Proposal for Unifying the Southerners and the Northerners: The Idea of the Remnant)," *Korea Journal of Christian Studies* 37(2005), 41-43. Or one may refer to my 2001 unpublished PTS dissertation, *The Plan of Yahweh in First Isaiah* (esp. chapter 6), 235-289.

Isaiah's theology of national reconciliation and reunification is best documented in Isaiah 11.

Reading a theology of national reconciliation and reunification in the oracles of Isaiah's messianic[4] oracles is one of the ways of engaging the Bible in an Asian context. Awareness of Asian contexts offers a new way of listening to the prophetic voices of the OT, as will be presently illustrated. Perhaps it is living in a nation divided for over a half century into two hostile, rival states which has made me so sensitive to such a variety of prophetic oracles which speak of national reconciliation and unity, especially Isaiah's messianic oracles. These oracles can be understood not merely as predicting a golden age to come but also as an invitation for audiences to share their visions and participate in the fulfillment of the oracles in history. It is somewhat surprising that such little attention has been paid to this topic in the book of Isaiah among western scholars of Isaiah. It is hoped that the following exegetical inquiry of Isaiah 11 can help us to construct a theology of national reunification and reconciliation for our divided country.

The Place of Messianic Oracles in the Book of Isaiah 1-39.

One of the themes running through the entire book of Isaiah is Yahweh's reign and his messianic kingdom. Isaiah saw Yahweh the Holy One of Israel sitting on the throne, high and exalted (over a host of lesser deities) in his calling vision (Isa 6). His vision of Yahweh King of glory sitting on the highly exalted throne forms a theological backdrop for his oracles of a messiah (Isa 9, 11, 32).[5] In the book of Isaiah a messiah comes from the

4) The term *messiah* in the OT usually refers to a human agent who carries out a divine rule (the priest (Lev 4.3)); ministers of the divine word (Ps 105.15); Cyrus (Isa 45.1); Israelite or Judean king (1Sam 14:6); an eschatological earthly viceroy acting as a divine agent (Dan 9:25)). While the term messiah itself does not occur in Isaiah 1-39, it is implied in several Isaianic passages such as Isaiah 9, 11, 32 (esp. 11.1). In this essay I use the term in order to refer to an ideal Davidic king, who is supposed to rule with justice and in righteousness (2 Sam 8.15; 23.1-7; cf. Ps 72).

5) J. J. M. Roberts, "The Divine King and the Human Community in Isaiah's Vision of the Future," in *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall,* eds. H. B. Huffmon, F. A. Spina, and A. R. W. Green

Davidic royal lineage ("the stump of Jesse").[6] He did not expect a divine messiah to come down from the heavens (contra Dan 7:13).

The tension between God and the people of Israel-Judah which occupies a predominant place in Isaiah 1-39 comes to be dissolved or radically lessened in Isaiah's messianic oracles. In these messianic oracles the judgment of God is assumed to have been already executed and is transmuted into a salvific zeal of God for his own people. They are intended to be not merely a prediction of what will happen in the future but are an invitation for a contemporary audience to build up an ideal society marked by justice and righteousness. In this sense Isaiah's messianic oracles represent a contrasting construction of reality from the viewpoint of his hostile audiences. The oracles are critical of the status quo and try to transcend it by breaking through it.[7]

Isaiah 1-39, in a nutshell, offers a theological rationale for two waves of the Assyrian deluge. Roughly speaking, chapters 2-5 telescope both the downfall of Israel caused by the first Assyrian deluge (722/721 BCE) and the destruction of Judah by the second Assyrian flood (701 BCE) into a sequential event and present the aftermath of these two Assyrian deluges in terms of what they would contribute to the national reconciliation and renewal of both Israel and Judah. Isaiah's messianic oracles dream of an ideal future society which will emerge ironically from the catastrophic finale of both Judah and Israel imposed by Assyria, presenting it as a contrastive and counter world state, namely an ideal Davidic kingdom, against the Assyrian empire.

(Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 127.

6) According to the Zion-Royal Theology, a central theology of the Judean royal house, all upcoming Davidic kings are supposed to be anointed as a messiah, an ideal viceroy of Yahweh the divine suzserain (Pss 72; 89; 132; Isa 9; 11; 32; cf. 1 Sam 24.10; Lam 4.20). Thus S. Mowinckel argues that the term messiah in the OT mostly denotes a non-eschatological and earthly king (S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh,* trans. G. W. Anderson (New York/Nashville: Abingdon, 1954), 3, 7; so Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12* (Minneapolis: Augusburg, 1991), 483.

7) Johnannes Fichtner, "Jesaja unter den Weisen," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 74 (1949): 79.

The Historical Background of Isaiah 11: the Tragic Consequence[8] of the Syro-Ephraimite War and the Assyrian Crisis[9] 701 BCE

Chapter 11 is placed in the larger corpus that deals with the decline of the Assyrian empire and the subsequent rise of a messianic empire in Zion. Chapter 9 presents a Davidic messiah who is expected to save the oppressed people of the northern kingdom from Assyrian slavery and anticipates a Davidic messiah's rule of the whole world in peace.[10] Chapter 10 deals with the hubris of the Assyrian empire which destroyed the northern kingdom beyond its original commission to only punish it. Chapter 11 presents a Davidic empire taking the place of Assyria (cf. Dan 2.44; Rev 11.15).[11] Chapters 9-11 together which anticipate or reflect the decline of Assyria help us get a general feel for Isaiah's prophetic pathos that reached its peak at the 701 BCE Assyrian invasion into Judah and was most condemnatory of the Assyrian hubris.[12]

Chapter 12 pictures a festive celebration of Yahweh's mighty and wonderful redemption of his own people among the nations and peoples. It deals with the return of the Israelite and Judean captives from Assyria, Egypt, and Babylon.[13] Their return led by an ideal Davidic king is

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8) For a detailed discussion of various scholarly opinions about the historical background of Isaiah 11.1-9, refer to B. S. Childs, *Isaiah* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 99-102. Both B. Duhm and R. B. Y. Scott argue for its Isaianic authenticity whereas R. E. Clements and Hermann Barth date it to the post-exilic period (esp for vv. 6-9) in the light of its alleged dependence on Isa 66.25 and Hab 2.14 which they regard as dated to the post-exilic period.

9) Christopher R. Seitz opines that at least vv. 10-16 can be read as reflecting the 701 BCE Assyrian crisis. *Isaiah 1-39; Interpretation Series* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993), 108-110.

10) All the royal epithets, titles, and duties attributed to a Dadivic king were expected of an earthly king in the line of the Davidic succession, not an eschatological king. These royal virtues and duties were incumbent upon a Davidic king. See George Adam Smith, *The Book of Isaiah* (London: Harper, 1927), 135.

11) Barry Webb, *The Message of Isaiah on Eagles' Wings* (Leicester: IVP, 1996), 74.

12) Seitz, 110.

celebrated as the climax of God's great redeeming acts (Isa 11.10-12). In this broad context, the two messianic oracles in Isaiah 9 and 11 can be best understood as embodying the nationalistic sentiment and aspiration of the 8th century BCE Isaiah of Jerusalem, namely national reconciliation and reunification.[14] More specifically, chapter 11 is a messianic oracle which was proclaimed against the historical backdrops of at least two historic events: the Syro-Ephraimite war and its aftermath, the downfall of the northern kingdom (732-721 BCE) and the Assyrian crisis (701 BCE).[15] Both chapters 9 and 11 envision a great restoration of Israel and Judah initiated by a Davidic messiah which culminates in the reconciliation of the northerners to the southerners. They rivet the attention of audiences/readers to a period of national reconciliation and unity to come and in this sense they are best understood in the context of Isaiah's prophetic efforts to dissolve the hostile separation between the southerners and the northerners. Even the 200 year long conflict and rivalry between the two kingdoms could not eliminate the ancient Israelite prophets' vision of and

13) The biblical passages dealing with the return of the captives contemporize the return of the northern Israelite captives from Assyria and Egypt with that of the Judean captives from Babylon and Egypt (11.11, 15-16). Here the chronological gap is dissolved between Babylon and Assyria (see the identification of Assyria with Babylon in Isaiah chapters 13-14 and the identification of Assyria with Persia in Ezra 6, the identification of Rome with Babylon in 2 Peter and the Book of Revelation).

14) Hae Kwon Kim, *The Plan of Yahweh* (UMI Dissertation service; Princeton Theological Seminary, 2001), 256-274.

15) Some scholars tend to date chapters 9 and 11 to either the period of the Josianic reform in 621 BCE (Hermann Barth, R. E. Clements, Marvin A. Sweeney) (Sweeney, Isaiah 1-39, 204-205) or the post-exilic Persian period (W. Werner, *Eschatologische Texte in Jesaja 1-39: Messia. Heiliger Rest, Völker* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1982), 25-26, 85-86). But they cannot present any compelling reason for the impossibility of situating them in the historical situation surrounding Judah in the 8th century BCE. On the other hand, other scholars date them to the Hezekian period of the 8th century BCE: J. J. M. Roberts, "The Old Testament's Contribution to Messianic Expectations," in *The Messiah. Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*," ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 39-51 (esp. 44); H. Williamson, *Variations on a Theme. Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah* (London: Paternoster, 1998), 28-29.

commitment to the whole Israel consisting of twelve tribes. Elijah made a pilgrimage to Horeb home of the Mosaic theocracy on the route through the southern kingdom. Amos was dispatched to the capital city of the northern kingdom and proclaimed a series of disasters that would befall it soon. Whereas chapter 9 saw the possibility of reconciliation between the northerners and the southerners as the northern kingdom was rapidly coming to an end, chapter 11 hoped for the reconciliation of the northern returnees to the southern returnees and their joint effort to restore the glory of the Davidic empire (Amos 9.11-14).

Chapter 11 is divided into two sections: vv. 1-9 and vv. 10-16. The first section depicts a messianic kingdom which is to be established in Zion and the second section envisions a peaceful future of both the Israelite remnant and the Judean remnant who will be reconciled to each other by a Davidic messiah. The establishment of a messianic kingdom in Zion is coterminous with the national reconciliation between the southern returnees and the northern returnees.

A Cosmic Messianic Kingdom Replacing the Assyrian empire, A Davidic Empire.

Translation

1. A shoot shall come out from the stump of Jesse,
   a branch shall grow out of his roots.
2. The spirit of Yahweh shall rest on him.
   the spirit of wisdom and discernment
   the spirit of counsel and valor,
   the spirit of knowledge and the fear of Yahweh
3. His perception (smelling)[16] is in the fear of Yahweh
   He shall not judge by what his eyes see

16) Like BDB (p. 926) a number of commentators regard *hărîḥâ* (his smelling or perception) as a dittography of rûaḥ in the previous clause (repetition of the final clause of v. 2). However, this is not the only possible reading. I would stay with the OT. Roughly translated, this phrase would mean "his smelling (perception) (construct state of causative infinitive) is in the fear of Yahweh." Namely, "he breathes in and out the fear of Yahweh" or "He makes himself alive by fearing Yahweh."

or decide by what his ears hear.
4. He shall judge the poor in righteousness
and decide on behalf of the lowly of the earth with justice.
He shall strike down the ruthless[17] with the rod of his mouth
and slay the wicked with the breath of his lips.
5. Righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins,
truthfulness the girdle of his waist.
6. The wolf shall dwell with the lamb
the leopard shall lie down with the kid;
The calf and the young lion and the fatlings together[18]
and the little boy shall lead them.
7. Also the cow and the bear shall graze
Their young shall lie down together
And the lion shall eat straw like the ox.
8. The nursing child shall play by the hole of the cobra
and the weaned child shall put his hand on the viper's den.
9. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountains.
For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Yahweh
As the waters cover the sea.
10. In that day it will happen the nations will resort to (consult)[19] the remaining root of
Jesse who shall stand a signal for the peoples;
And his resting place shall be glorious.
11. In that day Yahweh shall again reach out his hand the second time to recover the
remnant of his people who are in Assyria, Egypt, Pathros, Cush, Elam, Shinar,

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17) While most English versions take the MT reading (land, earth), I join BHS's textual emendation of into 'ārrîṣ in the light of its paralleling word, the wicked (rāšā') (so Wildberger, *Isaiah* 1-12, 461). However, it is not impossible to take the MT if we mean the landed classes who are politically oppressive and ruthless by the word 'ereṣ (see Jan de Waard, *A Handbook on Isaiah* Textual Criticism and the Translator, Volume 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 54).

18) I take BHS's proposal with attention to the poetic regularity of v. 6.

19) The word dāraš used with the preposition 'el refers to an act of consultation with a superior teacher or mentor (Isa 8.19) (BDB, p. 205).

Hamath, and from the islands of the sea.
12. And He shall lift up a signal for the nations,
and shall assemble the exiled ones of Israel
and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.
13. Then the jealousy of Ephraim shall depart,
and those who harass Judah shall be cut off;
Ephraim shall not be jealous of Judah
and Judah shall not harass Ephraim.
14. And they shall swoop down on the slopes of the Philistines on the west;
Together they shall plunder the sons of the east.
Their hands shall reach Edom and Moab
and Ammon shall be subject to them.
15. And Yahweh shall destroy the tongue of the Sea of Egypt[20]
and he shall wave his hand over the River with his scorching wind;
And he shall strike them into seven streams
and shall make people walk over dry-shod.
16. And there shall be a highway from Assyria
for the remnant of his people who will be left
just as there was for Israel
in that day they came up out of the land of Egypt

Interpretation

A Davidic Messiah who rules with justice and in righteousness (vv. 1-9)

While the Assyrian empire is compared to a tree whose boughs shall be terribly lopped off and leave nothing substantial, the shoot[21] of Jesse shall grow to form a united nation of Israel and Judah. It is inferred from the present phrase that the people of God (Israel and Judah) had been already felled down and left like a stump (Isa 6.12-13). However, v. 1 strongly focuses on the resuscitation of a Davidic kingdom by contrasting the shoot of Jesse to the trees bereft of stump and boughs (Assyria, see Isa 10.34).

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20) While it is not impossible to emend ḥrm (utterly destroy) into ḥrb (dry up), one may stay with the MT taking ḥrm as meaning "drying up" (so John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah. Chapters 1-39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 285).

21) The word neṣer rendered as "shoot" is used as a metaphor for an eschatological messiah (Matt 2.23; A Nazirite; cf. Zech 3.8; 6.12).

Yahweh cut down the thickets of the forest of Lebanon (Assyria) with an iron axe. In this connection, the declaration of the prophet "A shoot shall come out from the stump of Jesse, a branch shall grow out of his roots" sounds hopeful of the restoration of a Davidic kingdom, because the shoot sprouting from the stump and root of Jesse shall grow to mediate the salvation of God to his own people and the entire world (cf. Isa 4.2; 6.13).

While the stump of Jesse refers to either the fallen Davidic kingdom[22] or the Davidic kingdom nearly nearing its termination, it may entail an indirect critique against a current Judean king who was not able to actualize the political vision of David in his kingdom.[23] In a sense, the prophet is saying that there must be a fresh start on the part of God's people which will rehabilitate the original glory of the Davidic kingdom ushered by David son of Jesse.[24]

It is clear from vv. 2-5 that the shoot or branch refers to a royal figure. Upon him the spirit of Yahweh rests. Especially the spirit of strategy is anointed on the royal figure. The Hebrew word rendered as "counsel" is ēṣâ, a central concept that runs through the whole book of Isaiah. It refers to a royal deliberation or planning. The Hebrew word translated as "valor" is gĕbûrā, which means military leadership expected of a king in ancient Israel. Both virtues were the most essential leadership elements of a king especially when he conducted a war or carried out an important policy.

Verse 3 more obviously inclines the reader to see the shoot or branch as a kingly person. He rules, judges, guarantees the human and political rights of the poor and lowly by constraining the greedy and lawless desire of the landed classes and ruthless. Psalm 72 expects a Davidic king sitting on the throne of David (2 Sam 7.12-16) to substantiate such a messianic rule especially through the act of just and righteous judgment (cf. Isa 61.1-4). The ideal king here is richly anointed by Yahweh with the spirit of wisdom and discernment, strategy and valor, knowledge and fear of Yahweh. He is obviously commissioned a viceroy of Yahweh on the earth.

Verses 3-5 describe the way of a Davidic messiah's reign and its source. The messiah breathes a fear of Yahweh and gets energized by the fear of Yahweh. Fearing, loving, and trusting Yahweh enlivens him. Thus the

22) Barry Webb, *The Message of Isaiah on Eagles' Wings,* 75.
23) Roberts, "Messianic Expectations," 45.
24) Childs, *Isaiah,* 101.

messiah is equipped with Yahweh's insight and discernment. He does not judge based on what his eyes see and his ears hear. He judges perceptively and justly on behalf of those people who were likely to be marginalized and disadvantaged especially in their being judged. This prophetic praise of the Davidic messiah might have sounded a critique against a contemporary Judean king who failed to execute justice and righteousness.[25)]

In v. 4b we make a textual emendation following BHS by correcting ʾereṣ (land) into ʿārîṣ (the ruthless) in order to restore the poetic parallel in v. 4. ʿārîṣ is a more appropriate parallel to the wicked (rāšāʿ). What is revealing about the messiah's execution of justice and righteousness is that he smites the ruthless with the rod of his mouth and kills the wicked with the staff of his lips. The rod and staff are two essential tools for a shepherd, kingly person (Ezek 34; John 10.11-14; cf. Ps 23). The messiah constrains and kills the wicked and ruthless who were threatening the peace of the messianic kingdom through royal decrees and judgments, not physical violence or military means.

Verse 5 speaks of the source of the messianic authority, that is, righteousness (ṣedeq) and truthfulness (ʾĕmûnā). The former refers to the covenantal devotion and compassion of a king or other fellow citizens for the poor and lowly of the earth who are on the brink of being alienated from the covenanted community in poverty. The latter refers to a king or judge's correcting and constraining act of preventing the greedy and sinful acts of the wealthy and landed classes from dismantling the covenanted community of Israel. Both ṣedeq and ʾ ĕmûnā are social and political manifestations of the people of Israel's fidelity to the Sinai covenant. The girdle of a king also represents a royal authority. From where comes the king's authority to smite the ruthless and kill the wicked? From the girdle of righteousness and truthfulness. It originates from the messianic king's close walk with and wholehearted obedience to God.

Verses 6-9 illustrate how a messianic king transforms a cruel and inhumane community into a peaceful and orderly one. Verses 6-8 speak of a holy safari where the wolf and the little lamb, the leopard and the kid, the calf and the young lion, the fatlings and the little child are at peace with each other.

Verse 7 states that some carnivorous animals have been transmuted into

25) Webb, *The Message of Isaiah,* 75.

herbivorous animals under the reign of the Davidic messiah in the mountain of Yahweh. There come a herbivorous lion and a herbivorous bear! Verse 8 portrays a peaceful scene in which the nursing child plays with the viper, putting his hand into its den. In this holy mountain of Yahweh the weaned child leads ferocious and cruel animals in a peaceful procession. What is meant by this incredible holy safari? Isaiah is speaking of a nobly unified community where the poor and the lowly of the earth are entirely vindicated and protected from any wicked people. This messianic society effectively embodies the righteous and truthful rule of the messiah, who is completely committed to reconciling the oppressed to the oppressor, the victims to the victimizers, the landless to the landed. Isaiah thought that the prerequisite condition for incorporating the remaining people of the northern kingdom into the kingdom of Judah was the establishment of righteousness and justice, as illustrated here.

Verse 9 anticipates a day in which the peaceful reign of the Davidic messiah shall infiltrate every area of the whole world.[26] No hurting or destruction will be experienced in all the holy mountain of Yahweh, for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of Yahweh (cf. Hab 2.15; Hos 4.4-6). The image of the waters covering the sea in v. 9b is a reversal of the Noahide flood (cf. Amos 5.24). No wonder the establishment of a messianic peace community is followed by the return of both the Israelite-Judean captives and their reconciliatory union, for the schism between Israel and Judah had been caused by the failure of the Davidic kings to execute justice and righteousness for the whole people of Israel (1 Kings 12).

A Messianic King who gathered the exiles of Israel and the dispersed of Judah to the holy mountain, his glorious abode (vv. 10-16)

A number of historical-critical commentators attribute vv. 10-16 to a post-exilic redactor on several shaky grounds. They include the reference to the exiled Israelites and Judeans scattered all over the world, the dependence of

26) While some scholars say that vv. 6-9 speaking of the peace of the animal world are dependent on such a post-exilic passage as Isa 66.25, others argue for the vice versa: so J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "The Intertextual Relationship between Isaiah 65:25 and Isaiah 11:6-9," *in The Scriptures and the Scrolls. Fs. A. S. van de Woude,* eds. F. G. Martinez et al. VTSupp. 49 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 31-42 and Childs, *Isaiah,* 101-102.

vv. 10-16 on the allegedly post-exilic documents such as 2 Isaiah and others (Obad 19-21; Mic 7.7-20; Zech 10.3-12), and the hope for the reconciliation of the northerners and the southerners, which they believe was very likely foreign to Isaiah of Jerusalem the 8th century prophet BCE. I will dispute them for the following reasons.

First, it is equally possible for 2 Isaiah,[27] Obadiah, Micah, and Zechariah to be dependent on vv. 10-16, not necessarily vice versa. Here one may be reminded of J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten's argument for the dependence of Isa 65.25 on 11.6-9 (see footnote 27). Second, there is nothing against reading this section as referring to the return of the northern captives in the 8th century BCE to both their homeland and the Davidic kingdom, except for the references to the captives of Judah and the rivers of Euphrates. It is not entirely impossible to think that the Judean captives were those rural Judean peasants who were exiled by Sennacherib in 701 BCE (ANET, 287-288).[28] Finally, it is much more natural to put the hostility and conflict between Ephraim and Judah back into the Syro-Ephraimite War and its immediately preceding or following period. It is the least likely that the prophecies of the national reconciliation and reunification were proclaimed to the people of the Persian Yehuda. It is more likely that they were declared in the monarchic period in which Israel and Judah were competing against each other as realpolitikal entities. The ideal that a Davidic king expands his rule to the entire world with Zion at its center does not nicely fit with the exilic period or post-exilic period because neither Babylon nor Persia would allow it to be realized or even circulated among the community of the returned exiles in one way or another. This kind of political vision was most likely entertained or thought of while the Davidic dynasty was still existing in that it represented the Zion theology of the Judean royal house.[29] Therefore, I argue for the Isaianic authenticity of vv. 10-16.

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27) Hugh G. M. Williamson's dating this section to a post-exilic period only based on its thematic and lexicographical connection with the so-called 2 Isaiah (40-55) is not compelling at all (*The Book Called Isaiah. Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 127).

28) Benjamin D. Sommer, *Jewish Study Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 127.

29) Roberts, "Isaiah in Old Testament Theology," *Interpretation* 36/2 (1986): 138-139.

Unlike those who tend to disconnect vv. 1-9 from vv. 10-16 (or vv. 1-10 from vv. 11-16), we argue for their interconnection and thematic continuity. Verses 10-16 consist of four smaller themes: the return of the exiles (vv. 11-12), the termination of the jealousy and enmity between Ephraim and Judah (v. 13), the political fortunes of the reunited nation of Israel (v. 14), and the highway for the returning exiles to return to their homeland (vv. 15-16).

One obvious purpose of the final redactor's arrangement of vv. 10-16 after vv. 1-9 may be that v. 10 beginning with "In that day" is intended to highlight the implication of the universal peace in vv. 1-9 for the future of Israel and Judah. What binds these two sections is the stump of Jesse or Jesse. Especially v. 10 is a very suggestive clue that inclines the reader to see these two sections as a unity by referring back to the stock of Jesse. It speaks of a world-historical significance of the return of both the Israelite and Judean captives to their homeland. The Davidic messiah will be consulted by nations and peoples for their guidance and instruction.[30)]

Then when will it happen that nations shall seek the Davidic messiah's counsel and peoples shall follow his signal? Verse 11 projects this scene into a somewhat remote future. In that day Yahweh will lift up his hand to recover his own people from the four corners of the world. Verse 12 states that the stock of Jesse shall become a standard for nations and peoples so that he may gather all the exiles and dispersed people of God to their homeland.

Verse 13 shows how the returning exiles of both Israel and Judah will be reconciled and united with each other under the reign of the Davidic king. Reconciled and reunified with each other, both Judah and Israel shall be able to restore the territory of the Davidic-Solomonic empire by subjugating its neighboring states to them. Under the peaceful and just reign of the Davidic king, Judah and Ephraim shall terminate their enmity and jealousy against each other and become strong enough to reclaim their political hegemony over the once vassal states of the Davidic-Solomonic empire.

