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Foreword

A New Context of Theology in the 21st Century

Any theological discourse in the 21st century must be aware of the following global realities: (1) the neo-liberal capitalism that intensifies the globalization and consolidates the regime of the global market. The poverty and hunger and the endemic diseases among the peoples on the global scale is the consequence of food crisis and health crisis. (2) The global empire that dominates the geo-political hegemony. The total and permanent war and violence is the omni-cidal consequence. (3) The inter-religious, inter-civilizational and cultural conflicts on the global scale. Christian and Islamic conflict is deadly. The consequence is the spiritual struggle and violence among the peoples. (4) The cosmic ecological disintegration. The consequence is the threat to the survival of all living beings on earth.

The reality of the Christian church in the world is not the denominations such as the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church and Protestant churches; but it is a global network of local Christian communities among the people everywhere, which are radically being transformed. The distinct characteristics of this realty are (1) that the center of the gravity of the Christian population is in the South outside of the traditional Western Christendom, (2) that it is located among the religions of the world as well as in the context of the above mentioned global reality, and (3) that it is a global "network" of Diaspora churches in the migrant communities. This network of Diaspora Christian communities is a new reality. It is anachronism to think of traditions and denominations of churches in the 21st century in this context. This network is a new formation of Christian communities.

The illusion of the world Christendom is quite contrary to the present reality of the Christian communities; and it is nothing but a shadow of the global empire.

This situation brings about the crisis of theological discourse in our churches and in our ecumenical movement. The current theological discourse tends to be anachronistic, because it is an extension of the past

traditions in the form of interpretation and in the form of modifications. The context is radically changed and therefore the theological discourse needs to be radically new, not the continuation of the old. For example, the Christian theological discourse on ecology cannot be only a re-interpretation of the creation theology. It needs to be convergent with various discourses on ecology among all religions and philosophies.

Christian theology has been imperial since the Roman Empire. Simple extension of the Christian theology cannot challenge the global empire. It cannot challenge Christian imperial messianic syndrome. Perhaps authentic theological discourse may have to be post-Christian. Christian theology may have to learn from the Buddhist teaching in regard to dealing with the greed, for Christian theology co-habited with the modern capitalism, which is the supreme expression of the greed. Recently Christian churches have lost the discourse of justice, or the justice discourse has been weakened among churches and even in the ecumenical movement. Perhaps we should learn from some of Islamic discourse on justice, just as we have learned from Marxism in the past. In any case we need a new theological discourse on justice.

Our theological discourse is in crisis. We are called to begin a new and fresh attempt for theological discourse in the 21st century. The freshness comes especially from the reality that the gravity of Christian community has changed to the non-Christian South. We know that Chinese Christian Council has a project, "Construction of Chinese Theological Thought." Now is the time for construction of the global theology from the local perspectives of the South for a global convergence of theological discourse.

Chief Editor, Kim Yong-bock

Madang, Vol. 9 (June, 2008), 7-27

The Economy of the Roman Empire and the Alternative Economy of Jesus

Bae Hyun-ju*

Introduction

The history portrayed by the Bible took place in the midst of the vicissitudes of the empires in the ancient Near East. The rise and fall of empires such as the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and the Hellenistic kingdoms was intricately interrelated with the history of Israel, and the Old Testament tells the stories of the life of the Israelite people as it unfolded under the domestic politics which stood in a constant interaction with international affairs. It was then that the Hellenistic Roman empire exerted a formative influence on the history of early Christianity, and thus, on the production of the New Testament.

Economy mattered for the imperial powers. Not only was the military expansion of the Roman empire interlocked with its economic concerns but

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She is currently a full time professor in the department of New Testament Studies at Busan Presbyterian University, Korea. She achievd Ph.D in Drew University, USA. She expressed her article, "Dancing around Life: An Asian Woman's Perspective," in *The Ecumenical Review* 56/4 (2004), 470-79. email: 61baehj@hanmail.net.

the politics of the Roman empire were also deeply involved with its economic interest. "In antiquity the political and the economic systems were inseparable." [1] Economy in the Mediterranean ancient societies was in general deeply embedded in the political, social and cultural/religious life.

While the prominence of urbanism in the Hellenistic Roman empire is well-known, it is to be recognized that it was the countryside that constituted its economic backbone. The distinction between the *polis* (the Greek city-state or the Hellenistic cities) and the *chōra* (the countryside) was fundamental in the understanding of ancient Mediterranean societies. The city was the place of "civilization," which etymologically derived from "citification." [2] Almost all of the literary records and architectural achievements were produced in the city. The usual impression of the prominence of urbanism in Mediterranean ancient societies is all the more strengthened by the fact that the earliest surviving Christian documents were written in Greek, that is, the language of civilized cities, and that Christianity spread from city to city in the Hellenistic Roman world. Economically speaking, however, the city was greatly indebted to the countryside for its existence and maintenance. The majority of the population in the Roman empire were the peasants, and the city depended on the rural production of crops, or speaking more accurately, on the surplus of agricultural production, to maintain its urban life of consumption and luxury. Therefore, agriculture emerged as a determinative economic factor which defined the Roman empire as one of the "advanced agrarian societies," [3] in which the traditional aristocratic and urban hegemony was the norm.[4]

Unlike Paul the apostle who traveled from city to city in the Roman empire and gave birth to the "first urban Christians," [5] Jesus of Nazareth

1) Halvor Moxnes, *The Economy of the Kingdom: Social Conflict and Economic Relations in Luke's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 29.
2) Lynn White, "The expansion of technology 500-1500," in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe,* I. The Middle Ages, ed. C. M. Cipolla (London: Fontana, 1972), 144-45. Quoted in S. E. M. De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 11.
3) William R. Herzog II, *Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 56.
4) Ibid., 55, 66-73.
5) Wayne Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle*

belonged to the rural area. The synoptic gospels suggest that Jesus lived and worked in the countryside of first-century Palestine for his entire life, except his last days in Jerusalem. Many of the parables and metaphors that Jesus employed in his teaching relate to agriculture[6] and thus reflect its formative influence on his thought world. The fact that "Jesus belonged wholly to the *chōra*, the Jewish countryside of Galilee and Judaea"[7] has two ramifications. One is cultural. Although there is a possibility that Jesus spoke Greek, his language was primarily Aramaic, a local dialect. The social space Jesus inhabited was "almost entirely outside the area of Graeco-Roman civilization proper."[8] The other is economical. As a Roman colony, Palestine experienced the harsh reality of economic exploitation. The agrarian areas were the major victim. It would be proper to assume that as a carpenter by trade, that is, as a rural artisan (Mk 6:3), Jesus, as a member of a village community, had first-hand experience of the ever-worsening economic realities and problems of peasants. Such a socio-historical awareness of the life context of Jesus leads us to cast questions on the economic concerns of Jesus, especially related to the agrarian sectors, which he might have expressed in his teaching and ministry for the sake of the kingdom of God.

This study aims to explore the alternative economy which one can construct from Jesus' economic concerns by placing his words and ministry in the context of the rule of the Roman empire. Firstly, the economic system of the Roman empire will be discussed with the help of a sociological model of "advanced agrarian societies," and special attention will be given to the relationship between the city and the countryside. Secondly, the prominent features of what is termed "the moral economy of the peasant," which is the collective response of peasants to urban and imperial domination and exploitation, will be discussed. Finally, against these two conflicting socio-economic scripts which operated in the Roman empire, we

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Paul (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

6) It would suffice here to mention a few examples: the sower (Mk 4:3-9 and parallels), the seed growing secretly (Mk 4:26-29), the mustard seed (Mk 4:30-32 and par.), the wicked tenant farmers (Mk 12:1-11 and par.), the fig tree (Mk 13:28-32 and par.), the lilies and the grass of the field (Mt 6:28-30; Lk 12:27-28), and so on.

7) De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World,* 427.

8) Ibid.

will attempt to find a better nuanced understanding of the economic values Jesus associated with the kingdom of God.

The Economy of the Roman Empire as an Advanced Agrarian Society

According to a discipline called "macrosociology," [9] human societies can be classified into several types on the basis of the nature of each society's "subsistence technology." [10] The preindustrial societies have historically appeared in the order of the following five types: "(1) hunting and gathering, (2) simple horticultural, (3) advanced horticultural, (4) simple agrarian, and (5) advanced agrarian." [11] What triggered a transformation of horticultural societies into agrarian ones was the use of the plow in place of the hoe. The substitution of the plow for the hoe ushered in the domestication of animals for agricultural use, which brought about the increase of agricultural production. Thus "the cultivation of the soil could finally yield an economic surplus that was large enough to encourage cultivators to settle in villages, lucrative enough to attract an exploiter class, and significant enough to support urban centers and with them the beginnings of city-states." [12] On the other hand, what distinguished advanced agrarian societies from simple agrarian societies was the use of iron for their tools and weapons instead of the use of bronze and copper. The replacement of softer metals with iron brought about a far greater increase in agricultural production.[13] "Agriculture based on iron tools could produce larger yields, which, in turn, could support larger urban areas with more differentiated bureaucratic functions and an increasing division of labor among artisans in both villages and cities." [14] This technological innovation, however, did not create the immense explosive productivity which would be necessary for modern industrial societies. One of the basic

9) Gerhard E. Lenski and Jean Lenski, *Human Societies: An Introduction to Macrosociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982). Quoted in Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech,* 56.
10) Ibid.
11) Ibid.
12) Ibid.
13) Ibid.
14) Ibid., 58.

distinctions between the ancient and the modern world draws on the difference between the forces of production. The ancient world, compared with the modern one, was "very undeveloped technologically, and therefore infinitely less productive." [15] Another distinction between agrarian societies and modern industrial societies is that the traditional agrarian societies concentrate on land as the principal means of production. "In various forms, agrarian societies dominated human life from about 3000 B.C.E. to the advent of the Industrial Revolution around 1800 C.E." [16]

Roughly speaking, a typical social picture of advanced agrarian societies consists of two classes: the haves and the have-nots. The former encompasses the ruler, the ruling aristocratic class, high-level or middle-level retainers,[17] and a few rich merchants. The latter involves peasants, artisans, merchants, low-level retainers, the unclean, the degraded, and the expendable as its lowest members. "Typical ranges for each group are as follows: ruling class, 1 to 2 percent of the population; retainers, 5 to 7 percent; merchants, 5 percent; artisans, 3 to 7 percent; peasants, 70 to 80 percent; unclean and degraded, 5 percent; expendables, 5 to 15 percent." [18] The percentage of peasants in the entire population is overwhelming. This numerical summary informs us of the basic demographic terrain which serves to explain the internal social relations within ancient societies. Many figures who frequent the parables of Jesus, such as the king, the landlords, the owners of the vineyards, the Pharisees, the stewards, the tax-collectors, the farmers, the day laborers, and the sinners, fit in the social types that find their place somewhere in this summary.

Although the Greco-Roman civilization was essentially urban, the

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15) De Ste. Croix pays attention to the absence of the wheelbarrow from Greco-Roman antiquity, which might have at least doubled a man's carrying capacity. The wheelbarrow only appeared in Europe in the thirteenth century, while in China it had been invented a thousand years earlier. De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World,* 38.

16) Herzog, *The Parables as Subversive Speech,* 56.

17) Retainers can be distinguished as follows: "1) the high level bureaucrats, the possessors of *dignitates,* who were direct players in the political struggle, 2) the scribal *literati,* who were middle level bureaucrats most often in a client relationship with top-level patrons or the ruler, and 3) the *illitterati,* who were menial bureaucrats like jailers, torturers and porters." Ibid., 59.

18) Ibid., 58-60.

economy of the Roman empire was fundamentally one of an advanced agrarian society. The population of the cities constituted a small minority compared with that of the country. The Greek culture which the cities were eager to adopt was limited to the urban upper class, although it geographically spread into the entire Roman empire. The peasants did not share the citizenship of the cities, yet the burden to buttress the whole edifice of urban civilization rested on the back of the peasantry, the great majority of the population.[19] According to A. H. M. Jones who aptly describes the pattern of the urban-rural relation under the Hellenistic and Roman rule in the Greek East, "The new cities performed no useful economic function ⋯ The only effect of the foundation of cities was the creation of a wealthy landlord class which gradually stamped out peasant proprietorship. ⋯ The only function which the cities performed was administrative; they policed and collected the taxes of their territories."[20] Therefore, despite our impression of prominent urbanism in antiquity, cities, economically speaking, were like small islands colored by Greco-Roman civilization projected on a vast ocean of countries.[21]

A city depended upon its own immediate hinterland as its bread basket. Alexander is said to have argued that "just as a child needs milk ⋯ so a city without fields and abundant produce from them cannot grow, or maintain a large population."[22] The fundamental relationship between the cities and the countries was characterized by one of exploitation. The powerful people in the cities exploited the people in the countryside and gave little in return. "The cities were ⋯ economically parasitic on the countryside. Their incomes consisted in the main of the rents drawn by the urban aristocracy from the peasants ⋯ The splendours of civic life were to a large extent paid for out of [these] rents, and to this extent the villages were impoverished for the benefit of the towns ⋯ The city magnates came into contact with the

19) De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World,* 13.

20) A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 293-94. Quoted in De Ste. Croix, Ibid., 19.

21) Ibid., 10-11, 13, 19.

22) Ibid., 12-13. The primary dependence of the cities on adjacent rural areas was partly due to "the inefficiency and high cost of ancient land transport." At the time, water transport, that is, transport by sea or river, was regarded as a cheaper and easier way despite its inconvenience due to bad weather and unfavorable winds. 11.

villagers in three capacities only, as tax collectors, as policemen, and as landlords." [23] The relations of production in ancient slavery societies were highly imbalanced and exploitative. "The propertied classes in the Greek and Roman world derived their surplus, which freed them from the necessity of taking part in the process of production, not from wage labour, as in capitalist society, but mainly from unfree labour of various kinds." [24] The peasants were different from slaves in their social status, but, as the main cultivators of the land, had to bear the brunt of the insatiable greedy demand of the upper classes.

Under the hegemony of the Roman empire, peasants came to be "more thoroughly and effectively exploited than in most other societies which rely largely upon peasant populations for their food supply." [25] Formerly, peasants used to survive famines better than town-dwellers, because they could hide some of the crop away for themselves to meet the time of starvation. But now the imperial gaze of administrative and bureaucratic supervision no longer allowed such a room for minimum food security. The Roman empire was exceptionally effective in terms of exploitation and control of the countryside. Deprived of the little power they had to hide a small part of their harvest from tax collectors, peasants came to be debased and debilitated even further.[26]

As commercialization and monetization developed in the Roman empire, the life of people in the land deteriorated. The need for currency changed the traditional way of life and social transaction. Even in the cities, people's life suffered from the effect of monetization. For instance, Apollonius of Tyana, a figure of the late first century, is reported to have found no food on sale in the market except vetches at Aspendus in Pamphylia, which was located on the south coast of Asia Minor. "The citizens were feeding on this and whatever else they could get, for the leading men (the powerful) had shut away all the corn and were keeping it for export." [27] It goes without saying that peasants suffered even more.

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23) A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), 268, 287, 295. Quoted by De Ste. Croix, Ibid., 13.

24) Ibid., 39.

25) Ibid., 14

26) Ibid., 11, 14. Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech,* 73.

27) A report of Philostratus in the first half of the third century. De Ste. Croix, Ibid., 14.

Before monetization, peasants were expected to pay rents in proportion to a crop, and a recalculation of rents was an option in accordance to changing conditions. After monetization, however, peasants had to pay rents in cash, not in kind. The traditional way of counting rents, calculated in proportion to the amount of the entire harvest, gave in to another way of demanding a fixed monetized sum which regarded the crop as a commodity in a larger economic system. In such circumstances, peasants were easily removed from the land when they failed in paying rents or repaying a loan in cash. "The land so confiscated was then added to the holdings of the elite who provided the loan." [28)]

The exploitation was not only financial. The Roman empire exacted menial labour services (Gr. *a[n]ggareia/a[n]ggareuein*).[29)] When Simon of Cyrene was forced by the Romans to carry the cross of Jesus to the place of crucifixion, he seems to have been enlisted to meet the demands of the "*a[n]ggareia.*" [30)] Considering the Markan description of Simon of Cyrene as "coming in from country," it is highly probable that he was a peasant (Mk 15:21).[31)]

Along with this economic and physical exploitation, cultural alienation also took place. It is interesting to note that the discriminative dualistic binary between the civilized and the uncivilized, which has been employed to legitimate colonialism in history, traces its origin back to its use by the city-dwellers against the farmers or villagers. The arrogance of the urban upper-class involved disdain for other groups in society, and what Kautsky calls "superstratification" [32)] came to operate. "A superstratified society essentially breaks down into two classes of people: a lower class that was 'subservient, docile, submissive, servile, lacking character, spineless, masochistic,'

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28) Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech,* 72. Bureaucratization also developed in order to function either as "tribute-collecting machines" or the bumpers of hostility coming from the grassroot people. 67, 61.

29) De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World,* 14-15.

30) Ibid., 15. Mark uses the verb "*a[n]ggareuo,*" which means to press, force, or compel someone into service (Mk 15:21).

31) Herman C. Waetjen, *A Reordering of Power: A Socio-Political Reading of Mark's Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 15.

32) John Kautzky, *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 202-3. Quoted in Herzog, *The Parables as Subversive Speech,* 70.

opposed to an upper class that was 'domineering, haughty, proud, arrogant, hard, cruel, sadistic.' "[33] Everything non-Greek came to be seen as inferior. Especially the countryside was the seat of contempt, because most peasants remained illiterate in the Greek and preserved their native languages and culture. Even some townsmen of low status maintained their own old native tongues. When Paul and Barnabas entered Lystra in Asia Minor and healed a cripple, the people cried out "in the speech of Lycaonia" (Acts 14:11). This dialect was "a vernacular tongue which was never written down and which in due course perished entirely."[34] Lystra was a citizen colony of Roman veterans which Augustus had built. This brief reference to the native dialect witnesses the persistence of traditional language and culture even in a city in the midst of a strong urban drive for Hellenization.

The point at issue is that the exploitative urban-rural economic relations were justified by the oppressive cultural formulation. "Civilized life, of course, was concentrated in the cities; every man who had some intellectual interests ⋯ lived in a city and could not imagine himself living elsewhere: for him the *geōrgos* or paganus [farmer or villager] was an inferior being, half-civilised or uncivilized."[35] The sense of superiority of the city residents and their contempt towards the unsophisticated country people was evinced in a number of cultural phenomena. For instance, marriages between city dwellers and peasants were extremely uncommon. Even in the imagination of the divine sphere, the simple-minded deities were supposed to live in the countryside, while the superior deities in the cities.[36]

The Main Features of the Moral Economy of the Peasant

Palestine in the first century was an advanced agrarian society, whether the political form of that society was the client kingdom of Herod Antipas, or the province of Judaea under the colonial administration in collaboration with the hegemony of the priestly elite in Jerusalem.[37] As explained above,

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33) Ibid.

34) De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World,* 16

35) M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,* vol. 1, 2nd ed., rev. P. M. Fraser (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957; first published 1926); 192-93. Quoted in De Ste. Croix, Ibid., 10.

36) Ibid., 17-18.

37) Herzog, *The Parables as Subversive Speech,* 73.

the life of peasants in the Roman empire was characterized as "more thoroughly and effectively exploited."[38] A graphic description used to portray the situation of Asian peasants in the modern world would aptly grasp the dilemmas that the peasants in ancient Palestine faced: "There are districts in which the position of the rural population is that of a man standing permanently up to the neck in water, so that even a ripple is sufficient to drown him."[39] The ruling class had no interest in maintaining and developing the rural economic base, or sharing the profits with the producers. Dislocation and ever-growing indebtedness came to threat the life of peasants, who had lost the power of control over their basic food security. In this vein, the parallel petitions for daily bread and for forgiveness of debt in the Lord's Prayer must have struck the heartstrings of the Palestinian audience (Mt 6:11-12).

Social scientists indicate that peasants invented the internal dynamics and value system, which appear in what can be called "the moral economy of the peasant," in order to deal with adverse circumstances.[40] This model is based on the observation of a number of traditional pre-capitalist agrarian societies, and could be fruitfully applied to our understanding of the economic relations in Palestine under the rule of the Roman empire. The moral economy of the peasant is the subsistence-oriented ethic of peasants, as it developed out of the need for a reliable subsistence.[41] This minimalist

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38) De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World,* 14.

39) R. H. Tawndy, *Land and Labor in China* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), 77. Quoted in James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), 1.

40) Ibid.

41) The center of gravity for peasant life was anchored in the household and the village. "Economically speaking, the peasant household was both a unit of production and a unit of consumption ··· Every peasant householder had to calculate his needs with great care, if his family was to survive." Herzog, *The Parables as Subversive Speech,* 64. The demands on a peasant's production are as follows: "(1) subsistence needs of peasant family; (2) the reserve of seed required for the next planting, with some food for livestock included; (3) the fund of seeds reserved for barter, to meet the needs of the household; (4) the 'dues fund,' or what Eric Wolf calls the 'ceremonial fund,' from which the peasant contributed to village events and festivities; and (5) the rent and tax

approach was formed over the long course of experience.[42] The fear of food shortage was a constant anxiety in peasant life. The ruling class did not share the surplus of the production with the producers, and left them only the minimum for survival. When both nature (the vagaries of the weather) and external politics were not reliable, the peasants had to come up with the technical arrangements as well as the social and moral codes within the village life in order to ensure survival.[43] The technical arrangements involved the local tradition of knowledge regarding seed varieties, planting techniques, the discernment of timing, and so on. The social and moral arrangements had to do with a kind of peasant politics which guaranteed the subsistence of village people by means of diverse mechanisms such as communal land and work-sharing. These functioned as kinds of "disguised forms of insurance" or "subsistence insurance."[44]

Among the social and moral arrangements, two socio-economic patterns, that is the expectations of reciprocity and redistribution, are noteworthy.[45] The ancient socioeconomic transactions were characterized

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fund." Ibid. When the external exactions such as tax and rent pushed too hard, the subsistence level of the peasants became too low. Douglas E. Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Questions of His Day, Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity,* vol. 8 (Lewiston/Queenston: the Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), 62.

42) The mindset of the peasants was guided by what anthropologists call "the limited good society." This term indicates a mentality in which "all of the desired things in life such as land, wealth, health, friendship and love, manliness and honor, respect and status, power and influence, security and safety, exist in finite quantity and are always in short supply, as far as the peasant is concerned. ⋯ There is no way directly within peasant power to increase the available quantities." G. Foster, "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good," American Anthropologist 67(1965), 296. This underlying assumption for life frequently led to a defensive strategy towards outsiders. Doubled with the experience of reality in which they gained nothing from their own higher production, this assumption of "limited good" led to the development of a conservative, minimalist, "safety-net-first" principle in the peasantry. For an economy based on land, the main issue was "not so much the expansion of production as the allocation of limited resources," and such an economy "has traditionally resisted attempts at change." Moxnes, The Economy of the Kingdom, 77-78.

43) Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant,* 2-3

44) Ibid., 5.

by mutual exchange. Reciprocity is basically "a relation between two parties,"[46] while redistribution is "a relation *within* a group," which is "found in all centralized groups and societies."[47] On the one hand, reciprocity was expected in village life. There were three kinds of reciprocity. Unbalanced/negative reciprocity marked the brazen-faced attempts of people like landlords to "get something for nothing" from the grassroots people.[48] Balanced reciprocity usually occurred among equals or friends who would repay the goods or the services rendered to them in kind. Immediate and direct expectations of return were presupposed. Generalized reciprocity, as "solidarity extreme," designated the most altruistic form of exchange, and commended generosity, or unconditional hospitality.[49] The actualization of these three different kinds of reciprocity tended to depend on what social space the peasant dealt with. The social space the peasants inhabited can be divided into the five sectors of immediate family, relatives, village, tribal, and intertribal.[50] "Forms of reciprocity used tend to move from generalized via balanced to negative reciprocity, as one moves away from the house-group towards the intertribal sector."[51]

On the other hand, redistribution was closely intertwined with the hierarchical centralizing social institution of patron-client relations[52] as a patron, a chieftain or ruler of a group was supposed to practice balanced or fair redistribution to his clients. In contrast, however, the Roman empire was in general moving towards unbalanced or negative redistribution by its

45) Moxnes, *The Economy of the Kingdom,* 34-35.
46) Ibid., 35.
47) Ibid.
48) Ibid., 34.
49) Ibid.
50) Ibid., 130.
51) Ibid.
52) Palestine was typically a hierarchical society, and Moxnes divides it into seven formative groups as follows. "1. The emperor 2. Rulers in Palestine and Syria: (A) Roman consuls/procurator. (B) Tetrarchs (Herodian "kings") 3. High priests, Jerusalem aristocracy, large landowners 4. The subordinates of (2) and (3): officers and officials, agents in local areas of Palestine 5.Village leaders: Rich farmers, synagogue leaders, Pharisees 6. Peasants, "full" members of the village 7. Village "outsiders": Deviants, unclean, sinners, tax collectors, needy." Ibid., *The Economy of the Kingdom,* 73.

harsh exploitation of the peasant population. The commonality of both balanced and unbalanced redistributions lies in the fact that both practices maintained and ensured the centralization of society based on hierarchy. Generalized redistribution hardly took place in reality, but idealistically it happened when the creditors canceled the debts of the debtors. By the help of these models of socio-economic patterns, one can see that Jesus promoted generalized redistribution, along with generalized reciprocity, as we will explore below.

The Alternative Economy in the Reign of God

When we consider the economic realities of first-century Palestine as described above, we can attain a multi-dimensional understanding of certain economic values and nuances that Jesus associated with the reign of God. First of all, Jesus denounced the exploitative system of the Roman empire which perpetuated unbalanced or negative redistribution. In this kind of economic paradigm, the economic benefits and surplus increased one-sidedly for the sake of those who already have. Jesus cast a critical eye on the fact that "to those who have, more will be given; and from those who have nothing, even what they have will be taken away" (Mk 4:25).[53] This kind of economic system ruins the constructive interdependence of the members of society and taints the quality of human relationship. The parable of "a rich man and Lazarus" (Lk 16:19-31) illustrates the dehumanizing gap that existed between the haves and the have-nots in the first-century Palestine. While Lazarus was dehumanized by hunger, illness, and homelessness, the rich man was all the more dehumanized by enjoying daily conspicuous consumption in front of a poor man, lying at his gate, covered with sores. The exploitative economic system gives rise to ever-growing injustice in society, destroys human relationships, and dehumanizes both the oppressor and the oppressed.

Secondly, Jesus emphasized God as the only patron by teaching that "you cannot serve God and Mammon" (Lk 16:13). When Jesus cast God and Mammon in polarity, he presented two masters as two competing patrons. Wealth is not only the material resource which should be subject to faithful use by economic agents, but also by another actual patron who

53) Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Questions,* 148.

subjugates such agents. It is a personified power like an idol, which challenges the lordship of God. As the true and ultimate patron, God opposes the rule of Mammon which manifests itself in unbalanced redistribution and unbalanced reciprocity.

God is also the subversive patron who demolishes the patronage itself by decentralization. The institution of patronage offered balanced redistribution, which was far better than an unbalanced one for the life of peasants, yet it consolidated the concentration of economic goods and power in the central institutions such as cities, the temple, and imperial treasury. Centralization went together with urban-centrism and discrimination against the lowest people. Jesus' parables are frequented by the stories which value these people the most and thus hold a decentralizing effect (Mt 25:31-46; Lk 10:25-37). God as the ultimate patron does not intend to subjugate people to the hierarchical institution of patronage which even peasants take for granted. Rather, God performs radical redistribution, so that resources might flow from the rich to the needy, from the center to the margin. Both the *Magnificat* and the Sermon on the Plain have in common the theme of God's preferential option for the poor, which means radical redistribution through reversal (Lk 1:51-53; 6:20-26; cf. 4:18-19; 19:1-10).

One of the bedrocks which served to maintain the centralized economy in the Roman empire was the accumulation of debt. In this regard, a number of references Jesus made about the release from debt also move towards decentralization (Mt 18:12-35; Lk 7:41-43; 11:4b). In the parable of the dishonest steward, Jesus commends his generous forgiveness of debt (Lk 16:1-13).[54] The cancellation of debt offers a good example of what generalized redistribution is about.

Finally, Jesus prized generalized reciprocity. Along with generalized redistribution, it is like a "pure gift" with "no strings attached."[55] Generalized reciprocity signifies unconditional hospitality which gives without expecting anything in return.[56] Balanced reciprocity took place among equals, and offered the horizontal support network. However, the

54) Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech,* 14. Oakman, Ibid., 151.

55) J. R. Gregory, "Image of Limited Good, or Expectation of Reciprocity?" *Current Anthropology* 16 (1975), 85. Quoted in Oakman, Ibid., 152.

56) Ibid., 215.

marginalized in the village were not allowed to take part in such mutual interdependence. While the village community of the peasants discriminated against the unclean and sinners on the basis of the purity law, Jesus wanted to abolish the boundary which created the marginalized and the excluded. The divine economy includes the sick, impure, sinners, and tax collectors, that is, the outsiders excluded from the village economy (Lk 4:18-19; 7:22; 14:13, 21; 16:20-21). In this way, the practice of generalized reciprocity proves to be all the more radically democratizing and horizontal, because the vision of equality inherent in the moral economy of the peasant is to be applied even to outsiders.

The ethos of boundary-breaking inclusion and radically universal horizons is also revealed in Jesus' instruction to give alms (Lk 11:41; 12:33; cf. 18:22) and lend "expecting nothing in return" (Lk 6:35). In giving a banquet, one is not to invite friends or brothers or relatives or rich neighbors, who would repay, but to invite the poor, the crippled, the lame, and the blind, who cannot repay (Lk 14:12-13). The point is about radical hospitality, or extreme generosity, which goes beyond the norm of balanced reciprocity itself. One's relation to possessions and how to deal with them reflects one's relation to God. The guiding principle in one's economic conduct is God's mercy or compassion. Because of God's boundless compassion, God is kind even "to the ungrateful and the wicked" (Lk 6:35). Therefore Jesus' disciples, who are called to resemble God, should be merciful beyond the zone of safe and stable recompense, just as God is unconditionally merciful (Lk 6:26; cf. 10:29-37).

This final point reveals Jesus' ultimate demand for the formation of new human relationships. On the one hand, the horizon of generalized reciprocity does not endorse the closed ideal of self-sufficiency and insensitive ego-centrism that the well-to-do pursue. According to the parable of the rich fool, a wealthy landowner had an abundant crop which exceeded the space limit of his barns (Lk 12:16-20). He revealed his desire for self-sufficiency and an attitude of *carpe diem,* as he said to himself "I will pull down my barns and build larger ones, and there I will store all my grain and my goods. And I will say to my soul, 'Soul, you have ample goods laid up for many years; relax, eat, drink, be merry' " (Lk 12:18-19). In his mindset, there was no room for the relationship with the producers of the surplus or the lowly people in the village who had to struggle for subsistence.

On the other hand, the ideal of generalized reciprocity gives multiple challenges to the small-scale centralism of peasant politics. First, it requires the nullification of the purity law which excludes the unclean from the village life. Second, Jesus didn't sympathize with the reactive resentment and hostility of the peasants against the haves (Mk 12:1-12). While opposed to the exploitative system, Jesus shared a table fellowship with the tax collectors, the notorious collaborators of the Roman system. "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be children of your Father in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the righteous and on the unrighteous" (Mt 5:44-45). It is as if we are called to forgive evil-doers while fighting against evil powers, and to forgive the sinners while staying away from sin. It seems that Jesus invited people from all walks of society to creatively form an interclass of human solidarity in order to respond to the call of the impending reign of God.[57)]

All together, the biblical evidence attests that although Jesus did not show a direct interest in forging a concrete program for the redistribution of land *per se,* he wanted to create a new human community with a qualitatively different economic and relational paradigm. "Truly I tell you, there is no one who has left house or brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or fields, for my sake and for the sake of the good news, who will not receive a hundredfold now in this age - houses, brothers and sisters, mothers, and children, and fields with persecutions - and in the age to come eternal life" (Mk 10:29-30). God's generosity is expressed through the formation of a new family of the kingdom "in this age." God's abundant reward is experienced not so much in the allocation of property to individuals or individual families as in a creation of a human support network and new human relations.[58)]

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57) Jesus' enterprise focused on "the quality of relations between owners and dispossessed" and "a new kind of interdependence." Oakman, Ibid., 148. According to Oakman, Jesus sought "to establish through his ministry truly interclass partnerships - with the potential to effectively destroy the basis for a class society," and "a new order based upon partnership and interdependence" could be detected in the message and ministry of Jesus. 216.

58) It is intriguing to note that a father is not acquired again, "perhaps because Jesus intends all to have God as father." Ibid., 143.

Conclusion

The economic relations of Palestinian peasant society were dominated by the hegemonic rule of the elite in the Roman empire. Jesus criticized the exploitative pattern of negative redistribution, opposed the hierarchical centralizing arrangements of patronage bound with balanced redistribution, and envisioned a different world of generalized redistribution and decentralization. The alternative economy that Jesus endorsed took side with the moral economy of the peasant, while laying special stress on the importance of generalized reciprocity. It challenged, modified, and deepened the moral vision of the peasants with a radical demand to include the outsiders alienated from the life of the village community itself. Jesus seems to have closely observed the relations of production. The exploitative economic system had brought a curse on human relationships. "It was not so much the curse on the ground that needed lifting; it was the curse on human relationships." [59] The curse, which arises from the exploitative system and centralization of society, feeds on human ego-centrism and insatiable greed. Against the society driven by Mammon, Jesus envisioned human communities based on loving service to the least and the worship of God alone (Mk 10:44; 12:29-31).

For the sake of the alternative economy in the reign of God, a new mindset or spirituality is in order. Human communities in which generalized redistribution and generalized reciprocity would guide people as the fundamental economic principle are inconceivable without forging a qualitatively different mindset or spirituality. "Love for enemies is an ethical corollary of indiscriminate economic exchanges based upon general reciprocity (Mt 5:44=Lk 6:35)" [60] The creativity and courage to imagine a new economic order of the world, equipped with unconditional hospitality based on a profound understanding of the interdependence of the human race, originates from trust in God. This trust effects a freedom from the gripping power of Mammon and the closed competitive worldview, and enables a creativity to strive for life for all. It enables one to see the danger of *homo economicus,* who is enslaved by extreme individualism and

59) C. C. McCown, *The Genesis of the Social Gospel* (New York: Knopf, 1929), 207. Quoted by Oakman, Ibid., 205.

60) Ibid., 216.

insatiable desire for commodities. Jesus emphasizes not only the vision of the radical restoration of human relationality, but also the wisdom that "one's life does not consist in the abundance of possessions" (Lk 12:15). While Jesus taught the disciples to pray for their daily bread, he posed a question of priority, asking if life is not "more than food, and the body more than clothing" (Mt 6:25).

The economic values Jesus advocated offer a number of challenging insights to our own contemporary world. Despite a dictum that there is nothing that does not change, the dehumanizing centralistic economic pattern and the rural circumstances in which most farmers are survival-oriented still remain the same in general. Industrialization and development in the modern era have not solved the problems of hunger and food insecurity from the global perspective. "Small-scale, diversified, self-reliant, community-based agricultural systems"[61] have been undermined and replaced by export-oriented corporation-run agriculture which argues that industrial agriculture is a far better and more efficient remedy for a hungry world than traditional farming.[62] "Yet all the evidence consistently shows the contrary; industrial farming's so-called efficiencies are sustained only by large government subsidies. And it causes more hunger than it solves."[63] The export-oriented industrial agriculture goes together with the massive use of fossil fuels for transport, packaging, and long-distance preservation. "One-eighth of world oil consumption goes toward transport, with food products accounting for a considerable slice of this."[64] All the gases emitted from this process come to cause climate change.[65] Therefore, it is imperative to move immediately "away from an industrial food system that depends on intensive use of chemicals, water, and fossil fuels toward a localized model based on traditional, ecologically sustainable practices."[66]

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61) John Cavanagh and Jerry Mander, ed., *Alternatives to Economic Globalization: A Better World is Possible* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2004), 209.

62) Ibid., 210.

63) Ibid.

64) Ibid., 220.

65) Ibid., 218. "Industrial agriculture is responsible for 25 percent of the world's carbon dioxide emission, 60 percent of methane gas emissions, and 80 percent of nitrous oxide - all major gases causing climate change."

66) Ibid., 220.

This measure is urgently necessary to deter climate change. It is also "the best way to ensure food security and food safety, preserve wildlife and other species, maintain biodiversity, and protect our soil, water, and air." [67]

Given such an urgent call for a turning point in agriculture which has to do with the overall transformation of contemporary economic system, the importance of conceiving of and practicing an alternative agriculture becomes more recognizable. I think that Asian Christian subjects of life-giving agriculture are opening up a unique new space in which a number of experiments of both local and global significance intersect. Asian life-giving agriculture attempts to remove the history-old "curse" associated with relationships. The relationships to be healed and restored are multiple. Above all, life-giving agriculture attempts to restore human relationships, as it stands against any oppressive economic system which breaks human relationships,[68] and works for the sake of community-based agricultural systems. The community refers to a reliable social space where people's life, or at least their subsistence, is guaranteed. Then, life-giving agriculture seeks to build the right relationship between nature and human, alarmed by the current ecological crises. Furthermore, life-giving agriculture imagines a new relationship between the city and the countryside, a relationship which is not characterized by domination and exploitation, but by mutual appreciation and collaborative coexistence.

Besides, life-giving agriculture evolves itself on the basis of small-scale, diversified, self-reliant local communities in rural areas. Its ramification is significant in that it points to the reversal of centralism. Considering that human civilization has been almost identical with centralizing urbanism, that is, citification, the life-giving agriculture movement, with its base in rural communities, is in a sense one of the experiments of sowing the seeds

67) Ibid.

68) The idea of conceiving the contemporary global economic reality in terms of a curse upon human relationships is taken from Oakman. "How can the hyper-exploitative centralism of corporations and governments, the selfishness and greed that infect the hearts of individuals, the staggering levels of indebtedness and the depths of poverty - all compounded by the callous disregard for human life and rampant military expenditures - be counteracted? A curse, to be sure, lies upon human relationships. Perhaps what is not possible for human beings and institutions is somehow possible for God (Mk 10:27)." Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Questions,* 217.

of a new civilization which is founded on "communities of communities."[69] A paradigm shift operates here, in that it advocates neither a centralizing hierarchy nor an urban-centered, individualistic cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, Asian Christian farmers and activists for life-giving agriculture find themselves in a unique position to enrich their prophetic practice with an Asian cosmological wisdom which respects the inherent values of their agriculture and peasantry in contrast to the traditional Western disdain of ruralness.

The unique new space that Asian Christian life-giving agriculture carves out brings into existence innovative and transformative perspectives which are fraught with creativity. Asian Christian farmers and activists for life-giving agriculture have embarked on the journey of faith in the empire by engaging in the struggle for the restoration of the web of life of human communities and the planet. This crucial struggle, which dreams of and strives for a substantial turning point, could mark a sign of hope for those who yearn for a new beginning.

69) Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb, Jr. describe the multiple paradigmatic changes that they regard as necessary for the new beginnings of human society, one of which is the change "from cosmopolitanism to communities of communities." Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb, Jr., *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 176-89.

Abstract

This study aims to explore the alternative economy which one can construct from Jesus' economic concerns by placing his words and ministry in the context of the rule of the Roman empire. Firstly, the economic system of the Roman empire discussed with the help of a sociological model of "advanced agrarian societies," and special attention will be given to the relationship between the city and the countryside. Secondly, the prominent features of what is termed "the moral economy of the peasant," which is the collective response of peasants to urban and imperial domination and exploitation, discussed. Finally, against these two conflicting socio-economic scripts which operated in the Roman empire, we attempted to find a better nuanced understanding of the economic values Jesus associated with the kingdom of God.

The economic relations of Palestinian peasant society were dominated by the hegemonic rule of the elite in the Roman empire. Jesus criticized the exploitative pattern of negative redistribution, opposed the hierarchical centralizing arrangements of patronage bound with balanced redistribution, and envisioned a different world of generalized redistribution and decentralization. The alternative economy that Jesus endorsed took side with the moral economy of the peasant, while laying special stress on the importance of generalized reciprocity. It challenged, modified, and deepened the moral vision of the peasants with a radical demand to include the outsiders alienated from the life of the village community itself. Jesus seems to have closely observed the relations of production. The exploitative economic system had brought a curse on human relationships

For the sake of the alternative economy in the reign of God, a new mindset or spirituality is in order. Human communities in which generalized redistribution and generalized reciprocity would guide people as the fundamental economic principle are inconceivable without forging a qualitatively different mindset or spirituality.

Key Words

Economy, Roman empire, Jesus, alternative economy, exploitative economic system, life-giving agriculture, peasant, centralization, decentralization, community, agrarian society, mammon, Kingdom of God.

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The Protestant Ethic Reversed: A Study in the "Elective Affinity" between Neo-Liberalism and Christian Fundamentalism

Baik So-young*

The Elective Affinity, Already Existing: Capitalistic Christianity, the Modern Euro-American Product

> In trouble with Shinto shrine worship, George McQuin [a representative missionary of the Korean church] stated to a news reporter that it is the first time in the fifty years of Korean mission history to face such a serious consideration. ⋯ To him, it might be true since he had a "noble" Protestant history of fifty years in the Korean mission, but if we see this in a broader perspective, capturing the entire Christianity in world history, it is a fate from which world Christians could not escape. ⋯ I would like to ask George McQuin to recall how he entered our land. ⋯ Mammonic merchants built the ship which resembled the Noah's Ark and seduced honest Christian believers into the field of "mission competition" in which Christ and Baal get on board together.[1)]

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She is an instructor of Dept. of Christian Studies and researcher in Trans-Humanities Research Team in Ewha Womans University, Seoul. She studied at Boston University School of Theology, Th. D., (2003). Email : sbchey@yahoo.com

1) Ham Sŏk-hŏn, "Sungyo ui chŏngsin" [The Spirit of Martyrdom], *Sŏngsŏ*

It is not the description of our contemporary Korean church in its global economic system. Ham Sŏk-hŏn, an historian and critical Christian intellectual in twentieth century Korea, already saw in the 1930s the fundamental problem of the Protestant church in Korea, i.e., its affinity with Western capitalistic civilization. Christianity had been introduced as a "package" of Euro-American products which had been formulated since the eighteenth century.

Liberalism as the ideological social thought for the emerging capitalistic society in the West presupposed the concept of a free, independent individual who is able to produce and trade commercial goods in the market, and who has a natural right of private property as the result of free and responsible work. The modern nation-states' concept of "civil virtue" performed by independent, free, responsible individuals, which is the core theoretical idea for both political liberalism and economic capitalism in Western Europe, deeply owe Protestantism the religious statement that an individual believer is free from the Roman Catholic church in terms of his/her salvation and daily virtuous life as well.[2] "Sola fide," the Protestant motto, encouraged an individual believer to stand before God as a responsible self and eventually contribute to Western society's transfer from medieval feudal to modern liberal ways.

The faith confession of worldly responsibility for the purpose of otherworldly salvation, what Max Weber called "this-worldly asceticism," was largely accepted as the salient characteristic of the Protestant ethic. In his widely-known book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* Weber reached the conclusion that there was an "elective affinity" between the ethical teachings of ascetic Protestantism and the spirit of capitalism in the time of the emerging capitalist modern world in the West. According to Weber, economic rationalism, the unique spirit of capitalism in the West, was reinforced mainly due to the influence of certain religious ideas concerning the development of an economic spirit or the ethos of an economic system.[3] The belief in a transcendent God who leads believers to

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Chosŏn [Bible-Korea] (January 1936), in *Hamsŏkhŏn chŏnjip* [Collected Works of Ham Sŏk-hŏn] vol. 9 (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1983), 189-193.

2) Roland Robertson, *The Sociological Interpretation of Religion,* trans. Yi Wongyu (Taehan kidokkyo ch'ulp'ansa, 1984), 177-178.

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

assume ethical responsibility to the world and history, explained Weber, originated from ancient Judaism when prophets denied the magical power of human beings that mediated between the human and the supernatural, and when they proclaimed a universal, transcendent god who created and sustained the world. The message of the prophets underscored a gap or a tension between a transcendent God and human beings, which could not be mediated by human power. Believers could not manipulate God through magical means. Instead, they were supposed to understand God's will and achieve the demands of God in their daily lives through ethical actions. This ethical standpoint was again emphasized alongside the rise of ascetic Protestantism. According to Calvin's doctrine of "predestination," salvation is solely dependent on the will of the transcendent God, reassuring the believer that human effort for salvation is impossible.[4] According to Weber, this ascetic Protestant belief created uncertainty, anxiety, and loneliness for individual believers in the world because there was no means to guarantee salvation except for trust in the will of a transcendent God. "They should belong to [God's chosen band] and be subjected to its disciplines," Weber said, "not in order thus to attain salvation, that is impossible, but because, for the glory of God, they too must be forced to obey His commandments." Such belief led ascetic Protestants, mainly middle class citizens who were involved in economic activity in the emerging modern capitalist societies, to work hard to glorify God who had absolute power determining their salvation. The world was thus understood as an entity to "serve the glorification of God and for that purpose alone." Although individual believers could not be assured of their status of election, they believed that, if they were among the elected, they were in the world "only to increase this glory of God by fulfilling His commandments to the best of [their] ability." They believed that God requested "social achievement of the Christian because He [willed] that social life [should] be organized according to His Commandments, in accordance with that purpose."[5] The world thus became the place of fulfilling the requirements of the believer's faith-based vocation, but it was never confused with the sacred realm. This is the "rational way" of organizing one's own daily life solely for the "irrational

4) Raymond Aron, *Main Currents in Sociological Thought,* trans. Richard Howard and Helen Weaver (New York: Basic Books, 1967), 2: 216.