The Philistines and the people of the east in v. 14 annexed some parts of the Israelite and Judean territory while Israel and Judah were rivaling each other especially during the Syro-Ephraimite Crisis (735-732 BCE). Moab, Ammon, and Edom which were once David's vassal states, also took some

30) Childs, *Isaiah*, 105; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12,* 482.

parts of Judah and Israel when they were invaded by Assyria. The imperialistic vision that Isaiah entertained of his own reunified country can be justified only when we assume that the reign of the Davidic-Solomonic empire is totally committed to executing the righteousness and justice of God for the entire world (Isa 16.5; 2 Sam 8.15; 23.3-4).

Verses 15-16 mention three empires that once acted as agents of the divine judgment of Yahweh against his own people: Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. The people of both Judah and Israel were exiled into one of these three empires from which God shall be redeeming his own people to their homeland. To this end, Yahweh shall dry up (split up) the rivers of Euphrates into seven streams and shall make a dry land in the midst of the Egyptian rivers for his own people to walk. In other words, Yahweh will work out a second exodus for the exiles of Israel and Judah.

Verse 16's reference to the highway for the exiles remaining in Assyria to come back to their homeland, makes clear that the leading of the Assyrian exiles back to their homeland by Yahweh is a second Exodus. Indeed these Isaianic prophecies have become a self-navigation system and roadmap for the Babylonian exiles to return to Zion. It is very probable that Isaiah's oracles concerning national restoration and reunification must have sounded an invitation for his audiences to fulfill them in a real life-setting and not simply a detached prediction about a remote future.[31] If it had not been for these oracles of national restoration and reconciliation, the returned exiles from Assyria and Babylon could not have reestablished themselves as the golah community in Jerusalem and Judah (Neh 5).

For ancient Israelite prophets, biblical promises and prophecies were to be welcomed and acted out in a specific history. They were to be believed, obeyed, and engaged by audiences. My reading of Isaiah 11 seeks to recover this kind of engaging and listening to divine prophecies and promises. Our paramount intention is to attempt a biblical interpretation that goes beyond a cold and objective, disengaged and detached analysis of biblical texts to create a whole-hearted and at the same time realpolitikal response to them. We want to let biblical promises and oracles sharpen up our sociopolitical perception and practice in order to build up a more just and peaceful community in the world.

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31) Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah. Chapters 1-39*, 289.

Implications of Isaiah 11 for the Reconciliation and Reunification of Two Divided Koreas

Korea has been divided into two national governments with two quite oppositional ideologies since its 1945 emancipation from the imperialistic Japanese regime. Its modern history has been punctuated by internal war, ideological jealousy, and alliances with foreign superpowers. That has been the case with both Koreas. Thus the role of the Korean Church as a religion in making peace and reconciliation in the divided Korean peninsula has been a huge and long term challenge, for the Korean church itself has been at war because of its theological conflict and dirty church politics. What was most urgently to be reconciled and reunified was none other than the Korean Church which was divided into conservative and progressive, rightist and leftist sides. This situation continued until the mid-1990s, when the North Korea-South Korea sharing movement was started in 1994 under the joint leadership of both sides of the Korean Church. In a sense, since then the Korean Church has learned to make peace among people with different convictions, ideas, and ideologies. The Korean church made some contribution to achieving national reconciliation and peace in the midst of political and military tension lying between two Koreas since the 1970-1980s, which resulted in the emergence of Korean Reunification Theology (KRT).[32] Thus far non-Christian civil reunification movements, which mostly appealed to nationalistic sentiments in making reunification movement within the Korean society, have been enriched and strengthened through the participation of the Korean church fully inspired by a biblical or theological idea.

Isaiah 11 offers some clues for our commitment to making peace and reunification for our divided country. First of all, it makes sure that a messianic political leadership supported by a just and peaceful civil

32) For a brief overview of the history of KRT, refer to Ji-Seok Jung, "Korean Reunification Theology: A Theological Reflection on Peace in the Situation of Conflict and Division between North and South," *Madang* 3 (June 2005), 27-48 and idem, "Theological Issues of Reconciliation in the Korean Peninsula," *Madang* 5 (June 2006), 7-22. The former essay chronicles the process of the emergence of KRT and articulates its key ideas (peace, nation, minjung), while the latter essay analyzes four theological issues involved in the reunification of the Korean Peninsula: repentance, jubilee and sharing, memory and eucharist.

community alone can achieve national reconciliation and reunification in the Korean peninsula. Peace is the fruit of justice and righteous, as well demonstrated in the exegetical analysis of vv. 1-5. Isaiah 11 suggests that the Korean church should exert a messianic leadership as a royal priest (1 Pet 2.9) in order for South Korea to be transformed into a messianic community under the leadership of a just and righteous political leadership. A possible national reconciliation and reunification that we might envision from Isaiah 11 is execution of justice and righteous rule in the South and then its extension to the North.

Secondly, this messianic poem shows what should be the ultimate goal of national peace and reconciliation between Judah and Israel. It should be the expansion of universal peace and justice to all creatures living in the entire world. No national or regional peace and unity should be welcomed or promoted unless it contributes to global peace and creaturely peace. Our foregoing exegesis implies that the ultimate goal of Korea's national reconciliation and reunification will be conducive to the extension of global peace and justice even to the extent of being enjoyed by the most marginalized creature.

Summary and Conclusion

Isaiah 11 as a messianic oracle sets forth Isaiah's theology of national restoration and reunification. Our study of this poem suggests that Isaiah's theological vision for national reconciliation and reunification can be carried out in a real situation like the contemporary Korean peninsula. As well documented in Isaiah 9, the prophet Isaiah expected that the downfall of the northern kingdom would be an opportunity for the revival of the Davidic kingdom in that a Davidic messiah would fulfill the political ideal of the Davidic rule, righteousness and justice for the remaining people of Israel and thus be able to incorporate them into a messianic kingdom ruled by a Davidic messiah. As clear from Isaiah 11, the prophet proclaimed that the establishment of a messianic society is a prerequisite for the national reconciliation and unity, for national reconciliation and reunification is a fruit of a messianic rule marked by a just and righteous social order. The trajectory of the nation of Israel headed by a Davidic messiah is expected to take its course from the founding of a national community on righteousness and justice, through the reconciliation of the northerners and the

southerners, and to the extension of the Davidic reign to neighboring states. The world-wide expansion of the Davidic messiah's reign to subjugate neighboring states is justified (Isa 9.6; 11.14; 16.5) because it incarnates the righteous and just rule of Yahweh.

Seen in this light, Isaiah's messianic oracles engage the audience to act as an agent of building a messianic community on righteousness and justice simply beyond looking for a savior from a transcendental realm. Here the stump of Jesse merits much more serious attention in that it clearly points to an earthly messiah who identifies himself with David, the exemplary king of justice and righteousness. The Davidic messiah breaks through the domination of Assyria and Babylon to embrace the divine reign of Yahweh into his realm. Any one who wishes to be a Davidic messiah shall get nourished by biblical promises and prophecies challenging the secular hegemony of a world-wide empire which asserts itself over marginalized states and manipulates them by coercing, threatening, and enslaving. Isaiah 11, read against the power politics of an Assyrian or Babylonian imperial kingdom, encourages us to subvert their dominant paradigms of constructing reality. The restoration and reunification of the nation of Israel can be achieved only when the Davidic rule will dismantle the self-serving system and structure which serves the interests of the ruthless and wicked such as the landed and power elites. One of the ways of mapping and engaging the Bible in Asian culture is to be reminded that God is the God of the poor, the marginalized, and the victims, both in the Old Testament and in the contemporary world and the necessary purpose of biblical study is to destabilize all imperialistic (Assyrian or Babylonian) claims for truth in order to achieve the liberation of all the exiled all over the world. As Leo G. Perdue observed, "the test of any theology is how it is able to lessen human suffering, promote justice and egalitarianism, bring about liberation, and build community among all groups."

Abstract

One of the Asian ways of reading the Bible is to engage biblical promises and prophecies in a real and sociopolitical context. Historically, for Asians the Bible has always been a book of divine word that needs to be acted out in a real life setting. It was the case both with M. Gandhi when he led a peaceful movement against the British imperial regime over fields of salt (the 1930 Salt March) and with the Korean Christians in the 1930-40s when they resisted the Shinto worship of the Japanese imperialistic regime. The then Korean Christians were able to successfully resist the forced Shinto shrine worship because they were able to find spiritual nourishment in various biblical oracles that inspired them to counter the human powers of the imperialistic regime by the Divine Sovereign. They acted out biblical prophecies that castigated human emperors and dictators, and acted upon them even when they were threatened to be jailed or sentenced to death. The Korean church thus has been anchored in the tradition of faith that embraced the Word of God as instructive and directional in one's daily life and made it to bear upon their real life issue.

Living on the divided Korean peninsula has strongly motivated me as a biblical scholar to pay much more serious attention to those biblical oracles which proclaim the unification of a divided people under the hand of the sovereign God (Isa 9 and 11; Ezek 36-37; Amos 9.11-14). Isaiah 11 is an example of a passage in which it is possible to demonstrate how an Asian reading makes a difference in interpreting biblical prophecies. With my reading of Isaiah 11, I will attempt to exemplify an Asian reading of the biblical oracle by making it address the Korean people who have been suffering a lot from the hostility and disunity between South Korean and North Korea since 1945. The essence of such a reading lies in reading biblical prophecy as something to be humanly acted out and lived out rather than a retrospective memoir or futuristic forecasting. My reading is intended to encourage people suffering from hostility and disunity like the Korean people to achieve peace reconciliation. It is with this kind of Asian engagement with the Bible that my paper will be concerned. The present paper specifically makes an exegetical inquiry into Isaiah 11 with special focus on its realpolitikal implication for the reconciliation between southerners and northerners.

Key Words
Isaiah, Reunification Theology, Messiah, Isaiah 11, Peace, Reconciliation

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Donghak and Daseok's Understanding of Christianity Seen through *Cheon-bu-gyeong* : An Attempt to Find a Point of Contact for the Indigenization and Globalization of Christianity[1)]

Lee Jung-bae*

It has been more than a decade since I was first interested in Daseok (多夕) Yu Yeong-mo's understanding of Christianity. Recently, I have come to the thought that the scholars in the Daseok school, such as Ham Seok-heon (咸錫憲), Kim Heung-ho (金興浩), Park Yeong-ho (朴永浩), Lee Gi-sang (李基相) and so on, would be a good match with the scholars in the Kyoto school who put forth a Buddhist understanding of Christianity.[2)] As an

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1) This is a summary of my longer paper, with the title above for this conference. In this summary, I will try to make some points for those who had to take a long way to come here. Because this is the shortened version, I may not clearly deliver the original scale of the paper, but I will try to show the structures and contents in this paper.

2) Lee Jung-bae, "Daseok hak pa eui Gidokgyo lihae wa Mun hwa sinhak eui mi rae [The Daseok School's Understanding of Christianity and the Future of

indigenous theologian, I cannot miss noticing that the Kyoto School has interpreted Christianity through the eyes of Buddhism, while the Daseok School firmly found their understanding upon Christianity. In short, the Daseok School understood Christianity firmly on the basis of indigenous Korean thoughts. It also found its core principle of theology in *Cheon-bu-gyeong* (天符經) as well as in the cultural traditions of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism.[3] I once termed this "a heuristic hermeneutics," as borrowed from Panikkar's terms. What is important in Daseok's thought is the idea of the three foundations of heaven, earth and human beings (天地人三才). He regarded heaven(.), earth(-) and human beings(l) as the voices of heaven calling out to our nation. From this train of thought, Daseok interpreted Hangeul, the Korean phonetic symbols, as the heavenly text (天文) or the revelatory language or language of meaning.[4] Since then, his theory of the three foundations (三才論) has always been the hermeneutical foundation of his interpretation of the essences of Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity, and he was able to produce his own unique system of meanings from this theory. It does not seem to be a mere coincidence that Daseok himself explicated the 81 letters of *Cheon-bu-gyeong* in Korean native language.

What especially matters to my scholarship is the relationship between Su-un(水雲)'s Donghak (東學) and Daseok's thoughts. As scholars have analyzed, Donghak (東學) is the Korean native system of thoughts, which was derived and developed from the world view of *Cheon-bu-gyeong*, especially from the theory of its three foundations (三才論).[5] In fact, there have been quite a number of articles and writings about the relationship.

Korean Theology of Culture]," *Korea Journal of Christian Studies* 50 (2007): 249-279.

3) Yu Yeong-mo, "Cheon-bu-gyeong puli [Interpretation of Cheon-bu-gyeong]," in *Buddhism understood in terms of Daseok's Thoughts, ed.* Park Yeong-ho (Ban-Ya-Sim-Gyong, Du-re Publishing, 2001), 378-407.

4) Lee Jeong-ho, *Hun-Min-Jeong-Eum guzowa lihae* [The Structure and Principle of Hun-Min-Jeong-Eum: Study of its Dynamics], (Asian Publishing Co., 1990); Lee Jung-bae, "Hangeul gwa gidokgyo, Hangeul ro sinhak hagi (Hangeul and Christianity: Doing theology in Hangeul)," *Daseok Yu Yeong-mo's East Asian Thoughts and Theology* (Sol Publishing Co., 2002), 262-298.

5) Choi Min-ja, *Donghak sasang gwa sin mun myung* [The Thoughts of Dong-hak and New Civilization] (Hosting People Publishing: 2005), 204 ff.

Although it has often been criticized that they have not enough examined it through historical investigations, I think their attempts are still meaningful. However, what embarrasses me is the fact that Daseok never mentioned Donghak in his writings. I deeply regret to say that Daseok, the person who translated and interpreted *Cheon-bu-gyeong* (天符經) into the Korean native version and took its theory of the three foundations (三才論) as his world view and methodology, never considered Donghak, which has been regarded as a synthesis of Korean thoughts.[6] Thus, this paper will examine the relationship of Donghak and Daseok's thoughts in the light of the theory of the three foundations in *Cheon-bu-gyeong*, and I will also examine the meaning of their encounter in the contexts of Korean culture and world history; for there is a history that Su-un, stimulated from *Chun-Ju-Sil-Ui* (天主實義), also rediscovered the God of *Cheon-bu-gyeong*, as Daseok reconstructed a Korean Christianity under the framework of the theory of the three foundations. After all, from my scholarly judgment, there are some striking similarities between Daseok's theory of indigenization and Su-un's Donghak, given that the former regarded the theory of the three foundations as an archetype of the national culture and that the latter tried to return to the primal origin in his attempt to overcome the impact of Western Christianity. The theologian Yu Dong-shik (柳東植) once mentioned that the deep and profound Dao (玄妙之道) in the NanRang Inscription (鸞郎碑序) had something to do with the Dao of the three foundations in *Cheon-bu-gyeong*, and this seems to support my argument in this paper.[7]

The theory of three ultimates (foundations) as the framework of Donghak and Daseok's thoughts - explained through *Cheon-bu-gyeong*

In this chaper, I elucidate the 81 letters of *Cheon-bu-gyeong* according to its scriptural order from the first to the third. The first scripture explains the heavenly principle (天理); the second elucidates the vicissitude of cosmic

6) I have found only one occasion in which he makes comments on Su-wun's Donghak in his book 多夕講義 [Daseok Lecture] ed. Daseok Society, (Hyeon-am Publishing Co., 2006), 282.

7) Yu Dong-sik, *Pung-Ryu-Do wa Johan bok eum* [Pung-Ryu-Do (風流道) and John's Gospel] (Handl Publishing Co., 2007), 52-63.

nature; and the third concerns the matter of being human.[8] In the first verse, the eternal One branches out into the three foundations of heaven, earth and human beings, and they then are reunified into the One. The second scripture deals with the world of use (用), whose body (體) is the eternal One of the first scripture, and is none other than the cyclic process of life which makes ten thousand things come alive. The third scripture, which is the core of the entire book, illustrates that the One, which is the primal origin of the cosmic process, is nothing but the real "I" and that to find it is to return to the One. In short, heaven and earth are in one within the human being (人中天地一). Here, one can find that this resonates with Su-un's notion of "my mind as your mind" (吾心卽汝心) and with Daseok's notion that God is after all the true "I". Western scholars may have difficulty understanding such Donghak notions as that of my mind as your mind. For it presumes that A can be equal to a non-A (不二). The notion of A as non-A is not like a Western notion of institutionalized divine grace where any notion of praxis in life has been watered down and then fossilized. Unlike them, Daseok reinterpreted Christology in the structure of heaven and earth within human beings (人中天地一).

The impact of *Cheon-bu-gyeong* upon Su-un and Daseok can be structurally illustrated as follows.[9] Both of them put stress upon the mystery of the One who has neither its beginning nor its end and who generates "ten thousands things in the world" (宇宙萬物). The One is beyond our comprehension so that it can only be represented as nothingness (無). This One is represented in our human memories along with the notion of "the divine being without being" or that of hosting the lord of heaven (侍天主). The One resides within everything and at the same time transcends everything. The world view of the trial ramification (三數分化, 一卽三, 三卽一) illustrates this very well. The relationship between the primal One and the three polarities of heaven, earth and human beings is that of the not-two (不二) or the inseparable.[10] Daseok analogically illustrated the relationship as that of individual and whole, and as that of the absolute and the relative.

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8) The following is a summary of Cho Min-ja's *Cheon-bu-gyeong puri* [Commentaries on Cheon-bu-gyeong, Dam-Il-Sin-Go, Cham-Jeon-Gye-Gyeong] (Hosting People Publishing, 1982), 56-120.

9) Yu Yeong-mo, "Interpretation," 379.

10) Yu Yeong-mo, "Interpretation," 387-388.

The notion of the divine being without being embraces both the absolute and the relative, individual and whole. This all-encompassing is also found in Donghak's notion of hosting the heavenly lord (侍天主), which is its translation of the oneness of heaven and earth within human beings (人中天地一).[11] This imposes a certain sense of rightness upon human life that the purpose of human life is the return to the One. It requires a disciplined process to come to this absolute consciousness within a human being. In this vein, Donghak emphasizes the notion of hosting the heavenly lord, and Daseok the elimination of desires for sexuality, food and material goods (貪瞋痴). Although one may realize that the divine life and one's life are one on the level of the true "I," one still needs a disciplined process for its concrete actualization.

Given the branching out of the three foundations (三數分化), both Su-un and Daseok learnt from *Cheon-bu-gyeong* the doctrine of the return of the three into one (會三歸一) and described their own religious experiences on the basis of it.[12] The major doctrines of the divine spirit within (內有神靈), the force of becoming without (外有氣化) and the individual acknowledgment of nowhere else (各知不移) respectively correspond to heaven, earth and human beings in the scripture, all of which derive from the One.[13] These three, which explain the word "hosting" (侍), presume the original oneness. Daseok also explained heaven, earth and human beings (天地人) as "Gye" (계), "Ye" (예) and "Geut" (긋) in pure Korean, and connected them to the three Buddha natures of "seeing the true nature" (見性), "doing ascetic practice" (苦行) and "attaining Buddhahood" (成佛). In turn, he elucidated them as the way of heaven's calling leading up to the very nature (天命之謂性), the way of nature leading up to the Way (率性之謂道) and the way of practicing *Dao* up to teaching (修道之謂教), and he then even interpreted Christianity in this way. God as the divine being without being (없이 계신 하나님), Jesus Christ as the actualization of filial piety and affection (父子有親) and the Holy Spirit as the true self are the examples of his Korean interpretation.[14] What is important here is the Son's

11) Yu Yeong-mo, "Interpretation," 402.

12) Yu Yeong-mo, "Interpretation," 386-387.

13) Choi Min-ja, *Commentaries,* 48-49.

14) This scheme is well illustrated in *Oh Jeong-suk, Da seok Yu yeong-mo eui hangukjuk gidiggyo* [Da Seok Yu Yeong-mo's Korean Christianity], (Misba Publishing Co., 2005.)

filial piety (孝) and his becoming one with the heavenly Father which is exemplified in his act of crucifixion. This corresponds to the preservation of the mind and the straightening-up of the force (守心正氣) in Donghak. Nonetheless, Jesus Christ is the one and only teacher for Daseok. Daseok pointing out the kernels of Buddhism and Confucianism in the light of *Cheon-bu-gyeong* was a way of the indigenization of Christianity. At this point, I think it should be mentioned that Donghak, which recovered the forgotten God through the impact of the West, is so theological that it itself takes a form of theology which emerged indigenously(土發).[15] This is the reason why I want to see Donghak in the light of Daseok's thoughts.

Christianity in Daseok's thoughts - the nature and actuality of indigenous understanding of Christianity

Here I try to make clear the reality of indigenous Christianity in Daseok and will attempt later to reflect Donghak within Daseok's thoughts. Daseok considered *Cheon-bu-gyeong* as a meaningful idea because he considered that the three polarities of heaven, earth and human beings return to the One. In the East Asian perspective, the One cannot be expressed but as 'nothingness' (無).[16] Thus, this One, which lets everything be and which itself is none other than whole, becomes the divine being without being. This nothingness (or not-a-thing-ness) may be understood in the contexts of the "mysterious being of true emptiness" (眞空妙有) in Buddhism and of the "Great Polarity as non-polarity" (無極而太極) in Neo-Confucianism. Daseok regarded the theory of the not-Two (不二論), which is immanent in Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, as not different from the One in *Cheon-bu-gyeong* (天符經). The 'not-two' (不二) is none other than an epistemological (or pneumatological) foundation, which mediates one and three. Presupposing the above, Daseok's understanding of Christianity is so unorthodox that it already lies outside the established frame of Western

15) Shin Il-cheol, *Donghak sasang eui hae* [Understanding the Thought of Donghak] (Social Critique Press, 1995), 124-129.

16) Yu Yeong-mo, "Interpretation," 386. Lee Ki-sang, "Taeyang eul ggeura-zonjae jungsim eui sayro buteu haebang [Turn off the Sun-Liberation from the Being-centered Thinking]," in *Daseok Yu Yeong-mo's East Asian Thought and Theology,* 51.

theology.[17] This is because Daseok sought a way to the divine being without being (빈탕 empty space) within human beings, that is, in his Ba-tal (바탈 original nature). "It seems to transcend, but it is actually digging into its own root."[18] It is never logical to describe the "divine being without being" as the bottom of human innate nature (바탈 本然之性). It means that God becomes the true "I" (얼나 Eol-Na); but this can only be attained as the fruit of the ceaseless bodily practice of awareness.

For Daseok, Jesus has nothing to do with the Western theistic framework regulated by its substantial thinking. Jesus realizes that he is the descending from the One or the child of the empty space (虛空) after he suffered from the one hundredth death and one thousand difficulties (百死千難), and he then becomes understood in an indigenous way as "God as not different from the Son" (父子不二 - Father and Son are not two). Jesus is the first-born Son, who realizes that his innate nature of existence (바탈) is God and who takes seriously his responsibility for this. Nonetheless, in his thoughts, whoever realizes that s/he is the only begotten so that s/he lives the life of the absolute can become the only-begotten. Daseok read in the cross of Jesus the perfection of filial piety in Jesus offering himself to the heavenly (Father). There is no one like him, who yearns more for the being of the One, the absolute life. Therefore, he takes Jesus as his only master, who actualizes intimacy between Father and son(s) (父子有親). The master as the naked being (脫存) is the representation of an absolute human relation, which transcends the blood ties of familial relations, and s/he leads us to the absolute (one). This master Jesusology developed into the Eol Christology (spiritual Christology).[19] This *Eol* Christology assumes the world of a non-object-related enlightenment, which is the awareness of the non-difference between self and other (自他不二), rather than that of object-based faith, and it naturally leads to pneumatology.

For Daseok, the Spirit is, in a word, the Spirit of God, and at the same time, the innate nature (本然之性) of human beings. Put differently, the Spirit of God is the cosmic life as whole, the inner kernel within 'my' self

17) In this regard, I have pointed out that the essence of the Daseok School's understanding of Christianity lies in the theological principle of the not-two.

18) Park Jae-soon, "Sayuga narl bultaeyunda" [Thoughts burning me up: Descartes and Yu Yeong-mo], unpublished article, (23 October 2006), 10.

19) Daseok Lecture (多夕講義), 781.

(바탈) and also the absolute spirit that transcends the realm of the relative.[20] The universe keeps on running ceaselessly through creation and evolution, and any human being has potentiality to reach the absolute spirit (Christ), because the spirit of God (숨 breath) is immanent in every human being and everything in the universe. However, in order to become the absolute life, a human being as individual must burn up his/her life. What religion aims at, and the role of the Spirit, is to return to *Bin-Tang* (the empty space; that is, the absolute life) by burning up one's innate nature (바탈) with *Mal-Soom* (말숨, Word-Breathing), which is the Word.

Daseok extended his master Christology into his *Ul* Christology in the pneumatological context. For there is in every human being the spirit of God, which is *Ba-Tal* (바탈), and everyone would thus be able to become Christ, which is *Eol-Na* (얼나) in Daseok's Christology.[21] This *Eol* Christology can be said to be a radical indigenous appropriation of Western pluralistic theology. This Christology, which allows human beings a general possibility of salvation, understands the Western theology of pluralism in the East Asian or pneumatological way. It naturally encourages us to revise the established exclusive or heteronomous thought of redemption (代贖).[22] What Daseok saw in Jesus on the cross is his elevated will and executive power. Daseok would not have produced his thoughts without the will elevated by Jesus (the realm of the absolute) and the way of the cross he put upon his shoulder. In the East Asian practice-focused tradition, he reinterprets the cross of Jesus in terms of self-forgiveness (自贖) in opposition to the idea of redemption that is heteronomous forgiveness - and conceptualizes it into his notions of meditative sitting and dieting, sincere speaking and always walking (一座食 一言仁). The cross itself was also the way of self-forgiveness (自贖) for Jesus himself. However, when Jesus' self-forgiveness requires of us the same self-forgiveness, it rather functions as redemptive salvation. In this way, God's salvation takes place in the way

20) For Daseok, Jesus 'Eol is Christ, life, spirit, and the ground of human beings. Yo Yeong-mo, *Jukeumye saengmyung eul, julmangye himang eul* [Life to Death, Hope to Despair] (HongIk-Je 1993), 341.

21) Yu Yeong-mo, *Myungsangrok* [Meditations: Truth and Cham-Na with Park Yeong- ho's Commentary] (Du-re 2000), 93.

22) His disciple, Ham seok-hun, also agrees with this term. "Hanguk Gidokgyo muulhana [What will Korean Christianity Do?]," in *Complete Works of Ham seok-hun, vol.3* (Han-gil Press 1986), 202-203.

of the not-two of self and other (自他不二).

Daseok's indigenous understanding of Christianity and Su-un's thoughts of Donghak - Comparision of the two in their foundational structures and contents

In this chapter, which is the kernel of this paper, I deal with some of the basic structures and correspondences of Daseok's understanding of indigenous Christianity and Su-un's Donghak in their respective contents. One thing to be mentioned is that, although Su-un never had a Christian identity in himself, one can say he seemed to know a way to understand Christianity within the structure of Donghak, because he had already read Matteo Ricci's *Chun-Ju-Sil-Ui* (天主實義) and suggested a way to reflect on and overcome the Western legacy of Christianity. That is, he seemed to think that, although there is no way to communicate with the Western teachings (西學 or 西敎western religion), one could find a common ground between Donghak and the thought system of the so-called New Occidentology (新西學). Back then, what really mattered to him was the lack of understanding of the cosmic and personal vitality in the Western teachings (西學).

My argument is that there are conceptual pairs between Donghak's doctrines, such as "hosting the heavenly lord" (侍天主), "the divine spirit within" (內有神靈), "the force of becoming without" (外有氣化) and "the individual acknowledgment of nowhere else" (各知不移), and Daseok's notions of Korean Christianity, such as "the divine being without being," "the filial intimacy of Jesus Christ" (父子有親) and "the Holy Spirit as the true self." First, let me elucidate the notion of the "divine spirit within" from the perspective of the "divine being without being." Both of them disclose the nature of heaven in its ceaseless unfolding with neither beginning nor end. As Daseok explains heaven is "heaven in the middle" (天中) with the kernel (속알, which is the only-begotten and a seed from heaven), Donghak also talks about the living spirit within human beings in terms of the divine spirit within (內有神靈). For them, heaven is never metaphysical or ontological. The divine spirit within is the personified expression of the One that is the unconditional life, the primal source of the cosmos, which is ever changing and yet never exhausted in itself. It should be clear that the One cannot be reduced to a concept of person. As the dynamic creative act, the

Spirit arises within human beings over and over again. This heavenly One (*Han-Wool-Nim* 한울님) cannot be separated from human beings, as fish and water cannot be separated. Rather, the human being becomes heaven (*Han-Wool* 한울). At this point, the divine spirit within (內有神靈) is not much different from the divine "being without being," in terms of which Daseok regards God as the true self. Donghak has developed a diachronic logic that synthesizes everything in terms of the notion of "the no as the yes" (不然基然).[23] In this diachronic logic, the impersonal force of the universe, the coming force of becoming (至氣), can become the personal divinity (한울), that is, the heavenly lord (天主), and, if so, it seems to be possible to speak of "my mind as your mind" (吾心卽汝心). This awareness that the "I" is the Creator and the creature at the same time is derived from *Chun-Bu-gyeong*, and this was passed over to Su-un and Daseok and became the core of their thoughts. In other words, the notion of the oneness of heaven and earth within human beings (人中天地一) is nothing but the idea of hosting heaven (侍天) and also that of the divine being without being. A scholar read this as the coming world of the spiritual "Divinities."

Secondly, I will attempt to explain the idea of the force of becoming without (外有氣化) in Donghak in the light of the Eol Christology that speaks about the intimate relationship of father and son. These two concepts, given the structure of *Chun-Bu-gyeong*, are the stories about the earth that speak of the harmonious working of the logic and the force of the One. In other words, they refer to the processes in which the divine spirit within the human body unfolds outwardly. One can imagine along with these the theological concept of incarnation, which contains the idea that God becomes a human being. For the incarnation of God is God's work for the recovery of things in the universe and for their total salvation. The force of becoming without (外有氣化) means the ceaseless changes that repeat growth and decline in the universe, as incarnation also assumes the change of the deity itself. Here, the force or Ki (氣) is more than matter in our physical world and is not different from "the divine spirit" (神靈). Here we

23) Chapter on "Bul-yeon Gi-yeon (不然其然)" in *Dong-gyung-dae-jeon* [(東經大全 Complete Scripture of Donghak], ed. Society of Korean Traditional Culture, "Chapter on Donghak," World Religions in their Scriptures, 310-311. Kim Sang-il, *Dong-hakgwa sinseohak* [Donghak and New Occidentology] (Knowledge Industry Press 2000), 126-127.

can find a semantic correlation between "the force of becoming without" (外有氣化) and the *Eol* Christology. As seen above, Daseok understands the ten thousand things in the universe (宇宙萬物) as the activities of God that are absolute life. The spirit of God has never stopped working, even in a moment, in the universe and in its history. As the divine spirit for Su-un is the force of becoming, the unconditional life in human beings (*Ba-Tal*) and the cosmic life for Daseok are the same. In this regard, one can say that Jesus in his not-two-ness (不二) of father and son took off his bodily self, rose high as *Eol-Na* (the spiritual self) and embodied the cosmic life in himself.[24] In Donghak's terms, Jesus is a being that fulfills in him the unity of the divine spirit (神靈) and the force of becoming (氣化). By participating in the becoming of the cosmic life in his enlightenment of the absolute life, Jesus was able to become the cosmic Christ, who sustains every form of life as it is. It is only the absolute life of Jesus united with the cosmos (*Eol-Na*) which is meaningful for Daseok. Donghak expresses this as the preservation of the mind and the edification of Ki (守心正氣), which means that one realizes his/her nature of hosting the heavenly lord (侍天主) and keeps observing it.[25] Daseok's Jesus could be spoken of as the incarnation of the principle of preserving the mind and edifying Ki (守心正氣).

Finally, Daseok's *Ba-Tal* (the ground) and Donghak's "individual acknowledgement of nowhere else" (各知不移 unchanging individual awareness) cross over at their respective understandings of pneumatology. This can offer a ground to universalize the understanding of Jesus as the incarnation of the principle of preserving the mind and edifying *Ki* (守心正氣) and who participates in the becoming of heaven and earth. As seen above, Daseok seeks for God as being without being in the inner ground (밑둥) of human being, and, in so doing, he reminds us that this is the reality of the spirit. This is his explanation of the oneness of heaven and earth within human beings in *Cheon-bu-gyeong*. A human being cannot find God, when s/he leaves his/her own *Ba-Tal*. In this regard, Donghak also explains "the individual acknowledgement of nowhere else" or "unchaining individual awareness." It asks all of us human beings to live in the oneness of life

24) Kim Ji-ha, *Dong hak slyagi* [A Story of Donghak], 34. 39-40.

25) "Master Hae-wol's Sermon on Preserving the Mind and Rectifying Chi," a part of "Chapter on Donghak" ed. Society of Korean Traditional Culture, *World religions Seen through their Scripture,* 353.

beyond individual selves by realizing that the divine spirit within human beings and the force of becoming without are one.[26] This is a reaffirmation that every human being is a spiritual being with the absolute life. This witnesses that the existence of Jesus and the life he carried out are all the universal potentiality for human beings. Its pneumatological understanding of "the individual acknowledgement of nowhere else" or "unchanging individual awareness" is concretely developed into its ritual form of "setting the position toward the self" (向我設位). As a matter of fact, this is an emancipatory declaration of the unity of eating and ancestor worship, the oneness of religion and the ordinary, of transcendence and immanence. It corresponds to Jesus' teaching that humans are not for the Sabbath day; rather, the Sabbath is for humans. This is a radical transformation from objective religion toward non-objective religion, which opens a way of nonobjective faith to find God within the self. By having faith in one's own *Ba-Tal* (ground) as the presence of the divine being without being, one should respect oneself in order to embody the actuality of the faith. When Su-un calls his *Dao* (道) the becoming without doing (無爲而化), it takes place within the same context of the pneumatological understanding of "unchanging individual awareness" (各知不移). After all, all of these are possible through the awareness of hosting the heavenly lord and the experience of the presence of the divine being without being. Both of these thoughts announce a postmodern subjectivity, with which any one can become the cosmic absolute life by burning up one's own *Ba-Tal* (ground) and suggest a realm of spirituality, in which divinity and reason are conjoined.

The Encounter between Donghak and Daseok's understanding of Christianity, and its implication for the history of civilization and theology of life

In conclusion, I examine the meaning of their encounter in the contexts of the history of world civilization and of life theology. As shown above, inherent in both thoughts is the belief in the notions such as the absolute

26) I owe this interpretation of "unchanging individual awareness" (各知不移) to Choi Min-ja; Choi Min-ja, *Commentaries on Cheon-bu-gyeong, Sam-il-sin-go, Cham-jeon-gye-gyeong,* 48.

oneness without beginning or end, and the thought of the return to the One and the world of the three-fold ramification, all of which are at the core of the scripture, *Cheon-bu-gyeong*. It turns out to be that the integration of the three major religions (包含三教) which Choi Chi-won talked of is also not fundamentally different from the One in *Cheon-bu-gyeong*. These thoughts see that the essence of religion is that religions are expressions of the absolute One in order for all human beings to return to the One.[27] They commonly have an insight into the world view of the absolute oneness, which expresses a relationship between one and three, between essence and phenomena from the perspective of the not-two (不二). In this vein, I think it would be more correct to see Daseok's understanding of Christianity not as an indigenous (土着) but as a natively emergent (土發) Christianity.[28] I once called this a creationism beyond indigenization. Then, what general meanings does it bring on?

In the first place, Donghak and Daseok, both of whom accepted the principle of the oneness of heaven and earth within human beings, had developed a diachronic and universal thought of people as foundation (民本).[29] It is radically different from the Western notion of individuality, because it talks of an individuality which contains within itself the entire universe. It is a notion which implicates relationship between part and whole, between one and many. It is a mode in which the universal life, the particular *Ul* within myself and the *Eol* of Jesus become one. The wisdom of the oneness of heaven and earth within human beings (人中天地一), which refers to the fact that individual life is always connected to whole life, reminds us of the equality of all humanity on a new level. Secondly, I think their thoughts can play an important role in a theology of life, which concerns our ecosystem of this planet. For both Daseok and Donghak, the universe is originally the oneness of life. It is the manifestation of the One, which is the absolute life. Donghak expresses its view of life as "the heaven as that which eats a(nother) heaven (以天食天)." The idea that heaven (한

27) Daseok Lecture, 740. This is the feature of 'religious monism' in Daseok's thoughts.

28) Hwang Jong-ryeol, *Tochakhwa sinhakei Guzo* [The Structure of Korean Indigenous Theology] (Juk-tae-won 1996), 32-34.

29) Kim Young-ok, *Do-ol Sim-deuk: Dong-gyeong-dae-jeon* [So-ol's Awakening within Mind: Complete Scripture Scriptures of Donghak] (Tong-na-mu Publishing Co., 2004), 38.44.

울) eats heaven already presumes the idea that everything existing comes from heaven. Out of this context, emerged the thought of the three respects (三敬) of respecting heaven, respecting human beings and respecting material. This thought of heaven as that which eats a heaven may coincide with the essence of Eucharist in Christianity, because it is understood in Daseok as redemption: "grains and vegetable I am eating now are redeeming me for my life." [30] In this light of heaven as that which eats a heaven, redemption becomes a universal discourse of life, which opens our eyes to a divine relationality, which embraces even an impersonal life, the universe beyond the narrow boundaries of human beings and Christianity. Thirdly, these thoughts redefine the essence of religion itself in a newer way. They are suggesting not an ontological, metaphysical religion but the praxis-based theory of religion. As recent studies of the historical Jesus disclose, religion based upon praxis-focused and empirical religion is replacing the institutionalized and/or empirical religion. Donghak and Daseok revive the feedback loop structure of the divine and the human by being based upon the East Asian thoughts that have still contained the shamanic layer (巫層), which is the archetype of human religiosity.[31] Both Daseok and Donghak show us the praxis-based feature of religion, given that the former confessed God as his true self in the end and understood one's kernel (속알 original nature) as the Spirit and that the latter emphasized the ritual form of "setting the position toward the self (向我設位)," which derived from the idea of hosting the heavenly lord. Given that the primary feature of the post-modern understanding of religion is "praxis-focused," [32] one can at a glance imagine the value of these thoughts in our age. Finally, one should not miss seeing that Su-un's and Daseok's thoughts, both of which accept the thought of the return to the One, imply a theory of religious unity. From the perspective of the great "One," they include Western thoughts as well as East Asian religions. This is the expansive

30) Daseok Lecture, 567.

31) Yasuo Yuasa, *Mongwa WooJu* [Body and the Universe], tr. Lee Jung-bae (Knowledge Industry Publishing, 2005), 28-29.

32) What I am mentioning here about the studies is the summary of the following articles I have written: Lee Jung-bae, "Dong-hak segyegwanei gldokgyojeok lihaewa suhang [A Christian Understanding of Donghak's World view and its Doctrine of Practice], A Study of Avantgarde Indigenous Theology in Korean Protestantism, (Korean Christian Literature Society, 2003), 412-422.

reproduction of the idea of the integration of the three major religions (包含三敎). As I described above, Donghak incorporates the features of East Asian and Western religions together in terms of the notions of the divine spirit within and of the force of becoming without. This is really different from a form of religious syncretism, a thing which has been regarded as heretical in the West. The thought of the return to the One is more than simple syncretism. It is the reason why Daseok respected every religion as revealed from heaven.[33] One said he lives by eating not only the Bible but also the scriptures of Confucianism and Buddhism. The real matter is how one can unite with heaven's calling (일름 *Uh-il-reum*), that is, the absolute One. These natively emergent Korean thoughts cannot be judged either as inclusivism or pluralism by the West. Also, Daseok's *Eol* Christology is not the same as the divinity-centered pluralism in the West. His belief that only Jesus is the one and only teacher for him cannot simply converge into the relational truth, which emphasizes the notion of Ortho-praxis. Nonetheless, his perspective that Jesus is an unfinished draft (未定稿)[34] strongly suggests the need for praxis-focused truth and religious dialogue in the so-called age of the second axis.

33) Daseok Lecture, 804.
34) Ibid., 805.

Abstract

What I pay attention to in this article is the relationship between Su-wun(水雲) and Da-seok(多夕) in their thoughts. As is generally known, Dong-hak(東學) has been recognized as an independent national religion which rediscovered the forgotten God of Korean People. It is indicated by the fact that Dong-hak is a system of thought which has inherited and developed the theory of three foundations(三才) as the worldview of *Cheon-bu-gyeong*. In this paper, what I find to be missing in Da-seok's thought is that he did not mention Su-wun's Dong-hak. Given the fact that Da-seok had much interest not only in Buddhism and Confucianism but also in *Cheon-bu-gyeong*, it is more or less unexpected that he took Dong-hak, which was closely related to the scripture, out of the question in his writing. For this reason, the main task of this article is to correlate Su-wuns' Dong-hak and Da-seok's thoughts(Understanding of Christianity) in the framework of the idea three foundations(三才) originating from *Cheon-bu-gyeong*. In order to make these points clear, I will discuss the following in order: First, the theory of three foundations proclaimed in *Cheon-bu-gyeong* as the fundamental framework of both Dong-hak and Da-seok's thoughts. Second, the fundamental feature of Da-seok's understanding of Christianity. Third, comparison of Da-seok's understanding of Christianity and Dong-hak in term of their fundamental structure. Lastly, the encounter between Da-seok's Christianity and Dong-hak and its implications for the world history and theology of life.

Key Words

Dong-hak, Da-seok, Cheon-bu-gyeong, Three foundation, Batal(Human ground) Indigenization, Globalization.

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The Ultimate Slave: The Formation of Colonial Subjectivity Within Global Coloniality: An Historical Perspective

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After Japan annexed Korea in 1910 the colonial policy towards its new colony was not liberation from the West, which had been the cover under which annexation came, but a centralized policy of assimilation. All manner of Korean culture was actively suppressed: Japanese replaced Korean as the national language, Korean history and culture were discredited, and Japanese historical and moral rights were asserted over Korea. Japanese teachers taught Korean students that their emperor resided in Tokyo and that there was no entity known as "Korea." Korea as a culture and state was facing extinction.[1)] It was at this moment that the gospel came to a place of suffering: Korea.

Korean Protestant reformers believed that such calamity had fallen upon Korea due to its moral failure and that it was a judgment from God for the failed stewardship of the nation entrusted to them. Many of the reformers, who were "born-again" converts to Protestantism, drew deeply from an American Protestant vision of civil society and believed that the

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1) Kenneth Wells, *New God, New Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 79.

survival of Korea depended upon a moral, cultural and religious renewal which would strengthen the nation and thereby help it achieve independence. The reformers sought to establish and cultivate a new ethical nationalism towards this end. It was a particular kind of nationalism birthed deep within the nineteenth century American Protestant imaginary of civic responsibility, personal morality, education, industry, autonomy, democracy, capitalism and Universal History. The vision of the Korean nation remade in the image of Christian civilization, namely the U.S., was advocated by American missionaries, particularly Henry Appenzeller. The vision was reinterpreted and anchored within Confucian understanding of filial piety, and deployed towards the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonialism.

In the Foreigner's Cemetery in Seoul, the tombstone of Homer Hulbert reads, "I would rather be buried in Korea than in Westminster Abbey." There is no doubt in my mind that most missionaries loved God and loved the Korean people and served them to alleviate disease, poverty, social inequality, backwardness and to bring the light of the gospel to the lost. However, their good intention not withstanding, their understanding of salvation collapsed the difference between Jesus and American culture. Nineteenth century America was spiritually confident in the wake of the Second, or some call it the Third, Great Awakening, and believed that God had chosen the nation to be the City on a Hill; the new Jerusalem. All things American; its culture, politics, economy, and values were "baptized" by evangelicalism, which had achieved a consensus by 1850.[2)] Many believed that American evangelical civilization was the highest expression of the Divine march of progress in history. Those fortunate enough to be born in

2) Most scholars would say that the mid-19th century (1840s-1850s) was a time when we could say that 70-80% of American churches were evangelical and participating in various voluntary evangelical organizations. The term "consensus" is a contentious one given the vast diversity of those persons called evangelicals, especially given the church splits that were also a part of the story of evangelical congregations at the time. Consider that the Wesleyan Methodist Church (1843), Southern Baptist Convention (1845), the Free Methodist Church (1860), and the Presbyterian Church (1861) all formed during this period of so-called "consensus." All of these splits were over the issue of slavery, but it may have something to say to us about an evangelical consensus. From personal email correspondence with Dr. Douglas Strong (Seattle Pacific University) and David Evans, (Drew University).

the U.S. had a religious and moral responsibility to share the light of Christian civilization with those who were in darkness. Thus, the nineteenth century American Christians: religiously evangelical, culturally Anglo-Saxon, politically democratic, economically capitalistic, set out to spread the light of American Christianity to the ends of the earth. Many believed that, then, Christ would return. They were very effective, especially in Korea which was having a crisis of identity and was looking for new ways to strengthen itself. The strength of the American nation impressed many reformed minded Koreans, and many believed that Christianity was at the center of America's power. Reformers such a Yun Chi-ho and So Jae-pil embraced Christianity and articulated a "theology of reconstruction" of the nation that would remake Korea into a democratic, capitalistic, moral and Christian nation. In short, they sought to remake Korea in the image of the U.S. This move, however, had unintended consequences.

The notions of autonomy, democracy, capitalism and nation-state were and are values that are deeply rooted in the European Enlightenment, and had grown out of self-reflection on the experiences of colonialism. These ideas and values were born out of the racial imagination of the Middle Passage. They were answers to why and how whites were superior over the darker skinned peoples whom they were able to so easily conquer and exploit. Therefore the mechanisms of conquest: Christianity, reason, science, and education became the basis of reimaging themselves as the new Subject within history. This self-understanding constituted a European sense of superiority over other nations and races and drove its colonial expansion through the twentieth century.

For Koreans to have internalized these values and ideas, therefore, was to see themselves through a racialized lens. Once the reformers began to evaluate and critique Korean culture through it, what I will call whiteness, they saw what the missionaries saw in Koreans: dirty, lazy, dependent, morally lax, backwards, uneducated heathens. They were convicted that salvation of the nation rested in their ability to become less Korean and more white, a conviction which was validated and strengthened by the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1905.

So Koreans became white, or almost white, in the name of Jesus. The process of becoming white has not stopped but has become even more pervasive and totalizing. It has become naturalized to the point that Koreans believe when they get plastic surgery to make their eyes look bigger, nose

higher, face narrower, learn English, fight for democracy, work for Samsung, travel to Europe, and celebrate their sexual liberation, they are in fact becoming more Korean.

This paper is an incomplete but an honest attempt to answer the question, how did we get here? In an attempt to answer the question, I will begin in the nineteenth century where the Japanese, Chinese, Russians, Americans, and Christians all converged on Korea; then, I will follow the story of Henry Appenzeller who was the first Methodist to land in Korea,[3] and then trace the development of ethical nationalism of Yun Chi-ho and other Korean reformers. I will conclude the paper by doing a theological analysis of the question, how did we get here? As a conclusion I will propose a modest constructive theology as a way out.

The Crisis

"Nationalism thrives on crisis," wrote Andre Schmid. In the nineteenth century, East Asia was in a crisis. The previously closed doors of East Asia were forced open at gunpoint and unequal legal-economic treaties were made: first China, following the Opium War (1839-42), then Japan (1853), and finally Korea (1882). Introduction of the new western capitalistic world order began to upset the two thousand year-old sino-centric regional order and threatened to obliterate the long held self-understanding of various nations within its orbit. Korea faced a crisis of choice: to go the way of the Japanese in reorganizing itself radically through the modern technology of a nation-state and enter Universal History or to continue to hitch its hope to the waning power of China.[4]

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3) Appenzeller and Scranton landed in Fusan (Busan) in April 2nd, 1885. Having arrived in Seoul, Appenzeller determined that politically unstable and unsanitary Seoul "wasn't a place for a civilized woman." He returned to Japan but came back after six months.