5) Weber, 104, 108.

purpose" to glorify God, to test one's status of election, and to reduce anxiety of a lonely individual believer who is now alone in responsible life and salvation of the self.

This new religious perspective led believers to see that work was no longer viewed as the penalty of human sin as interpreted in the old biblical tradition. Work now became a means to glorify God. The individual believer was regarded as the instrument of God on earth. Wealth was no longer opposite to piety, as believed in ancient and medieval Christianity, but became the sign of the election of the individual Christian. In Weber's own words, "the emphasis on the ascetic importance of a fixed calling provided an ethical justification of the modern specialized division of labor. In a similar way the providential interpretation of profit-making justified the activities of the business man."[6] Weber concluded that the belief in a transcendent God who orders believers' ethical responsibility for daily work promoted the spirit of capitalism. This statement should not be identified, however, with the belief that the Protestant ethic yielded the capitalistic system. What Weber pinpointed is not that statement, but that Protestant believers - mainly lower and middle class merchants, farmers, and bureaucratic officers who were already in the societal system of the emerging capitalistic modern world - found an "elective affinity" to motivate and justify their this-worldly activities in a religious belief system. This is the religious origin of the spirit of capitalism, which the nineteenth century capitalists shared in their "ascetic" attitudes to earn, re-invest, and save money for greater interests, and in their "rational" attitude to invent, renovate, and apply more advanced techniques and devices to maximize the production results.

The modern Western nation-states earned their legitimate constitutional power after the Protestant Reformation, which set not only individuals but also nations free from the religious legitimacy given by the Roman Catholic Church in the medieval feudal society. The separation of the economic-political realm from the religious one led the church to interpret the concept of salvation as a spiritual matter, not as a "here and now" dimension of life that one is able to achieve by belonging to a certain religious-political community such as the Israelites. Christianity, which had extended towards the world with its "universal" gospel for salvation, met a new company in

6) Ibid., 111-121, 163.

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, i.e., the capitalistic nation-states that also had an imperialistic world vision in economic-political reams. Of course, it might be an overstatement if one insists that there was an intentional alliance between imperialistic capitalists and Western missionaries' zeal for world mission. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore or minimize the situation that these two groups entered Asia and other non-Western regions holding hands together: the former one with an imperialistic dream of world domination in the political-economic realm; the latter in the spiritual realm.

The Carrier of Capitalistic Christianity in Korea, Western Missionaries, and the Subjective Meaning of Korean Protestants

Although the first Korean encounter with Christianity was "voluntary" and an "initiative" facilitated by a few Chosŏn Confucian scholars-officials and the merchants in the northern part of Korea,[7] the mainstream characteristics of the Korean Church, in its forms and faith contents, were mainly the products that Western/American missionaries brought. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including the last chapter of the Chosŏn dynasty and the annexation of Korea by imperial Japan, was a critical time for Koreans. Experiencing visible military aggression from the West and from Westernized Japan, and a far subtler cultural invasion from the West, the biggest challenge for Korean people was to maintain some form of national identity as Koreans. They needed a system of belief that could provide a meaningful interpretation of their lives in the midst of these dramatic, rapid changes. Protestantism had been introduced to Korean people by that time. Especially, some Korean intellectuals who wanted to enlighten Korea were interested in Christianity because they understood that Christianity represented modern Western civilization, which held sufficient power to strengthen Koreans for a fight against Imperial Japan. As Chung Chai-sik, a Korean sociologist of religion, sees, "What they found attractive in the Western religion was a close affinity that existed between the Christian ideals and the specific objectives that they had in mind for reforming Korea as an independent and modern Korea."[8] They regarded Christianity as the

7) They did not formulate the dynamic collective power of the Korean church for several historical reasons, which are not the major subject matter of this article.

sole spiritual foundation of modern civilization, and the means through which Westerners established strong and advanced nations. Yun Ch'i-ho, a famous Protestant nationalist leader in the early twentieth century, named Christianity "a Can-do Spirit" in his English-written diary.[9)]

Not only Korean intellectuals but also common Koreans were attentive to Christianity as a religion that could provide meanings for their daily lives amid such uncertainty and chaos. Ch'oe Che-u, the leader of the *Tonghak* [Eastern learning] movement, observed that, having lost moral criteria and having forgotten the ethical dimension of life given by Heaven, his contemporary common Koreans searched for an alternative religious answer from Christianity, which he called "Western learning."[10)]

In responding to the social, cultural, and religious expectations of Koreans the Protestant churches were involved in the nationalistic activities of Korean people both before the annexation and during the early part of the colonial period. However after paying heavily for their leading performance in the 1919 March First Independence Movement (the first non-violent nation-wide civil movement against the colonial government in modern Korea) Korean churches and their congregations decreased in numbers because of intensive and explicit oppression by the colonial government. Witnessing the organized social power of Korean churches in that movement, the Japanese colonial government attempted to eliminate the nationalistic objectives of Korean churches through a process of de-politicalization of the church. In an effort to reach this goal, the colonial government proclaimed the separation of religion from politics.[11)] With few exceptions, most missionaries tried to preserve their rights and privileges of carrying on missionary endeavors by maintaining good relations with the

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8) Chung Chai-sik, "Tradition and Ideology: Korea's Initial Response to Christianity from a Religious and Sociological Perspective," *Asia munhwa* [Asian Culture] 4 (Kwandong Province, Hallym University Press : Institute of Asian Culture Studies, 1988), 26.

9) Yun Ch'i-ho, *Yŏngmun ilgi* [English-written Diary]. 1894. 1. 1

10) Ch'oe Che-u, "P'odŏk mun" [On spreading virtue], in Tonghak Kyŏngjŏn [Eastern learning], trans. Ch'oe, Tong-hi (Seoul: [?], 1961), 15; Ch'oe Yŏng-ho, Peter H. Lee and Wm Theodore de Bary, eds. *Sources of Korean Tradition,* 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) 2: 231.

11) Kang Wi-jo, *Religion and Politics in Korea under the Japanese Rule Studies in Asian Thought and Religion* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1987), 5: 31.

colonial government, formulating a spirituality-centered approach by which they could avoid unnecessary social and political conflicts with the colonial government. Since Western missionaries provided the majority of leadership for Korean churches, such apolitical and spirituality-centered churches came to dominate the ecclesiastic landscape after the March First Movement. In fact, a spiritual orientation of the church and the idea of the separation of the church from government already existed in the faith and theology of major Western missionaries who can be categorized as "conservative" and "evangelical."[12] Most missionaries who entered Korea were American Protestants who valued the Calvinistic faith associated with revivalism. According to research on the theological tendency of missionaries in Korea, "conservative" and "evangelical" missionaries who belonged to the described category were up to 92.3%.[13] Reinforced by following the active revival movements led by Charismatic Korean church leaders such as Kil Sŏn-ju, Kim Ik-du, and Yi Yong-do in the 1920s, mainstream Korean churches became politically conservative and

12) By the term "conservative" and "evangelical," is meant the mainstream of Protestant American Christianity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with its effort to "preserve" the faith confessions of the Reformation in the sixteenth century Europe. With disagreement on modern theological attempts to apply rational and historical reinterpretation of the Bible and Church tradition, considerable numbers of aggressive "conservative" Protestants became "fundamentalists" who believed in "fundamental" faith assertions such as the inerrancy of the Bible, the virgin birth of Christ, substitutionary atonement by Christ, the physical resurrection of Christ, and the immanent physical second coming of Christ. See the five fundamental doctrines addressed in 1895, in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: McMillan Publishing Company, 1987), 5: 190-197. The term "evangelical" here is used in the same way as that of the American Protestants who participated in The Great Revival in the eighteenth century and the Students Volunteer Movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century calling themselves "evangelists." Representative figures are Jonathan Edward, Charles G. Finney and Dwight L. Moody, etc. See Alan Richardson and John Bowden, eds., *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Theology* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983), 192.

13) Han' guk kidokkyo yŏksa yŏn' guso, ed., *Han' guk kidokkyo ŭi yŏksa* [The History of Korean Christianity] 2 vols. (Seoul: Kidokkyomunsa, 1990), 2: 161-164.

religiously introverted, focusing on individual spiritual reformation and a transcendent dream of the Last Day, the day when the misery of Korean people would end.

In 1945, national independence did not change the spirituality-oriented characteristic of Korean churches and rather accelerated the tendency in a special historical context of Korean modern history. Celebration of national independence was followed by tragic episodes such as the division of the nation into South and North Korea and the Korean War, the war which cost many deaths and wounded in the name of ideological difference, and which made the land desolate and destroyed most buildings. Most of all, the emotional impact on the common Korean people was critical for their loss of beloved ones and properties and their witness of mass genocide in the fratricidal war. From the First Republic with its corrupted authoritarian rule to President Park Chong Hee's military governing, anti-government groups could not win the hearts of the middle class who, from the experience of the tragedy of the Korean War, had become strong advocates of Park's anti-Communist policy based on a primary emphasis on national security.

In addition, a non-intrinsic combination of capitalistic spirit and spirituality-centeredness became apparent as all Koreans were eager to establish a modern independent rich nation. Political conservatism, anti-Communism in particular, the pursuit of material abundance, and Pentecostalism were the distinguishing characteristics of Korean churches in modern times since the 1950s. Of the most, the tendency that won the hearts of lay Christians was found in the social teaching of Korean churches that spiritual faith in Christ is the most effective way to achieve material wealth. Pastor Cho Yong-gi, a famous pastor of Sunbogŭm kyohoe [the Church of the Pure Gospel], one of the world's biggest churches, and heavily influenced by America-originated Pentecostalism,[14] for example, developed the three-fold blessing - wealth, health, and spiritual peace - as a ministerial strategy.[15] Since the 1950s, the time when national and individuals' desire for recovery and welfare were at a peak, the combined

14) Founded by William Seymour, a poor Afro-African pastor, in the very beginning of the twentieth century America, Pentecostalism characterizes its search for mystical religious experience and high standard of morality and citizenship, and material welfare as the blessing of sincere Christians.

15) Cho Yong-gi, *Sach'awon ŭi yŏngjŏk saegye* [The Fourth Dimension of the Spiritual Realm] (Seoul: Malssŭmsa, 1996), 188.

messages of spiritual peace and materialistic blessings in Pentecostalism had earned the common Korean minds, resulting in churches which doubled in membership in every ten-year period.[16)]

In short, there was already a certain "affinity" elective that had been formulated in the emergence of modern capitalistic society in the Western Euro-American context. The capitalist-spirituality combination package of the Western European product entered Korean as "the West religion" which promised wealth and prosperity both in national and individual life, often resulting in identification of Christianity with the spirit of modernity. Furthermore, Western missionaries' emphasis on the spiritual dimension of salvation and tragic experiences of modern Korean history made a mainstream Korean church that envisioned material blessings and spiritual peace.

Rising Neo-Liberalism and Its Vision for Reorganizing the Human Condition

What we have witnessed since the last quarter of the twentieth century is the triumphant emergence or return of liberalism, called neo-liberalism, with its assertive universalistic vision for reorganizing world order. Modern nation-states have faced a sort of "crisis" as capital, labor, and money go beyond their national boundaries, creating a global world, in which a government cannot control or plan economic realms effectively. Neo-liberalism as the sole, exclusive, universal, and finalistic way to reach the mountain top of financial wealth both in national and individual level has strong advocates in the "world capitalist economic system."[17)] Francis Fukuyama in the *End*

16) Kidokkyo sahoe sasang yŏn' guhoe, ed., *Han' guk kyohoe paekchunyŏn chonghap chosa yŏn' gu* [A survey of the Korean Church for one hundred years] (Seoul: Kidokkyo sahoe sasang yŏn' guhoe, 1990), 144.

17) Malcolm Waters describes in the use of Ronald Dore's parable of "mountain climbers" that nation-states in the global world are now climbing up the mountain called "the [economic] development." Some perhaps have disadvantages such as short height, lack of tools, deficiency of advanced technology, but even though they arrive at the top of the mountain in order of first, second, third, etc, even the last one would eventually arrive at the same place. Malcolm Waters, *Globalization,* trans. Yi Chi-ch' ŏl (Seoul: Hyŏndae mihaksa, 1998), 32-33.

of History and the Last Man, for example, addressed a Hegelian conviction on the lineal, universal development of human history and its final stage of liberalism in politics alongside its capitalistic economic order. The evolutionary track in the history of human ideas, asserts Fukuyama, faces liberalism, the final and universal stage that all humankind and nation-states should go through.[18)]

The rise of neo-liberalism owes its prosperity to a historical turn of depression as the result of which major leading nations' interest rates are radically lowered alongside the increase of oil prices due to the Palestine wars in the early 1970s. There was no recovery from the long-lasting depression till the 1980s, facilitating socio-economic theorists to consider with urgency and seriousness the pre-existing paradigm of Keynes' economic theory and Fordian methodology. Seeing the ineffectiveness of massive production through assembly lines (Fordian invention), the neo-liberalists suggest the post-Fordian approach to overcome the negative results of inflexible production lines, the major weak point of which is overproduction - a failure to conceive the total amount of global demands and consumers' personalized favors. Keynes' admonition for the government to participate actively in the economic production and consumption procedure ends up with over-production and inflation both in a national and a global scale, and is now evaluated as "improper" or a "failure" by neo-liberal economists and politicians. To neo-liberalists, the alternative answer is the market; almost to them a god since it is the autonomous omnipotent controller of humankind and the world. The works of Friedrich Hayek, often regarded as the representative example of neo-liberalist economic thought, develop two basic understandings of human nature as imperfect and unstable, on the one hand, and the free market as *"sui generis"* in a Durkhemian sense. To Hayek, along with other Austrian school scholars such as H. Mayer and L. E. v. Mises, a human being is not a "rational being" as the classical liberalists presupposed. While the classical economists considered human nature as reliable in terms of its capacity to capture the market information, and develop and use effective means and apply appropriate decision making, Hayek's concept of human rationality

18) Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History," *The Nation Interest* 16 (Summer 1989), 4, 18, quoted in Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations,* trans. Yi Hŭi-Chae (Seoul: Kimyŏngsa, 2004), 32.

was that of imperfect knowledge and subjective decision-making, which prevents one from getting a synthetic penetrating observation of the global market and making decisions on consistent rational calculative thinking.[19] Such understanding of human nature has been regarded as plausible in a global market, in which not only individuals but also nations fail to perceive the entire market properly and accurately. In contrast, the market, to Austrian school theorists, is not one created but a spontaneously generated order over which certain individuals or groups of people cannot plan or control. Sometimes a continuous balance between supply and demand may not be sustained but the market would eventually find the solution, the neo-liberalists believe. So it is not desirable, actually avoidable, to formulate any artificial order or program, even in the context of a temporary unbalance between demands and supplies. Joseph Schumpeter, who shares the same economic philosophy with Hayek, insists:

> The progressive trustification of economic life facilitates the permanent continuance of maladjustments in the great combines themselves and hence outside of them, for practically there can only be complete equilibrium if there is free competition in all branches of production. Furthermore, in consequence of the financial strength of some firms, especially the older ones, the adjustment is not always very urgent, not an immediate question of life or death.[20]

Such strong belief in the "omnipotent" market and its sole virtue of "free competition" lead the neo-liberalists to insist on reducing governmental control over the economy and labor associations. Their unlimited belief in the free market enables them to insist that even depression can be "creative" by destroying an over-accumulation of old systems and preparing a foundation for greater wealth in the future.[21] As liberalism once became an ideology for those who already possess private property in the emerging Western modern capitalistic world, so does neo-

19) Kang Sang-gu, *Sinjayuchuui ui yŏksa wa chinsil* [History and Reality of Neo-Liberalism] (Seoul: Munhwa kwahak sa, 2000; 2006), 101-102.

20) Joseph Schumpeter, *The Theory of Economic Development: an Inquiry into Profits, Capital, Credit, Interest, and the Business Cycle,* trans. Redvers Opie (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), 244.

21) Kang, *Sinjayuchuui ui yŏksa wa chinsil,* 101-102.

liberalism become an ideology for the winners in the global economy. They are born in, accustomed to, and take for granted this free-competing economic system, in which they, the winners, deserve a decent and safe life style. Everybody becomes fanatical to be the specialists that the system wants, thereby intensifying education programs. In this capitalistic system in which values are determined in their monetary aspect, everyone's desire is to make the self "sellable," decorating the body with attractive and sensual stuffs.

Alliance of the Two Gods, Christian God and the Market, in Capitalist Christianity

In awareness that the world today is full of "specialists without spirit" and "sensualists without heart," [22] it seems that rising Christian fundamentalism is another distinguished phenomenon in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Considerable numbers of religious people are armed with "old ideas and ideals," but regarding themselves as "prophetic reformers" of a futuristic vision. They can be named "spiritual imperialists" in that they have dreamt of the extension of their belief as universality or completion of *the* truth they exclusively possess and of final world domination in the name of that truth.[23] Christians always have great potential and rationale with their monotheistic belief to be the most vigorous group to profess *the* universal truth alongside its propagation to the world. Such a religious system conducts its adherents to formulate exclusive value systems and devotion based on a religious faith which transcends worldly power and leads them to build a sense of obligation to convert atheists and heretics to be Christians. Malcolm Waters pinpoints the value-oriented characteristic of religious fundamentalism through which believers are eager to reorganize/reconstruct their entire life style.[24] Without borders, this vision in religious imperialism has a dream of a universal community of world people, in Robertson's model of global *gemeinschaft* 2, "a fully globewide

22) These are Max Weber's poetic expressions in the conclusion *of The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* Weber, 182.

23) Machael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire,* trans. Yun Su-jong (Seoul: Ihaksa, 2001), 204.

24) Waters, 162.

community" of "humankind as the pivotal ingredient of the world-as-a-whole."[25] We have already seen in previous sections that, despite the pureness of religious fundamentalist movements for world mission, their passion has been often misused when it accompanies the political imperialism of the world nations. Robertson's model of global *gesellschaft* 2, is a vision for "a strong supranatural polity" "at the global level."[26] What I am concerned about and questioning here in this article is contemporary Christian fundamentalist movements' (*gemeinschaft* 2) conflation with the global economic system (*gesellschaft* 2).

Recent Christian fundamentalist movements, both in denominational and trans-denominational dimensions, and in search of a radical value system and goals, dynamically formulate what sociologists call a "collectivity" which has the social power to motivate the components towards a certain action.[27] As the global world becomes more pluralistic, complex, and hybridized, fundamentalist movements in various realms arise as the proactive alternative. Although most fundamentalist movements highlight old values they are not "retrospective" at all. The fundamentalist movements are proactive efforts to make history right again based on their strong belief in the right, universal truth that their tradition used to have. Ever since the dichotomized "Cold War" ideology collapsed and other established central discourses became absent, and as advanced technology and communication have created pluralistic cultural realities, religious fundamentalist groups have found rich soil to develop such a "futuristic prophetic" vision for their world order. Their primary task is to lead Christian nations to recover pure faith and faith-bound secular life and to make non-Christian nations follow their examples.[28]

Most religious fundamentalists, however, are not "old fashioned" in terms of their active use of advanced technology and communication

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25) Roland Robertson, "Globality, Global Culture and Images of World Order," in *Social Change and Modernity,* eds. Hans Haferkamp and Neil J. Smelser (Berkely; Los Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 404-405.

26) Ibid., 405.

27) Roland Robertson, *The Sociological Interpretation of Religion,* trans. Yi Wongyu (Seoul: Taehan kidokkyo ch' ulp' an sa, 1984), 114.

28) Hardt and Negri, 205. For further study in this subject-matter, see Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).

methods. Through global media systems such as satellite dishes, on-line programs, and books circulated world-wide, Christian fundamentalist movements and organizations - mostly formulated in America - envision the remaking of a world order which would rapidly grow in the rest of the world. The important point is that a consciousness of "one world" has grown alongside an intensive degree of mutual independence through advanced communication techniques, which often facilitates some groups of collectivity to think of "reorganizing" the world as "a" system. It seems to be the advent of a "network Christianity" in the network world of the World Wide Web.

The Christian fundamentalist contents[29] globally transmitted are mainly Anglo-American products.[30] Christian fundamentalism, in the use of Berger's categorized engines to accelerate global culture, fits in the category of "international socio-cultural movement."[31] Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority Movement, for example, which has prevailed in the Bible Belt, the southern part of America, and flourished as Ronald Reagan, its strong advocate, became the president of the nation. Formulating the "New Christian Right," with its proactive vision for remaking America with its religious vision, what the movement demonstrated against with the most viciousness was abortion, homosexuality, pornography, humanism, and corrupted family order.[32] In addition, this Christian fundamentalism began to emphasize financial blessings as the nation went through structural economic difficulties in the mid 1990s, gaining radically growing responses from American Christians. Selectively chosen biblical verses that guarantee financial abundance and plenty of dramatic faith testimonies to achieve financial success fill the books and sermons in this trend of the Christian fundamentalist movement.[33]

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29) In terms of "fundamentalist contents," I have overviewed some popular on-line sermons and globally-translated books, which evangelical Korean churches have recommended. With a restriction on article length, I cannot deliver the citations from those materials. Instead, I would pinpoint distinguished characteristics which those materials share in common.

30) Peter Berger and Samuel Huntington, eds., *Many Globalization, trans. Kim Han-yŏng* (Seoul: aip' ild, 2005), 15.

31) Ibid., 100-103.

32) Anthony Giddens, *Sociology* 4th edition, trans. Kim Mi-suk et al. (Seoul: Ŭlyumunhwasa, 2003), 500.

The Pentecostal Church can be the most representative example that fits in this category, sharing similar social teachings and visions with the "New Christian Right" type of Christian fundamentalists. Providing programs for recovery of "traditional family and couple ethics" in Christianity[34] to those who are afraid of losing family values in a pluralistic multi-cultural society, and providing God-given promises and tips for financial blessings to those who become involuntary failures in competing global markets, this Pentecostalism has gained large numbers of congregations both in the U.S. and the rest of the world. The contents of the American Pentecostal Church, which Anthony Giddens calls the "electronic church," [35] are delivered through world wide communication methods. Those messages are largely bought especially in the developing countries.[36] The major teachings of Pentecostal churches are economic independence, hard work, and self-restraint (saving) for a better future as the work ethic of a sincere Christian believer. In fact, about 80 percent of the Pentecostal church members in an interview said that they save money for creating their independent work. It is obviously the typical work ethic in Protestantism. Of course, their "other-worldly" pursuit is not replaced by a "this-worldly" desire for wealth, but regarded as the later matter, which they would enjoy after physical death after they finish the enjoyable this-worldly abundant life. Just as the

33) Take some examples of books and sermon titles in those times (1994-2000): "31 Secrets for Career Success," "7 Keys to 1000 Times More," "Secrets of the Richest Man Who Ever Lived," "The Covenant of Fifty-eight Blessings," The Biblical Road to Financial Blessings." Etc.