4) In the 1880s, the first decade of reform, a handful of *yangbans* (persons of upper class) went to China to examine new military technology, which was the fruit of Li Huang-chang's "self-strengthening" movement in China in response to the western threat while the progressives looked with hope to America. Missionary schools, especially Pai Chai for boys founded by Appenzeller and Ewah girl's school founded by Mary Scranton, both inaugurated in 1886, became the mostimportant schools. Upwardly mobile *yangbans'* children were taught at

The Joseon Dynasty, which had ruled for five centuries, adopted an isolationist policy since the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century. It became known as the "Hermit Kingdom" and was happy to exist within the Sinic universe. However, Korea was not unaware of encroaching Western influence but it was not until the remade Japan forced Korea to sign their first unequal treaty in 1876 that Korea felt the pressure in full. Korea recognized encroaching "modernity" for what it was; to quote Cummings, a "virus that would destroy a unique Korean way in the world and pose for contemporary Koreans a question that absolutely never would have occurred to them before 1876: what does it mean to be Korean?" [5)]

It is at this moment of crisis, after Korea had signed its first non-Japanese unequal treaty with the U.S. in 1882,[6)] following a predictable pattern of western colonialism: guns, merchants, and missionaries, that a Presbyterian physician, Dr. Horace N. Allen entered Korea in 1884.[7)] Dr. Allen's efforts in saving the life of the King's nephew after the failed Kapsin

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Royal English schools by missionaries, while others looked to Japan as a "shining star of progress." Some scholars consider the 1880s as the "enlightenment period" in Korea where Korea took steps towards modernization. However it never matched the scope and comprehensive reform of Meiji Restoration and was constantly thwarted by reactionary elements within society. At best it was a reflection of China's "self-strengthening movement," where Eastern learning was the philosophical and political foundation. (See Cumming's, *Korea's Place in the Sun* for fuller discussion.)

5) William E. Griffis, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea: Life Story of Henry Gerhard Appenzeller* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912), 61.

6) Bruce Cumming, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997).

7) It is of theological interest to look at the terms of the treaty. From April to May 1882, Korea and the United States negotiated and approved 14 articles which established mutual friendship and defense in case of attack, the ability of Koreans to immigrate to the U.S., most favored nation trade status, extraterritorial rights for American citizens in Korea, and *non-interference with Christian missionaries proselytizing in Korea.* We must ask the question, why is it that in a treaty that has been formulated for national economic and political interest is this proselytizing clause included? What is the relationship between converting persons to the Christian faith and the American national interest? What theology is at work to hold the interest of the nation and evangelism together? What kind of Christology is operative?

coup, which was led by pro-Japanese reformers under the watchful guidance of famous Japanese reformer Fukuzawa Yukichi, opened up the door for further missionary work. The Methodists, not to be outdone by the Presbyterians, sent a cadre of missionaries to the newly opened nation: Henry Gerhard Appenzeller was one of them.

Henry Gerhard Appenzeller

Henry Gerhard Appenzeller was born in 1858 in a small town 20 miles outside of Philadelphia to a German Mennonite mother and a Swiss Reformed father.[8] However, it was his "born-again" experience in 1876,[9] "a personal conviction of sin through heart-searching ⋯ and a soul opened fully to the Holy Spirit's indwelling ⋯ [which] resulted in the assurance of faith" that set him on a trajectory to Korea.[10]

After the Civil War, the U.S. had entered the Gilded Age (1877-1890) where it experienced unprecedented economic, industrial and technological growth. Politically it celebrated its hundred birthday (1876) and it was on the verge of becoming a superpower. Religiously, it was experiencing the Methodist Age and enjoying an upsurge of revivals.[11]

Evangelical Protestants in the Gilded Age believed that God had chosen

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8) Through his connection to King Gojong and his knowledge of Korea, he became American Legation Secretary in Seoul in 1890. By 1897 he was U.S. minister and consul general. With his close relationship with Gojong and high government officials he arranged for American business firms to build the nation's first electric and water works, trolley and railway systems. To quote Harrington, "In the legation years it was sometimes difficult to separate the diplomat and the missionary" (93). He founded Gwanghyewon, the first modern medical facility that later became Severance Hospital and Yonsei Medical School. His influence in the early years of development of modernity in Korea cannot be over emphasized. (See Harrington's *God, Mammon, and the Japanese* for a full account). We must ask the tough question of this pioneer, what kind of theological imagination allowed Allen to be a diplomat who represented American interests in the land where he came to share the gospel?

9) It is a historical irony that Appenzeller's conversion date and centennial birthday of the U.S. coincided with the beginning of the loss of independence of Korea.

10) Griffis, 66.

11) See Nathan Hatch, *Democratization of America.*

the United States for a special mission in his providence. Evangelicals believed God sent the pilgrims and Puritans from England in the seventeenth century on an errand to the wilderness of the New World to build a City on a Hill, a Holy Commonwealth.[12] In the eighteenth century, they believed God created the United States out of the fires of the Great Awakening (1740-1770) and the Revolutionary War (1776-1783), to shed the light of democracy and Christianity upon the world. In the nineteenth century, emerging from the Second Great Awakening (1800-1840) and the Civil War, and riding the crest of another Awakening (1880-1900), evangelicals believed God had commissioned the United States to spread her way of life and the Protestant message to the ends of the earth. This vision of Christian civilization fueled the great century (1801-1914) of Protestant missions originating in England and the United States.[13]

As a Methodist, Appenzeller's vision of personal sanctification was coterminous with becoming a civilized individual through conversion. It was central for Appenzeller that internal change began taking on the external trappings of civilization as a mark of sanctification: educated, moral,[14] industrious, disciplined, hygienic and self-sufficient. He believed that the internal transformation made possible by evangelical conversion was essential for a nation to become fully independent, democratic, capitalistic, and join the march of Christian civilization within History.

Two days after having landed in Korea in 1885, for the second time, Appenzeller almost immediately began teaching young Korean men.[15] It

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12) Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956).

13) See Robert Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

14) Appenzeller condemned smoking, drinking, dancing, gambling, alcohol and cigarettes as demonic expressions. Ryu Dae-young, *Chogi Miguk Sungyosa Yunggu:* 1884-1919 (Seoul: Hanguk Giddokyu Yunggusuh, 2001), 111.

15) Appenzeller's founding of Pai Chai was only one of thousands of schools to come. According to Insoo Sohn, during the period of 1885-1910, a total of 796 schools were established and maintained by Western missionaries. This number alone compromises thirty-five percent of the entire number of schools (2,250) in Korea. The missionaries were very successful not only proselytizing through the institutions but also in establishing the structure of western learning. According to Lee it developed in five major areas: (1) democratic ideology, (2)

soon became Pai Chai ("Hall for Rearing of Useful Men"), named thus by the king.[16] Appenzeller intended to provide Koreans with the education necessary to modernize the nation. He introduced a western liberal arts education including sciences, mathematics, English language, and humanities. The teachers used hangeul, the native script, and replaced Chinese with English. The use of hangeul was a political move. It was to conceptually wean his students from the Chinese-dependent identity towards a national one. Pai Chai with its liberal arts curriculum and evangelical atmosphere was to form enlightened Christian citizens able to lead Korea in the modernization of military, economy, government and technology and to be leaders for independence. Consistent with Appenzeller's vision Pai Chai became a hotbed for national reform and the independence movement.

Appenzeller was convinced that a broader dissemination of knowledge was important for transformation of Korea. In 1894, he opened up a bookstore for Christian and foreign literature across from the church,[17] which was intentionally built across from the American Legation. Soon after, obtaining a printing press from Dr. Ohlinger, Appenzeller added a book bindery, "developing the history of a wonderful agent of Christian civilisation and means of diffusion and knowledge and enlightenment of the Korean intellect[18] - the Methodist Printing and Publishing House was birthed on Pai Chai grounds in 1890. *Korean Repository,* which was the most comprehensive Korea-related periodical, was published in English from 1895-1899 under Appenzeller until the Japanese shut it down in 1899. It was reintroduced under the title *Korea Review* in 1902 under the editorial

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equal opportunity for education, (3) education for women, (4) curriculum development, and (5) the institutional system of higher education. (See Lee, 89-90)

16) King Gojong recognizing the need to develop a governmental cadre for dealing with increasing conflict with the West, established government schools in 1883 and the Royal English School in 1886. The American missionaries were invited to teach various subjects, which were conducted in English, in these schools. Lee, 92.

17) Construction of the first church began on September 9, 1895. The architect was a Japanese and the cost was $8048.29. It was finally completed in 1898. Griffis, 210-211.

18) Griffis, 225.

leadership of Homer Hulbert.[19] Even more importantly, it was the printing house for the highly controversial *Tongnip Sinmun* (the *"Independent"* - 1896-99) which was the first paper published completely in the vernacular. It was a paper run by a Christian triumvirate, So Jae-pil, Yun Chi-ho, and Ok Nam-gung, who through their editorials maintained there was an "intrinsic connection between Christianity, modern education and national revival."[20] The paper took on an overtly nationalistic stance criticizing the government, Confucian elite, the Japanese and promoted a vision of civil Christianity. This Christian and not-so-subtle political paper drew the ire of every social power base.

After *The Independent* and the Independence Club successfully removed Russia[21] from Korean government, the conservatives, with Gojong's support, dismissed So from his advisory post and removed him as the editor of the *Independent.* After So departed to the U.S., Appenzeller without authorization from the Mission Board, using mission funds, purchased the *Independent's* press from So and continue publishing it himself until William Scranton, the Methodist superintendant, ordered Appenzeller to cease his editorship of the paper.[22]

Two of his guiding principles were independence and democracy. He believed that independence of a nation was necessary for spiritual and economic development and reasoned that the Protestant faith created American democracy. It was also through this lens that he saw the Japanese as more civilized than Koreans. Griffis reports, "From the start, A. got on well with the Japanese, and this was one secret of his and ever widening influence …"[23] For this reason, he initially supported the Kabo reform which was instituted by the Japanese following the defeat of the Chinese in Korea in 1894, but with caution. According to Davies:

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19) Ryu, 177.

20) Wells, 30.

21) Appenzeller's visit to Russia only confirmed the truth of his vision. "It was to confirm and strengthen his faith in the civilization of those countries founded upon public schools, general education, self-government, free religion and self-control; as against the systems of society, government and church built on arbitrary one-man power, with priests, soldiers and bureaucracy as their instruments. More than ever, he gloried in being an American." Griffis, 252.

22) Davies, 430.

23) Griffis, 207.

> Meiji Japan imitated American government society while rejecting Protestant Christianity. Without personal conversion experiences and without a spiritual life guided by the Bible, Korea, like Japan, would have the form of democracy but lack the spirit of democracy.[24)]

However, it was for the same reasons he later opposed the Japanese, Chinese, and Russian designs on Korea. He, instead, supported the U.S.-Korea alliance. He not only believed that the U.S. would support Korea's move towards independence but that it also would provide the best example of a Protestant nation.[25)] The forced progressive shift in 1894 created greater room for Appenzeller's imagination and activities. To the chagrin of the Methodist board and Allen, who by this time had become the Secretary of the American legation, he fully supported the political activities of the Independence Club founded by So Jae-pil in 1896. He encouraged the Pai Chai students to participate and take leadership within the organization. Appenzeller and So nurtured the independent spirit at Pai Chai. So founded and presided over the Mutual Friendship Society, a debating society within Pai Chai, to cultivate such a spirit in its students. Numerous students from this period later took leadership in Korean independence and society, including Rhee Syngman, who later became the first president of the newly found republic.

Appenzeller's vision of a City on a Hill guided and drove him towards working tirelessly in Korea until his untimely death in 1902. Griffis recounts the work of Appenzeller:

> preaching in the vernacular, Bible translation, commentary making, the creation of a Christian literature, the governing of Christian churches, the teaching of theology as a science ⋯ He edited and published both a Christian periodical, The Korean Christian Advocate, and also the monthly Korean Repository, which was "a journal of civilisation." For years he was president of the Korean Religious Tract Society. He introduced the social features of the best European and American life. As a wise master builder, he laid broad foundations, upon which others should uprear noble structures ⋯ In the full sense of the word A. was

24) Davies, 432.
25) Davies, 425.

envoy and pioneer of civilization.[26)]

Appenzeller was not American before he was a Christian. It was his conversion experience in 1876 that helped him to reinterpret the unfolding of God's will within western, particularly, American history. He sought to plant and nurture the various principles of American Protestant civilization through formal and moral education, promotion of independence movements, printing concerns, etc. all unfolding within evangelical conviction. He deeply believed that internal and spiritual transformation led to an external and social sanctification, which strengthened the nation to become independent, democratic, and capitalistic. It was this vision and work for Christian civilization at the moment of a deep historical crisis that, according to Appenzeller's design, incited and captured the imagination of young Christian converts and which placed Korea towards a nationalistic and civilizing formulation of Christianity. It is to this story which we now will turn.

The Formation of Ethical Nationalism and Yun Chi-ho

In 1890s So Jae-pil and Yun Chi-ho, two of the most influential independence leaders in Korea, developed an ethico-spiritual critique of Korean society, beliefs and politics based on the basis of their recently found Protestant faith. Korea's material weaknesses were considered as symptoms of moral and spiritual decline, and self-strengthening was reinterpreted as the religious and ethical renewal of the society as an analytic of the Christian faith. This required modern education, training in civic virtues and unity among all classes. The perceived result was the institution of nationalism.

For them and their disciples, history acquired meaning insofar as it was oriented towards the "Kingdom of God," just as individual life had to be directed towards the perfection promised to it through the resurrection. Conversely, all action contrary to truth and holiness would be eternally condemned. The solution to the tension between nationalistic ends and transcendental claims was *ethical nationalism,* a nationalism that would align its modern citizens with the Kingdom of God. It was a brand of

26) Griffis, 204.

nationalism that Appenzeller espoused.

Yun Chi-ho was born to a noble reformed-minded family. After his conversion to Methodism, he went onto study at Vanderbilt and Emory. While he was in the U.S. he observed the relationship between American power and Christianity and came to conclude that the "blessing" of America rested in their moral obedience to God as a nation. He concluded that people were morally accountable for their nation's survival. Invasion was as much the fault of the nation invaded as of the invader, for "no sin is greater in a nation than weakness," and "misgovernment has its own punishment as any other crime." Thus true fitness derived from spiritual health, while falling prey to social and national evolutionary processes was the logical outcome - or judgment - of spiritual stagnation. In Christian terminology, land, freedom and independence were gifts from God, and their retention depended on proper stewardship.[27] He applied this principle to evaluation of the Korean context:

> The rise and decline of a nation depends on the wisdom and nature of its people. Our people have for several hundred years been slaves of others, possessing no wisdom or manly character and, suffering for 500 years the oppression of an incomparably bad government, high and low, official and commoner, all seek miserably to preserve their lives through bondage to others. How then, given the present state of our country, can we hope for independence, and even were that attained, how will we be able to defend ourselves against subsequent evils and preserve our land? Thus the pressing need at present is to increase knowledge and experience, teach morality and cultivate patriotism ⋯ There is no other instrument able to educate and renew the people outside the Church of Christ.[28]

He believed that Confucianism with its interest in filial piety, and with excessive loyalty to kin and the King was a fundamental problem. The failure to see beyond one's immediate family's interest weakened the society and the solution to the problem was to develop civic morality, which Yun referred to as "public virtue," "public responsibility" and "public spirit." He

27) Kinoshida Takeo, *Quasi-Pardon: Yudong-il and Yun Chi-ho's Case* (Unpublished Paper from Soonsil University, Korea, 2008), 21.

28) Takeo, 51.

became convinced through his time and observation in the States that Christianity was the root of civic morality. In his journal he wrote: "Christianity is the salvation and hope of Korea." [29)]

After his return to Korea, he tried to apply his new convictions as the local magistrate in ports of Wonsan and Chinampo (1899-1903). He was loved but he became convinced that democracy needed foundations. He believed that first Christianity had to replace Confucianism to generate public spirit at individual and national levels, then, people needed to be educated individually and publically in the principles of the civil society. To this end the Independence Club and *The Independent* were created.

It is in his editorials we can see Yun's reconstructionist "theology" most clearly. As the editor he preached that religion, education and democracy, and hard work, co-operation and honesty, were the only path to self-reliance. A link was posited between God, patriotism and industry on the one hand, and unity, prosperity and strength on the other, while the West was held up as verification. The *Independent* served as the vehicle of an intense campaign for the modernization of the total life of Korea along Western lines. The Western values behind this were said to be Christian insofar as this civilization was "the outcome of sound education." Editorials proposed that it be pursued through three channels: Church, school, and press.[30)]

Even after the members of the Independence Club were arrested in 1898 for their role in removing Russian influence on the royal court, Yun refused direct political action against the wishes of its younger members like Rhee Syngman. He believed that without popular support the only winners would be Japan or Russia. Before democracy could be established public conscience had to be transformed; and before that, the "blood of the race has to be changed by a new education, a new government and a new religion." [31)] So Jae-pil was of the same opinion. Key leaders such as Yi Sang-jae and Rhee Syngman converted to Christianity while they were in prison. This only confirmed for Yun that conversion was necessary to the formation of new nationalism.

The actual reforms of the Independence Club were limited but the ideas

29) Wells, 53.
30) Takeo, 32.
31) Wells, 60.

formed and articulated within this period became the foundation for future movements. There was hardly a development in the movement toward independence or nationalism that was not an extension of some principle in ethical nationalism.

After 1905, during a period of heavy-handed persecution, Christian churches and schools became an "underground railroad" of sorts under the cover of foreign missionaries. They provided the plausibility structure for ethical nationalism as communities formed within Protestant ideals. The inflexible opposition by the Japanese Government-General to any political movement among Koreans after 1905 encouraged self-reconstruction Protestants to separate the concepts of "nation" and "state" in order to emphasize the priority of cultural reconstruction over political action. This was not a denial of the nation-state formula: it was meant to establish national culture as the only valid basis of the state and also to argue the meaningfulness of ethical nationalism, especially when political nationalism was blocked. In the 1920s this became the basis of the self-reconstruction Protestants' call to reconstruct the nation as a "Christian civilization." Appenzeller's vision of a City on a Hill had come to a full realization.

How Did we Get Here? The Question Analyzed and a Modest Proposal

The "crisis of identity" came to Korea in the nineteenth century through the gaze of the West towards Asia. This "gaze" was something like God's creative gaze, backed by theological, technological, economic, and military might; it had power to destroy and create, and destroy and create it did. By 1930 Europe ruled over 84.6 percent of the globe.[32] And European institutions: Christianity, capitalism, and the nation-state began to constitute a new world order. Every non-western culture was in retreat and European civilization was on a march towards the End of History.[33] Hegel had said that History begins in the Orient but ends in Europe; he was off by roughly

32) Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 15.

33) This is to borrow Francis Fukiyama's phrase from his controversial book, *The End of History and the Last Man.* In the book he argues "liberal democracy may constitute the 'end pint of mankind's ideological evolution' and the 'final form of human government,' and as such, this development, constitutes the "end of History," 59-60.

4800 miles, History ended in the New World: the U.S., after all, was *the* child of European Enlightenment.

In the nineteenth century the U.S. was awakened to itself. It was experiencing unprecedented economic growth and social and cultural development. It was on the cusp of becoming a world power, and it seemed like God was orchestrating all of it. It was a cultural "born-again" experience that "baptized" American culture and its values; upon rising from the baptismal waters, it saw its meaning in history - American culture was the salvific hope for the world.

Hegel captures this moment of conception beautifully:

> [S]uddenly becoming possessed of light, beholding the bright glimmering of the dawn, the growing light and the flaming glory of the ascending Sun. The boundless forgetfulness of his own individuality in the pure splendor, is his first feeling - the utter astonishment. But from them the individual proceeds to the contemplation of his own inner being, and thereby the advance is made to the perception of the relation between the two. Then inactive contemplation is quitted for activity, by the close of the day, man has erected a building constructed from his own inner Sun; and when in the evening he contemplates this, he esteems it more highly than the original external Sun. For now he stands in conscious relation to his Spirit, and therefore a *free relation* [italics mine]. If we hold this image fast in mind, we shall find it symbolizing the course of History, the great Day's work of Spirit.[34)]

34) George F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1991), 103. Hegel's definition of freedom is profound. "That is: The Supreme Law of the Universe is recognized as identical with the dictates of Conscience - becomes a 'law of liberty.' Morality - that authority which has the incontestable right to determine men's actions, which therefore is the only absolutely free and unlimited power - is no longer a compulsory enactment, but the free choice of human beings," p. 341. Perhaps it is this vision of "morality" - the unbound internal authority that liberates the individual to choose without compulsion, is what Yun Chi-ho was drawn to. It is a liberated Spirit of power that draws meaning, and therefore strength, from the self. The meaning of History unfolds within this "Spirit." Such subjectivity was birthed out of five hundred years of absolute and continuous exercise of power over the bodies of colonial subjects.

This rebirth gave the U.S. insight into the meaning of history, freedom - the ultimate work of the Spirit within time. Once they were awakened it was time for "inactive contemplation is quitted for activity." The burden of History rested upon their shoulders, to set other humanity free, as they were free, and many Christians took up this burden.

When Appenzeller came and beheld Koreans through the lens of Christian America, he was performing this colonial gaze. He saw diseased, dirty, uneducated backwards people who were in chains to oppressive history, government, religion and social systems. They needed Jesus and western culture to liberate them.[35)]

Korean national subjectivity was birthed out of the gaze of the West and maintained and perpetuated by the Koreans internalizing these values (self-colonization, beholding the desire to the direction of the metropole is the function of capitalistic colonialism). Which may explain much of the seemingly odd features within Korean and Korean-American cultures: causeless racism towards blacks, Hispanics, South Asians and even the Chinese,[36)] the "miraculous" growth of the Korean economy within global

35) What is insidious is that once the plausibility structure is internalized it works at the level of desire. It is normal for the discipled convert to desire what the discipler desires. And as such, what the convert desires seems native because it is what he or she wants; it becomes naturalized. Once this is established it polices and disciplines all other desires or expressions thereof. It becomes a self-regulating lens through which the individual makes judgment upon the self and culture. The validity of desire is authorized or unauthorized by the internal gaze of the self. (It is like an inmate becoming a prison guard of the self and believing that this is exactly what he wants.) When the values of the missionaries are sufficiently internalized the missionaries are no longer needed. God, Bible and everything else is directly filtered through the internalized plausibility structure of the missionaries.

36) There is an internal reorganizing of hierarchy within East Asia. A nation that is closer to the West in culture, economy, politics, etc. is positioned higher within the hierarchy. It is a racial hierarchy: as the Chinese and Korean became "black" in the eyes of the Japanese, similar judgment is made about the Chinese from Koreans today. They are described as "dirty and uncivilized." Within the Sinic universe the Japanese were considered to make up the lowest rung; however, within global capitalism, this order is inversed: Japanese are at the top, then Koreans, and the Chinese at the bottom. This perception is changing slowly with the rise of the Chinese economy.

capitalism and the explosion of Christianity,[37] the education "fever," the disproportionate representation of Korean students in every top university in the U.S., the success of Korean companies producing consumer technology, the L.A. Riots, and even the tragedy of the Virginia Tech shooting - all become more intelligible when viewed as desires and tensions of colonized subjects trying to live out lives through a borrowed narrative.

Orlando Patterson's important work, *Slavery and Social Death,* helps us to frame the new subjectivity that is birthed - the "ultimate slave." Patterson argues that the ultimate ruler requires an ultimate slave as mediation between the ruler and the ruled, usually in the form of the anomalous person of the eunuch. In various societies eunuchs held high political and administrative roles and enjoyed a degree of wealth and freedom. However, the eunuch's castrated body represented social alienation and lack of subjectivity. Their bodies were emptied of social meaning and became empty signifiers;[38] they only meaning they had was derivative, refracted from the meaning and power of their master. In this sense, they were only a "surrogate body-double," it is only the ruler/emperor's body that remains the "substance and the symbolic of body politics." Eunuchs did not have

37) This point became clear for me as I was reading James Baldwin's *No One Knows My Name*. James Baldwin reflecting upon what it means to be an American from Europe writes that "[Bessie Smith] helped to reconcile me to being a 'nigger.' " (*Nobody Knows My Name,* 5). It was the cultural "artifact" of blackness, Bessie Smith's tone and cadence, akin, according to Baldwin, like watermelon, which brought Baldwin to memories, experiences, and feeling of being a "nigger." As I read this on a slow Sunday morning I thought about what cultural artifacts can excavate for me such a "feeling" of being an "Asian-American" (which is a non-racial race category)? ("Asian-American" does not have *any* emotional content, especially when compared to the word "nigger." It does not have any emotional content because it signifies nothing). The immediate images that floated to the top were dry-cleaners, Harvard, Yale, studious, Lexus, lawyer; not in any specific order. It occurred to me that there are no "Asian-American" cultural "artifacts," unless you consider Margaret Cho and her failed first Asian-American sitcom, "All American-Girl" an artifact. We produce no music, art, aesthetic; in short, culture, that is particular to us, that makes us "feel" Asian-American. "Asian-American" is an empty signifier.