34) For further study, see Stephanie Conntz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992).

35) Giddens, 501.

36) In the Republic of South Africa, for example, since the 1950s, the Pentecostal Church shows a radical growth rate. Emphasizing the spiritual dimension of religious experience through the Holy Spirit, the major approach of the Pentecostal Church meets native African indigenous religious tradition of spirit worship. Following visits of American evangelists such as William Brandham and Oral Roberts, Pentecostal Christian organizations have been established. Pentecostal Church's messages of physical healing in faith and the promise of abundant life flourishing in this world earned the majority of African common minds in the time of national independence and development. Berger and Huntington, 344-346.

Protestant ethic played a role of motivating power for the Western Protestant believers in the time of emerging capitalism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so it functions the same in the time of economic take-off in the Third World nations.[37)]

The phenomenon that brings my interest is that such eagerness to reformulate their economic realities through religious belief has grown much faster and greater since the 1990s, the time of global financial difficulties in the neo-liberal system. In Latin America, for example, the major religion is no longer Catholic since Pentecostal Protestantism has grown rapidly since that time.[38)] In Korea, the same social teachings in Pentecostalism have already been imprinted since the 1950s and are now easily found in the major Protestant churches and trans-denominational religious organizations. Numberless family and couple recovery programs are imported from American fundamentalist movements and the American leaders of these movements are invited so frequently to "teach" Korean church members how to get these blessings. As the neo-liberalist global market has produced more failures in the economic area, and as the rational calculative human effort does not work well in such trans-national giant economic systems, the Pentecostal tendency to rely on spiritual power to receive financial blessings has earned more attention of Korean congregations since the IMF era in

37) In Latin America, also, Protestantism is a symbol of spiritual stability and material prosperity. In Chile, for example, low class people in suburban areas during the recent several decades have became members of the Pentecostal Church that preaches devoted work ethic, ascetic life style, and gives significant consideration to the family value as the holy institute founded by the divine will of God. Giving up the previous life style of drinking, gambling, and jobless days, a man converted to the Pentecostal Church applies an ascetic life style of hard work and devotion to his own family while a converted woman tries to become a sincere housewife whose family and community flourish. It is a repeat or construction of what the eighteenth and nineteenth century Western bourgeois family idealized. The strong belief in divine origin and sustaining of the family leads the advocates in the Pentecostal Church most viciously to reject consideration of divorce, abortion, and homosexuality. In those matters, they are conservative and even more aggressive than the Roman Catholic official position. Berger and Huntington, 378, 395, & 410-411.

38) Regarding Latin American Pentecostalism, see David Martin, *Tongs of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

1997. The Seed Faith Movement, which has an American origin and also has large numbers of adherents in Korean major churches, for example, shows the representative case of the Capitalist Christianity. In the use of world-wide communication methodologies, the movement propagates "seed faith" as the symbolic evidence of the financial salvation of a sincere Christian. The concept of seed faith is close to that of seed money or investment money in the market. The leaders of the movement admonish the believers to implant the money for God first in accordance with the believers' faith to see to what extent God will multiply it. When the believer is unemployed with financial difficulties, it is a God-given chance to test one's own faith - so they deliver in their sermons. The preachers insist, "Plant the seed faith" and proclaim that "My best day is just ahead!" [39]

A Concluding Remark: Is A Reversed Protestant Ethic Valid?

In my eyes, current religious practices in mainline Korean churches show the reversed version of the Protestant ethic, i.e., the irrational means of religious faith for the purpose of the rational goal of worldly success. The Weberian thesis pinpoints the salient characteristics of a Protestant work ethic as: the irrational purpose of the otherworldly salvation of the self acquiring eternal life in the process of glorifying God through a secular vocation and the rational means of this-worldly management of life with calculative, planning, rational, and punctual personality, which became the foundation of modern rationality. When the two majestic gods, the market and a Christian Capitalistic God, met together, however, this meeting eventually has produced the reversed version of the Protestant ethic. Capitalist Christianity searches rational purposes to gain material, this-worldly abundance of life in an economic and social position in the belief that such a success of the sincere Christian is what God is pleased with and eager to give. It is believed that the way to complete such a rational goal is through irrational means, belief in God, the ultimate source of material blessings.

The problematic point, however, is that our contemporary Christian fundamentalists' social teachings - spiritual peace, financial wealth, and

39) Mike Murdock, "Seven Master Keys to Living in Financial Peace," the Wisdom Center Television Program DVD edition, 2002.

recovery of moral life and their passion to make all the nations follow the teaching - have delivered themselves into the neo-liberalist global system in which the final winners of this free competing market system would be restricted only to small numbers of trans-national enterprises and imperialistic nations. This is not only a Third World matter but one which also troubles the First World nations.[40] In this system, the rich become richer than ever in human history, but the poor become poorer than ever and are increasing in number. What we have seen every day is the polarization of human condition in this neo-liberal capitalistic global system. At this point, I would like to question whether the Protestant ethic found in contemporary Protestant fundamentalist movements/church organizations is still "valid" when we know the basic logic and anticipated conclusion of neo-liberalism and its institutional practices. Without questioning the structural evil in neo-liberalist economic composition, can a Christian be sincere by working hard, saving more, and sharing the money with the poor? In the globally competing free market, devoted Christians have to work hard to belong to those of final success, and to defeat their rivals. If they happen to belong to the rest and the most, the failures in the system, they pray for extraordinary supernatural blessings to recover from their financial difficulties. At any rate, however, the majority have to be "failures" in this neo-liberal system, living in the status of jobless or part-time workers. In Christian circles, what we need with urgency is, I believe, not only the world-transcending faith but also an historical consciousness through which we analyze, evaluate, and make decisions on our human condition, of which the largest subject matter is the close affinity between neo-liberalism and Christian fundamentalism and the conflation of the two with imperialistic zeal. We have to be both "pure" like a dove and "wise" like a snake.

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40) During the last fifteen years, eighty percent of American middle class incomes have reduced, while the average working hours of American laborers have increased up to 164 hours longer working time in comparison to that of twenty years ago. England also has similar problems such as unstable employment, lower income, and poverty. In England one out of four working-age men is jobless and one third of the children are fostered in poverty, while societal institutions are reorganized in favorable conditions for the advantaged class, the successor of global economic free competition. Chris Harman, *Economics of the Madhouse Capitalism and the Market Today,* trans. Sim In-suk (Seoul: Ch'aekgalp'i, 2001), 13, 136.

Abstract

This article pays attention to a close affinity between the spirit and practices of the neo-liberalist global market system and those of Christian fundamentalism, especially in the Korean context. The problematic point in this affinity is located in their shared conviction of the universality or complete truth of their assertions, often resulting in imperialistic world domination without consideration of possible alternatives that other traditions have suggested. In an emerging global world, in which we now have a strong consciousness of "one world" and "global citizenship" alongside advanced technological communication/transportation methods, these two imperialistic groups of neo-liberalist economic-political adherents and Christian fundamentalists are transcending their national boundaries and go to the end of the world in order to complete their missions.

In Korea, Protestantism as a "package" of modern Western civilization was introduced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the time of national crisis when Korea was experiencing visible military aggression from the West and the Westernized imperial Japan. Purchased as a "Western religion" which promises wealth and prosperity both in national and individual life, the Korean churches have formulated a so-called "Capitalist Christianity" that envisions material blessings and spiritual peace. When this "Capitalist Christianity" meets the neo-liberalist global economic system, which emphasizes the absolute power of the free competing market, it accelerates its materialistic tendency providing an "irrational method" of God-given power to the believers' rational profit-making calling. It is the exactly the reversed version of the spirit of Protestantism, which flourishes in the globally-transmitted Christian fundamentalist social teachings.

Bringing some examples of Capitalist Christianity and its conflation with the spirit of neo-liberalism, this article aims to call forth the attention of the mainline Korean churches to develop an historical consciousness to analyze, evaluate, and make decisions on our contemporary human conditions.

Key Words

capitalist Christianity, Protestant ethic, neo-liberalism, elective affinity, civil virtue, responsible self, profit-making as a Protestant calling, this-worldly asceticism, Christianity as the Western learning, evangelical and

conservative, spirituality-centered, free-competing market as the neo-liberal God, alliance of the two gods, Christian God and the market, seed-faith movement, Pentecostalism, historical consciousness.

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Toward a Tonghak Ecofeminist Spirituality of Ecojustice

Jun Hyun-shik*

Introduction

In considering the healing of the earth community in all of its crises - notably beyond corporate global economic disorders, expanding social and economic inequality, war and use of violence for terror, etc. - it is the ecological crisis which has been the most detrimental, yet it is the crisis for which we are least prepared.[1)] The ecological crisis is not simply about disrupting global biophysical ecosystems, but rather it encompasses a total crisis including the social and cultural systems in the entire global biotic community.

In this paper, I see the root cause of this ecological crisis to be the cultural connection between natural domination and social domination. I then will develop an ecological spirituality of ecojustice from the Tonghak tradition and ecofeminism as a way to heal our global crisis. In the second

He is professor of Systematic Theology at Yonsei University, Seoul. He received Ph.D from Northwestern University in U.S.A. He has written many articles including "Tonghak Ecofeminist Reconstruction of Knowing and Doing" and also several books including "Ecology and Christian Anthropology," "Ecofeminism and Theology. He is interested in developing Korean ecofeminist and body theology. He is now a chief editor of Korean Journal of Systematic Theology. Email: hsjun2691@yonsei.ac.kr

1) This was summarized by the World Economic Forum (WEF), Davos, Switzerland, 24-28 Jan, 2007. See www.weforum.org/en/index.htm

part, I will explore the interconnection between the domination of women and the destruction of nature from an ecofeminist perspective based on Rosemary Ruether's ecofeminist insights regarding transcendent dualism as the cultural root of all forms of domination as compared with Sherry Ortner's anthropological insights on the women-nature connection. I will also affirm the distortion of human relationality into sexism as original sin.

In the third part, as an alternative to patriarchal dualisms, I will develop a Tonghak spirituality of *Si Ch'ŏnju* as ecofeminist relationality in terms of its metaphysical implications representing radical unity and diversity in the interdependent network of the cosmic life. In the fourth part, I will also envision a Tonghak ecofeminist community of ecojustice as I associate the ethical implications of *Si Ch'ŏnju* with the ecofeminist notion of ecojustice. I will finally envision a Tonghak ecofeminist eschatological vision of *Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk,* in which I stress our conscious, responsible and yet humble participation in the earth community, as a goal of the Tonghak ecofeminist spirituality of ecojustice.

Ecofeminist Interconnections Between the Oppression of Women and the Domination of Nature

According to ecofeminism,[2] the women-nature connection has been used as

2) Ecofeminism, which combines ecology and feminism in their deep ways, especially deep ecology and radical feminism, is a critical theory from which we evaluate the cultural and social roots of the double dominations of women and nature, and a redemptive vision or practice of a healed relationship of mutuality between male and female, the rich and the poor, and humans and nature, by seeking an ecofeminist spirituality of ecojustice. Ruether, "Ecofeminism: Symbolic and social connections of the Oppression of Women and the Domination of Nature," in *Ecofeminism and the Sacred,* edited by Carol J. Adams (New York: Continuum, 1993), 13-14. For ecofeminism, see Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development* (London: Zed Books, 1988); Judith Plant, ed., *Healing the Wounds: The Promise of Ecofeminism* (Philadelphia: New Society, 1989); Irene Diamond & Gloria Feman Orestein, eds., *Reweaving the World: The Emergence of Ecofeminism* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1990); Greta Gaard, ed., *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993); Chang Yoon-Jae, "Ecofeminism and Ecofeminist Theologies: Toward a More Holistic Theory and

a patriarchal ideology to justify male domination over women and nature. Sherry Ortner explains this male double domination of women and nature as a universal phenomenon in most cultures through the symbolic connection of women-nature and men-culture.[3] According to her, every culture devalues women by associating women with "something" it deems to be less valuable than itself, that is, nature. This cultural pattern demonstrates the male monopoly of culture in which men are identified with culture while women are associated with nature. This supposed control of culture over nature legitimizes men's domination of women. She argues that women, in fact, are not closer to nature than men. She emphasizes that the association between women and nature lies not in any biological differences, but also is rooted in the cultural ideologies that make women appear closer to nature than culture and make women's tasks, roles and psyche inferior to men's.[4]

Transcendent Dualism as the Cultural Root of All Forms of Domination

Sherry Ortner's anthropological study of universal female subordination and the hierarchy of culture over nature provides important support for

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Praxis," *Korea Journal of Christian Studies* 39 (2005/5), 113-130; Kim Eun-hey, "The Kingdom of God and Symbol: Feminist God-Talk in Cultural Analysis," *Korea Journal of Christian Studies* 44 (2006/4), 287-314.

3) Sherry Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" in Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., *Women, Culture and Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 67-88. Ortner identifies three phenomena in nearly all cultures that show male domination of women: (1) a cultural ideology regarding female tasks and roles as less valuable; (2) the attribution of women to impurity and defilement due to their biological reproduction; (3) the exclusion of females from involvement in the public sphere.

4) Sherry Ortner, 75-80. What makes women appear closer to nature than men? She locates the cultural association of women with nature in three dimensions: women's physiology, social roles and psyche. Women's physiology and reproductive functions are similar to the reproductive functions of nature, while men's production is closer to the creative power of culture. Women's roles of reproduction limit their social roles to the domestic domain. Women's social roles based on their physiology provide women with a different psychic structure from men.

Rosemary Ruether's ecofeminist symbolical connection between the oppression of women and nature. However, we may ask a question: Is the symbolic connection between women and nature trans-historical and cross-cultural? In response to this question, I will examine Rosemary Ruether's claim that transcendent dualism is the key cultural root of all forms of dominations.

Ruether first attributes the early root of social and natural domination to the male consciousness toward women and nature arising out of the usual male puberty rites in which pubescent men begin to separate themselves from the female sphere of their early socialization and then to gradually identify with the male sphere. Here Ruether generally agrees with Ortner's views about the cultural association between women and nature, and men and culture, as rooted in the earliest social patterns. Nevertheless, Ruether questions Ortner's universal claim on the symbolic correlation of oppressed women and dominated nature based on her historical analysis of Hebrew and Greek culture. Ruether points to Ortner's failure to recognize the ambivalence in the symbol of nature, while Ruether recognizes the ambivalence of the symbol of women as the disvalued opposite category to men and yet the source of life or the Divine, in her recognition of cultural particulars.[5)]

The problem with Ortner's women-nature symbolic connection is derived from her dualistic view of nature as a reality apart from and below humanity, rather than as one nexus of nature of which humanity is an inseparable part.[6)] Ruether attempts to identify how this reversed view of humanity as outside of nature has occurred in cultural consciousness. The human-nature hierarchy must be inextricably interlinked with male-female

5) Rosemary Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk: Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 72-74; Carol J. Adams, ed., *Ecofeminism and the Sacred,* 15-16.

6) Like planetary biologists based on Gaia hypothesis, such as James Lovelock and Lynn Margulis, Ruether sees nature as a living system "apart from human influence in its own constant process of adaptation and change." Human transformation of the rest of nature is also a part of this process: Ruether, *Gaia and God,* 5-6. See also James Lovelock, *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); Lynn Margulis and Dorian Sagan, *Microcosmos: Four Billions Years of Evolution from Our Microbian Ancestors* (New York: Summit Books, 1987).

hierarchy. But, Ruether demonstrates that the process of this reversal of natural reality is more complex than Ortner suggests, as she sees the growing symbolic connection between women and nature in the Mediterranean and in the early Christian and Western cultures.

In the Babylonian Creation story, Ruether finds the rise of male domination over female and nature in a transition from a more egalitarian matricentric society to a patriarchal system, and from a reproductive model to an artisan model for cosmogenesis.[7] But, in the process of male domination over the wild primal matter/Mother, nature is seen as the matrix of chaos and cosmos in which the divine drama takes place. The divine is not transcendent over this matrix of nature but immanent in it. The female is not only related with the chaotic but also with a life-giving power against death.[8] Here I see a loose connection between the domination of women and nature, especially its chaotic and life-giving power, with all of nature's spheres beginning to be controlled and dominated.

The connection between women and nature in Hebraic culture is greater but more ambivalent than in the Babylonian. For example, no strict class hierarchy is found in the Creation story since human beings are viewed as "a unified corporate entity" created in the image of God. This view of humanity makes gender relations complex. While "humanity created in the image of God" in Genesis 1:27 allows for the possibility of male-female equality, female is intended to be a secondary human in service of male as in the account of Genesis 2:22 where female was made out of the rib of male. The hierarchical ranking of humans over nature is more ambivalent. The Hebrew creation account is certainly anthropocentric in that Adam, as collective humanity, was given "dominion" over the rest of creation in Genesis 1:28. At the same time, human control over nonhuman nature is restricted since humanity as "the representative of divine sovereignty" over creation is not allowed to possess and exploit creation but is to care for it in Genesis 2.[9]

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7) Rosemary Ruether, *Gaia and God: An Ecofeminist Theology of Earth Healing* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1992), 16-18.

8) Ruether, *Gaia and God,* 76.

9) Ruether, *Gaia and God,* 19-22. See also James Barr, "Man and Nature: the Ecological Controversy and the Old Testament," in *Ecology and Religion in History,* ed., by David and Eileen Spring (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 48-75.

A direct connection between women and nature cannot be found here. In the Hebrew view, both humans and nature belong to God's covenant in one creation. Nature is seen as a lower sphere to be taken care of or managed by humans as faithful stewards. But, nature is also seen as the matrix of chaos and cosmos under God's direct control in which God punishes or blesses humans according to their faithfulness to God. In the Hebrew creation story, I see an increasing but more ambivalent connection between women and nature than in the Babylonian account. There is certainly the domination of the patriarchal male as representative of the patriarchal God over the female and nature. And yet, the image of covenant between God, humanity and nature makes this male domination ambivalent.[10)]

We find the explicit association between the oppression of women and the domination of nature in the concept of the primal dualism between the invisible realm of spirit and the visible realm of body in the Greek creation story, the Timaeus. Ruether sees the radical transcendent dualism between mind and body in this story to be the root of the explicit connection between the domination of women and nature. She thus claims that this mind-body dualism is duplicated in male-female, ruler-worker and human-animal hierarchies in Greek philosophy.[11)] Ruether's historical analysis is support for the growing concept of the connection between women and nature culminating in transcendent dualism in Greek thought. This increasingly ambivalent view of women, nature and the body radically shifts to a negative and hostile view in Greek philosophy. They all are to be controlled, finally released as the source of evil, and eternal salvation will ultimately be found in the escape of the soul from this earthly realm to the transcendent.[12)]

Ruether affirms that the human person is unitary,[13)] therefore she also

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10) Ruether, *Gaia and God,* 207-214.

11) Ruether states, "The hierarchy of spirit to physical nature as male to female is made explicit. The chain of being, God-spirits-male-female-nonhuman nature-matter, is at the same time the chain of command. The direction of salvation follows the trajectory of alienation of mind from its own physical support system, objectified as 'body' and 'matter.' " Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk,* 79.

12) Ruether, *Gaia and God,* 22-26.

13) She grounds her affirmation on a Hebraic and an Aristotelian view of "the soul as the life principle of the body itself," repudiating the Platonic eschatology

sees the mind-body split as the root of world-negating spiritualities, and thus the ecological crisis. She derives this mind-body dualism from "the male ideology of transcendent dualism" which causes us to see others not as subject but as object, to control and dominate. Contrary to some elements of Mother and nature religions found in Babylonian and Canaanite mythologies, which see reality as dialectical built on a natural cycle of death and renewal, patriarchal religion elevates "a male-identified consciousness to transcendent apriority" as is found in all dualisms.

The fall of dialectical interaction into absolute dualism stems from a male-identified consciousness seeking to escape from its own mortality and bodiliness, based on fear of death and the body, which is rooted in the inability to reproduce without women. So the male identifies himself with a transcendent sphere of divine, spirit, mind, culture, while femaleness is identified with the sphere of finitude of earth, matter, body, nature and mortality which should be denied, controlled and dominated.[14)]

Locating social domination and the emerging ecological crisis in patriarchal anthropology based on this dualism of mind and body, Ruether relates anthropology to ethics as she seeks an earth-based spirituality and ethics by affirming bodiliness, finitude, the well-being of bodies of all kinds[15)] based on the life cycle of death and renewal which the body, especially the female body, represents. This male ideology of transcendent dualism itself presupposes male/female dualism whereby Ruether sees male domination of female as "the primary psychic model" for other forms of domination.

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based on a view of "the soul as capable of being detached from the body and existing in a disembodied form after death." She also affirms the reality of spirit and matter as "the inside and outside of the same thing" referring to the postmodern science and evolutionary view of reality. See her books, *Gaia and God,* 28-29, 38-39; and *Sexism and God-Talk,* 85-87.

14) Ruether, *New Women / New Earth: Sexist Ideologies and Human Liberation* (New York: Seabury, 1975), 194-95.

15) Hebrew religion didn't understand mortality as the last enemy to be overcome but as natural. Despite its dualistic view of good and evil in apocalyptic terms, its reference to resurrection was not to overcome mortality but to deal with injustice. It also understood blessedness not as overcoming mortality but as living a whole life focused on the well-being of bodies. See Isaiah 65:20; also Ruether, *Gaia and God,* 71.

Unlike Ruether's primary emphasis on male/female dualism in the male ideology of transcendent dualism, Ortner sees culture/nature dualism as the primary symbol in hierarchical dualism, along with a close connection between women and nature, which is a root cause of both female subordination and ecological disaster. Ruether finds a deeper root than Ortner for the ecological crisis in sexism or androcentrism in anthropocentrism. Whether androcentrism or anthropocentrism came first symbolically or historically, these major forms of domination are interlinked with each other. We cannot adequately criticize the male-female dualism without looking into the culture-nature dualism and vice versa. Therefore, the liberation of humans, especially of oppressed women, cannot be accomplished without the liberation of oppressed nature.