38) Patterson, over against the normal definition of slavery as persona property, defines it in terms of "natal alienation," social death and dishonor.

honor either, because honor was only possible within full social acceptance; eunuchs were socially marginalized and despised, they were social nonpersons. They usually became the scapegoats for the errors of the emperor. The seemingly powerful eunuchs experienced double alienation, despised by both the elites and other slaves, because they derived their power only through their intimacy with the emperor.[39)]

Patterson's description of the eunuch, I believe, is an apt description of Asian subjectivity within a racialized global capitalism.[40)] The Asian body, particularly the male body,[41)] is a castrated one (eunuch). It is androgynous and emptied of sexual potency or desirability. (See Long Duc Dung, Jackie Chan, Jet Li, etc.) It is only desired for either its exoticism (Joan Chen, Bruce Lee) or its utility as a technician in a rational-bureaucratic world. The Asian body is a "pure body" that does not signify anything on its own terms but only finds meaning in its utility in service to the master. Asians are CPAs, lawyers, engineers, and doctors achieving high social and economic positions, earning the title, "almost-white," "instant-success," or "model-minority," while never being fully accepted as equals (social death). As studies have shown, while Asians are disproportionately represented in these professional fields, and yet are grossly under represented in top

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39) There is a hierarchical, racialized," distinction within various Asian groups. East Asians and other Sino-centric Asians (Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Singaporean, Taiwanese) are given "almost white" white status; however, South and Southeast Asians (Cambodian, Laotian, Indonesian, Filipino/a, Hmong, etc.) are "almost black" in economic, education, and social levels.

Asian group	**Poverty level**
Laotian	67.2%
Hmong	65.5
Cambodian	46.9
Vietnamese	33.5
Indonesian	15.2

Vernellia Randall, "Myth versus Fact: Asian Americans and Model Minorities," University of Dayton. http://academic.udayton.edu/Race/01race/model02.htm. 10/01/08.

Vietnam with its Chinese cultural heritage and its location in Southeast presents a unique case.

40) The female Asian body does not fare much better. They are usually hypersexualized, not for their sexual potency but for their exoticism and submissiveness which only fulfills the fantasies of control in western males.

management positions in the same fields they are paid less for a similar position in comparison to whites.

As a proxy to the "emperor," Asians are often the scapegoats for the ills of society. From Japanese internment camps during WWII, being blamed for the economic downturn in the 80s highlighted by the murder of Vincent Chan, being the "body-double" for the pent-up frustration of blacks towards whites during the L.A. Riots,[41] and more recently, Wen Ho Lee, an American citizen and a scientist at Las Alamos being falsely accused of selling secrets to China - these cases highlight only a few examples of Asians being used as scapegoats in history.

Asian bodies are empty signifiers that are given meaning only to the extent that they uphold the dignity and the subjectivity of the master in performing their allotted tasks. Asians are trapped in impotent bodies void of sexuality and creativity and are pushed to the pencil pushing cubicles of modernity. As high power technicians Asians maintain "power through intimacy" and are rewarded with crumbs that fall off the master's table - Asians are the ultimate slave.

How did we get here? It began with the missionary gaze that overdetermined the meaning of the Korean bodies. Taken up into the plausibility structure of modernity, the Korean subjects were born again within the racialized imaginary of the colonial global order. This was not the intention of the missionaries, however. The missionaries were convinced that their understanding of "freedom" birthed out of long colonial practices was the central trajectory of the gospel. Koreans, having internalized the message, sought to remake ourselves in light of it. It has caused us to live lives that we do not know how to live. We live lives of spiritual and social disfigurement and hide our shame behind economic and academic "success," which only binds us tighter to the systematic web of control and oppression.[42] From Silent Exodus where upwards of 90 percent of second

41) This is not to say that Koreans were not collaborators in economic violence and exploitation in black communities. Korean Americans are complicit and have made a moral choice for selfish gain over recognizing blacks as those we are called to serve. I want to thank Johnetta Pressly for challenging me on this point.

42) First generation Korean-American parents have purchased with their lives (social death), the possibility for their children to realize the American dream. In this configuration, the second-generation becomes a messianic figure, who

generation Korean-Americans leave the church and never come back, to the tragic story of Cho Seung-hee, the gunman of the Virginia Tech massacre; who could not find a different gaze within the Korean church? There is a growing cry for help. The deep colonial wound does not only mark the oppressed, however; it also marks and distorts the existence of the oppressor whose subjectivity has been formed within the logic of colonial violence.

Wendell Berry's point about the distortion of racism that deeply wounds the whites makes this point clear:

> Though I knew that American racism had put blacks and whites into the role of oppressors and oppressed, I had not experienced it as a victory for the oppressor. I knew well that racism had caused pain to black people, but I knew too that it had been a cause of pain to white people - it had been a cause of pain to me - and not just because of guilt. I knew that for white people it had involved loss and spiritual disfigurement. And I knew, from own experience, that *it had involved love* [italics mine].[43)]

The colonial world is a distorted imitation of God's created order. Beginning in 1492, European people have recreated the world in their image using the name of Jesus. It created a world where darker skinned people and their culture found value only in relation to the standards of "white" culture, beauty, mode of thought, economy, politics, culture, and faith: white civilization. Global capitalism is not a postcolonial reality but in fact a more sophisticated version of colonialism. It is much more insidious because it is not visibly racial, gendered, or political but rather that these values are built into the system and this regulates how we relate to each other. (Think about how much things, services and people are worth and the cultural values, aesthetics, and modes of thought they represent. What race

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carries in his/her body the salvific hope of their parents and the Korean nation. The horizon of salvation unfolds within academic, social and economic success, and reaches salvation when the second-generation gets into an Ivy, becomes a doctor, a lawyer, or an engineer. The first generation sacrifices their lives at the altar of whiteness; however, in a demonic irony, their children, now having become "almost-white," despise their parents' non-white existence.

43) Quoted from Jonathan Wilson-Hartgrove, *Free to be Bound: Church Beyond the Color Line* (Colorado Springs: Nav Press, 2008), 22.

is associated with those values?) Violence that determined the inhumanity or the subhumanity of the natives is built into the very foundations of our global society. It replaced Jesus with nation, money, and race as the mediator for creation of communities. And we cannot simply get away with saying we need Jesus because this is not only the condition of the world; in fact, it was the church and its understanding of Jesus that authorized and oversaw the birth of this global order. From Columbus to George W. Bush we continue to violently remake the world in the name of Jesus. However, it is clear that this is not the Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of David, the Son of Israel but Jesus of Madrid, Bristol, Paris, and Washington, D.C. This Jesus hangs out in the suburbs, shops at Walmart, salutes the flag, and votes in the presidential campaigns. This Jesus is no longer strange to us. He is a domesticated Jesus who simply reflects our values, even the most cherished (even Christian ones): freedom, nation, reason, dedication, hard work, independence, rights, even obedience and sacrifice for example, right back to us. This Jesus ripped Africans from their families and culture and brought them in chains to pick cotton in the New World, gave us the Enlightenment, killed six million Jews, shot Martin Luther King Jr. and keeps the 11th hour on Sunday morning the most segregated hour in the nation, if not the world. Euroamericans no longer control this world but they too become victims of its violent system.

Where and *when,* then, is the hope to be found? The clue lies with Philippians 2:7 - "who, though he was in the form of God, did not regard equality with God as something to be exploited, but emptied himself, *taking on the form of a slave*." (NRSV)

Jesus as God-slave enters the colonial world through the back door of the master's house, so to speak.[44] He does not enter it as the master but as the slave. He first takes on the death body of the slave but once having entered it, he also makes his rightful claim as the master, taking on the false master-slave binary into himself since he is both. This scandalous claim as the master is met with resistance and ridicule by slaves because of his slave form, and with violence by the masters who see Jesus as a threat. It is because God as the Master came in the form of the slave he redefines the meaning and the function of both categories. Jesus fundamentally changes

44) This imagery and the outline of the theological idea are borrowed from Willie Jennings at Duke Divinity School.

the grounds of this social-political-religious reality when Jesus washes the disciples' feet: Peter protested, " 'No,' said Peter, 'you shall never wash my feet.' Jesus answered, 'Unless I wash you, you have no part with me.' " (John 13:8) Jesus' service fundamentally disrupts Peter's identity. Peter's identity has to be given to him through the service of the utterly Other; "unless I wash your feet, you have no part in me," Jesus warns. The entrance into the Kingdom community is mediated by someone who represents an entirely new plausibility structure, someone who fundamentally disrupts our self-understanding. It is a traumatic experience but it is in this utter confusion and chaos, when the ownership of our identity is suspended, then and only then, a different identity is given to us - we learn what it means to be a disciple. Our entrance into the Kingdom now has to be given to us in relation to a Resident Alien. Both master *and* slave recognized the weight of his claim; Jesus had to die. It was in his death he took the very tool of colonial creation - violence (the false performance of divine freedom) deep into his body and translated it within his obedience/dependency, and placed it back in its proper place, as a possible condition of being a creature.

It is in this Jesus' strange and foreign body that a possibility for a new community opens up where the wounded body of the master and the wounded body of the slave find reconciliation in service to one another and through the process our identity as the church is given to us.

Time does not heal all wounds, even time rendered in Jesus' body because it is also a wounded time. We may ask, "Lord, why do you not bind up our wounds now?" With a knowing smile, he takes our hands and draws them into his and lets us touch his nail-shaped hole.

Abstract

This article seeks to trace the genealogy of development of nationalism within Korea through the influence Protestant missionaries, particularly Henry Gerhard Appenzeller in late 19th century. The missionary' s vision was shaped by their experience of evangelical civilization that was rooted in the experience of evangelical consensus rooted in 19th century US. This vision cast in late 19th century colonial moment in East Asia became salvific hope for a nation in brink of losing their nation. This Christianized vision of civilization captured the imagination of reformers like Yun Chi-ho and Suh Jae-pil. This vision can be termed as "ethical nationalism." This and other variant nationalisms helped to form modern subjectivity that functions as economic and cultural "slaves" within modern-racial capitalism.

Key Words

Whiteness, colonialism, ethical-nationalism, Henry Appenzeller, Yun Chi-ho, ultimate slave, Asian-American subjectivity, Protestant mission, bodies, enuch, City on a Hill.

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The Theology of Change in the Context of Derridean Deconstruction and Postmodernity

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Introduction

We are living in the global village of religious and cultural plurality, in the post-Christian era. The Third World is trying to do its best to trace the track of Western civilization through industrialization and urbanization in the infinite competitive system of capitalism. Westerners, however, have long been warning that the basic structures of Western civilization are showing signs of rupture. In the light of this situation, what can we expect to encounter between an East Asian world view and Christianity?

A new paradigm of theology is urgently needed for the third millennium. The Theology of Change is an attempt to reformulate Christianity based on an East Asian cosmo-anthropological viewpoint.[1)] I

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1) The Theology of Change firstly designates Jung Young Lee's (a Korean American theologian), theological works. He has worked through interpreting the *I Ching* from a theological perspective in order to construct a theology based on an East Asian worldview. The *I Ching* has provided the basic foundation of East Asian culture as the prototype of philosophy and science, in which

expect that Christianity can be born again in East Asian thought and East Asian thought will then be empowered in Christianity. The relation of the Theology of Change with other theological trends (process theology, new physics, and new cosmology) has already been discussed to some extent.[2] It will be extended to the discourse of postmodernism, especially that of Derrida's deconstruction, one of the most important trends in postmodernism. In Derridean deconstruction, text emerges as a new postmodern interpretation. Through a Derridean birth of text, aesthetic can appear as a new form of theology.

Within East Asian religious thought, there is no special and proper methodology by which to correlate quite different traditions. In a sense, methodology itself is the property of the Western academic tradition. East Asians have always emphasized the holistic approach which is a way of life. According to Derridean insight, all things are interwoven in textuality. The universe is the manifestation of textual movements which is consequently led to harmony and makes possible the coexistence of differences in the *I Ching*, the East Asian worldview. As an East Asian, I want to approach the radical and fundamental questions of Derrida's deconstruction in order to construct an East Asian theology which seems to be a construction in the age of deconstruction.

Derridean Text and Deconstruction

The departure of Derrida's philosophy is to read the text of prominent philosophers, for example, Husserl, Heidegger, Lousseau, Levi-Strauss, and Saussure, in quite a scandalous way. Harbermas describes Derrida as an

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Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism developed their ideas for East Asianindigenization. As the *I Ching* provides the unique worldview for East Asians and East Asian religious thought, a Christian theology based on the *I Ching* is very meaningful and significant, especially, in postmodernity. In this paper, the Theology of Change is used as designating a theological construction based on an East Asian worldview in a postmodern perspective.

2) Concerning process theology and the theology of change, see chapter 1 of Jung Young Lee's *The Theology of Change*. Concerning the I Ching and the postmodern worldview, see chapter 6, *Embracing Change: Postmodern Interpretations of the* I Ching *from a Christian Perspective* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 1994).

anarchist and notes, "Derrida stands closer to the anarchist's wish to explode the continuum of history than to the authoritarian admonition to bend before destiny." [3)]

Derrida describes the Western philosophical tradition as logocentrism, ontotheology, phonocentrism, or ethnocentrism which represents the fundamental structure of metaphysics as violence to despise differences and alternation and to make all differences merge into sameness. These phenomena are possible in the Western tradition because God as the absolute is presupposed and reason as absolute capacity is presupposed in epistemology.

The Birth of Text

Since the time of Descartes, philosophy has focused on the subject of understanding and epistemology rather than on ontology and metaphysics. Reason had been the absolute authority by which to construct any philosophical discourses.

According to Mark C. Taylor, a fundamental feature of modernism is the death of God and one of the chief characteristics of postmodernism is the death of selfhood. Consequently, these two dimensions of contemporary experience are closely related: the death of God has been completed in the death of selfhood.[4)]

In Derrida, the death of selfhood is demonstrated by the closure of the book. He describes the meaning of the book in four facets:

1) The book is a dialogue or dialectic.
2) The truth of the book is decidable.
3) The value of the book (true/false) is not intrinsic to it.
4) The element of the thus characterized book is the *image* in general

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3) Habermas quotes the following as the clue of the anarchist, "It (*difference*) governs nothing, and nowhere exercises any authority. It is not announced by a capital letter. Not only is there no kingdom of *difference*, but *difference* instigates the subversion of every kingdom" (*Margins of Philosophy*, 22). Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity,* trans. Fredrick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 183.

4) Mark C. Taylor, *Deconstructing Theology* (NY: The Crossroad Publishing Co. 1982), 89.

(the icon or phantasm), the imaginary or the *imaginal*.[5)]

Through point one, we come to know that the comparison of the soul to the book is presupposed in the book. Therefore, the book is the dialogue or dialectic with our soul.[6)] Through point two, the book within the soul, can either be true or false according to what the writer in us says and, as a direct consequence, writes down things that are true or false. Through point three, the truth or falsity is only decided by the writer, whether he/she transcribes an inner speech exactly or distinctively, when he/she copies into the book a discourse. The inner nature of the book is not a factor to decide truth or falsity. Point four teaches us that "the book imitates the soul or the soul imitates the book, because each is the image or likeness of the other."[7)]

However, if there were no self as the author of the book, the book itself would not be formed. The death of selfhood represents the closure of book. Consequently, the death of the author or absolute/ultimate meaning implies the birth of text.[8)]

> We have discerned writing: a non symmetrical division designated on the one hand the closure of the book, and on the other the opening of the text. On the other hand the theological encyclopedia and modeled upon it, the book of man. On the other a fabric of traces marking the disappearance of an exceeded God or of an erased man. The question of writing could be opened only if the book was closed. The joyous wandering of the opening into the text was adventure, expenditure without reverse.[9)]

The text is byproduct of the destruction of the author which makes possible the proliferation of textual differences. In order to explain the text, Derrida introduces the figure of Thoth, the god of writing, who cannot be assigned a fixed spot in the play of signifiers.

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5) Jacques Derrida, *Dissemination,* trans. Barbara Johnson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 184-8.

6) Derrida, *Dissemination,* 187.

7) Derrida, *Dissemination*, 188.

8) Taylor, *Deconstructing Theology*, 96.

9) Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 294. Cited in Mark C. Taylor, "Text as Victim," in *Deconstruction & Theology* (NY: Crossroad, 1982) 71.

> ⋯The figure of Thoth is opposed to its other (father, sun, life, speech, origin or orient, etc.), but as that which at once supplements and supplants it. Thoth extends or opposes by repeating or replacing. By the same token the figure of Thoth takes shape and takes its shape from the very thing it resists and substitutes for.[10)]

> Thoth, the messenger-god of writing, is truly a god of the absolute passage between opposites ⋯.he is precisely the god of nonidentity ⋯ He cannot be assigned a fixed spot in the play of differences. Sly, slippery, and masked, an intriguer and a card, like Hermes, he is neither king nor jack, but rather a sort of joke, a floating signifier, a wild card, one who puts play.[11)]

Derrida's text is committed in principle to an interminable play of signifiers in the interpretational process.[12)] But this is not merely an arbitrary game. Derridean interpretation must proceed from its own rules to the "logic of play."

> "The text," Barth stresses, is "plural. This does not just mean that it has several meanings, but rather that it achieves plurality of meanings, an irreducible plurality. The text is not coexistence of meanings but passage, traversal; thus it answers ⋯ to an explosion, a dissemination. The text's plurality does not depend on the ambiguity of its contests, but rather on what could be called the stenographic plurality of the signifiers that weave it." [13)]

Consequently, Derrida proclaims; "There is nothing outside texts."

Différance

In the book, the existence of the author is indispensable to make the book. Then, what constitutes text as text? In Derrida, what makes text is

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10) Derrida, *Dissemination,* 93.
11) Derrida, *Dissemination,* 93.
12) David A. Dilworth, "The Critique of Logocentrism, or (Else) Derrida's Dead Line," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 17 (1990): 7.
13) Mark C. Taylor, *Deconstructive Theology,* 93.

difference, which is not an ordinary word in French. The fact that *différance* is not an ordinary term but an invention by Derrida, is very significantly important.[14)]

Différance is the most important and most central notion in Derrida's critique of language and his challenge to traditional European metaphysical thinking. Derrida constantly insists that "*différance* is neither a word nor a concept." [15)] However, *différance* is not Derrida's unique invention, which is scattered and has been most decisively inscribed in the thought of our epoch. Derrida, in his essay entitled "*Différance*," tried to draw together in some sort of web (he calls it an "assemblage"), various uses of the term (not concept!) *différance* including Nietzsche (the differences of forces), Freud (detour of unconscious, impression and delayed effect), Saussure (principle of semiological divergence), Hegel, Levinas (the irreducibility of the trace of the other), and Heidegger (the ontological difference).[16)]

Derrida points out the Latin verb *differe* and the French verb, differer have two meanings: firstly, it designates the temporality through the mediation of a detour that suspends the accomplishment or fulfillment of "desire" or "will." Secondly, it refers to spatiality to be at variance, to be unlike, apart, dissimilar, distinct in nature or quality from something.[17)]

As a matter of fact, *différance* is older than Being itself. French has no name for such a difference. It is not nameable.[18)] *Différance*, which itself is never actually present or is present only as absence or abyss, establishes the difference which defines whatever it is. "*Différance* is the nonfull, nonsimple, 'origin'; it is structured and differing origin of differences." [19)]

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14) I want to see the limit of Derrida's philosophy in the term of *différance* which is the symbol of alienation of all philosophical discourses of Derridean texts which are not harmonized in the ordinary language. The no-referential discourses will come to the end of philosophy. How can the end of discourses be the point of departure? It is the *koan* (Zen Buddhism's password to experience the ecstatic liberation) of postmodernism.

15) Jacques Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena,* trans. David B. Allison (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 159.

16) David Wood, "Beyond Deconstruction," ed. A. Phillips Griffiths, *Contemporary French Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 184.

17) Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena,* 82, 129-33.

18) Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena,* 159.

19) Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena,* 14.

Différance is play and movement according to immanent autonomous logic, although there is no absolute ruler or God or self. The concept of play [*jeu*] remains beyond the opposition; one the eve and aftermath of philosophy, it designates the unity of chance and necessity in an endless calculus.[20)]

Without *différance*, the text cannot exist. *Différance* makes text possible. The play and movement of *différance* gives meaning to language, world, and thought in a quite different way in comparison to the traditional ontological ways.[21)] The fountain of meaning is no identity, nor correspondence, nor presence. Rather, meaning emerges from *difference*, distance and interval. Derrida wants to suggest that difference in this sense works in language formation, meaning formation, world formation, as well as thought formation. He regards *différance* as "an operation which is not operation," and hence, a passion which is not passion, an action which is not action, a world which is not a word, a notion which is not a notion.[22)]

We can easily find that the Derridean *différance* has the same foundation as Taoism. However, in East Asian tradition, there was no time when Taoism could stand alone. Taoism is textually interwoven with Confucianism. Therefore, we cannot see exactly the Derridean *différance* only from a Taoist perspective. We have to return to the *I Ching* in which Taoism and Confucianism have their common ground.

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20) Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena,* 135.

21) Jacques Derrida, *Grammatology,* trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 143.

> The work of writing and the economy of *différance* will not be dominated by the classical conceptuality, this ontology, or this epistemology. On the contrary, these furnish its hidden premises. *Différance* does not resist appropriation, it does not impose an exterior limit upon it. *Différance* began by broaching alienation and it ends by leaving reappropriation breached until death. Death is the movement of *différance* to the extent that that movement is necessarily finite. This means that *différance* makes the opposition of presence and absence possible.

22) Chung-Ying Cheng, "A Taoist *'Différance,'*" *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 17 (1990): 21.

Deconstruction and Construction

What is the purpose of Derrida's text and *différance*? Of course, Derrida does not want to presuppose the teleological purpose. Without presupposing the purpose, how do we understand his deconstruction? May deconstruction be a returning of *Tao* to the origin of text and *différance*? There is not place [*u-topus*] from which text and *différance* emerge. According to David Wood, deconstruction has been the object of a fantastic desire, something that explicitly marks out its distance from philosophy and should none the less fulfill the traditional philosophical role of providing a reassuring foundation for life, meaning, action and so on.[23] Deconstruction was born from a mediation of the limits of philosophy. It represents the most sophisticated attempt to deal with the question successively posed by Kant, Hegel, Nietzsche, Husserl, and Heidegger.[24]

Derrida wants to deconstruct logocentrism, phonocentrism and ethnocentrism of the metaphysical tradition through an analysis of the phenomenology of Husserl and the structuralism of Levi-Strauss. The basis of Derrida's critique of presence is most accessible in his early book, *Speech and Phenomena.*

Husserl's phenomenology is no more than a variation of the metaphysics of presence. At the heart of Husserl's analysis of internal time consciousness lie tendencies which, if developed, would lead to the self-negation of this phenomenology.[25] The ideal form of a written signifier, for example, is not in the world, and the distinction between grapheme and the empirical body of the corresponding graphic sign separates an inside from an outside, phenomenological consciousness from the world.[26]

Deconstruction itself has extended far beyond the limits of philosophical gates. To return deconstruction here to the history of philosophy is to revert to its place of formation as textual reading. In other words, deconstruction is the reading of texts in terms of their markers, traces, or uncertain features, in terms of margins, limits, or frameworks, and in terms of their self-circumscriptions or self-delimitations as texts.

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23) David Wood, "Beyond Deconstruction?" *Contemporary French Philosophy,* 184.

24) Wood, 175.

25) Mark C. Taylor, *Deconstructive Theology,* 95.

26) Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena,* 76.

Deconstruction is not related to seeking out its meaning but to marking off its relations to other texts, its contexts, and its subtexts.[27)]

What Can I Find in the *I Ching*?

The Universe as the Text of Yin-Yang

There are necessarily connected chains between the inner structure of modernity and deconstructual discourses of postmodernity. It is described as the following: a myth of absolute subject which is a shadow of God, an almighty reason on which all scientific constructions stand, and a book in which the author controls all parts within consistent logical structure. However, the world of text comes out of the closure of the book and the death of the author through deconstruction. On the other hand, as Robert Corrington points out, these contemporary academic discourses are obsessed with non-referential signs.

> This sheer symbolic plenitude, while not without its own aesthetic power, veils the deeper traits of reality and, in turn, alienates the human process from those impulses and potencies that give shape and meaning to life.[28)]

I think that all these results come out of loosing cosmology which basically supports reasoning processes and all kinds of human process. However, in East Asian thought, there is no God as an absolute ruler who controls all situations in the world. There is only a certain autonomous power which is basically immanent in nature and cosmos. Myriad things are byproducts of change which are the moving of *Tao*. The principle of change emphasizes differences rather than sameness or identity. We can discern change only through grasping differences which are demonstrated as transferences of position, transformation of shape and quality, and reformulation of relation. In the long run, identity and sameness are no more than a temporary correspondence in differences. The *I Ching* fully approves the priority of differences.

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27) Ed. Hugh J. Silverman, *Derrida and Deconstruction* (NY: Routledge, 1989) 4.

28) Robert S. Corrington, *Nature & Spirit* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), ix.

> Heaven is high, the earth is low; thus the Creative and the Receptive are determined. In correspondence with this *difference* between low and high, inferior and superior, place is established. Movement and rest have their definite laws; according to these, firm and yielding lines are *differentiated*. Events follow definite trends, each according to its nature. Things are *differentiated* from one another in definite classes. In this way good fortune and misfortune come about. In the heavens phenomena take form; on earth shapes take form. In this way, change and transformation become manifest.[29)]

Richard Wilhelm explains that a distinction is made between three kinds of change: nonchange, cyclic change, and sequential change. The Chinese sages could obtain all kinds of cosmological texts, through observing differences demonstrated in nature.

> Looking upward, we contemplate with its help the signs in the heavens; looking down, we examine the lines of the earth. Thus we come to know the circumstances of the dark and the light, going back to the beginnings of things and pursuing them to the end, we come to know the lessons of birth and of death.[30)]

In the *I Ching*, there are not metaphysical and sophisticated concepts. All situations are explained by the textual interwovenness of eight trigrams. Conclusively, the *I Ching* explains that our universe represents texts of change which are interwoven by Yin-Yang. Further, the eight trigrams make texts through interweaving which demonstrates sixty four *Kuas*. There are alternation, displacement, and establishment of which good fortune and misfortune come out; "Therefore the eight trigrams succeed one another by turns, as the firm and the yielding displace each other."[31)] "Succeed one another by turns" and "displace each other" are certainly the movement of texts as the process of interweaving and cosmological textualization. Therefore, "as the firm and the yielding lines displace one another, change

29) The *I Ching*, trans. Richard Wilhelm, English trans. Cary F. Baynes, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 288. The emphasis is added by the writer.

30) *I Ching*, 294, *Ta Chuan*.

31) *I Ching*, 283, *Ta Chuan*.

and transformation arise." [32]

These phenomena are expressed in the movement of text. However, these cosmological texts are concrete, simple, not sophisticated and never alienated from nature. The cosmological text manifests the beauty of nature which is the eternal foundation of East Asian arts and aesthetics of texts. We do not have to reconstruct nor deconstruct cosmos. We have to just let the world be as it is.

The *I Ching* is composed of *Ching* (the main text) and *Chuan* (the supplementary texts: the Ten Wings (*Shih I*). Ching has both hexagrams (Kua) and judgment (T'uan). The hexagrams are symbols which are composed of two trigrams - the Yin-Yang symbols. The judgments are fragmentary and intuitive divinational poems which are not filtered by reasonable sophistication. The main text is not "the book" but it is like the Derridean texts as archewriting and traces. The supplementary texts which were written later are a kind of book focusing on philosophical reasoning and through which one can find that a consistent meaningful system is interwoven. The *I Ching* embraces both "a book" and "texts."

In the *I Ching*, we can find deconstruction and construction occurring simultaneously. The hexagrams always reject any fixed interpretation, which is always open to diverse possibilities. We can apply the hexagrams to diverse situations. The *I Ching* is open toward the journey to the aesthetics of hermeneutics, because it is not fixed but flexible and open-ended.

Eternal Nostalgia: Returning of Tao and Change

Linearity cannot be eternal. Eternity must embrace the returning movement of change, and change is not a linear movement. Eternity in the linear movement is an illusion. Eternity can exist only in circularity in which beginning and end are intermingling in the process of returning.

Change is the ultimate agent which is spreading, permeating, and floating into the whole universe. In Derridean understanding, *difference* is no more than shadows of change. In change, there is growth and depth: internalization. The change is not only external transformation but also an internal embodiment.

In the *I Ching*, the term, change, has three meanings: 1) the easy as

32) *I Ching*, 288, *Ta Chuan.*

simplicity, 2) the change as variability, 3) the constant as invariability. Change is an eternal intention of movement as nostalgia, but there is neither telos nor direction. It embraces both progress and regression, both moving and resting. Moving tries to change into resting and resting tries to transform itself into moving. In this movement, there is no linear advancement but only circular movement as returning. The returning itself is the movement of Tao. Change moves toward recycling and recycling makes eternal movements into change itself.

> The concept of change is not an external, normative principle that imprints itself upon phenomena; it is inner tendency according to which development takes place naturally and spontaneously.[33)]

Eternity is made by mutual interaction which comes out of the polarity of Yin-yang. Yin innately intends for Yang and Yang innately moves for Yin. We can find this polarity in the same thing. Therefore, there is no substance except becoming in the *I Ching*.

Three Constants: Heaven, Earth and Human Beings

In East Asian thought, the death of God and human beings as selfhood are not needed, because human beings, heaven and earth are not an artificial invention in the human process. They are only focal points which have been formulated by relational position and textuality of the grand universe. They are three categories which formulate the sixty-four hexagrams in the *I Ching*. On the other hand, their power is not authoritative. To kill these three constants is impossible, because they are byproducts of relation and harmony. They participate in the creative transformation of the universe for cosmological textualization as three constants.

The whole universe is permeated by the fulfilling and immanent *ch'i*. Therefore, the universe is an appropriate place and the earth is comfortable for our living in principle, in spite of the fact that there is no partiality to human beings. Heaven, earth, and human beings are the three categories which may function as inter-subjects in the movement of change. None of the three can be an absolute subject who exercises sovereignty all over the universe and makes logos as the absolute meaning. They are byproducts of

33) *I Ching*, 19.

relational interactions. All hexagrams of the *I Ching* are interpreted by these three categories. Human beings are located at the center but the position of the center is not the position of the ruler but rather one of harmonizer or conciliator. In the long run, human nature (hsing) is given to humankind by heaven. The hsing, human nature, must be directed toward the state of cosmological harmony.

> The state in which joy, anger, sorrow, and pleasure have not yet made their appearance is called that equilibrium (*Chung*). When they have appeared, but are all in accordance with the proper measure, this is called the state of harmony.[34)]

We can find the status of human beings from East Asian paintings of landscapes; human beings belong to the grand harmony of heaven and earth. In the *I Ching*, the great man as the archetype of an ideal human being is nowhere designated as leader; the nature of his influence nowhere described. In a series of situations, however, it is advised to search for the great man[sic] with the words; "it furthers one to see the great man." [35)] In dangerous or difficult situations, waiting for the great person with perseverance is emphasized. Then, the perseverance brings good fortune. Human beings can bring good fortune through their own patience and endurance to encounter the fulfilled and focal times as *kairos*. The archetype of the human being is the reconciler who can change a difficult situation into one of harmony.

An East Asian Theology for a Postmodern World: Fragments of Natural Insights

Theology has described itself as "the Queen of the Sciences" since the era of Thomas Aquinas. However, Philip Toynbee suggests that theology might have done better if it had tried to be "the Queen of Arts." [36)]

Historically, theology, as the queen of sciences has had especially two

34) Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 1:374.

35) Helmut Wilhelm, *Heaven, Earth and Man in the Book of Changes* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), 158.

36) Philip Toynbee, *Towards the Holy Spirit* (London: SCM Press, 1982), 64.

servants: philosophy and science. However, as a matter of fact, theology is dependent early on philosophy and later on science. In reality, theology cannot escape from the slave of philosophy and science. However, in postmodernism, the traditional discourses of philosophy and science are no longer efficient. Norman O. Brown suggests "Dionician Christianity," in which "meaning is not fixed, but ever new and ever changing." [37)]

The Arts include free projects of signs and intentions. Theology as Arts can portray the projections of God revealed in nature as textual forms. Of course, God may be "the begetter of all begetting." [38)] In the I Ching. God does not exercise sovereignty externally but immanently participates in the creative transformation. The universe is no more than the textual movement of *Yin-Yang*. The *I Ching* is reading on the cosmological texts through constructing and deconstructing of sixty four hexagrams. All scientific attempts are reduced to reading the texts of the universe and interpreting its reading. Through the birth of the text, as noted earlier in this study, aesthetics emerges as a new framework of theology. Now, theology needs not seek an absolute truth any longer but rather, it tries to find beauty, aesthetically, that is, floating in nature.

All sciences have to be focused toward the open horizon of hermeneutics. They are, in reality, partial attempts to grasp the holistic reality. The *I Ching* shows the reader the aesthetics of hermeneutics. The microcosm corresponds to the macrocosm in cosmological textual movements. Heaven, earth and human beings make creative harmony through cosmo-textual movements.

All East Asian Arts obtain living power through the notion of the void. That is, the void is manifested by the unpainted space and non-sounding interval. The unpainted space and non-sounding interval represents the void, out of which all aesthetic harmony and beauty emerge without artificial maneuvering. *Wu* (not to be) is older than *Yu* (to be). *Wu* is not nothingness but the void, from which all differentiations are emerging.

Without the void, no civilization would function but would be destroyed. The movements of the cosmological text are possible in the void. All cultural achievements are finite projects within the void. The void is

37) Mark C. Taylor, "Text as Victim," in *Deconstruction & Theology* (NY: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1982), 75.

38) *I Ching*, 299.

prior to *Tai Chi* (the Ultimate). *Wu Chi* (Non-Ultimate) is another nameless name of the void. The void is prior to *Tai Chi* and *Wu Chi*. Theology as Arts is renamed as the aesthetics of the void.

East Asians have intuitively understood the role of language for centuries. They have not tried to communicate their meaning and intention through language itself. Therefore, phonocentrism has not predominated in East Asian culture. When they try to communicate only through language, they think that the communication itself is not possible. They try to use the logic of excess which goes beyond language. Therefore, the *I Ching* was not written by language but by signs, symbols, and images, which we can understand as examples of Derridean text or writing.

In the *I Ching* God is revealed not through language but through writing. Therefore, all understandings of God are texts or traces of writing.[39] The *I Ching* is deconstructed and constructed by a system of signs, symbols, and images. The *I Ching* contains the logic of excess. Therefore, the *I Ching* can embrace the grand universe through sixty four hexagrams.

> The *I Ching* is vast and great. When one speaks of what is far, it knows no limits. When one speaks of what is near, it is still and right. When one speaks of the space (the void - added by the writer) between heaven and earth, it embraces everything.

Jung Young Lee cited the logic of excess which underlies the *I Ching*. The logic of excess represents the word "beyond."

> The hexagrams never become objects in themselves, for they always serve as symbols beyond themselves.[40]

> Symbols or hsiang in Chinese, should not be understood as images, for images do not point beyond themselves. The symbol never becomes its own object, while the image does. The symbol always points beyond

39) In the *I Ching*, God does not appear. However, according to Jung Young Lee's perspective, God is the change itself, the begetter of begetting, who is revealed through the arrangement of hexagrams.

40) Jung Young Lee, *Embracing Change*, 113.

> itself, just as the hexagram points to the invisible potential, or the germinal situation, the hexagram as the primary symbol points to the invisible realities of the universe.[41)]

The logic of excess embraces the logic of both-and and neither-nor. Therefore, in order to understand the hexagram as a whole, one must also acknowledge the existence of the hidden hexagram as the counterpart of the revealed hexagram. The relationship between the revealed and the hidden hexagrams can be compared with the relationship between yin and yang.[42)]

Where can we find the model of co-habitation in a religious pluralistic society? Out of the *I Ching*, Taoism's and Neo-Confucianism's main ideas emerged, through which the Buddhist tradition planted its deep root in the Chinese soil. Many Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist commentaries on the *I Ching* have constantly been written. Jung Young Lee demonstrated the possibility of a Christian theology which evolves from the *I Ching*. In the *I Ching*, we can find most of the world religions have cohabited without any conflicts in East Asia.

The cosmology of the *I Ching* has still a spatial place to contain the model of co-habitation for religious pluralism. Change sometimes appears as a source of problems for those who do not want to change. However, those who want to accord with the normal process of change can find peace and tranquility in life. The religious pluralism and the paradigm-shift of theology are the shadows of change which currently permeate into all religions. The trends of change that are irreversible will make everything return to its original place.

The pain of laboring is the symptom for the sake of delivering a new baby. According to the theology of change, the end presupposes the beginning. The end and the beginning are inseparable, like *yin* and *yang*. Postmodern discourses are not the end of modernity, God, and the book, but a new beginning for new religion and new theology.

Conclusion

Modernity, in which Westerners tried to establish the universal standard

41) Jung Young Lee, *Embracing Change,* 114.
42) Jung Young Lee, *Embracing Change*, 102-03.

based on human-centeredness, has collapsed in today's world of postmodernity. Without conceiving God and human beings' own self-centeredness, the world looks like a wilderness in which the shadow of nihilism is wandering away and all meaningfulness has evaporated.

Derrida has preached the world of textuality in which *différance* is floating and slipping. There are traces, dissemination, and writings which we cannot know the meanings and significances. In the *I Ching*, we find the aesthetics of the void and spacious beauty which emerges as traces in nature. Change is the transforming power to motivate the movements of cosmological texts. The world of texts goes beyond that of words, logos, reason and book. The whole universe is the textualization of change: the ultimate significance in chaos and the unnamable chaos in the textualized beauty. Theology must try to launch an art project to create the space to embrace diverse religious ideas and to make them co-habit in peace and harmony without conflicts. The theology of change shows us an example of aesthetics of the void and excess in which Western Christianity and East Asian Christianity can live together.

Tao is returning. Every end is not the end in the sense that it still contains a new beginning. Thus, it gives hope to human beings. In the postmodern world, we are waiting for sacred humanity and a new civilization for creative transformation with perseverance and furthering. The theology of change is a new way of theological thinking based on the East Asian worldview, which is a sign for emerging a world Christianity.

Abstract

The Theology of Change is a new constructive theology which is based on the East Asian world view represented by the Book of Changes. This theology was originally written by Korean American theologian Jung Young Lee. I want to use this term to designate an East Asian theological construction for a new theology toward World Christianity in the postmodern situation. The *I Ching* has been the basic grammar of East Asian culture for most areas such as art, philosophy, sciences, medicine, architecture and so on. Therefore, the Theology of Change is not only a sort of indigenous theology but also an alternative theology for World Christianity in the postmodern age.

Jung Young Lee finds a very useful tool for constructing East Asian theology in the *I Ching*. I want to explore the relationship of the Theology of Change with Derridean deconstruction and textuality. *Différance* is not far away from the change in the *I Ching*. Rather they are very close and interrelated. Yin-yang is the cosmological textual movement which is very close to Derridean textual movement. *Kua* (trigram) is the manifestation of textual movement of yin and yang. The I Ching is clearly explained by Derridean deconstruction and construction. *Différance* is the movement of the Change from the perspective of the Theology of Change.

In this kind of textual and cosmological movement, a new theology is emerging as the aesthetics of the void in art work. The Theology of Change is transformed from ontological theology toward aesthetical theology in an East Asian worldview. God is renewed from the transcendent being to the immanent nonbeing. Theology is more inclined to cosmos and creation rather than history and salvation, which opens a new way toward ecumenism and ecology. That is, the Theology of Change is positioned as a construction in the age of deconstruction.

Key Words

The *I Ching*, Derrida, *différance*, textuality, deconstruction, construction

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A People's Charter on Peace for Life[1)]

Hwacheon
South Korea

INTRODUCTION

A People's Charter on Peace has been a felt need among peace movements and peace workers for a long time. This is in recognition of two factors: one, there is a new geopolitical context at the beginning of the twenty-first century; two, most declarations on peace are from inter-state or state related institutions. The need was for a peace charter from a people's perspective.

The international conference (sponsored by WCC, CCA and NCC Philippines) in September 2002 clearly underlined the fact of a new geopolitical context. This was the conference which founded the organization *Peace for Life.* The conference was one of the first to attempt to define the new context as that of an emerging global empire and more specifically the U.S. Empire. It was felt necessary to rediscover the true meaning of peace in the new context and to affirm a new commitment to peacemaking. For this it was felt that a Charter on peace would be extremely valuable and useful. While many declarations and statements on peace are available there were few models for a peace charter.

1) People's Charter is drafted and adopted by the coperative work of Buddhist, Christian and Islamic leaders from many continents and countries. As stated in the introduction its inception was in 2002, and there has been a half-dozen meetins and workshops. The three of workshops have been supported by the Hwacheon county, Kangwon Province, Korea, in conjuction with the construction of the Bell Park for World Peace at the Peace Dam, Hwacheon.

The idea of a charter was discussed at a meeting of *Peace for Life* in December 2005 in Hong Kong and some suggestions were formulated. In October 2006, a Workshop was held in Hwacheon, Korea. Presentations were made at the workshop on a peace charter from various perspectives. At the end of the workshop, an outline for a charter was adopted.

In July 2007, a three-person drafting group met in Hong Kong and worked on the first draft of a peace charter. This was further revised and presented at the International Workshop in Hwacheon at the end of October 2007. On the basis of discussions and suggestions at the Workshop, several changes were made.

The People's Charter on Peace for Life **was adopted at the Workshop.**

Two terms need some explanation in the Introduction itself. It may be asked whether it is not presumptuous to call it a People's Charter. There is no claim here to any representative character that it is on behalf of people. The reference is to the character of the document as distinct from that of the governments or interstate bodies. There is of course some claim to the perspective of the people as gained by a large number of persons active in peace movements for a long time.

The term 'peace for life' also may be explained. This is comparatively a new concept underlining the interlocking of life and peace. Peace is for fullness of life. Life in its fullness demands a life of dignity and for that peace is essential. Fullness of life means peace, justice and freedom. The right to life and right to life are intertwined.

A word about Hwacheon, Korea where we outlined and finalized the Peace Charter. It is the smallest county of the Republic of Korea and is close to the Demilitarized Zone. Some of the bloodiest sites of the Korean War are here. Thousands and thousands of soldiers perished here. In few places is the South Korean desire for peace as well as the sometimes surreal manifestation of inter-Korean hostility on better display than in Hwacheon.

The people in the Hwacheon province and their leaders have decided to establish a Bell Park on peace, an art park for peace and an eco 'paradise' and make Hwacheon a place of pilgrimage for peace and life.

The Mayor and people of Hwacheon are delighted that the Peace Charter was drafted in Hwacheon. They extended all support to the two workshops. The groundbreaking ceremony of the Bell Park was held at the time of the Workshop in 2007. They have plans to inscribe a summary of the Charter prominently in the Bell Park. The Charter thus may be also called the **Hwacheon Peace Charter.**

PEOPLE'S CHARTER ON PEACE FOR LIFE

1. Preamble

Recognizing the yearning and right of people to live in peace with dignity;

Realizing that a new global situation has arisen with new challenges and threats to peace, where the total life of all living beings is at stake;

United by the need to rediscover the true meaning of peace today as peace with justice and peace for life;

Conscious of the need to be self-critical about accommodation and compromise with the forces of domination and exploitation;

Underscoring the need for a new commitment as well as to mobilize people in order to make and build peace;

This Charter is adopted as an affirmation of the ardent desire and aspirations of the people for peace.

2. Objectives

This Charter is adopted with the following objectives:

- To articulate the people's vision of peace for life;
- To clarify and redefine the context and concept of peace for life;
- To affirm the fundamentals of peace;
- To serve as a reference point as well as a guide to action for groups

and movements for peace; and,
- To provide a model on which instruments for peace efforts can be built in specific situations.

Section I
A NEW CONTEXT

Peace is the condition for the fullness of life, just as justice is the precondition for peace. Peace ensures the harmonious living of all humankind and creation. In essence, peace is the defense of human dignity and the integrity of the cosmic order of living beings.

From the most violent and war-ridden century in history, the world emerged into the 21st century only to witness the inauguration of an endless and borderless imperial war. A new international order of a global empire with its political, militaristic and ideological/religious dimensions is emerging. Led by the USA, this coalition of the uniting and other major powers and international financial and trade organizations is waging a permanent war.

Under this situation, intolerance, xenophobia, racism and discrimination are being reinforced often in violent and even genocidal fashion. Their practitioners justify them on the grounds of religious, national, cultural, ideological, racial, and ethnic affiliations.

The War on Terror, unleashed by the United States of America and its allies, has disastrous consequences for the whole world. This war poses present and future threats to peace. The War on Terror is limitless, borderless, endless and ever changing in its aims, targets, and enemies, thus potentially an instrument for total control of the world.[1)]

This is part of the broader geopolitical reality that takes its roots in the twentieth century and emerges more aggressively at the beginning of this century - the Global Empire.[2)] It is intertwined with the militarization of globalization and the attempt to build a new military and economic order threatening all living beings, their future and self-determination, cultures and economies, as well as the ecosystem.

All these have created a world of systemic and structural violence unparalleled in history. The threats to peace and security are no longer solely of a military nature, however. In the recent period, there has been deterioration both at the national and international levels of the various dimensions of security. The scope of destruction and devastation wrought by the combination of these threats is unprecedented in the history of humanity.

Section II
UNDERSTANDING PEACE FOR LIFE

1. The Right to Peace

The peoples of our planet have a sacred and inviolable right to life, the precondition of which is peace. Citizens of each country can therefore demand of their governments to ensure that their national and international objectives are directed toward attaining peace for life.[3)]

The human right of every woman, man, youth, and child to peace and life lies at the very heart of the realization of all human rights. War and violence result in the systematic and sweeping denial of civil and political rights as well as economic, social, and cultural rights. People have a right to live convivially in harmony with all living beings.

The right to life is denied through various forms of violence such as political killings, forcible displacement, and destruction of habitat.

Peace is a prerequisite for the exercise of all human rights and duties. It is not, however, the peace of silence, whereby men and women remain passive either by choice or by constraint.[4)] It is the peace of freedom, of happiness, equality, and solidarity in which all citizens count, live together, and share. Peace is not an abstract idea but one that is rooted firmly in cultural, political, social, and economic contexts.

The right to peace functions mainly to promote and protect the right to life through peaceful settlement of disputes, by the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, by total disarmament, and through

the enforcement of international laws and standards of human rights.

2. Redefinition of War

"By a combination of creative strategies and advanced technologies we are redefining war on our own terms," the U.S. has officially claimed.[5)]

This is an ominous declaration as the Empire redefines not only war strategies but also aims and doctrines of war. War aim has been redefined to mean "regime change" in and occupation of the adversary state.[6)] The redefinition of war places nuclear weapons as essential for military purposes.[7)] Preemption is redefined as "preventive war" with the empire claiming an exclusive right to it, even in defiance of international law and multilateral consensus.[8)]

Therefore, the redefinition of war has grave implications for peace. The "creative strategies and advanced technologies" are well reflected in the new doctrines of war. More alarming is that the redefinition is "on our own terms," i.e., the terms of the Empire. Hence, it is a definition of imperial wars.

These doctrines have to be challenged from the perspective of people grounded in people's sovereignty and integrity of life of all living beings. Peace has to be redefined on the terms of the people even as rulers and aggressors of the world redefine war on their own terms. The new terms of war - the terminology as well as the conditions they impose - have to be rejected.

Peace can be recovered, reclaimed, and regained only by unmasking the powers, their religion, systems, and institutions that perpetuate war and injustice.

3. Exposing the New Image of War

New images of war are deliberately and assiduously created with a view to sowing fears about so-called new "enemies of freedom" and "non-traditional threats to security" while thwarting efforts and opportunities for peace.

The two World Wars in the twentieth century led people all over the world to develop an abhorrence of war. After the Second World War, wars in many forms, regional and civil, were fought in many parts of the world, often sparked by imperial aggression. Social movements and cultural resistance against war strengthened through various forms of social and political thoughts as well as art and literature denouncing war.