I think Ruether's claim that the male transcendent consciousness is the conceptual root of various forms of domination seems to be deeper, more complex and adequate than Ortner's anthropological version of the women-nature connection as universal and cross-cultural. Despite the significant contribution of Ortner's symbolic connection between women and nature to illuminate the double domination of women and nature, as Ruether rightly indicates, Ortner's main problem lies in her use of the dualistic definition of "nature" as the opposite and inferior category to culture. It follows that she doesn't see the women/nature affinity as emancipatory.[16] However, Ruether

16) There have been hot debates among radical feminists whether the women-nature connection is emancipatory or not. Ynestra King distinguishes between rationalist and cultural approaches to this issue. Radical rationalist feminists reject the women-nature connection because they believe it reinforces gender differences and sexual stereotypes. However, radical cultural feminists see the women-nature connection as potentially emancipatory and thus use women's experience of the female ghetto as a source of power for women's struggle for liberation. See Ynestra King, "Healing the Wounds: Feminism, Ecology and the Nature/Culture Dualism," in Alison M. Jaggar and Susan R. Bordo (eds.), *Gender/Body/Knowledge/Feminist Reconstruction of Being and Knowledge* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 115-41. Radical cultural feminists, who see the women-nature connection as emancipatory, are Mary Daly, Susan Griffin, Starhawk, Charlene Spretnak. But, with emphasis on social construction of gender, social and socialist feminists (Dorothy Dinnerstein, Karen Warren, Maria Mies, Vandana Shiva) indicate radical cultural feminists' separatist vision and argue that excessive stress on the

stresses the conversion from transcendent dualism to dynamic unity as a key factor for overcoming the patterns of domination of women and nature. She calls for "fundamental reconstruction of our basic model of interrelationship··· a cooperative model of fellowship of life system"[17] in her seeking an ecofeminist consciousness and symbolic culture and spirituality.

The Distortion of the I-Thou Relationship between Male and Female into Sexism as Original Sin

As noted above, transcendental dualism is a cultural reversal of the reality that nature is the matrix of all forms of existence. As a way of converting transcendent dualism to dynamic unity, I will look into how human relationality has been distorted into a good-evil ideology - especially by distorting the I-Thou relationship into sexism that we need to see as original sin. Ruether emphasizes sexism as the underlying social basis of the good-evil ideology.[18] Feminism claims that a fundamental expression of human relationality, the I-Thou relationship between male and female, has been distorted throughout history into an oppressive relationship where men are privileged at the expense of female subjugation; i.e., the hierarchical relationship between male and female is "the primary alienation and distortion of human relationality."[19]

According to Ruether, the confusion of the self-other dichotomy with the good-evil dualism occurred early in human history. Males as the center of the early tribal group dominantly defined their collective self against other alien groups. The "good self" is identified with "the favored center

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women-nature association may disturb women's liberation. Women and men should be both natural and cultural through the integration of their public and domestic roles. See Rosi Braidotti, et. al., *Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1994), 59-76.

17) Ruether, *New Women / New Earth,* 31.

18) Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk, 160; New Women / New Earth,* 157. Ruether writes: "It is the underlying 'error' of patriarchal thinking that the dialectics of human existence - male-female, consciousness-body, human-nature - are turned into good-evil dualisms. Moreover, these dualisms of the polarities of human existence scapegoat the 'evil' side as 'female.' "

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

who dominates the cultural interpretation of humanness," while the "other" is perceived as inferior and thus their exploitation can be rationalized. For Ruether, evil lies in the process of falsely naming evil; that is, "projection" and "exploitation"[20] distorting human relationality. Evil occurs precisely through "the distortion of the self-other relationship into the good-evil, superior-inferior dualism."[21]

I have reviewed how the self-other relationships, especially the male-female relationship as primary expression, have also been distorted into good-evil dualism, especially in sexism throughout the history of human consciousness. I agree that evil lies not in something or someone really separated from us, but rather in oppressive relationships where we usually project inferior and evil characteristics onto alien others and then exploit them. Our exploitation is then justified as a means to overcome evil, thereby increasing evil.

Ruether defines sexism as one expression of original sin.[22] The social system of male privilege and female subordination into which we are born biases human choice toward evil, distorts human relationality by the men-women dualism, and thus distorts our humanity. Sexism as the exploitation

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20) Ruether describes the two aspects of the ideology of the other as inferior and less valuable: "Projection externalizes the sense of inadequacy and negativity from the dominant group, making the other the cultural 'carrier' of these rejected qualities. The dominant group can then rationalize exploitation as the right to reduce the other to a servile condition, abuse, and even kill them on the ground of their lesser value." Ibid., 162.

21) Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk,* 163.

22) The concept of original sin reminds us that we inherit the conditions of sin and evil. We are born into a predisposition to sin in human nature, whatever we call it - pride, unbelief, anxiety, aggression or sensuality. We are also born into distorted social systems that result from the past sin. We are not only predisposed to sin in human nature but also to participate in actual sins with one another and magnify them through the solidarity of human beings and cultural and social systems. We practice our limited freedom within these conditions of sin. This means that nobody is totally innocent of or responsible for these conditions of sin into which we are born. We are also reminded that sin and evil have both individual and social dimensions. The cultural and social systems that we inherit bias personal choice between good and evil. See Suchocki, *Fall to Violence: Original Sin in Relational Theology* (New York: Continuum, 1994), 82-99.

of women's bodies and their full humanity also distorts men's humanity, because women and men can promote their full humanity only in I-Thou relations where they both are treated alike as authentic persons. Men sin more than women, not because men are more sinful and more capable of evil than women, but because men who actually dominate using power and privilege have more opportunity to do evil and on a larger scale. In this system, males sin by oppressing women and other powerless people, while females sin by silencing themselves about their own subjugation, helping to perpetuate it, or by oppressing others more powerless than themselves. Males and females sin differently and thus they are held accountable for their sins in different ways.[23] Ruether sees evil as relational in both personal and social dimensions. Every personal sin occurs in a systemic and social milieu. Sexism is a social condition of sin. It creates a social system based on male privilege and female subordination conditioning all human choices between good and evil. But this giveness doesn't mean that we also are not responsible for it. Humanity created sexism and perpetuates it today. And we have the capacity to choose and avoid evil within the conditions of systemic evil.[24]

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23) Feminists argue that the classical notion of sin as pride (and self-giving as its opposite) was it is based on masculine experience does not fully reflect the female dilemma and in fact further aggravates it. For example, in contrast to such masculine forms of sin as pride and will-to-power that reflect mostly male dilemmas, Valerie Saiving defines the feminine forms of sin, which should reflect the female dilemmas, as "triviality, distractibility, and diffuseness; lack of an organizing center or focus; dependence on others for one's own self-definition; tolerance at the expense of standards of excellence; inability to respect the boundaries of privacy; sentimentality, gossipy sociability, and mistrust of reason - in short, underdevelopment or negation of the self." See Valerie Saiving, "The Human Situation: A Feminist View," *Womanspirit Rising: A Feminist Reader in Religion,* ed., by Carol P. Christ & Judith Plaskow (New York: HaperCollins Publishers, 1992), 37; Susan Nelson Dunfee, "The Sin of Hiding," *Soundings* Vol.65 No.3 (Fall 1982): 316-27; Judith Plaskow, *Sex, Sin and Grace: Women's Experience and the Theologies of Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich* (New York: University Press of America, 1980), 62-68.

24) Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk,* 173-82.

The Spirituality of *Si Ch'ŏnju* as Ecofeminist Relationality

We confirm that sexism is original sin since it usually becomes "the primary psychic model" for other forms of domination existing in broken "distorted human relations" - both personal and social. In this sense, a conversion from sin, especially from sexism, can also be termed "ecojustice" - a renewal of our relationships of mutuality, harmony and justice throughout the interdependent web of life. In the Tonghak spirituality of *Si Ch'ŏnju*, these concepts are related to ecofeminist conceptions of interconnectedness and interdependency between all forms of life.

Si Ch'ŏnju (侍天主)[25] spirituality represents the dynamic unity of the divine, humanity and nature embedded in the interdependent web of cosmic life. The core of Tonghak[26] (東學) thought is represented in the main sacred formula of thirteen characters. Among them the first three, *Si Ch'ŏnju*, is the essence of this core. As we understand *Si Ch'ŏnju* as reverently serving Hanullim, there seems to be a distinction between the subject and the object. While humans and Hanullim are distinguished as the subject of serving and the object of being served, they are in union. Humans are *Hanullim* and

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25) *Si Ch'ŏnju* is composed of Si (a predicate) which literally means "to bear," "to wait upon" or "to serve" and *Ch'ŏnju* (an object) which means the Heavenly Lord as the catholic term for God. Tonghak prefers to employ the Korean indigenous term, *Hanullim* that corresponds to the Western concept of God. *Hanullim* is very often expressed as *Chi Ki* (the Ultimate Energy) which refers to the divine who is not only a personal being but also a metaphysical principle of the universe.

26) Tonghak literally means "Eastern Learning" as the opposite concept of Sŏhak, "Western Learning," standing for Roman Catholicism and Western culture in general. Here I take it to mean the Korean indigenous religion, philosophy and movement that Suun founded in 1860 and Haewŏl, the second leader, who embodied it into a way of life and social movement. In 1894 *Tonghak* developed into a socio-political movement called the Tonghak movement or revolution under the leadership of Chŏn Pong-jun. Since 1905 it has been called Ch'ŏndogyo, Religion of the Heavenly Way by Son Pyŏng-hi, the third leader. The term *Tonghak* I use here refers to the religion, spirituality and movement for life which Suun and Haewŏl pursued. For Korean theology of *Tonghak*, see Hur Ho-ik, "Choi Si-Hyung's Theory of Sam Kyung and Theocosmoandric Theology," *Korea Journal of Theology* 27(2003/1), 437-466.

Hanullim are humans (*In nae ch'ŏn*). We will see how this could be.

Naeyu Silryŏng as the Unity of All Forms of Life

The significance of the one character "*Si*" is the key concept for the whole system of Tonghak as a philosophical, religious and socio-political movement. Suun explained the first meaning of *Si* as *Naeyu Silryŏng* (內有神靈) which literally means "Inwardly there is the divine spirit." I think this is the key to understanding *Naeyu Silryŏng* as the unity of each form of life with the divine spirit. The divine spirit can be named universal nature or spirituality, cosmic life, truth or whatever we call the fundamental source of organic life.[27] *Naeyu Silryŏng* is an inner manifestation of ecological spirituality where the divine spirit is embedded in the nature of every existent.

Here the universal nature (Mind) is nothing less than the nature (mind) of *Hanullim.* The voice of *Osim chŭk Yŏsim* (吾心卽汝心) (My Mind is your mind) that Suun heard from *Hanullim* is the voice heard from the center of his mind at the moment he realized the unity of his nature with universal nature. Suun's realization of *Osim chŭk Yŏsim* is the restoration of his true nature, true mind and true self. The ecological spirituality of *Naeyu Silryŏng* means that the nature of every existence, especially human nature, reaches the nature of the universe, that is, *Osim chŭk Yŏsim*, through the restoration of the cosmic life in the center of his or her existence, that is, the restoration of one's center and life. As noted above, the ecological awareness of *Naeyu Silryŏng* doesn't understand the divine spirit and human mind as individual separate entities but rather as relational and interdependent. Relationality is seen as the basic mode of existence.

The divine spirit that transcends all forms of existence and contemplates the present order of the cosmos and envisions its future order parallels one Western aspect of the divine nature, that is, the divine primordial nature as presented in process metaphysics. Process metaphysics posits the divine nature as dipolar in explaining the relationality of God's creativity and the world's creativity.[28] I see the nature of *Hanullim* as also dipolar: *Naeyu*

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

28) Suchocki, *God-Christ-Church,* 246-255; John B. Cobb, Jr. and David Ray Griffin, *Process Theology: An Introductory Exposition* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976), 41-62; Thomas E. Hosinski, *Stubborn Fact and*

Silryŏng and *Oeyu Kihwa.* Whitehead's concept of God's primordial nature seems very similar to Suun's understanding of the nature of *Hanullim* as *Naeyu Silryŏng*. In his realization of *Silryŏng* as a mental pole of the divine, I think Suun attempts to describe God's eternal quality in the mental pole as in Whitehead's notion of the divine primordial nature. As God includes all possibilities for all existences in God's primordial nature, *Silryŏng* is the One Great Mind of the universe who envisions the whole order of the universe from its beginning to end.

In process metaphysics, God is conceived as containing all possibilities for all existences in God's divine primordial nature and all possibilities are thus unified in God's primordial vision. This divine primordial nature offers the "initial aim," the best possible option among many possibilities, to every existence. In the process of becoming, every existence adapts God's initial aim as the guiding energy for its own subjective aim. But every existence responds to God's best possible option in freedom. The more we adapt God's initial aim into our subjective aim, the closer we come to God's primordial nature, and vice versa. The unity of our subjective aim with God's initial aim, I think, implies a similarity with the ecological significance of *Naeyu Silryŏng* as the unity of our mind with the mind of *Hanullim.* Suun's realization of *Osim chŭk Yŏsim* is at the moment of his religious experience of *Hanullim*. For Suun *Naeyu Silryŏng* as an inner aspect of the nature of *Hanullim* stresses the unity of every existence with the mind of *Hanullim* (*Silryŏng*) which represents the nature or the principle of the cosmos.

Creative Advance: An Introduction to the Metaphysics of Alfred North Whitehead (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1993), ch.7-8. God originates in the mental pole and moves from harmonious unity of all possibilities in the world. From the nontemporality of possibilities, Whitehead derives the eternal nature of God that contains all possibilities in its nature. Whitehead calls this eternal quality of the mental pole of this unique entity the "primordial nature" of God. God, who begins in primordial satisfaction, moves toward the physical feeling of the world. This is the second phase of God's subjective aim which directs the concrescence of God. Whitehead calls the physical pole in God the divine "consequent nature," since God's physical feeling of the world is consequent upon God's primordial beginning.

Oeyu Kihwa as the Diversity of All Forms of Life

The second meaning of *Si, Oeyu Kihwa* (外有氣化) literally means "Outwardly there is a flow of energy." *Oeyu Kihwa* stresses the diversity or interconnectedness of all existences within the One Energy of the universe (*Ki* 氣); *Naeyu Silryŏng* focuses on the unity of all existences in the divine spirit. The former expresses the outer relations of *Hanullim* to all things in the network of life and the latter describes the inner relations of *Hanullim* to everything in the universe. While *Silryŏng* is the mind of *Hanullim, Kihwa* is the energy of *Hanullim. Naeyu Silryŏng* is the inner activity of the mind of *Hanullim; Oeyu Kihwa* is the outer movement of the energy of *Hanullim.*

The movement of *Hanullim* into the world, termed *Kihwa,* parallels the consequent nature of the divine in process metaphysics. As the divine consequent nature features the physical pole of God, *Kihwa* characterizes the physical pole of *Hanullim* in which all things are generated, changed, extended and converge. The physical pole of *Hanullim* is nothing less than the flow of *Ki* - the network of life featuring the cycles, the relatedness and the interdependence of all actualities in the universe. The physical pole of Hanullim, that is, *Kihwa*, represents the order of becoming in which all actualities are prehended by *Hanullim. Hanullim*'s feeling toward the world is all-inclusive because *Hanullim* is the network of life and the flow of *Chiki* itself. We call it the "cosmic life." *Hanullim* also integrates one's prehensions of the world into the center of one's mind, called *Silryŏng*. *Hanullim* begins in one's inner nature or *Silryŏng* that contains all possibilities in the world and moves toward the world and feels all actualities in one's outer nature, and *Kihwa* also integrates them into *Silryŏng*. The dynamic integration of *Silryŏng* and *Kihwa* in *Hanullim* intensifies the possibilities of the world to which all existences respond in their freedom. This dynamic of relational existence is very similar to the dynamic process concept in metaphysics.

In this sense, *Naeyu Silryŏng* and Oeyu Kihwa are just the inner and outer aspects of the one activity of *Hanullim* in the process of natural becoming (*Muwi Ihwa* 無爲而化),[29] and they lead to the ontological

29) Suun describes *Silryŏng* as transcendent as he sees *Silryŏng* as the nature of the universe, that is, *Muwi Ihwa* that denotes the process of natural becoming. *Silryŏng* is the principle, the source or the power of *Muwi Ihwa*, the evolutionary process of the biotic community. No existence must go against the

interconnectedness and interdependency of all existences in the biotic community. *Silryŏng* or *Kihwa* do not exist or work alone because they are interdependent with one another. They feature the interaction of the divine transcendence and divine immanence with the universe. Suun criticized *Sŏhak* (Roman Catholicism) for its lack of *Naeyu Silryŏng*:

> Since they [Western Christians] say that the *Sangje* of Heaven [Hanullim] dwells in *Okkyŏngdae* [corresponds to the Heaven of Christianity as opposed to Hell], Suun says it is vain words, not to mention the principle of *Yin and Yang*.[30)]

Here Suun certainly critiques the rootless transcendence of the divine as conceived in the concept of the male, monotheistic, Judeo-Christian view of God as "Sky-Father" based on the dualistic and hierarchical view of reality as the transcendent Mind over and against inferior physical nature. The inner aspect of *Hanullim* as *Naeyu Silryŏng* features the immanence of the transcendent *Silryŏng* (the Divine Spirit) in every individual existence. The significance of *Naeyu Silryŏng* is that the transcendent Mind of *Hanullim* is immanent at the center of every existence. This also means that *Hanullim* is not a separate Being apart from each existence, but rather is inseparably related to every existence as the source of its very nature.

Suun also criticized *Sŏhak* (Roman Catholicism) for the lack of *Oeyu Kihwa* where he explained the difference between *Tonghak and Sŏhak*:

> The Way of *Hanullim is Muwi Ihwa* (the process of natural becoming). So, if you keep the Mind of *Hanullim* (*Silryŏng*), and have and practice the right Energy (*Ki*), and you take care of the Nature of *Hanullim*, and receive instruction from *Hanullim*, the creation (*Chohwa*) of *Hanullim* is achieved by nature. But, in *Sŏhak* there are no words in which to realize the order and principle of the universe, and no distinction between right and wrong. There is no public mind (altruism) to care for

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natural becoming of *Muwi Ihwa* as the life of the universe. The distortion of relationality through exploitation and oppression of other forms of life is a manifestation of human-centered negligence or the violation of ecological living of *Muwi Ihwa.*

30) "Todŏkga" [A Song of Morality] in Yun Sŏk-san, annot., *Yongdamyusa* (Seoul: Tonghak-sa, 2000), 207-11.

> *Hanullim* but rather, only expressing selfishness in prayer to *Hanullim* for their own body. Therefore, there is no the spirit of *Kihwa* in their body.[31]

As Suun critiques the lack of both *Silryŏng* and *Kihwa* in *Sŏhak*, he stresses that there is also no *Kihwa* of *Silryŏng*, that is, the activity of the mind of *Hanullim* in every embodied existence. The separation between the mind of *Hanullim* and human minds necessarily leads to selfish desire. Here, the energy of *Kihwa* means the outer activity of the mind of *Hanullim*. *Oeyu Kihwa* describes the outward disclosure of this movement working in all things in the universe and features their diversity in the interdependent network of the cosmic life.

Kihwa of Silryŏng as the Interconnectedness of All Forms of Life in Chiki

Suun describes the interaction of *Silryŏng* and *Kihwa*. *Oeyu Kihwa* is what Suun experienced at his religious awakening, that is, "outwardly there was the energy (*Ki*) which allowed contact with the mysterious spirit" (*Silryŏng*). Kim Chi-ha describes the dynamic unity of the mind and the energy of *Hanullim* as the movement of *Kihwa* of *Silryŏng*, o r *SinKi*. He sees this movement as the boundless activity of the cosmic life, i.e., revealed through all forms of work, natural cycles, creation, extension, repetition, unity and convergence coming together in human history. He defines the meaning of *Chi*, that is, *Oeyu Kihwa* as "letting this cosmic life work by its nature."[32] Here, Kim identifies the cosmic life with *Ki* (氣 the energy), *SinKi* (神氣 the divine energy) or *Chiki* (至氣 the Ultimate Energy).

Kim explains that *Ki* is the life energy that is clearly revealed through the life cycles of generation, disintegration and renewal. He sees *Ki* as both an infinitesimal element in visible matter and the total invisible flow of the whole universe. This allows for a dynamic unity of matter and spirit, body and mind, the part and the whole. In *Ki*, the great web of life of the universe and its movement through all forms of life become interrelated and interdependent with each other in the process of becoming which then is both invisible and foundational in the universe. *Ki* is the movement and

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31) "Nonhangmun," in Yun Sŏk-san, annot., *Tonggyŏng Daejŏn*, 71-76.

32) Kim Chi-ha, *Tonghak Iyaki* [The Story of Tonghak], 21.

activity of the unified cosmic life that integrates mind and matter, soul and body. This Tonghak organic worldview of *Ki* is an ecological alternative to the Western dualistic view of reality rooted in materialism and idealism.[33]

As noted above, *Silryŏng* and Kihwa as the inner and outer aspects of Hanullim are not two separate beings, instead they are the one infinite becoming entity itself. Suun saw the whole process of becoming of all things in the universe in the dynamic interaction between *Silryŏng* and *Kihwa* as the endlessly changing movement of *Chiki*. He explained *Chiki*:

> *Chi* means to reach the extreme, *ChiKi* [which denotes *Ki* that reaches its limit] is (1) completely empty and spiritual and yet full in the universe. (2) Since there is nothing it never intervenes and orders, (3) it seems to have a shape but it is difficult to discern it, and it seems to be heard but it is difficult to see. (4) This refers to *Honwon Ilki* (one energy of the universe).[34]

Paek Se-Myŏng interpreted Suun's first description of *ChiKi* as referring to the primal matrix of all existences from which each individual is differentiated; the second describes the process of differentiation of each individual as the result of the work of *ChiKi*. The third means that we cannot grasp its fundamental principle in isolation from the individual or by separating it from all interrelated things in the universe. The fourth meaning, that is, *Honwon Ilki* (混元一氣), stresses that we grasp the foundational principle of the universe, as well as a thing in itself, only when we see a thing as a part of the flow of the energy in relation to *ChiKi* as the primal matrix of the universe.[35]

As noted above, Suun's world view of *ChiKi* or *Honwon Ilki* clearly asserts the interrelatedness and becoming of reality stressing the interdependence of each individual existence in one network of life, that is, *ChiKi* in which all things are continuously generated, changed, disintegrated and renewed. In Ruether's terms, *ChiKi* is also seen as "the Primal Matrix,"

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33) Kim Chi-ha, *Saengmyŏng kwa Chach'i* [Life and Autonomy] (Seoul: Sol, 1996), 58-75.

34) "Nonhangmun," in Yun Sŏk-san, annot., *Tonggyŏng Daejŏn*, 80-82.

35) Quoted by O Mun-hwan, *Sarami Hanŭlida* [Humanity is Heaven] (Seoul: Sol, 1996), 71 from Paek Se-Myŏng, *Ch'ŏndogyo ŭi Uchukwan, Insaengkwan, Chongkyokwan* [The Cosmology, Anthropology and Religion of Ch'ŏndogyo].

"the Matrix of life," or "the great womb" from which all life-forms are born and to which they return in the ever changing continuity of infinite creativity.[36] Here, *Ki* obviously refers not to a substantial being which is separable and self-sufficient, but rather to a mysterious energy of life that is unintelligible, indescribable and invisible.

Kim Chi-ha identifies the extreme *Ki*, that is, *ChiKi* with the chaotic *Ki* in the beginning of the universe which, I think, parallels the preexisting force of chaos found in the Babylonian and Hebrew creation stories. But, *ChiKi* is not a kind of primal stuff of the cosmos in coexistence with the Creator as in these stories, but is the matrix or the foundational energy of life. Suun described the activity or flow of this chaotic *Ki* as *Kung Kung*. Kim stresses the interconnectedness and interdependence of all things in the flow of this mysterious *Ki* in terms of the theory of *SinKi*. As *Ki*, which changes, moves, converges and extends within my existence, it meets and communicates with *Ki* in others, and we move into the depth of the divine spirit. He expresses this movement of *Ki* or the cosmic life as the spirituality of love, fellowship and reconciliation. For him, *Oeyu Kihwa* as the creative ongoing movement of change, convergence and extension of *Ki* implies a community of cooperation, symbiosis and interdependence.[37] O Mun-hwan also understands *Oeyu Kihwa* as "original or universal communality," "public unity," and "social relationality." This awakens in us the interrelatedness of all variety of things united in the one flux of *Ki*. The ongoing creative activity of one *Ki* finds expression in a myriad of diverse forms.[38]

At the same time, the notion of *Chiki* reveals a distinction from them in Suun's unique thought of *Hanullim* and *Si Ch'ŏnju. Hanullim* as *Chiki* is not simply the material force, that is, the natural process of becoming (*Kihwa*) but also a personal Being as the Divine Spirit (*Silryŏng*) who transcends and mediates the order of the universe. *Hanullim* is both an immanent and impersonal becoming (*Kihwa*) and a transcendent and personal being (*Silryŏng*). Tonghak describes such *Hanullim* as a Being and a Becoming *Chiki, Sinki, Silryŏng* of *Kihwa* in distinction from *Sŏhak*'s monotheistic view of God.[39] As noted above, *Si Ch'ŏnju* thought helps us see *Hanullim*

36) Ruether, *Sexism and God,* 48-52; *Gaia and God,* 253.
37) Kim Chi-ha, *Saengmyŏng kwa Chach'i* [Life and Autonomy], 128-29, 346.
38) O Mun-hwan, *Sarami Hanŭlida* [Humanity is Heaven], 68-74.

not only as an impersonal natural Becoming and the source of the natural order, but also as a personal spiritual Being whom we respect and serve.[40] *Hanullim* as *Chiki* is not simply the material energy (*Kihwa*) as the source and the principle of the universe, but it also is the divine spirit (*Silryŏng*) who has a personal relationship (I-Thou) with all creatures, especially with humans. In Ruether's terms, *Hanullim* is not only "the Primal Matrix of life" and "the great womb" of the universe but is also "the Great Thou," "the personal center" of creative becoming. We have discussed the metaphysical implications of *Si Ch'ŏnju* in terms of its first meaning (*Naeyu Silryŏng*), and its second meaning (*Oeyu Kihwa*), and then we have affirmed the ecofeminist relationality characteristics of *Si Ch'ŏnju* as the unity and diversity of all forms of life in the interdependent network of *Chiki*.

Toward A Tonghak Ecofeminist Community of Ecojustice

In this concluding section, I will envision a Tonghak ecofeminist community of ecojustice by combining the third meaning of *Si Ch'ŏnju, Kagji Pulii* and the ecofeminist spirituality of eco-justice. While *Naeyu Silryŏng* and *Oeyu Kihwa* gave us metaphysical implications of ecological relationality, *Kagji Puli* provides us with ethical implications for ecojustice.

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39) Lee Jung-bae calls Tonghak's view of Chiki a Korean Ki monistic panentheism. Lee Jung-bae, *Hankuk chŏk Saengmyŏng Sinhak* [Korean Theology of Life] (Seoul: Kamsin Publisher, 1996), 123-50. Kim Kyŏng-jae also sees Tonghak's notion of Hanullim as Chiki monistic naturalistic view of God which means panentheism; see his article, "Choi Sunn's view of the divine," in *Tonghak Sasang kwa Tonghak Hyŏngmyŏng* [Tonghak Thought and Tonghak Revolution], 125-141.

40) Suun describes a personal characteristic of *Hanullim* as he says that we should reverently serve (*chi*) *Hanullim* as parents; "Nonhangmun," in Yun Sŏk-san, annot., *Tonggyŏng Daejŏn*, 84-85. Suun's explanation of Hanullim in his words, *Musapulsŏb Musapulmyŏng* (there is nothing, *Chiki* never intervenes and orders) also clearly demonstrates the personal characteristics of *Hanullim*. His religious experience of *Osim chŭk Yŏsim* that he heard from *Hanullim* also reveals the personal relationship between *Hanullim* and Suun.

Kagji Pulii as Ethical Implications of Ecojustice

The literal meaning of *Kagji Puli* (各知不移) is that "each existence knows that one must not remove."[41] The explanation of each syllable of these words will help us clarify the ethical implications of *Kagji Puli*. Here "*Kag*" indicates each specific existence conditioned by its particular circumstances in the spatio-temporal continuum. While *Silryŏng* and *Kihwa* signify the universality of *Hanullim* as the cosmic life, *Kag* demonstrates the particularity and individuality of an embodied cosmic life. In this sense, *Hanullim* means both the universal and the particular life. The core meaning of *Si Ch'ŏnju* lies in the nature of life - the universality and the particularity, the unity and the diversity, the interdependence and the individuality - and its ethical implications for human relationality.

The second word, Ji means to "know." Here "knowing" is not simply grasping the order of the visible world (*Kiyŏn*) through common sense or scientific and mathematical reasoning, but also is able to make real or concrete the order of the invisible world (*Pulyŏn*) thorough human intuition, revelation and spiritual awareness. This awareness is, however, always based in its particular context. Ecological spirituality is not an escape from this world to the other world in search for disembodied truth. Rather it is the awakened knowledge of the order of *Pulyŏn*, the nature of life within the world of *Kiyŏn*. Tonghak's "knowing" is to realize the Way of *Hanullim* (*Muwi Ihwa*), that is, the creative process of becoming based on "practical rationality," or "practical wisdom."[42] Kim Chi-ha calls this ecological knowing "real life as knowing," that is, the unity of life and knowledge.[43] That is, it is to grasp and appreciate the unity of each existence with *Hanullim* (*Silryŏng*) and to practice the interdependent relationship of all things (*Kihwa*) in the dynamic process of unity and differentiation, integration and disintegration of *Chiki*.

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41) "Nonhangmun," in Yun Sŏk-san, annot., *Tonggyŏng Daejŏn,* 83-84.

42) MaFague values a form of practical rationality in higher animals based on feeling or intuition and criticizes as groundless the human supremacy claim based on mathematical rationality. MaFague, *The Body of God:* An *Ecological Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 120; Mary Midgley, *Beast and Man: The Roots of Human Nature* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978), 255-56.

43) Kim Chi-ha, *Tonghak Iyaki* [The Story of Tonghak] (Seoul: Sol, 1994), 25.

The third word, *Pul* means "not" and the last word, *I* denotes "to remove." The combined words, *Puli* literally means "not move" or "not to remove." It is ones' nature that each existence must not remove oneself from the order of the universe, that is, from the source of life (*Silryŏng*) and its ecological relationality (*Kihwa*). *Kagji Puli* implies that each person knows that one must not remove oneself and others from the nature of *Hanullim*. *Kagji Puli* is not a human option but it is a human responsibility or obligation. Kim sees *Kagji Puli* as "the principle of [ecological] community" and the basic principle of ecology.[44] I further argue that while *Muwi Ihwa* means the creative process of natural becoming as the descriptive principle of ecology, *Kagji Puli* describes the normative principle of ecology that we must follow. In other words, *Kagji Puli* stresses the ethical aspect of the ecological principle of the universe found in the interaction of *Naeyu Silryŏng* with *Oeyu Kihwa* providing a metaphysical and spiritual awareness of *Muwi Ihwa*. That is, *Kagji Puli* is ethical practice that realizes ecological relationality in the biotic community. The embodied ecological ethic of *Si Ch'ŏnju*, i.e., *Kagji Puli*, obviously features ecological justice as it stresses the practice of *Puli* (e.g., not disturbing or destroying the cosmic life in a negative sense, and caring and nurturing in a positive sense).

A Tonghak Ecofeminist Spirituality of Kagji Puli and Ecojustice

Now we demonstrate how the Tonghak spirituality of *Kagji Puli* and the ecofeminist spirituality of ecojustice reinforce each other in building a Tonghak Ecofeminist community of earth-healing based on the inseparable principles of ecology and justice.

I explore the ecofeminist ethical aspect of ecojustice in terms of the Tonghak spirituality of *Kagji Puli*. The unity and diversity of all things in the interdependent network of the cosmic life, and its ethical practice found in Tonghak's ecological sensibility of *Si Ch'ŏnju*, clearly reveal the inseparable relationship between ecology and justice. Ecojustice[45] issues

44) Kim Chi-ha, *Saengmyŏng* [Life] (Seoul; Sol, 1994), 62.

45) The Ecojustice Movement traces its history back to the International Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972 in which there was an early confrontation between the environmentalists from the rich nations and the representatives of poor nations. The first group stressed limits on economic growth for the sake of environmental protection, while the poor

necessarily arise out of tension between the awareness of the necessity of a proper space for basic necessities and the limited resources available in the biotic community. All should share the finite earth fairly to meet their basic needs. When we experience unfairness in having access to environmental goods and we experience burdens in our particular living space, a justice issue arises out of our daily living.[46)]

Ecological justice issues emerge when ecological and social problems are interrelated with each other.[47)] Environmental issues cannot be adequately dealt with without reordering the present social system of domination, such as racism, sexism, classism, industrial capitalism[48)] based

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nations opposed it by maintaining that a slowdown or halt of economic growth would intensify the growing gap between rich and poor and make the poor more impoverished under unjust social structures of power and distribution. For the dilemma between ecological and justice issues raised early in 1970, see Norman Faramelli's article "Ecological Responsibility and Economic Justice: The Perilous Links Between Ecology and Poverty," *Andover Newton Quarterly* 2 no.2 (1970): 85-92. He said that choosing either ecology or justice is a bad choice. We must combine both ecological and justice issues in the movement of ecojustice, knowing that one cannot be justly dealt with without the other. See also David G. Hallman, ed., *Ecotheology: Voices From South and North* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1994); Leonardo Boff, *Cry of the Earth, Cry of the Poor* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1997)

46) For this unfair situation of human ecological responsibility and environmental damage in the global capitalistic military economic system, see Rosemary Ruether, *Integrating Ecofeminism, Globalization and World Religions* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005); Bunyon Bryant and Paul Mohai, eds. *Environmental Racism: Issues and Dilemmas,* A collection of papers from a University of Michigan Symposium (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1991); Robert D. Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality* (Boulder, Colorado: Western Press, 1990); Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Development* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.:Zed Books, 1989).

47) Richard Hofrichter, ed. *Toxic Struggles: The Theory and Practice of Environmental Justice* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1993), 4.

48) Given enduring conflict between the society and environment, between "the political-economic system" and between "the global environmental and social justice, Allen Schnaiberg finds its core cause for this conflict in the inherent logic of the capitalist political-economic system as a social construction rather

on growth without limit. Ecological issues (e.g., global warming, pollution, population explosion and the energy crisis) also become social issues, derived from unjustly applied power over production, distribution, and use of natural resources for human needs. Likewise, Tonghak's embodied spirituality of *Si Ch'ŏnju*, which features the unity of each particular human existence with *Hanullim* and one's consequent equality (*Silryŏng*), and also one's responsibility and freedom (*Kagji Puli*) in the ecological community (*Kihwa*), must consider the justice issue as a central issue from an ecological context.

Justice issues between human beings always also reveal ecological issues between humans and the rest of nature. These ecological issues between human species and other species become justice issues when not only humans, but also other life-forms, need sufficient space or habitat to meet their basic needs. Justice between our kin is a necessary condition for justice between our species and other species. Therefore, eco-justice encompasses the well-being of the whole creation, because the well-being of humans is inseparably interlinked with the well-being of the earth. This justice is involved throughout the constant dynamic process of fusion and diffusion of the cosmic life, *Chiki*, which always involves eco-justice because all life-forms are inseparably interdependent with each other in the unity of being and nonbeing.

A Tonghak Ecofeminist Community of Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk

The ecological spirituality and movement of *Si Ch'ŏnju* leads to the realization of the ecological community of *Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk*.[49] This is

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than in the Western dualistic culture and spirituality. See his book, *Environment and Society: the Enduring Conflict* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

49) In Tonghak, it is said that the change of the whole order of the universe, that is, *Kaebyŏk* (開闢) occurs every 50,000 years in the history of the universe. *Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk* (後天開闢) signifies the radical transformation of the old order of the former heaven (*Sŏnch'ŏn* 先天) into the new order of the latter heaven (*Huch'ŏn* 後天) entailing a total renewal of human order and civilization. This seems like the apocalyptic vision of the new heaven and the new earth in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Unlike the Christian apocalyptic, however, *Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk* is a natural, historical and ethical dynamic event. It occurs in this world through humanity's self-awakened ethical practice of *Si Ch'ŏnju* with its ensuing social transformation in accordance with the creative process of

achieved through the spiritual restoration of one's true self and the social transformation of all destructive patterns of human relationality bringing about a relationship of mutuality, justice and harmony in the biotic community. The ecological community of the cosmic life envisions a natural unity of humanity and the universe (*Si Ch'ŏnju*), the social unity of humanity with each other (*Yang Ch'ŏnju*), and the revolutionary unity of humanity and society (*Ch'e Ch'ŏnju*).[50] The ecological spirituality of *Si Ch'ŏnju*, especially the ethical aspect (*Kagji Puli*) of *Naeyu Silryŏng* and *Oeyu Kihwa*, has been ethically and politically embodied in Haewŏl's *Yang Ch'ŏnju* (養天主) and Uiam's *Ch'e Ch'ŏnju* (體天主).

For Haewŏl, serving *Hanullim* (*Si Ch'ŏnju*) means to actively raise and nurture *Hanullim* (*Yang Ch'ŏnju*) who dwells and works in every existence. This means that no life should be removed from the cosmic life, nor should it be abused, oppressed and starved. Haewŏl actively develops an ethical practice of Puli into raising the cosmic life by feeding it on *Pab* (rice). Haewŏl said, "Knowing all things lies in eating a bowl of rice (萬事知 一食碗)." This means that a bowl of rice is the eternal truth. Here rice is the metaphor for "the activity of life itself" or "its result." A bowl of rice is the outcome of the cooperative work of all forms of life in the universe, that is, the result of the work of *Hanullim*, the cosmic life. When we nurture *Hanullim* within us with rice, this means that we return the work of cosmic life and its results to the subjects who participated in the work of *Hanullim*. Haewŏl expressed this principle of the food chain in his words: "*Hanullim* eats *Hanullim* (以天食天)." Not only humans but all life-forms in the creativity of the cosmic life become *Hanullim*. This means that a life eats another life. And yet, when life eats life, a life eats one's food from another life's margin (*Yŏbaek* 餘白) and reproduces oneself and then produces a

becoming in the universe. Kim chi-ha identifies the sign of *Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk* predicted by Suun with our contemporary ecological catastrophes as he distinguishes the order of *Huch'ŏn* (the culture of life) from the order of *Sŏnch'ŏn* (the culture of killing) found in all forms of domination and environmental disasters. See his book, *Saengmyŏng* [Life], Ibid., 17-27.

50) Ch'oe Si-hyŏng (his pen name, Haewŏl), the second leader of Tonghak developed Suun's spirituality of *Si Ch'ŏnju* into practical philosophy or social movement of *Yang Ch'ŏnju* (nurturing *Hanullim*). Son Pyŏng-hi (his pen name, Uiam), the third leader developed it into socio-political transforming movement of *Ch'e Ch'ŏnju* (embodying *Hanullim*).

lavish margin around itself for other lives to eat.[51)]

Uiam developed Suun's *Si Ch'ŏnju* and Haewŏl's *Yang Ch'ŏnju* into a thought of *Ch'e Ch'ŏnju* (a socio-political-economic embodiment of serving and nurturing *Hanullim*). Uiam's revolutionary unity of humanity and society clearly finds expression in his ideas of *Sipmuch'ŏn* (十毋天) (Tonghak's ten commandments) and *Samchŏnlon* (三戰論) (The theory of three battles or struggles).[52)] While *Sipmuch'ŏn* is a negative ethical practice of *Kagji Puli, Samchŏnlon* is a moral, psychological, political and economic struggle for *Kagji Puli* in a positive sense. In the spirituality of *Si Ch'ŏnju*, Suun declared the natural unity of humanity and the universe by stressing the restoration of the nature of the universe in every self (*Silryŏng*), and one's realization of the communality of the universe (Oeyu Kihwa) through one's ethical practice of these two (*Kagji Puli*). Haewŏl declared the social unity of human beings with each other by extending Suun's individual ethical practice of *Kagji Puli* to social dimensions in his thought of *Yang Ch'ŏnju*. Uiam declared the revolutionary unity of humans and society by extending Haewŏl's social dimensions to socio-political-economic structures in his discussions on *Ch'e Ch'ŏnju*.

Si Ch'ŏnju, *Yang Ch'ŏnju*, and *Ch'e Ch'ŏnju* are interrelated with each other in serving, nurturing and embodying the cosmic life, providing us with ecological spirituality and movement in all individual, social and political dimensions in which we are the most self-conscious and responsible life-forms participating in the ongoing creativity of *Hanullim*, that is, the dynamic process of the integration and disintegration of *Chiki*. We, who are the most spiritual and social existents, and who are conscious

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51) Kim Chi-ha, *Pab* [Rice] (Seoul: Seoul, 1995), 61-83.

52) *Sipmuch'ŏn* is as follows: You shall not deceive, disregard, hurt, confuse, kill, blemish, starve, destroy, hate and oppress *Hanullim. Samchŏnlon* consists of *Dochŏn* (道戰a moral struggle), *Chaechŏn* (財戰 a socio-economic struggle) and *Ŏnchŏn* (言戰 a linguistic and psychological struggle). Tonghak's socio-political revolutionary movement was clearly revealed in the Tonghak peasant revolution led by Chŏn Pong-jun and the Korean 1919 (*Samil*) Independence Movement led by Son Pyŏng-hi (Uiam), see Noh Tae-gu, ed., *Tonghak Hyŏngmyŏng ui Yŏngu* [Study on Tonghak Revolution] (Seoul: Paeksan Sŏdang, 1982); Il-Cheol Shin, et al., Tonghak Sasang Kwa *Tonghak Hyŏngmyŏng* [Tonghak Thought and Tonghak Revolution] (Seoul: Chong-a Publishers, 2000).

of both the individual center of our life and the social nature of the cosmic life, now must decide whether we continue our self-centered life-destroying spirituality and culture only for our benefit, or whether we practice ecological spirituality and participate in the dynamic interrelationships of life in the universe and can share in the Great Mind of the universe when it serves *Hanullim*, the cosmic life in itself. Most of all, human existence is *Hanullim* in the sense that one becomes aware of the nature of *Hanullim* as the best way as one participates in the work of the cosmic life and takes moral responsibility for the ecological community of cosmic life as well as appreciating the mystery and wonder of the cosmic life.

Conclusions

This paper aims to develop and outline a Tonghak ecofeminist spirituality of ecojustice as a way of dealing with our contemporary ecological devastation. Drawing from Ruether's ecofeminist insights, I explored the interconnection between all forms of dominations, specifically the oppression of women and the domination of nature throughout the history of culture and then I traced the deeper root for these double dominations in male transcendent dualism which is the reversal of natural reality. I examined the process of the reversal of this natural reality in the Babylonian, Hebrew and Greek creation stories, and then I confirmed that Ruether's ecofeminist view of male transcendent dualism describes the conceptual root of various forms of domination as deeper, more complex and appropriate than Ortner's anthropological notion of a women-nature connection as a universal phenomenon. The basic error of this male transcendent consciousness is the distortion of the dialectics of human existence into good-evil dualisms, particularly, sexism. I thus came to understand transcendent dualism, especially sexism, as a primary expression of the distorted relationships that are the key cultural roots for all forms of dominations.

And then I moved from discussing sexism as original sin in these distorted relationships to contrasting earth healing in the conversion from transcendent dualisms to mutual interdependency for the well-being of the earth community. As a way of earth-healing, I attempted to build a Tonghak ecofeminist relationality as I examined the metaphysical implications of *Si Ch'ŏnju* in terms of its first meaning (*Naeyu Silryŏng*) as the inward aspect

of Hanullim and its second meaning (*Oeyu Kihwa*) as the outward aspect of *Hanullim*. I saw the ecological insight of *Naeyu Silryŏng* as the radical unity of all things in the mind of *Hanullim*, that of *Oeyu Kihwa* as the diversity of all forms of existence in the energy of *Hanullim*, and then the interaction between *Silryŏng* and Kihwa as the radical interdependence of all forms of life in the dynamic process of fusion and diffusion of *Chiki*. I confirmed that a Tonghak Ecofeminist relationality stresses the radical unity (*Naeyu Silryŏng*) and diversity (*Oeyu Kihwa*) of all things operating in the interdependent web of the cosmic life.

I also envisioned a Tonghak ecofeminist community of ecojustice by integrating the third meaning of *Si Ch'ŏnju*, that is, *Kagji Puli* with its ethical implications along with the ecofeminist notion of ecojustice. I regarded *Kagji Puli* as ethical practice that realizes ecological relationality in the interaction of *Silryŏng* and *Kihwa* in the biotic community. Its ecological significance helped me to identify the overall global crisis as not only ecological but also filled with social justice issues. As I located the vision of Tonghak ecojustice in the interdependent community of the cosmic life, I asserted that *Kagji* Puli is the normative principle of ecological community by which we must abide.