As the 20th century came to a close a new image of war emerged or rather was contrived, if not fully displacing the old one, competing and challenging it. A new lexicon of military terms appeared. War became "surgical," "precise," "frictionless," "post-modern" and even "abstract." The killing of hundreds of thousands of civilians, through preemptive strikes as well as cruel economic sanctions, was called "collateral damage."

At the turn of the 21st century another perhaps more profound and disastrous change came. War is projected as inevitable. Its doctrinaires justify war as the means to peace and it is through war that freedom is ensured. Thus, the Empire's army is praised as the greatest force for freedom. Wars waged by the Empire's forces will build democracy and free market in many countries. Weapons of war are called instruments of peace. The producers of weapons of mass destruction are hailed as the new peacemakers.[9] The new images of war are glorified by the powers that be through media manipulation with the aim of globalizing a culture of war.

These images of war have to be exposed and challenged for what they are - myths and lies. One of the casualties of the culture of war is the colonization of our imagination. People need to resist subjugation and reclaim their imagination. They have to dream anew of new possibilities. People need to exercise their imagination and envision a new world - a world without war or violence.

4. A Holistic Understanding of Peace

Simplistically equating peace with the mere absence of war has to be rejected. The peace that is usually projected is the peace that is maintained by "peace through strength"[10] posture that has led to the arms race, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, and the ultimate threat of mutually-assured

destruction.[11] It is precisely through this machination that big powers are able to bully small nations and create disequilibrium and disharmony throughout the world. This actually creates conditions for war even as the imperial wars for profit threaten peace no end.

More aggravating, many nations of the world erroneously believe that security alliance with the USA will guarantee peace. To the contrary, "peace" that is tied to the threat and intention to kill vast numbers of human beings is hardly a stable or justifiable peace worthy of the name. Peace is fundamentally about sharing universal values such as respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, and equality. A holistic understanding of peace involves the recognition that humanity cannot exist independently of the biosphere, which sustains all life.

Peace is the condition for the fullness of life. Human beings can become truly humane only in conditions of peace. Creativity, spirituality, individual and collective achievements attain glory and grandeur only in the salubrious climate of peace.

The notion that war is inevitable is totally unacceptable, either. If war is inevitable then peace becomes dispensable; peace has no space. The commitment to regain and expand the space for peace by struggling for a just and inclusive world community has to be reaffirmed.

The understanding of peace has to be broadened to lead to Great Peace.[12] Toward this, the rich resources on peace from Asian traditions and religions need to be tapped.

Peace and justice are indivisible. Justice is the condition for peace, just as peace cannot be built on injustice. Peace requires a radically new international order based on justice for all and within nations, and the respect for the humanity and dignity of every person. Peace is the effect of righteousness. Recent history teaches us that without justice for all everywhere there will not be peace anywhere. Peace is for life with its fullness of humanity and dignity.

Section III
THREATS TO PEACE

1. Threats to Peace from the Global Empire

The Bush administration's war on terrorism, invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, expanded military budget, new military doctrines and the ideology of the National Security Strategy 2002, have thrust the USA into the light of day as an empire.[13] Its ideology claims a mandate for the pursuit of permanent military security.

The Pentagon is moving at breakneck speed to re-deploy U.S. forces and equipment around the world in ways that will permit Washington to play "GloboCop."[14] The vast network of U.S. bases on every continent except Antarctica actually constitutes a new form of empire.[15] These military bases are today's version of the imperial colonies of the world. The USA has military relationships with the vast majority of the nations of the world ranging from alliances to access to facilities.

The Empire claims "global freedom of action." It is geared toward intervening militarily in any part of the world where - dictated by its security doctrines and global strategic interests - it perceives a threat, whether present, future, or potential.[16] This constitutes today the most visible threat to peace.

The Empire's use of religion has to be challenged while exposing the nexus between the neo-conservatives and the Religious Right in the USA.[17] Cultural imperialism of the USA is undermining cultures of many nations.[18]

Since war has been redefined to suit imperialist objectives, the struggle for peace has become today a struggle against imperialism in general and resistance against the U.S. Empire in particular.

2. The War on Terror, an Imperial War

The War on Terror is an imperialist war.[19] On the pretext of attacking terrorists, their organizations and the states that allegedly support them, the

Bush administration has actually been building the new American Empire.[20] It has changed the nature of war: It has become a war of conquest and a war of exploitation and control of resources in the countries occupied. It is claimed to be continuous and permanent. In the name of the War on Terror, the USA claims its right to intervene in the world militarily anywhere and anytime.

The terminology of war assumes that terrorism has to be combated solely through military means. War on terrorism is based on a dangerous logic - that "modern terrorism" is primarily a military threat and warrants a military solution.[21] The disconnect between countering terrorism and pursuing the War on Terror for imperialist objectives has to be exposed.[22]

The special nature of the War on Terror poses an unending threat to peace. It represents the transition from conventional wars to imperial wars in the 21st century. Planning for imperial wars is different from planning for conventional wars. The maximum amount of force is used as quickly and preemptively as possible for psychological impact and to demonstrate that the empire cannot be challenged with impunity. Even after imperial wars end, imperial garrisons are left in place indefinitely in the name of order and stability.[23]

3. Patriarchy and War

The links between patriarchy and war need to be emphasized. The very structure of the military is patriarchal. To galvanize to full potential the struggle against militarism we must question its gender-based approach. Since the very beginning of war, women have been considered spoils of war and, as victims, are today subsumed under the euphemistic phrase "collateral damage."

The War on Terror intertwined with neo-liberal globalization has intensified exploitation and oppression of women, commodifying them, trafficking them, thus systematically violating their dignity.

The main casualties of war are women and children. The economic consequences of war are exacerbated by patriarchy. Militarization reinforces

the sexual commodification of women. It also perpetuates sexual violence against women. Military occupation further degrades women.

4. The Misuse of Religion

Religion has been used to create and exacerbate conflicts often leading to violence. Religious beliefs and symbols are exploited to justify wars. Religion often appears to be against peace. This results from misuse and distortion of religion. The steady rise and growing influence of fundamentalism in all religions is a matter of serious concern. This actually promotes imperialist attitudes and its masculinity further reinforces patriarchy.

5. The Threat of Terrorism

Terrorism is a form of political action. It cannot be treated apart from its specific historical, social and economic context or considered as a generic phenomenon. It is a strategy rooted in political discontent and in the service of many different beliefs and doctrines that help legitimate and sustain violence.[24)]

Sometimes it is easier to understand a terrorist act than to define terrorism or terrorist. An attack on innocent people is a terrorist act. Such terrorist acts are carried out by some states and non-state actors as well as state agencies, and some organizations and sections of organizations. Attacks that mainly target civilians are terrorist acts, whoever perpetrates them.[25)]

However, terrorism does not help the cause of freedom or justice. It cannot be part of the struggle for freedom or liberation. In fact, terrorism can endanger freedom and justice and counter productively encourage reactionary forces. Terrorist acts are a threat to peace.

Military means have a limited role in countering terrorism and often generate more terrorism or as such constitute a terrorist act.[26)] Only the resolution of the basic political, economic and social problems that cause the discontent that, in turn, gives birth to terrorism or is capitalized on by

terrorists, can deal with terrorism.[27)]

6. The Military Corporate Complex

The military corporate complex[28)] has emerged as one of the biggest threats to peace. It thrives under war and promotes war. It is encouraged by major powers and international financial and trade organizations. Globalization and the war on terror have caused quantum leap in military expenditure and arms trade across the world, distorting priorities, especially of developing countries and reducing allocation for welfare activities.

7. The New Nuclear Arms Race, a Threat to Peace

Nuclear arms have always been one of the biggest threats to peace. The continued existence of nuclear weapons as well as their threat or use, by accident, miscalculation or design, threatens the survival of all humanity and life on earth.

The stockpiling of nuclear arms and their spread especially in the recent period in the Asian region has to be decried and opposed. There is a close link between the new nuclear doctrines of the USA and the new stage of proliferation. The new nuclear doctrine of the USA places new emphasis on the utility of nuclear weapons in U.S. military strategy. It considers new uses of nuclear weapons and claims that nuclear weapons may be used in any war including preventive wars.[29)] When the mightiest military machine in the world claims that nuclear weapons are indispensable, the message it sends to nations is clear and dangerous.

The national defense missiles of the USA marks a new and even more disastrous stage[30)] in a nuclear arms race and the weaponization of space with the U.S. claiming monopoly of control over space. Thus, the campaign against nuclear weapons and weaponization of space must be a major component of peace activity.

8. The Threat from New Weapons Systems

A particular cause for alarm is the emergence of new weapons systems

resulting from new technologies, the merging of conventional and non-conventional weapons, and the extension of the arms race to space.[31] Cyber strategy changes the nature of warfare. New technologies of remote control, electronic warfare, and laser weapon are alarming developments.[32]

Section IV
HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE

1. Violation of Human Rights

The violation of human rights is one of the roots of war - and is a major victim of war itself. These violations, exacerbated by neo-liberal globalization, have resulted in the denial of economic, social and cultural rights as well as political and civil rights on a scale larger than before. The artificial distinction between these two sets of rights should be rejected. We affirm the universality and indivisibility of human rights and call to strengthen mechanisms to implement and enforce human rights treaties and to afford redress to victims for the violation of rights.

Although the right to life is fundamental, it is constantly denied by attacks of various forms on the human person particularly extra-judicial killings, forced disappearances, and torture. The War on Terror in a qualitatively new way causes a denial of human rights. In many countries where wars of intervention and occupation are waged - or where antiterrorist operations are staged - people are denied their collective rights to self-determination and national sovereignty.

The defense, protection and promotion of human rights and support to struggles for human rights are important areas of peace activity.

2. Internal Conflicts, Civil Wars

Ethnic, religious and racial intolerance and narrow nationalism are among the principal causes of armed conflict today. In many countries, internal conflicts, civil wars, sectarian strife, as well as class conflicts take place leading to killings, destruction, ethnic cleansing, and other forms of large-scale violence. It must be emphasized that various factors contribute to these

internal conflicts: Among these are the unjust distribution of political power and economic wealth, feuds over land and resources, ethnic and religious divisions, and intervention by outside forces. Civil wars take place between the establishment and organized groups of those who are denied political and economic rights. Unjustly, many of the wars that are waged against social, economic, and political inequities are redefined as non-traditional acts of terrorism. Under the guise of War on Terror, national liberation movements have been demonized and labeled terrorist. Seeking political solutions and resolving internal conflicts are extremely important for peace actions.

3. Counter-insurgency, Low Intensity War

As part of the War on Terror and under other pretexts, counter-insurgency and low intensity wars are carried out against sections of people in many parts of the world particularly in neo-colonial countries. Counter-terrorism is implemented most often through brutal military actions backed by so-called anti-terrorism laws. Counterinsurgency and low intensity wars, which were developed as Cold War anti-communist strategies, are now increasingly subsumed under the War on Terror. They result in widespread violations of human rights, such as extra-judicial executions and forced disappearances, and the displacement of large numbers of people, their future, and economies.

This is an issue, which should receive high priority in planning peace activities.

4. Neo-liberal Globalization, a Threat to Peace

Economic injustice is at the root of war and war results in further economic injustice and exploitation. Economic injustice violates dignity and degrades the human person. Financial capital, integral to neo-liberal globalization, has undermined economies of many countries, especially destroying the livelihood of farmers and those with small business and trade. Neo-liberal globalization has produced more injustice, inequality and poverty. It has marginalized broad sections of the world's population, further widening the gap between the rich and the poor, between centers of global capitalism and

peripheral countries. The concern is not only about globalization and the plunder and other unjust consequences it creates but also the fact that justice is alien to globalization. Justice has no scope or space in globalization. Globalization sets the paradigm of development only on growth that emphasizes profit maximization. This has directly led to the increase and intensification of poverty endangering peace.[33] Justice and people's participation, two essential components of development, have no place in globalization. In place of participation, intense competition is encouraged, destroying possibilities of cooperation and solidarity among the people. Exploitation and destruction of environment under globalization are threats to peace.

Under neo-liberal globalization, increased poverty and unemployment is triggering a surge in global migration, its feminization and informalization a major source of human insecurity. In their countries of destination, the human rights of migrant workers including the diaspora migrant communities remain largely unprotected and are often threatened with job discrimination, low pay, racism and xenophobia. Increasingly, women and children are victims of human trafficking and smuggling, with no possibilities of justice and protection.

Globalization and militarism should be seen as two sides of the same coin. On one side, globalization promotes the conditions that lead to unrest, inequality, conflict and ultimately war. On the other, globalization fuels the means to wage war by protecting and promoting the war industries needed to produce sophisticated weaponry and that, in turn, are utilized to destroy national economies and people's lives. Weaponry is used - or its use threatened - to promote the interests of transnational corporations.[34] Globalization and imperial security go together.[35] Global capitalism, enforced militarily if needed, is integral to building the empire.

Neo-liberal globalization has to be vigorously combated. Struggles for economic justice and for peace have to be fought together.

5. Threats from Denial of Right to Self-Determination

Indigenous and unrepresented people are suffering from the suppression of

their right to self-determination, ethnic and cultural genocide, the violation of their cultural, linguistic and religious freedoms, and the militarization and nuclearization of their lives, lands and waters.

Many of today's violent and persistent conflicts are between states and unrepresented peoples and are characterized by an extreme power imbalance. As a result, unrepresented peoples by themselves are unable to engage states in negotiations for peaceful resolution of conflicts. Moreover, these conflicts tend to continue for decades leading to gross sufferings and cultural annihilation. To counteract the power imbalance, which drives these conflicts, it is necessary for the international governmental and non-governmental community to support actively people's right to self-determination, to prioritize attention to these conflicts, and to promote their peaceful resolution.

The denial of the right to self-determination has led to several long-term conflicts most of which remain unresolved. It is important to comprehend that what generates conflict is not the legitimate claim of the right to self-determination but rather the denial of this inviolable right. Thus, it is imperative that the internationally-recognized right to self-determination be actively promoted as a basis of conflict prevention and conflict resolution.

The efforts of colonized or neo-colonized peoples toward the exercise of their right to self-determination have to be endorsed by all those who believe in peace. Specifically, the demand for the establishment of a permanent forum for indigenous peoples within the United Nations and the full implementation of the rights under the "Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" [36] deserve active support.

Section V
TRUE SECURITY

1. Protection of Environment as Peace Policy

The primacy of ecological peace has to be underlined. The ecological consequences of war and militarization are extremely serious.

Imperiling the environment, conflict impairs economic growth, sustainable development and livelihoods. Armed conflict accelerates the loss of infrastructure and degradation of resources and reduces society's capacity for self-reliance.

The world's dominant consumers are overwhelmingly concentrated among the rich, but the environmental damage from the world's consumption falls most severely on the poor.

It is important to end the military destruction of the environment and especially the militarization of indigenous lands. Peace being peace of and among all living beings, environmental destruction is a threat to peace.

2. Toward True Security

In the imperial agenda, security is the substitute for peace. The meaning of security itself has been restricted and no longer contains economic, social and cultural rights. Security has left the universe of the people, and has nothing to do anymore with the security of the people. The doctrine of national security has narrowed down its definition to the security of the state, if not military security alone. Now it is not even the security of the state but the security of the occupier or the military. The notion of security today revolves around imperial security.

Other terms used in connection with this notion of security are "stabilization" and "pacification." Both generally involve the use of force. These notions have to be exposed for what they are - creating more insecurity and violence.

A holistic understanding of security with focus on people's security has to be affirmed. Security fundamentally as people's security has to reclaimed and rediscovered. Security is fundamentally the condition in which people live in dignity enjoying all human rights - civil, political, economic, social and cultural - made possible only with the security of life.

To understand the significance of people's security, the plight and situation of groups and realities of the people who are marginalized and

oppressed at local and national levels must be recognized. Such oppression is made more intensive by the collusion of local and national forces of domination with global forces politically and economically.[37] People's security for the marginalized is a priority for peace.

National security and imperial security doctrines are threats to people's security. Neoliberal globalization, which is predatory in nature, is a threat to people's security especially in its denial of social and economic rights.

It is time to redefine security in terms of human and ecological dimensions instead of national sovereignty and national borders alone. Redirecting funding from armaments to human security and sustainable development will establish new priorities leading to the construction of a new social order that ensures the equal participation of marginalized groups,[38] including women and indigenous people, restricts the use of military force and moves toward true collective international security.

Global warming and climate change are fast becoming the biggest threat to the survival of humanity on earth. Urgent action on this issue is essential for peace.

3. From a Culture of War to a Culture of Peace

A Culture of **WAR** is characterized by:	A Culture of **PEACE** is characterized by:
Enemy images	Understanding and tolerance
Armies and armaments	Disarmament, general & complete
Authoritarian governance	Democratic participation
Secrecy and propaganda	Free flow of information, knowledge
Violence (structural and physical)	Respect for human dignity
Law of the jungle	Nature of garden
Male domination	Equality between men and women
Education for war	Education for a culture of peace
Exploitation of the weak and of the environment	Sustainable economic and social development
Destruction of the order of life	Convivial life of all living beings
Aggression and arrogance	Affirmation and humility

Since war begins in the minds of human beings, it is in those very minds that the defense of peace must be constructed.

The transition from a culture of war and violence to a culture of peace is a process of individual, collective and institutional transformation, developing within particular historical socio-cultural and economic contexts. A culture of peace aims at transforming values, attitudes and behavior based on violence to those which promote peace and nonviolence. It aims at empowering people at all levels with skills of dialogue, mediation, and peace building.

Section VI

PEACE MAKING

1. Victims, Vulnerable Sections

The fundamental vision of peace emerges out of the perspectives and experiences of victims. It is that vision that needs to be pursued.

Concern for peace has to be reflected in awareness about and concern for victims of wars, militarism and neo-liberal capitalist development. Their human rights are grossly violated. Large numbers of refugees and internally-displaced persons result from militarism and militarized globalization. Women, children, and old people are particularly vulnerable. Among the most vulnerable as a result of armed conflicts and militarization are the indigenous people.

Working for the rights of the victims should receive priority attention in peace activity. But it needs underlining that the victims are the protagonists and thus should be empowered.

2. Taking Initiatives in Peacemaking

There are valuable strategies and methods of conflict resolution and peacemaking in different cultural traditions. They have to be explored and developed for innovative action in peacemaking. It is time for people to assert their right and commitment to peacemaking, to wrest peacemaking

away from the exclusive control of politicians, national security doctrinaires and military establishments. Peace initiatives are often taken as a last resort with negotiations restricted to war protagonists and imposed on those most affected, particularly women and children. When peace agreements are negotiated, those who have suffered most must have a seat at the table. Civil society should also convene peace initiatives before crisis gets out of control and more lives are lost. This can help to turn early warning from a slogan to a reality.

Armed conflicts are often "resolved" by external actors with little or no reference to either the just demands of those who assert their right to resistance and self-determination, or the rights of those who must live with the situation. As a result, either there is no satisfactory, multilateral solution or the solution reached is ephemeral. If efforts to prevent, resolve or transform armed conflicts are to be lasting and effective, they must be based on the active participation of local civil society groups committed to building peace. Strengthening such local capacities is vital to the monitoring and maintenance of peace.

There is a strong need to promote the specialized training of civilian men and women in the strategy and techniques of conflict resolution, mediation, negotiation, etc., and to facilitate their deployment in conflict areas in order to carry out peace-building tasks. But such skills should be grounded on the principles of true peace and justice.

3. The United Nations

The United Nations remains the best inter-state mechanism to build the conditions for peace and provide human security for all. Its achievements in peacemaking and peace-building and humanitarian efforts should not be underestimated.

However, its weaknesses and failures - a by-product of big power dynamics and not necessarily of the international organization as a whole - should be considered and addressed. The manipulation of the organization by the Empire is a matter of serious concern. Many countries, including some of the most powerful, use the UN as a fig leaf and a smokescreen to

blur unwanted focus on them, to defuse political pressure, or to dilute or evade their own responsibilities. States often make commitments, which they do not honor.

We believe that urgently needed are:

- The reform[39] and democratization of the United Nations, including democratic strengthening of the General Assembly;
- The reform of the United Nations Security Council to make its composition more representative of the international community and its decision-making process more transparent;
- The promotion of regional institutions to advance peace through adherence to international law; and
- The meaningful and effective participation of non-governmental organizations in the processes and programs of the United Nations.

4. A New Peace Movement

Considering the new context and fresh challenges, the new nature of warfare and the need to rediscover peace, there is a strong need for a new peace movement. There are already initiatives in many parts of the world, reviving some of the old movements to face challenges today and also creating new ones. These initiatives have to be supported while forming new groups and movements where necessary, locally, nationally, and regionally. There is a need to affirm international solidarity and actively support each other's struggles and issues. Information and experiences have to be regularly exchanged. It is necessary to build a broad platform of people's movements for peace.

5. Role of Women in Peacemaking

UN Security Council resolution 1235 mandates the protection of, and respect for, the human rights of women and girls and calls for the increased representation of women in decision-making for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts and in peace processes.[40]

There is need for specific initiatives aimed at understanding the

interrelationship between gender equality and peace-building, strengthening women's capacity to participate in peace-building initiatives and equal participation of women in conflict resolution in decision-making levels.

The perspective of women in distinguishing between force and power, emphasizing the pro-people use of power, is valuable in peacemaking.

6. Mobilization of Public Opinion

Public opinion has to be regularly mobilized in support of peace agenda, nationally and internationally. This has to be done through organized campaigns and other effective ways of communication and advocacy.

An important method for clarifying issues and marshaling support of the wider public is public tribunals on situations/issues of militarism and conflicts. They can be a significant means to create greater awareness of causes and consequences of armed conflict, military actions (by states), and internal security laws and regimes.

A people's tribunal relies on the preparedness of victims to testify about their plight as well as the participation of credible personalities (nationally and internationally) to adjudge the evidence and testimony within a people's security and holistic justice framework. The publication of the findings of such tribunals will contribute not only to an understanding of the problems but also their solutions.

Another method will be public hearings. These hearings also will help bring out the issues in a particular situation, including the sufferings of the victims.

7. Inter-faith Cooperation

In building a platform for peace as broad as possible, inter-faith cooperation is important. In doing this convergence among religions for peace can be explored, identified and highlighted. The positive affirmations from religious envisioning peace through concepts like *Shalom, Salam, Shanti* and *Pyungghwa.* The wisdom and insights from traditions, religions and

philosophies can be translated into a language that will motivate and activate the broadest sections of the people.

8. Signs of Hope

In the midst of a seemingly desperate situation, many signs of hope are visible. They are in the struggles of resistance against foreign occupation, struggles of farmers and workers against corporatization, struggles of local communities to protect their ways of life, actions of solidarity with victims of war and globalization, and in the prophetic witness of many committed to peace and justice. They have to be affirmed and supported.

EPILOGUE

The People's Charter goes beyond inter-state agreements. It has spiritual, cultural, philosophical and ethical foundations, which have national legal and international juridical implications.

The Charter is addressed to the peace movements of the people, peace-making organizations as well as nation states and international organizations.

The Charter is not a fixed and rigid system, but is an open declaration in the process of convergence of diverse experiences on all levels of locality, nation states, and world community. Therefore, it is an open document to be enriched further and encouraged and adopted by all involved in peacemaking in the present global context.

Hwacheon, October 2008

NOTES

Through the Notes an attempt is made to give explanations to some of the terms, expressions and ideas in the Charter. In several instances we give also supporting citations.

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1) The response from the United States to the highly complex set of issues raised by the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 was a declaration of permanent war. With not even a moment's thought about the root causes of terrorism or possible considerations of the political, economic and social aspects, it was decided that the non-traditional threat would be dealt with solely by traditional military means.

   George W. Bush, President of the USA addressing a joint session of the U.S. Congress, soon after the terrorist attacks, said. "Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated… Every nation in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists."

2) "The USA is by circumstance and design an emergent global empire, the first in the history of the world. Prior empires had frontiers and boundaries, although occupying large expanses of territory and exercised control from a distant centre that due to available technologies of communications and transportation were further away in time than is any part of the global empire from Washington." (Richard Falk, 'Will the Empire be Fascist?,' The Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, 24 March 2003).

3) On February 15, 2003, over 30 million people demonstrated in 600 cities against the planned USA-UK led war against Iraq and to defend the right to peace. The War was in defiance of the United Nations openly flouting the UN Charter.