I connected a Tonghak ecofeminist spirituality of ecojustice with a Tonghak ecofeminist eschatological vision of *Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk*. A Tonghak ecofeminist spirituality of ecojustice aims to bring a Tonghak ecofeminist eschatological vision of *Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk* to our biotic community. In the dynamic processes of the cosmic life, humanity has a foretaste of the eschatological vision of *Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk* in both the events of Jesus' life, death and resurrection, and in the Tonghak revolution in the past, and also brings this vision into the here and now by serving (*Si Ch'ŏnju*), nurturing (*Yang Ch'ŏnju*) and embodying (*Ch'e Ch'ŏnju*) *Hanullim*. In other words, a Tonghak ecofeminist eschatological vision of *Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk* lies not in an ascetic or apocalyptic approach to the human dilemma, but rather in *transforming* the social and cultural patterns of domination that disturb and destroy the dynamic process of the unity and diversity in the interdependent web of the cosmic life.

Ruether's ecofeminist spirituality of ecojustice and Tonghak's spirituality of *Si Ch'ŏnju* have some similarities and unique differences in their understanding of humanity, the world, and the divine in which they can deepen and strengthen each other. There are similarities in Tonghak and

ecofeminism in that they share an ecological, relational, evolutionary and embodied view of reality. But, there are some differences in that while ecofeminism is gender-specific and historical, Tonghak spirituality is gender-neutral and metaphysical. In this sense, Tonghak metaphysics could be more embodied in the ecofeminist gender-based historical analysis of the interconnection of the double dominations, the transcendent dualism and sexism as their cultural roots. I define Tonghak metaphysics as an ecology-based metaphysic that sees reality as the creative process of the fusion and diffusion of *Chiki* in the biotic community. I also think the ecofeminist spirituality of ecojustice can be radicalized by a Tonghak metaphysic of the ontological interdependence of all forms of life. In short, a Tonghak ecofeminist spirituality of ecojustice could provide us with a better alternative to the Western hierarchical spirituality by integrating each other's ecological insights in terms of the metaphysical and socio-cultural analysis of the relations of the divine, humanity and nature.

Abstract

To counter the contemporary ecological crisis, this paper derives an ecological spirituality of ecojustice from ecofeminism and the Tonghak (the Korean indigenous religious and philosophical) tradition. By critically integrating Sherry Ortner's anthropological insights and Rosemary Ruether's ecofeminist insights, this paper first examines the cultural women-nature connection, then finds root causes in the twin oppressions of women and nature, and then concludes that the distorted human relationality of sexism is a form of original sin. Seeking to heal these patriarchal dualisms, this paper develops a Tonghak spirituality of ecofeminist relationality through its metaphysical implications stressing the radical unity (*Naeyu Silryŏng*) and the diversity (*Oeyu Kihwa*) of all things in the web of life. The Tonghak *Si Ch'ŏnju* vision of community as ecofeminist ecojustice reveals its ethical implications stressing the normative principle of ecological community by which we must abide (*Kagji Puli*). It finally envisions a Tonghak ecofeminist spirituality of ecojustice through the eschatological vision or goal of *Huch'ŏn Kaebyŏk*. Tonghak and ecofeminism both hold in common world views that are ecological, relational, evolutionary and embodied. They differ in that ecofeminism is gender-specific and historical while Tonghak spirituality is gender-neutral and metaphysical. In this sense, I think Tonghak spirituality and ecofeminism could deepen and radicalize each other through cross-cultural mutual dialogue and embodiment.

Key Words

Tonghak, Ecofeminism, Ecological Spirituality, Ecojustice, Sherry Otner, Rosemary Ruether, dualism, Sexism, Original Sin, *Ki*(eneray), Kim Chi-ha Cross-cultural mutual dialogue.

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Mission als Frieden, Dialog und Diakonie

Chai Soo-il*

Die Wandlung der Mission

In der Bibel kommt das Wort "Mission" nicht direkt vor. Nur Wörter wie "Berufung" und "Sendung," die indirekt auf Mission zurückgeführt werden können, tauchen hier auf. Laut David Bosch, dem Missionswissenschaftler aus Süd-Afrika, kommen die beiden Wörter, "pempein" (schicken, senden) und "apostelein" (senden), im neuen Testament 206 Mal, "Apostolos" (der Gesandte) 79 Mal und "apostole" (Apostelamt) 4 Mal vor.[1)] Das weist auf die Notwendigkeit hin, nicht nur auf einige Wörter und Texte in der Bibel acht zu geben, sondern sie im Zusammenhang des Kontextes und in ihrer Gesamtheit zu verstehen, wenn man die biblische Grundlage zum Begriff der Mission herauszufinden versucht.

Ignatius von Loyola(1491-1556), der den Jesuitenorden gründete,

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He received his Dr. Theol. from Karls - Ruprecht Universitaet zu Heidelberg, Germany. He is professor of the Graduate School of Theology, Hanshin University, Seoul, Korea and theaching Missiology and Ecumenics. His publications include: *The Mission and the Challenge of the 21st entury / The ecumenical Missiology / The History of Conciousness and the Conciousness of History,* ect. email: sooilchai@hanmail.net

1) David Bosch; James M. Phillips; Robert T. Coote (Edit.): *Toward the Twenty-First Century in Christian Mission: Essays in Honor of Gerald H. Anderson Director.* New Haven Co.; Originaltext nach der koreanischen Übersetzung (2001), S. 277.

erwähnt das Wort "Mission" zum ersten Mal. Das vierte Gelübde der Jesuiten bezieht sich auf Mission (die Sendung durch den Papst) und sie verstanden "die Mission" als ein Wandern für das Wort Gottes von einer Stadt zur anderen.

Im Jahr 1622 gründete der Vatikan die "Missionskongregation der Propaganda Fidei."[2] Diese Missionskongregation wurde zur Bewahrung der kirchlichen Mission und als Herausforderung gegenüber der kolonialen Expansionspolitik von Spanien und Portugal eingerichtet. Seit dem zweiten vatikanischen Konzil (1962-1965) wurde Mission als "Kongregation für die Evangelisierung der Völker" umbenannt. Ihr Verständnis der Mission bestand darin, das Evangelium allen Kreaturen zu verkündigen, Gottlose und Spötter in das Reich des Christus zu bringen und sie zur Anerkennung von Christus als Herrn und Hirten der Welt zu bringen. Dies zeigt sich gut in der mit der Entdeckung des neuen Kontinents im 16. Jh. begonnene Missionsgeschichte und den Verstehensprozess der römisch-katholischen Kirche von Mission hin. Dies wiederum führt uns vor Augen, wie der Kolonialismus (Eroberung, Massaker, Ausbeutung, Sklavenhandel, Überlegenheitsgefühl der Zivilisation im Abendland und feindliche Haltung gegen andere) mit der Mission, d.h. mit Reisen, Propaganda und Evangelisierung verbunden oder davon abgetrennt wurde.[3]

Auf der protestantischen Seite setzte man sich seit dem 16. Jh. mit dem Missionsbegriff aktiv auseinander. Besonders die deutschen Pietisten betrieben die Mission sehr eifrig. Ein repräsentativer Pietist, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), war fest davon überzeugt, dass das Ziel der Mission die Ausdehnung des Reiches Gottes und Proklamation der Herrlichkeit des Christus sei. Er behauptete: Gott wartet nicht darauf, dass Heiden von selbst zu seiner Gnade kommen, sondern er sucht nach den Heiden, um ihnen seine Wohltaten zu erweisen. Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676) begriff Mission als einen Prozess, der von der Bekehrung der Heiden über die Einpflanzung der Kirche bis zur Herrlichkeit Gottes stufenweise erfolgt. William Carey (1761-1834), ein baptistischer Theologie in England und als Vater der modernen Missionswissenschaft bekannt, verstand "Mission" als

2) Stephen Bevans; Roger P. Schroeder: *Constans in Context : A Theology of Mission for Today*.:Originaltext nach der koreanische Übersetzung (2007), S. 365.

3) Ebd. , S. 361-362.

einen Ruf zur Bekehrung und Unterweisung der Heiden.

Solche lehrhafte Haltung erfasst die Mission als Konversion, Bekehrung und Einrichtung der sichtbaren Gemeinde und sie bestimmt seit dem 5. Jh. bis heute das Bewusstsein der christlichen Gemeinde. Das Problem dieser Haltung liegt "in der Identifizierung der verfassten Kirche mit dem Reich Gottes und in dem eurozentrischen Ansatz." Unter diesem Aspekt betrachtet man "den Menschen der anderen Religion nur als Missionsobjekt von Verdammnis und Rettung." [4)]

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wurde im Jahr 1952 bei der Weltmissionskonferenz in Willingen von protestantischer Seite "Missio Dei" hervorgehoben.[5)] Nach dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil änderte sich das Verständnis für Mission immer mehr. Im Blick auf das Missionsverständnis besteht allerdings eine große Diskrepanz zwischen evangelikalem und ökumenischem Lager. Obgleich hinsichtlich der Mission die theologische Interpretation biblischer Texte in ihrer Haltung anderen Religionen gegenüber und die Auffassung über das Missionsziel zutiefst unterschiedlich sind, erlebten wir auch schon die Möglichkeit des Dialoges und der Zusammenarbeit bei aktuellen Problemen über die Grenzen von Denominationen hinaus, z. B. für Frieden, humanitäre Hilfe und Umweltschutz usw. Das soteriologische Problem ist etwas Schwieriges. Trotzdem ist das Ziel der Mission nicht nur die Rettung der Seele, sondern auch "der Frieden." Desgleichen sind Dialog und Diakonie nicht nur Mittel oder Methode der Mission, sondern sie sind Mission an sich. Wenn dem so ist, warum sind Frieden, Dialog und Diakonie die Mission an sich? Aber bevor ich mich an die Mission als Frieden, Dialog und Diakonie wende, werde ich kurz auf die Entwicklung des Missionsverstaendnisses in Korea blicken.

Entwicklung des Missionsverstaendnisses in Korea

Korea war ein Missionsland. Im Jahre von 1884 begann die evangelische Mission in Korea. Trotz der kurzen Missionsgeschichte wurde die

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4) Theo Sundermeier: *Konvivenz und Differenz: Studien zu einer verstehenden Missionswissenschaft*.: Originaltext nach der koreanischen Übersetzung 1999, S. 17.

5) Stephen Bevans, Roger P. Schroeder , S. 575-576.

koreanische Kirche zum Mittelpunkt des weltweit am schnellsten gewachsenen Kirchen. Unter weltweit groessten sog. Megachurches findet man 5 koreanischen Kirchen von 10 Megechurches. Und seit 1990 wurde die koreanische Kirche zu einer missionierende Kirche. Korea steht in der zweiten Stelle nach der Kirche der U.S.A. Nach der Angabe des koreanischen Forschungsinstituts fuer Mission(KRIM) im Jahr von 2006 arbeiten 14,905 koreanischen Missionaren in 168 Laendern. Interessant ist die Reihenfolge der aussendenden Kirchen und Missionsgesellschaften. An der ersten Stelle kommt GMS der konservativen presbyterianischen Kirche(Haptong) mit 1,835 Missionaren und danach steht UBF(University Bible Fellowship) mit 1,463 Missionaren auf der zweiten Stelle. Deutlich zu merken ist, dass die Richtung der Auslandsmission einerseits von der Kirche getragen wird, aber andererseits von der ueberdenominationalen Missionsgesellschaften. Von der Kirche werden meistens die Pastoren als Missionaren ausgesandt, aber von der Missionsgesellschaften meistens die Laien. Die Zahl der Laienmissionaren betraegt auf 63.4% von gesamten Missionaren, also mehr als die Pastorenmissionaren.

Die Entfuehrung der 20 kurzzeiten koreanischen Missionaren und der Tod von 2 Missionaren aus Saemmul Gemeinde in Afghanistan im Sommer 2007 hat die Welt zum Erschrecken gebracht. Heftig kritisiert wurde die Auslandmission der koreanischen evangelischen Kirche sowohl im Inland als auch im Ausland, insbesondere in suedostasiatischen Laendern, mit der Begruendung, dass die Auslandmission der koreanischen Kirche aggresiv, anderen Religionen gegenueber exklusiv, fundamentalistisch gepraegt und mit Geld getrieben sei. Wo kommt dieses Verhaeltnis der koreanischen evangelischen Kirche her? Um den Hintergrund zu verstehen, muss man die Entwicklung des Missionsverstaendnisses vor Augen halten.

Korea war ein Missionsfeld meistens von nordamerikanischen Missionaren in 19. JH. Ihre Missionsaktivitaet konzentrierte sich auf die Evangelization, Bildung nach westlichem Muster und medizinische Hilfe. Aber ihr theologisches Verhaeltniss wurde von Pietismus und Hundamentalismus bestimmt, die sich auf die individuelle Umkehr und Gruendung sichtbarer Kirche orientierte. Die Pastorenbildung wurde auf die minimalen Bibelkenntnisse begrenzt und die Missionspolitik wurde bewusst auf die Entpolitisierung und das Seelenheil getrieben. Pf. Kil Sun-joo(1869-1935) war ein typisches Beispiel dafuer, der den Weg der konservativen und fundamentalistischen Missionstheologie geoeffnet,

Morgenfruehgebetsstunde, Biblizismus und Eschatologie eingefuehrt hat.

Aber auf anderer Seite gab es eine andere Richtung. Yun Chi-ho(1864-1945) praktizierte das gesellschaftliche Engagement sehr aktiv auf Grund des christlichen Glaubens. Choi Byung-hyun(1858-1927) versuchte den christlichen Glauben mit den traditionellen Religionen in Verbindung zu bringen. Die beiten legte einen Grundstein fuer eine progressive Missionstheologie, die das gesellschaftliche Engagement und den Dialog mit den Nachbarreligionen foerderte.

Also von Anfang der Mission an wurde die Missionstheologie im grossen Rahmen in zwei Richtungen entwickelt: Seelenheil oder Heil der Nation, individuelle Rettung oder soziales Heil, fundamentalistische Theologie oder wissenschaftliche Theologie.

Von der Unabhaengigkeit Koreas 1945 bis zur Studentenrevolution 1960 erfuhr die koreanische evangelische Kirche eine Zeit babylonischen Gefangenschaft. Sie unterstuetzte das diktatotische Regime von Rhee Sung Man, einem christlichen Presidenten, und wurde von Antikommunismus und pro-amerikanischem Verhaeltnis gefangen. Die innere Spaltung der Kirche vertiefte die Wunden. Ein Anlass war der Beschluss der presbyterianischen Kirche in der Synode fuer die Verehrung des japanischen Kaisers, bzw, Kaiserkult. Um so mehr spielten der innerkirchliche Machtkampf und alte Provinzialismus(zwischen Nord und Suedkorea) eine entscheidende Rolle. Theologisch tauchten Konflikte und Konfrontationen zwischen konservativen und progressiven wieder auf, die wiederum die Kirche zur Spaltung fuehrten. Waehrend die sog. Mainline Churches durch Konflikt und Spaltung schwecher wurde, wuchsen die sog. Neuen Christlichen Religionen, bzw. die Vereinigungskirche von Mun Sun-myung(1954), Gebetsstaette Bewegung von Na Woon-mong(1954) und Evangelizationsbewegung von Park Tae-sun(1955), die im engen Zusammenhang mit Eschatologie, Heilung, Exorzismus und Betriebsmethode entwickelt wurden. In der Zeit des gesellschaftlichen Umbruchs, insbesondere nach dem Korea Krieg, vertiefte diese Neue Christliche Bewegung ihren Einfluss sowohl in der Kirche, als auch in der Gesellschaft.

Erst nach 60. Jahren wurde die missionstheologische Entwicklung durch die wissenschaftliche Debatte um die Indigenisierung und Sekularisierung aktiv. Daran Beteiligt waren laut die oekumenisch gepraegten und vom OeRK beeinflussten Theologen. Der interreligioese Dialog stand auch auf

der Tagesordnung. Man sprach zwar oft von der Indigenisierung des christlichen Glaubens, aber gewann keine konkrete Gestaltung an der Basis. Angesichts der Industrialisierung, Landfluch, Bewoelkrungskonzentration in die Hauptstadt und die Menschenrechtsverletzung dachten die progressiven Theologen ueber die gesellschaftliche Verantwortung der Christen ernst nach. Die Urban-Rural Mission und die Menschenrechtsbewegung waren ein Ergebnis daraus.

In den 70 Jahren spitzte sich die missionstheologische Konfrontation. Die Konservativen veranstalteten eine Massenevangelizationsbewegung mit Bily Graham, 'Explo 74' (1974), die den Akzent auf das Seelenheil und die Nichteinmischung in die Politik setzten. Donald A. McGavran, amerikanischer Theologe aus Fuller Theological Seminary, bekannt fuer Church Growth, wurde mehrmals nach Korea eingeladen. Die sog. Zeit der Expansion begann und die Zahl der evangelischen Christen wuchs rapid. Aber aus der Menschenrechtsbewegung und Industriemission entstand die Minjung Theologie, die statt Evangelization die Humanisierung und das Mitleiden mit dem Volk in den Mittelpunkt des missionstheologischen Denkens stellte. Missio Dei der progressiven stand der Missio Ecclesiae der konservativen gegenueber und die Konservativen organisierte ihren eigenen Bund, Han Ki Chong(1989) bewusst im Gegensatz zum KNCC(National Council of Churches in Korea). Die Konfrontation und Spaltung wurde strukturell verwurzelt.

Nach Volksmassker in Kwang Joo 1980 im Blick auf das Verhaeltnis zur politischen Macht gingen die progressiven und konservativen wieder auseinander. Die progressiven setzten ihre Bewegung fuer Demokratisierung und Wiedervereinigung fort und die konservativen fuer Chruch Growth und Bildung der Mega Chruches. Sie kritisierten die Demokratisierungs - und Wiedervereinigungsbewegung im Namen des Reinen Evangeliums und der Nichteinmischung in die Politik. Obwohl die Demokratie und Freiheit vom militaerischen Regime zurueckgehalten wurden, wuchs die Wirtschaft in dieser Zeit, so dass die Wachstumsideologie auch in der Kirche beherrschte.

Die Demokratisierung wurde durch die Machtuebernahme der Zivilregierung in den 90. Jahren erfuellt. Aber innerhalb der progressiven Christen gab es einen grossen Meinungsunterschied im Blick auf zwei Kandidaten fuer die Presidentenwahl, bzw. Kim Young-sam und Kim Dae-jung. Trotz der Spaltung waren sie in der Wiedervereinigungsbewegung aktiv beteiligt. Die Initiative des OeRKs fuer die Begegnung der Christen

von beiden Koreas kann nicht unterschaetzt werden. Die Erklaerung des KNCC fuer Frieden und Wiedervereinigung Koreas 1988(sog. 88 Erklaerung) veranlasste die Annaehrungspolitik der suedkoreanischen Regierung und auf die weitere Beziehungsentwicklung einen grossen Einfluss geuebt.

Im Jahre von 1995 erklaerte KNCC als Jobeljahr der Nation zur Erinnerung der Unabhaengigkeit 1945 von der japanischen Kollonialherschaft. Die Hungersnot in Nordkorea wurde weltweit bekannt, so dass sich die evangelische Kirche uber die Grenze der Denomination und theologischen Richtungen hinaus fuer die humanitaere Hilfe einsetzte. Die Nordkoreafrage, die einst zur tiefen Spaltung fuehrte, brachte die Kirche zusammen. Nachdem Kim Dae-jung an die Macht kam, wurde die Konfrontation von beiden Richtungen viel schwaecher. Die Full Gospel Church und die orthodox Kirche wurden als Mitglieder des KNCC aufgenommen. Ein Gespraech zwischen KNCC und Han Ki Chong uber die strukturelle Einigung wurde in Gang gesetzt. Aber die Kritik von aussen, bzw. von der Gesellschaft nahm sich zu, im Zusammenhang mit autoritaerer Hierarchie, Polarisierung der reichen und armen Kirchen, der Stellenweitergabe an den Sohn der Megachurches, der agressiven Auslandsmission und exklusiven Verhaeltnissen den Nachbarreligionen gegenueber. Am deutlichsten kann man diese negative Kritik an der evangelischen Kirche in der Statistik sehen. Nach Regierungsangabe wurde die Zahl der evangelischen Christen in den letzten 10 Jahren drastisch zurueckgegangen. Ein Grund dafuer lag in dem agressiven und exklusiven Missionsverstaendnis und Aktivitaet. Ich gehe davon aus, dass die evangelische Kirche in Korea eine neue Orientierung auf das Missionsverstaendnis gewinnen muss, damit sie mit ihrer Moeglichkeit und Opferbereitschaft einen neuen Weg oeffnen und Vertrauen wieder gewinnen kann. Dafuer ist ein neues Gedanken ueber die Mission notwendig und ich moechte es in drei Themen vorstellen.

Mission als Frieden

Friede wird üblicherweise als Gegenbegriff zu Krieg verstanden. Es ist aber eine passive Definition, die nur die Zeit vom Waffenstillstand mitten in einem vergangenen und möglichen kommenden Krieg signalisiert. In diesem Sinne ist Frieden zwischen Ländern dann realisierbar, wenn die

militärische Übermacht eines Landes gesichert ist oder mindestens das Gleichgewicht der Mächte stabil gehalten wird. Die Ansicht, die glaubt, dass das Gleichgewicht der Mächte den Frieden der Welt sichert, rechtfertigt ungebremste Ausgabe für die Aufrüstung. Aufrüstung ist einerseits ein Mittel zur Selbstverteidigung, die wegen der Angst vor der Invasion von Feinden nötig zu sein scheint, andererseits ist sie ein Werkzeug, um andere Nationen anzugreifen. Seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wurden weltweit als Kriegskosten 16 Billionen Dollar ausgegeben. Trotz der vergangenen Zeit des Kalten Krieges ereignen sich ununterbrochen Konflikte zwischen Völkern und Bürgerkriege. Nicht hinreichend sind die Anstrengungen, Konflikte zu verhindern; darüber hinaus gibt es kein Ende des Waffenexportes, vielmehr nur weitere Beschleunigung der Bewaffnung.

Aber kann man Frieden durch Spitzenbewaffnung erhalten? Und es ist fragwürdig, welcher Frieden für wen ist, wenn er nur durch Gewalt gesichert werden kann. Denn Friede ohne Gerechtigkeit ist Scheinfriede. Strukturelle Unterschiede zwischen Armen und Reichen, die sich fortwährend verschlechtern, weisen darauf hin, dass Frieden nicht nur von außen, sondern von innen her bedroht werden kann. Friede ohne Gerechtigkeit, durch Gewalt und Kriege um gegen Verbrechen zu bewahren, ist bloß "Friede von oben." Es ist kein wahrer Friede, er ist ohne Liebe und Gerechtigkeit. Solcher Friede wird von unten herausgefordert. Jene, die Frieden nur als Waffenstillstand verstehen und ihn mit Gewalt zu verteidigen suchen, glauben nur an den Frieden von oben. Für sie erzielt der Krieg den Frieden; aber solcher Friede ist die Frucht der Kriegsgewinner. Wenn man also Frieden als bloßen Gegensatz zum Krieg begreift, wird er paradoxerweise zur Berechtigung von Krieg, und Friede und Krieg werden Zwillinge.