   The moral and legal rule established by the UN is itself a 'peace' system. The international order is founded on the opening paragraphs set in the 1945 Charter:

   "To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small…

   "To promote social progress and better standard of life in larger freedom,

   "And for these ends,

"To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors…"

4) "Active peace is a prerequisite to the exercise of all human rights and duties. It is not the peace of silence of men and women who by choice or constraint remain silent. It is the peace of freedom and therefore of just laws, of happiness, equality and solidarity in which all citizens count, live together and share." (UNESCO 1997)
5) Standing by some of the mightiest toys in his military arsenal, U.S. President George W. Bush on April 16 boasted that the U.S. is "redefining war" by toppling tyrants at will.

   "Since September 11, 2001 we have been engaged in a global war against terror. That war continues and we are winning," said Bush to the tumultuous cheers of aircraft workers at a Boeing Co., plant in St. Louis, Mo.

   Excited, jubilant he talked about the aerospace plant's F18 Super Hornet Jets - the most advanced strike fighters in the U.S. Navy's arsenal and said, "Boeing workers and their jets are a main reason why we are successful in making the world a more peaceful place."

   "By a combination of creative strategies and advanced technology we are redefining war on our own terms." (*Toronto Star,* 17 April 2003)
6) On September 20, 2001, nine days after the terrorist attacks, the Bush administration released the 2001 *Quadrennial Defense Review*. As Carl Cornetta explains, "The critical difference is that the new QDR puts a definitive emphasis on war-fighting and war-fighting capabilities. Beyond seeking decisive victory, it aims for the decisive defeat of the adversaries. This it defines ambitiously in terms of 'changing the regime of an adversary state' and 'occupying foreign territory until U.S. strategic objectives are met.'" ("The Pentagon, New Budget, New Strategy and New War," *Project on Defense Alternatives*, 25 June 2002)
7) The classified *Nuclear Posture Review* of the USA, details of which appeared in the media in March 2002 revealing the Pentagon's ambitious nuclear battle plans, redefines the role of nuclear weapons as fundamental to U.S. defense policy, places new emphasis on the utility of nuclear weapons in U.S. military doctrine and strategy and changes the very nature of deterrence.
8) *The National Security Strategy of the USA 2002,* argues that while the U.S. will seek allies in the battle against terrorism, "We will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively." The doctrine of preemptive strikes and unilateral action and the scorn for the United

Nations and its Charter represents a fundamental threat to the very global order that the U.S. did very much to bring about in 1946.

9) "When President Bush announced the air strikes against Afghanistan, he said 'We are a peaceful nation.' America's favorite Ambassador who also holds the portfolio of British Prime Minister echoed him: 'We are a peaceful people.' So now we know pigs are horses, girls are boys. War is peace." (Arundhathi Roy, *In These Times Magazine,* 21 November 2001)

10) Peace through strength is the doctrine that military strength is the primary or necessary component of peace. The doctrine is a major justification cited for large militaries, also served as the primary motivation behind the Cold War doctrine of *mutually assured destruction.* The doctrine has undoubtedly led to the growth of militarism.

11) Mutual Assured Destruction is a doctrine of military strategy in which a full-scale use of nuclear weapons by two opposing sides would effectively result in the destruction of both the attacker and the defender.
"A strategic situation in which both sides possess the ability to inflict unacceptable damage upon the opponent at any time during the course of a strategic nuclear exchange even after absorbing a surprise first strike." (U.S. Military Dictionary)

12) "Great peace has they which love thy law and nothing shall offend them." (Psalms 119:165)
"Lord, lead us out of private-mindedness and give us public souls to work for Thy kingdom by daily creating that atmosphere of a happy temper and generous heart which alone can bring the Great Peace." (Bishop Hacket, 17th century)

13) "The military victory in Iraq seems to have confirmed a new world order. Not since Rome has one nation loomed so large above the others. Indeed, the word 'empire' has come out of the closet." (Joseph Nye, *The Washington Post,* 25 May 2003)

14) "What word but 'empire' describes the awesome thing that America is becoming? It is the only nation that polices the world through five global commands, maintains more than a million men and women at arms in four continents and deploys carrier battle ships on watch in every ocean." (Michael Ignatieff, "The Empire, the Burden," *New York Times Magazine*, 5 January 2003)

15) "The empire is built on increasing and expanding military relationships of various kinds with a very large number of countries as well as the stationing of

hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops around the world. …Establishing a more impressive footprint has now become part of the justification for a major enlargement of our empire - and announced repositioning of our bases and forces abroad - in the wake of the conquest of Iraq. They (the planners) have identified what they call the 'arc of instability' which is said to run from the Andean region of South America through North Africa and then sweeps across the Middle East to the Philippines and Indonesia. This is of course more or less identical with what used to be called the Third World - and perhaps no less crucially covers the world's key oil reserves." (Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy and the End of the Republic,* New York, Verso 2003)

16) *The National Defense Strategy of the USA* March 2005 lists as strategic objective "to secure strategic access and retain global freedom of action." It is linked to the idea that the USA is entitled to global sovereignty. The notion of global sovereignty means that the USA will lay down international laws. Only the USA can use force anywhere in the world. This is one of the pillars of the new grand strategy which is exemplified above all else by the concept of an exclusive right to preventive military intervention all over the world.

17) "The religious right in its conventional theological form teaches that the United States is a Christian nation destined to lead the world. Or in its Pentecostal form the religious right teaches the central role of the United States within universal apocalyptic history: for these folks the end of the world is near. These are indeed universal visions, which require a notion of this country as empire." (L. Edward Knudson, 'The Temptation to Empire,' *Public Theology,* 27 March 2003)?

"What distinguishes it from many other empires in history is its strong sense of righteousness. This sense of moral righteousness is fed by the major influence of the Christian Right on present U.S. policy. This has a very worrying political aspect in the way in which Christian millennialism has been taken up by so many evangelical Christians with its apocalyptic overtones and its very clear political agenda in relation to the Middle East. We argue that not only is the political reading of current history in the light of apocalyptic texts not only illegitimate but these texts need to be read in a different way altogether, as a critique of imperialism, rather than as a justification for a particular form of it." ("Countering Terrorism, Power, Violence and Democracy," a Report by a Working Group of the Church of England House of Bishops, September 2005)

18) "Globalization has economic, social and political consequences but it has also

brought into focus the power of culture.

"The United States dominates the global traffic in information and ideas. American music, American movies, American television and American software are so dominant, so sought-after and so visible that they are now available literally everywhere on the Earth. They influence the tastes, lives and aspirations of virtually every nation.

"Americans should not shy away from doing that which is so clearly in their economic, political and security interests and so clearly in the interests of the world at large. The U.S. should not hesitate to promote its values. Americans should not deny the fact that of all the nation in the history of the world, theirs is the most just, most tolerant, the most willing to constantly reassess itself and the best model for the future.

"For the United States, the central objective of an information age foreign policy must be to win the battle of the world's information flows, dominating the airwaves as Great Britain once ruled the waves of the sea." (David Rothkopf, "In Praise of Cultural Imperialism?" *Foreign Policy,* September 1997)

19) "To proclaim a war in general, even if one means only terrorist cells and forces not directly sponsored by states, is ambitious indeed, for we need to distinguish among types of terrorists. ···A determined project of ridding the world of all rogues and terrorists would be a dream that would be seen abroad as a demonstration of rabid imperialism." (Stanley Hoffman, "On the War," *The New York Review of Books,* 1 November 2001)

20) "The War on Terror will now turn to regimes that sponsor terror and threaten America or our friends with weapons of mass destruction. States like these - North Korea, Iran and Iraq - and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil arming to threaten the peace of the world." (President Bush)

21) "War on terrorism is a dangerous logic. It implies that modern terrorism is to be understood primarily as a military threat and must be opposed by military means." (Report by the Working Group of the Church of England's House of Bishops)

22) "To declare war on terrorists or even more illiterately on terrorism is at once to accord terrorists a status and dignity that they seek and they do not have. But to use or misuse the term 'war' is not simply a matter of legality or pedantic semantics. To declare that one is at war is immediately to create a war psychosis that may be totally counterproductive for the objective being sought. It raises an immediate expectation and demand for spectacular military action

against some easily identifiable adversary." (Michael Howard, "What is in a Name? How to Fight Terrorism?," *Foreign Affairs,* January/February 2002)

23) "The United States has no rival. We are militarily dominant around the world. ···Our role is not combating a rival, but maintaining our imperial position and maintaining imperial order. ···Planning for imperial wars is different from planning for conventional wars. ···The maximum amount of force can and should be used as quickly as possible for psychological impact. To demonstrate that the empire cannot be challenged with impunity. ···Imperial wars end but imperial garrisons must be left in place for decades to ensure order and stability." (Stephen Peter Rose, Director, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University, quoted by Rainer Rilling, "American Empire as Will and Idea," Rosa-Luxemburg Stifting, Policy Paper 2/2003)

24) "Terrorism is a form of political action. It cannot be taken out of specific historical context or treated as a generic phenomenon. It is a strategy rooted in political discontent and in the service of many different beliefs and doctrines that help legitimize and sustain violence. Ideologies associated with nationalism, revolution, religion and defense of the status quo have all inspired terrorism. We have to look at the opportunities, resources, intentions and perceptions of the actors for whom terrorism is useful to intimidate opponents, communicate goals, advertise the cause, recruit followers and mobilize public support." (The International Summit on 'Democracy, Terrorism and Security,' Madrid, March 2005)

25) "In particular those who advocate a new convention on terrorism fail to understand how deeply unhappy people are about the hypocrisy of those who use state power unlawfully and cause massive loss of human life - and then expect all countries to line up to a definition of terrorism that fails to acknowledge the right to resist occupation." (Claire Short, "Depression and Discontent Prevail at the UN," *Independent,* 15 September 2005)

26) "Since September 2001 many states have adopted new counter-terrorism measures that are in breach of their international obligations. In some countries, the post-September climate of insecurity has been exploited to justify long-standing human rights violations carried out in the name of national security." (Declaration of the International Commission of Jurists on "Upholding Human Rights and Rule of Law in Combating Terrorism," International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, September 2004)

27) "We should all be clear that there is no trade-off between effective action against terrorism and the protection of human rights. On the contrary, I believe

that, in the long term, we shall find that human rights, along with democracy and social justice, are one of the best prophylactics against terrorism." (UN Secretary General Kofi Annan on 18 January 2002)

28) "The conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence in economic, political and even spiritual is felt in every city, every statehouse, and every office of the Federal government. ···We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence whether sought or unsought by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will prevail." (President Eisenhower's farewell address to the nation, 17 January 1961)

"Globalization and transnationalization of defense/military corporations have replaced the military industrial complex of the Cold War economy with a military corporate complex of the new global economy. This is based on the dominance of the corporate interests over those of the state." (Steven Staples, "The Relationship Between Globalization and Militarism," *Social Justice Magazine*, Vol. 27, No. 4, 2000) The state has lost even the little say it had in the era of military industrial complex.

29) "The Bush administration has put nuclear weapons - and its various uses - at the centre of U.S. military and foreign policy. The message of the administration's Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) in December 2001 was unmistakable. *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* editorialized: 'Not since the resurgence of the Cold War in Ronald Reagan's first term has U.S. defense strategy placed such an emphasis on nuclear weapons.' The NPR reiterated the U.S. commitment to first-strike nuclear war-fighting. For the first time, seven nations were specifically named as primary nuclear targets: Russia, China, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya and North Korea. Consistent with calls by senior administration figures who spoke of their 'bias in favor of things that might be usable,' the NPR urged funding for the development of new and more usable nuclear weapons. This included a new 'bunker buster.' Seventy times more powerful than the Hiroshima atom bomb, the bunker buster was designed to destroy enemy command bunkers and WMD (weapons of mass destruction) installations buried hundreds of feet beneath the surface." (Joseph Gerson, 'Empire and the Bomb,' University of Michigan Press, 2007)

30) "The U.S. missile defense programme is:

1. Based ostensibly an overstated and incomplete assessment of a ballistic missile threat

2. Intended primarily to gain strategic advantage rather than provide physical defense
3. Damaging to prospects for international arms control, disarmament and global security
4. Unlikely to provide a reliable defense against missile attack
5. Wasteful of resources that for reasons both of morality and global security could be better spent elsewhere
6. Likely to involve directly, or lead to, the weaponization of space
7. Likely to increase the missile threat while damaging real opportunities to reduce it"

(Missile Defense Working Group, Quaker Peace and Social Witness, UK, May 2004)

31) "The Pentagon is planning a new generation of weapons, including huge hypersonic drones and bombs dropped from space, that will allow the U.S. to strike its enemies at lightning speed from its own territory. Over the next 25 years, the new technology would free the U.S. from dependence on forward bases and the cooperation of regional allies. ···The new weapons are being developed under programme codenamed Falcon (Force Application and Launch from the Continental U.S.). (Julian Borger, "U.S. missiles to have global reach," *The Guardian,* 1 July 2003)

32) "No heat, no recoil, no sound, no gunpowder, no flash - just 120,000 rounds per minute of pulverizing force. The next generation of weapon system has arrived, the DREAD centrifuge powered weapon system. The weapon itself is called DREAD or Multiple Projectile Delivery System (MPDS) and it may just be the most revolutionary military weapon system concept that DefenseReview.com has ever come across." (David Crane, Editor, DefenseReview.com)

33) "Globalization emerges out of earlier forms of global social change associated with western imperialism and the internationalization of capital. The merging of industry, technology and bureaucracy into a machinery for waging war contributed directly to the militarization of society." (Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, "The Imperial Peace, Democracy, Force and Globalization," *European Journal of International Relation,* Vol. 5(4), 1999)

34) "Globalization and militarism should be seen as two sides of the same coin. On one side, globalization promotes the conditions that lead to unrest, inequality, conflict and ultimately war. On the other side, globalization fuels the means to wage war by protecting and promoting the military industries needed to produce sophisticated weaponry. This weaponry is used - or its use threatened -

to protect the investments of transnational corporations and their shareholders." (Steven Staples, "The Relationship Between Globalization and Militarism," *Social Justice Magazine,* Vol. 27, No. 4, 2000)

35) "For globalism to work, America can't be afraid to act like the almighty superpower it is. …The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist. McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of the F-15. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies is called the U.S. Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps." (Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree,* Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, New York 1999)

36) The text recognizes the wide range of basic human rights and fundamental freedom of indigenous people. Among these are the right to unrestricted self-determination, an invaluable collective right to the ownership, control and use of lands, territories and other natural resources, their rights in terms of developing their own political, religious, cultural and educational institutions along with the protection of their cultural and intellectual property.
With an overwhelming majority - 140 votes in favor, only 4 negative votes cast (Canada, Australia, New Zealand and USA) and 11 abstentions - the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People on September 13, 2007.

37) The second front in the War on Terror was officially opened by President Bush in the Philippines soon after the invasion of Afghanistan, to support the Philippine military in its war against 'terrorism' in Mindanao.
"The beleaguered Philippine island of Mindanao is crawling with communists and Islamic fundamentalist guerillas, and the links between Al Qaeda and the local insurgents have made the island a battlefield in President Bush's war on terrorism. …But to farmers in Mindanao, home to more than two thirds of the Philippines' corn production, subsidized American imports loom as large as any other threat. Since the Philippines joined the WTO eight years ago, American corn growers have received an astonishing $34.5 billion in taxpayer support. …This helps explain how America is able to export - the less polite word in the patois of trade would be dump - corn at only two-thirds its cost of production. The resentment is intense. …Farmers' despair… fuels the Marxist New People's Army insurgency.
"By rigging the global trade game against farmers in developing nations, Europe, the United States and Japan are essentially kicking aside the development ladder for some of the world's most desperate people. This is

morally depraved. By our actions, we are harvesting poverty around the world." (Editorial, "Harvesting Poverty; The Rigged Trade Game," *The New York Times,* 20 July 2003)

38) "From the perspective of faith, the security of all shall be judged by the 'shalom security' of the poorest, the weakest, the excluded, the subjugated, the *minjung*. …The plumb line of people's security is abundant life for 'the least of these' in a globalized world economy afflicted by extreme poverty, disease, injustice, environmental degradation and militarized hegemony." (Ecumenical Consultation on "Justice, Peace and People's Security in North East Asia," February 2001)

39) "The UN needs reform. On that everyone agrees. But there is sharp disagreement on what kind of reform is needed and for what purpose. Again and again over the years, the UN has been reformed - on average once every eight years. But the pace has now been quickened and reform projects seem almost a constant part of the landscape….

"But after the fireworks, the same problems regularly persist - because the shortcomings of the UN are primarily rooted in the dysfunctional global order and the conflict-prone state system, not in the UN's institutional arrangements. Few reformers are willing to admit that the UN's complex and inefficient machinery results from deep political disagreements among its members and between other contending forces in the global system. Yet the United States, military superpower and transnational corporate headquarters, clearly wants a weak UN with an impossibly small budget and scarcely any voice in economic matters. Many other nations, to the contrary, want a stronger UN and more effective multilateral policymaking.

"The Millennium+5 reforms, proposed by the Secretary General Kofi Annan in March 2005, were neither ambitious nor far-reaching. Designed to please (or at least not to displease) the superpower, they substantially ignored the most urgent issues - the UN's financial woes, the unilateralism of the superpower, the absence of real disarmament, and the shaky and unjust global economic order. For a time, it seemed that these modest if flawed reforms might nevertheless be adopted. But as the Summit approached, negotiations faltered, due largely to last-minute, far-reaching demands from Washington. In the end, the world leaders approved an embarrassingly weak document, filled mostly with empty platitudes. It remains to be seen how the UN will weather this contentious and divisive reform process, and what avenues remain open a stronger and more effective multilateral system." (Global Policy Reform)

40) The Security Council resolution 1325 has great implications on:

- Protection of women in conflict situations.
- Participation of women and civil society in peace process.

It also calls for:

- Participation of women in decision making and peace process.
- Inclusion of gendered perspectives and training in peacemaking.
- Protection of women and girls in conflict zones and refugee camps.

Gender monitoring in the UN system - reporting and programmatic implementation.

Drafting Committee, and those participated in the Process of Drafting Charter

Participants in Drafting the Charter

DR. KALAPPARAMBIL NINAN KOSHY. INDIA / MS CARMENCITA KARAGDAG, PHILIPPINES / REV. DAVID WILDMAN, USA / PROF. KINHIDE MUSHAKOJI, JAPAN / REV. JOSEF P. WIDYATMADJA, INDONESIA / DR. PARK, SEONG WON, KOREA / DR. YI YOUNG SOOK, KOREA / DR. THE HONORABLE JINWOL), KOREA / DR. KIM YONG BOCK, KOREA / REV. LEE MOON SOOK, KOREA / PROF. KIM EUN KYU, KOREA / DR. JUNG JI SEOK, KOREA / DR. SARAH OZACKY LAZAR, ISRAEL / PROF. MARK TAYLOR, USA / DR.CHANDRA MUZAFFAR, MALAYSIA / DR. LILIA SOLANO, COLOMBIA / REV. BERN JAGUNOS, CANADA / REV. BYUN CHANG BAE, KOREA / REV. CHUN YOUNG CHUL, KOREA / MR. MWENDA KOBIA, KENYA / REV. MARK HARRISON, USA / DR. EMILY SIKAZWE, ZAMBIA / REV. SHARON ROSE JOY RUIZ-DUREMDES, PHILIPPINES / PROF. ULRICH DUCHROW, GERMANY / MS TABITHA CHEPKWONY, KENYA / REV.CARMEN RAE LANSDOWNE, CANADA / MR. IRFAN ENGINEER, INDIA / REV. GABRIEL HABIB, LEBANON / REV. MICHINORI MANO, JAPAN / MRS. SUSAN KOSHY, INDIA / REV. JOHN JONES, NORWAY / DR. DEENABANDHU MANCHALA, INDIA / DR. MAAKE MASANGO, SOUTH AFRICA / DR.LAWFORD IMUNDE, KENYA / DR. WOLFGANG SCHMIDT, GERMANY / MS MIDORI MUKAI, JAPAN / DR. VOLKER KUESTER, GERMANY / MR. LEE HAK YOUNG, KOREA / REV. JEANETTE LIBERTY-DUNS, CANADA / DR. LYDIA SIAHAAN, INDONESIA

Notes for Contributors

Thank you for your interest in writing for *Madang*. As you know *Madang* is a place for the sharing of ideas and promotion of thought concerning various theological concerns in an Asian context. Because we come from various cultures and languages we use English as a common means of communication. To help that communication *Madang* uses a particular style in its articles. Any serious academic journal does the same because using a common style helps the readers engage directly with the text and gives the journal a unified feel. Please submit your article of around 10,000 words in Microsoft Word format by e-mail or disc. Include an abstract (approx. 500-600 words), key words and a biographical introduction (50-60 words) on your academic background, research interest, major publications, etc. A bibliography is not normally necessary since full bibliographical references are given in the footnotes. However you may include a bibliography if you wish.

General Notes on Style

In general the style for *Madang* is based on the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition.

The main text is double spaced; footnotes and block quotations are single spaced.

Commas and periods precede closing quotation marks (either double or single). Colons, semicolons, question marks, and exclamation points all follow closing quotation marks unless a question mark or an exclamation point belongs within the quoted matter.

> He said, "The end is near." She said, "I like it," and then ate it.
>
> He wrote, "Theology can be considered a form of science"; however, I would disagree.

Avoid contractions such as "isn't", "can't", "it's". These should be written in full ("is not", "cannot", "it is"). Words such as "man", "men", "mankind" are these days perceived by many English speakers to refer to adult males only. If you mean all people then use words such as "people", "humankind", "humanity", or consider changing to the first person plural ("we").

Biblical quotations: use a modern reputable translation (e.g. NRSV) unless there are particular reasons to do otherwise. The NRSV can be searched and copied from the website: http://bible.oremus.org.

Spelling: Use either British English or American English - whichever you are most comfortable with; but be consistent. Don't mix them together. Romanisation of Korean names. It is better to adopt the official Korean system, promulgated by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in 2000. Details (in English) are at their website: http://www.mcst.go.kr/english/roman/roman.jsp or can be obtained from the managing editor.

Madang normally follows the practice of writing Korean and Chinese personal names in the traditional order of family name followed by given name(s). For example: Kim Chi-ha. The hyphenation in the given names shows that these two characters are a single compound which cannot be separated. If a Korean or Chinese has adopted a western form of name, such as John Kim, then that name would be treated as a western name. If however an author has an established professional practice of using a different form of their name, then follow that form. An example could be a Korean who wishes to incorporate his or her baptismal name, in which case the name could be written as Kil-dong John Hong.

Citations

References to books, articles, etc are by numbered footnote. Examples of the footnote for some of the main types of material are:

1. R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Asian Biblical Hermeneutics and Postcolonialism: Contesting the Interpretations* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998), 58.
2. Irene Bloom, "Introduction," in *Religious Diversity and Human Rights,* ed. Irene Bloom, J. Paul Martin and Wayne L. Proudfoot (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 1-11.
3. Kwok Pui-lan, "Business Ethics in the Economic Development of Asia: A Feminist Analysis," *Asia Journal of Theology* 9.1 (1995): 133-34.

For a work written in a language not in Roman script (such as Korean):

Use romanised titles in their original language. Include an English translation of the title in square brackets [ ]. This makes it obvious to the reader that the work which is being quoted from is in Korean and not English.

4. Kim Chi-ha, *Tonghak Iyaki* [The Story of Tonghak] (Seoul: Sol, 1994), 20.

For a translation:

5. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner' s Sons, 1958), 27.

For a second or subsequent edition:

6. A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 293-94.

For the Bible:

7. Gen 10.12-13. NRSV.

After asking her for water the woman said to Jesus, "Sir, you have no bucket, and the well is deep. Where do you get that living water?" (Jn 4.11). This encounter shows multiple levels of understanding.

For a citation of a work quoted from another source:

8. A. H. M. Jones, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 293-94, quoted in S. E. M. De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 19.

It is better however, if possible, to locate the original source and to quote directly from that.

For a book published electronically:

9. Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, eds., *The Founders*' *Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/ (accessed June 27, 2006).

For an article in an online journal:

10. John Hayes, "Hard, Hard Religion: The Invisible Institution of the New South," *The Journal of Southern Religion* 10 (2007):1-23, http://jsr.fsu.edu/Volume10/Hayes.pdf (accessed June 10, 2008).

Do not use "ibid." "loc. cit." or "op. cit." For example:

First reference:

Rosemary Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk: Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 72-74.

Subsequent references (if no other works by Ruether are cited)

Ruether, 58.

Subsequent references (if other works by Ruether are cited)

Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk,* 161.