Heutzutage bedroht nicht nur der Krieg den Frieden, sondern auch Konflikte der Religionen untereinander werden zu einer Bedrohung. Das Wesen des Christentums ist Friede in Gerechtigkeit, Gleichberechtigung und Harmonie für die Menschheit. Aber das Christentum, das an den durch Staatsgewalt und seine Religion geopferten Jesus glaubt, und der Islam, dessen Name "Frieden" bedeutet,[6] sind zentrale Orte der Gewalt geworden. So auch die Mission, die die Probleme der Welt lösen wollte: sie ist selbst

6) "Das Wort Islam meint die völlige Hingabe an den Willen Gottes, und derjenige, der diese Hingabe zeigt, ist der Muslim. *Muslim* hängt mit dem Wort salam

zu einem Problem der Welt geworden. Asien zusammen mit dem mitteleren Osten ist die Heimat aller Weltreligionen und ein Ort, der voller heikler Spannungen und Konflikten zwischen Religionen und Völkern steht. Vor allem ist die Konfliktsituation zwischen Christentum und Islam sehr prekär. Aber wenn man diese schwierige Lage zwischen islamischen und westlichen Ländern aus einer Perspektiv wie dem "Kampf der Kulturen" oder dem heiliger Krieg für das Gute und gegen das Böse erfasst, werden komplexe Tatbestand pauschalisiert und verdreht.[7)]

Die biblische Lehre, insbesondere von Jesus, der seine Jünger zu Frieden[8)] und Gerechtigkeit beruft, fordert uns dazu auf, die missionarische Aufgabe der Kirche in öffentlichem Leben und politischem Bereich heute herauszufinden. Zur Zeit wird der Begriff "Sicherheit" als "Sicherheit für den Menschen" neu diskutiert, wobei Sicherheit von der Staatssicherheit bis hin zur individuellen und kollektiven Sicherheit reicht. Kirchen müssen Friedensmissionen für die Schöpfung und Sicherheit der Menschen sein und sich gegen die zunehmende Militärisierung, Gewalt und Umweltzerstörung in der Gesellschaft einsetzen. Friede ist das Ziel der Mission, zugleich auch der Stil der Mission. Denn der Friede ist der Weg zum Frieden.

Mission als Dialog

Seit dem zweiten vatikanischen Konzil begann die römisch-katholische Kirche verstärkt auf Dialog zu setzen. Im Jahr 1964 traf sich Paul VI mit den Oberhäupter von Judentum und Islam am heiligen Ort in Israel und

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(Friede) zusammen." Annemarie Schimmel, *Die Religion des Islam.* Stuttgart, 1990: Originaltext nach der koreanischen Übersetzung, 1999, S. 25.

7) "Konflikt zwischen arabischen Ländern und Israel ist kein Religionskrieg." Jae Man Seo, *Utopie und Realituät des Islam,* im: Islam-Institut, Ye-young communication, 1996, S. 77.

8) Im Alten Testament bedeutet Frieden (shalom) wörterlich, 'einerseits, Friede, Freundlichkeit' und zwar oft in klarem Gegensatz zu Krieg und Feindschaft, andererseits, Wohlergehen, Gedeihen, Glück,' wobei der Ton oft sehr stark auf konkret materiellen Gütern liegt. ··· shalom (bezeichnet) alles, was zum gesunden, harmonischen Leben gehört, die volle Entfaltung der Kr?fte der gesunden Seele." Ernst Jenni; Claus Westermann (hrsg.): *Theologisches Handwoerterbuch zum Alten Testament.* Bd.2., München 1979, S. 922.

begegnete indischen Religionsführern in Bombay. Dabei sagte er: Wir halten uns alle für Pilger, die je auf eigene Weise nach Gott suchen.[9] Das heißt, religiöse Menschen dürfen die eigene Religion nicht für absolut halten und die benachbarten Religionen relativieren, denn sie alle sind auf dem Wege, suchen nach Gott und nach Erkenntnis der Wahrheit. Trotz mancher Relativierung der Absolutheit des Christentums kann es vom Inhalt her als inklusive oder imperialistische Haltung interpretiert werden. Da wird dann behauptet, verschiedene Göttlichkeiten in allen Religionen seien in einer geschichtlichen Epiphanie letztendlich als der eine Gott zu sehen.

Auf jeden Fall errichtete Paul VI. im Jahre 1964 "das Sekretariat für die Nichtchristen," das 1988 in "Päpstlicher Rat für den interreligiösen Dialog" umbenannt worden ist. Das wurde eine zentrale Organisation in der katholischen Kirche, die Aktivitäten der Kurie im Dialog mit anderen Religionen koordiniert. Gedanken und Anweisungen zum Dialog der katholischen Kirche sind in den Dokumenten des Päpstlichen Rates für den interreligiösen Dialog "Erklärung über das Verständnis der Kirche zu den nichtchristlichen Religionen," "Redemptoris Missio" und "Dialog und Mission" gut angezeigt: "Der Dialog entsteht nicht aus Taktik oder Eigeninteresse, sondern hat Gründe, Erfordernisse und Würde eigener Art. Er kommt aus dem tiefen Respekt vor allem, was der Geist, der weht, wo er will, im Menschen bewirkt hat. Die anderen Religionen stellen eine positive Herausforderung für die Kirche dar; sie regen sie sowohl dazu an, die Zeichen der Gegenwart Christi und des Wirkens des Geistes zu entdecken und anzuerkennen, als auch dazu, die eigene Identität zu vertiefen und die Gesamtheit der Offenbarung zu bezeugen, dessen Wahrerin sie zum Wohl aller ist." (Redemptoris Missio, 56)[10] So wird verhindert, dass ein taktischer Dialog aus Eigeninteresse, sozusagen für andere Zwecke missbraucht wird. Es wird für den echten Dialog gegenseitiger Respekt, Hoffnung und Liebe vorgeschlagen. Hauptsächlich zeigt diese offene Haltung in den Bekenntnissen der römisch-katholischen Kirche auf, dass der Heilige Geist auf andere Religionen ausgegossen werden kann und der Samen des Gotteswortes und das Licht der Wahrheit sich bei jedem Menschen und

9) S. Karotemprel(Edit.): *Following Christ in Mission*: Originaltext nach der koreanischen Übersetzung, 2001, S. 110.

10) Ebd., S. 113.

jeder religiösen Traditionen der Menschheit befinden. "Redemptoris Missio" schließt mit folgenden Worten: "Der Dialogpartner muss seinen eigenen Traditionen und religiösen Überzeugungen entsprechen und offen sein, um die des anderen zu verstehen, ohne Vortäuschungen einerseits und Sperren andererseits, sondern im - Geist der Wahrheit, Demut und Loyalität, im Wissen darum, dass der Dialog jeden bereichern kann. Dabei darf es keine Verzichtserklärungen und keine falsche Friedfertigkeit geben. Es braucht das gegenseitige Zeugnis für einen gemeinsamen Fortschritt auf dem Weg der religiösen Suche und Erfahrung. Dies dient zugleich der Überwindung von Vorurteilen, Missverständnissen und Intoleranz. Der Dialog zielt auf die innere Läuterung und Umkehr, der geistlich fruchtbar sein wird, wenn er sich wirklich vom Geist leiten lässt" (Redemptoris Missio, 56).[11)]

Der offene Dialog soll auf Respekt und Treue ohne Vorurteile, Hochmut und Missverständnisse basieren. Infolgedessen macht er auch das eigene Glaubenszeugnis nicht zunichte, sondern den eigenen Glaube klarer und fruchtbar. Ein solcher Dialog reflektiert geschichtliche Erfahrungen. Dialog ist kein Instrument zur Mission. Das, was im Dialog ausgebreitet und offenbar gemacht wird, ist vom Geist Gottes, der so ausgegossen wird wie der Wind, wobei man nicht weiß, woher er kommt und wohin er geht(Joh. 3,8). Darum sollen diejenigen, die sich an einem Dialog beteiligen, die Dialogpartner respektieren und den Prozess des Dialoges ernst nehmen. Gleichzeitig bedarf es der Offenheit für das Ergebnis des Dialogs. Die Wahrheit an sich soll durch den Dialog entschleiert werden. Mission als Dialog ist immer eine Einladung, die keinen Zwang und keine Verführung zur Bekehrung mit süßen Worten darstellt.[12)]

Mission als Diakonie

Das Verhältnis zwischen Mission und diakonischem Dienst wird angesichts der in Afghanistan entführten Missionsgruppe, die von der Saemmul-Gemeinde in Bundang entsandt wurde, heiß diskutiert. Generell wird Diakonie als ein Mittel oder eine Methode der Mission verstanden. Diejenigen, die Diakonie auf diese Weise verstehen, gehen davon aus, dass

11) S. Karotemprel, S. 117.
12) Stephen Bevans; Roger P. Schroeder , S. 712-713.

Mission mittels ihrer Diakonie zu Bekehrung, Konversion, Taufe und Kircheneintritt zur Erfüllung gebracht wird.

Aber besonders die im Leben und Tod Jesu aufgewiesene "Diakonie" ist an sich selbst "Mission." Und diese Mission begann mit der Menschwerdung des göttlichen Logos und wurde mit dem Tod am Kreuz vollendet. Der Begriff, "diakonia" ist so alt wie die Geschichte der Bibel selbst. Das Wort "diakonein" bedeutet im säkularen Altgriechisch "dienen, bedienen, besonders bei Tisch aufwarten," im breiteren Sinne "jemanden mit etwas versorgen." In diesem Bereich wurden die hierachischen und Klassenunterschiede zwischen Dienenden und Bedienten angezeigt: Diener sind abhängig von ihren Herren. Im neuen Testament wird "diakonia" hingegen folgendermaßen verstanden: man hilft als ein Nachfolger Jesu armen, leidenden und in Not geratenen Menschen in der Liebe Jesu Christi. "Diakonie" wird also sozusagen als ein freiwilliger Dienst für die Nachbarn (so Gal 5,1), als ein apostolisches Tun um Jesu Christi willen und als ein Liebesdienst für Schwestern und Brüdern (Gal 5, 13) begriffen. "Diakonia" besteht nicht aus Zwang; ihre Basis ist die Entscheidung in Freiheit als Apostel Jesu Christi und hier gibt es keine Diskriminierung zwischen Dienern und Bedienten. Dieser freiwillige Dienst war in der griechischen Welt etwas Fremdes. Denn der Höchstwert des Menschen lag in seiner Selbstverwirklichung. Das neue Testament sieht den Prototyp des Dienens im Leben und in der Tätigkeit Jesu Christi. Er kritisierte die damaligen Herrschaftsformen wenn er sagte: "Ihr wisst, die als Herrscher gelten, halten ihre Völker nieder, und ihre Mächtigen tun ihnen Gewalt an (Mk 10,42)." Unterdrückerische Gewalt wurde nicht nur von römischen Kaisern und von Königen erzeugt, sondern auch die jüdischen Oberhäuptern und hochrangigen Menschen waren Subjekte von Gewalt. Aber Jesus sagte: "Ich aber bin unter euch wie ein Diener" (Lk 22,27: Joh 13,1-15) und "So wie der Menschensohn nicht gekommen ist, dass er sich dienen lasse, sondern dass er diene und gebe sein Leben zu einer Erlösung für viele (Mt 20,28)." Er ging diesen Weg und vollendete ihn am Kreuz.

Was ist demzufolge die Mission als Dienst? Sie bedeutet den freiwilligen Verzicht auf alle möglichen Machtverhältnisse. Nicht nur politische Parteien und Nichtregierungsorganisationen sondern sogar auch private Beziehungen wie die zwischen Eltern und Kindern und zwsichen Ehepartnern lassen Machtverhältnisse entstehen. In solchen Machtbeziehungen kann es zu einem Zwang zum Gehorsam, zu

niederträchtiger Unterwerfung, vorauseilendem Gehorsam, zum Verschweigen und zum Widerstand kommen. Freiheit, Kreativität und Engagement sind dabei ausgeschlossen. Darum ist der wahrhaftige Dienst nur denen möglich, die selbst auf alle denkbaren Machtverhältnisse verzichten. Wie aber ist der Verzicht auf eine Machtbeziehung machbar? Das wird möglich durch den Glauben an Jesus, der zuerst diesen Weg des Dienens ging, wenn wir also ihm nachfolgend anderen Menschen dienen. Der Grund zum Dienen liegt nicht in der Selbstverwirklichung oder Kultivierung der eigenen Persönlichkeit. Falls der Grund zum Dienen in sich selbst besteht, werden Beziehungen dann zugrunde gerichtet, wenn man nicht genügend Geduld füreinander aufbringen kann. Infolgedessen ist Dienen nicht "mein Dienst" sondern letztlich "Gottesdienst."

Die von der Inkarnation und vom Kreuzesgeschehen Jesu her verstandene Mission ist folglich Dienst, sozusagen "Dienende Mission." Dieser Erkenntniswandel kann verhindern, dass der Dienst in der Mission zur Verwirklichung eigener Zwecke oder zur Schaustellung eines Alibis verdorben wird. Mission als Dienst ist kein Almosen. Die Armen, die unterdrückten, vernachlässigten und kranken Menschen, denen die Kirche dient, sind keine Objekte der christlichen Wohlfahrtspflege, von Almosen oder auch der Liebe. Sie sind vor allem Mitglieder des Gottesreichs (Mt 5, 3) und Schwester und Brüder des Menschensohn, der die Welt richtet (Mt 25). Sie sind keine Objekte für das Mitgefühl der Christen, sondern sie sind Subjekte des Gottesreiches.[13)]

Die Missionare, die im Glaube leben, dass Jesus sich selbst erniedrigt hat um den Menschen zu dienen, können voller Respekt Menschen helfen, ohne dass sie deren Würde verletzen oder sich als ihr Vormund verhalten. Das, was im Dienen ans Licht kommt, ist nicht das Bemühen von Missionaren, sondern es ist die "Missio Dei" dessen, der Mensch gewordenen ist, damit allen Menschen geholfen werde und sie zur Erkenntnis der Wahrheit kommen (Tim1. 2,4-6).

Schlusswort

Die Entführung und der Tod der koreanischen Kurzzeit-Missionare oder

13) Jürgen Moltmann: *Diakonie im Horizont des Reiches Gottes:* Originaltext nach der koreanischen Übersetzung, 2000, S. 33.

Dienstleister in Afghanistan waren der Anlass, über Verständnis, Ziel und Methode der Mission gründlich nachzudenken. Es ist sinnvoll, dass die Kurzzeit-Mission in ein langfristiges missionarisches Handeln verändert wird. Obwohl die Kurzzeit-Mission vorteilhaft für den Glauben und die Einigkeit der sendenden Gemeinde sein mag und zur Erneuerung der Gesinnung und der Selbsthingabe beitragen kann, darf die Mission kein Instrument für irgendeinen Selbstzweck der Gemeinde werden. Eine Mission, die radikale Gleichberechtigung für alle Menschen realisieren will, nach dem Gottesreich strebt, darf nicht kurzfristig praktiziert werden. Die Mission ist keine Einbahnstraße. Eine Einstellung wie "Wir gehen dorthin, um Menschen zu lehren und ihnen zu helfen" muss radikal geändert werden. Mission ist Verkehr in beide Richtungen, in dem nicht nur die empfangene Gemeinde, sondern auch die sendende Gemeinde erneuert wird. Dementsprechend muss die koreanische Gemeinde ihr künftiges Verhalten verändern und so die Lehre aus der Geschichte von westlichem Kolonialismus und Imperialismus im 16. und 19. Jh. ziehen. Auch muss Mission zum Dienen streben, indem das fundamentalistische und aggressive Modell der Kirchenpflanzung durch die Mission mittels Geld vermieden wird, und das auf der Basis von gegenseitigem Respekt und Vertrauen; man lernt voneinander und schafft die Grundlage für das künftige Zusammenleben (Konvivenz). Der Begriff, "Konvivenz," den der deutsche Missionswissenschaftlicher Theo Sundermeier verwendet, um die Grundstruktur der ökumenischer Existenz zu definieren, geht über Begegnung und Dialog hinaus. Denn Konvivenz beinhaltet die wechselseitige Korrektur von Kirche und Theologie auf der Basis eines Prinzips gegenseitigen Lernens.[14] Die Konvivenz, die er von der "Pädagogik der Unterdrückten" des brasilianischen Pädagogen P. Freire übernimmt, bedeutet Praxis aus der gemeinsamen Lebenserfahrung des Volks (Minjung) in Lateinamerika, und zwar "die gegenseitige Hilfe, das wechselseitige Lernen und das gemeinsame Feiern."[15]

Wenn die Mission nicht nach dem neuem Himmel und der neuen Erde (Off. 21, 1-4), sondern nach Expansion und Vermehrung der religiösen

14) Theo Sundermeier, *Konvivenz als Grundstruktur ökumenischer Existenz heute,* in: Konvivenz und Differenz: Originaltext von der koreanischen Übersetzung, 1999, S. 74.

15) Ebd., S. 74.

Anhänger und für die Rettung der Seele als Propagandainstrument strebt, verhält sie sich wie alle missionarischen Religionen und gibt darin ihre missionarische Existenz auf. Denn Mission ist nicht eine Aufgabe oder ein Programm von missionarischen Religionen, sondern sie ist ihr eigentliches Wesen.

Abstract

Early mission studies of Korean Christianity developed in relation with the theological frameworks of foreign missionaries from North America. Western missionaries' evangelical concerns and activities were concentrated in church plantings, education in western style, and medical service, while their theological perspectives were, in fact, dominated by pietism and fundamentalism which aimed at personal conversion and establishment of visible churches. The western missionaries established seminaries in Korea to train native pastors but their theological frameworks and scopes were limited as such since they did not believe that Korean pastors needed such complex knowledge system of theology in western style for the ministry of the fellow Koreans. Their mission policies also included the firm separation of the church and the state so that the early Korean pastors were trained to show no interests in national politics in general. For the saving of the Korean souls, Korean pastors were educated with "simple theology" and the early mission theology of Korea was focused on the missionary enthusiasm of "saving soul." It seems the Reverend Kil Sun Ju (1869-1935) could be a typical Korean figure who first formulated the early mission theology of Korea. The Reverend Kil, who initiated "daily daybreak prayer," was a pioneer of Korean mission theology based on his conservative and fundamentalist perspective. His doctrinal emphases on "infallibility of the Scripture" and millennialism, along with his conservative and fundamentalist mission theology, has greatly influenced on the conservative and fundamentalist characters of Korean Protestant church until today.

But the shocking episode of kidnapping and the sad story of loosing two innocent short-term missionaries in Afghanistan in 2007 would be a lucid example with which Korean missionary movement is facing today. So in this work I try to suggest some new orientations for the future of mission of the Korean Church:

First, Korean theology of mission should pay attention to the rapidly changing world realities, such as globalization, religious conflicts after 9/11 worldwide, dazzling development of science and the innovative way of communication, ecological crisis and so on. Korean theology of mission should not be an isolated theological discussion about Korean church or Korean missionaries abroad. Our theological articulation should embrace

the world.

Second, Korean theology of mission should pursuit a new missionary paradigm of "living together (Konvivenz)." We are called to be the missionary of "living together" as we do not have to carry the baggage of the past that was ruined by the memory of ferocious colonialism or foul racism. Korean missionaries are the good candidates of "living together" with the people who have different religious and cultural orientations since they have been victims of colonialism and racism actually. Korean Christians' and missionaries' outreaches should be included to embrace the ultimate others, i.e., the people of North Korea as well.

Finally, the Korean missionary movement should be examined by the relationship with the first world and the third world separately. It is very obvious that the message of Korean missionary movement has been determined by the Korean church' s accommodation of the American Gospel, i.e., theology of prosperity. The Korean missionary movement should be contrasted and compared with the dynamics of new missionary movement led by the Third World. Along with Korea, countries like Brazil, Peru, India, China, the Philippines, Ghana, Nigeria, and South Africa are newly emerging as a missionary-sending country. Each country has her mission agenda and unique missionary methodology. It would be very interesting comparison and contrast if we could juxtapose the Korean missionary movements' agendas and methodologies with the other newly-emerging missionary countries' .

Korea was called as a hermit nation by the first foreign missionaries who scattered the seeds of the good news about a century ago. Now the Korean church is clearly visible and active in the contemporary history of Christianity. The sudden rise of Korean missionary movement from the late 1980s has added the visibility of Korean Christianity in the world. Further efforts of missionary endeavors and academic contributions from Korea are greatly requested until the Korean Church demonstrates that the last shall be the first.

Key Words

Auslandsmission der koreanischen evangelischen Kirchen, Frieden, Dialog, Diakonie, Mission, der Konservativen und fundamentalischen Missiontheologie

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The Religious Dimension of American Imperialism

John L. Kater*

Introduction

A priest in the Anglican Church of Korea once shared with me his image of Korea as a crucified people on a cross. In his vision the cross is formed by Russia at the top, Japan at the bottom, China to one side and the United States on the other. His image reflects his identity as a Christian and as a Korean. It points to the fact that there are some things that all four of those empires with aspirations towards world domination share, and that one aspect of their similarity is that each has caused the Korean people suffering. But the ways in which they have affected Korea are also very different. Korea's struggles with China and Japan have ancient roots, its relationship with Russia is more recent, and with the United States more recent still. In the early years of the twenty-first century, it is American imperialism that is affecting Korea and the rest of the world in the most immediate ways. That realization affects me personally both as a Christian and as an American.

The story of imperialism and the role it has played in world affairs is nearly as old as the record of human history itself. It has also played a significant role in biblical history. The exodus from Egypt, Israel's own efforts to dominate neighboring peoples, its defeat at the hands of the Babylonian Empire and its subsequent exile, all testify to the importance of empire in the Hebrew scriptures. The Roman Empire and its agents assume

He is professor emeritus of Ministry Development Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley, CA, USA. He studied at McGill University (Ph.D.) in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Email: jlkater@aol.com

the role of primary actors in the New Testament. The record of every significant event in Jesus' life involves the threatening presence of the power of Rome; the stories in the book of Acts and the apostolic writings are all shaped in one way or another by the political realities of the empire that controlled the far reaches of the Mediterranean world and even beyond.

Dimensions of Imperialism

All imperialism depends upon the belief by one nation or people that it has the *right* to impose its will on another and to establish a relationship of superiority that serves its own purposes. Such a belief is impotent without the *power* to achieve domination. That power can take many forms: military, economic, political, cultural, even religious - or all of them together. But beneath and behind the use of power is inevitably an ideology that supports and impels it. Often a significant aspect of that ideology is the assertion that domination not only serves the interests of the imperial power but also the well-being of the dominated.

The supporting ideology of much western imperialism has contained elements of national, racial, and religious superiority. Sometimes one has taken precedence over the other; occasionally they are confused or conflated. In the sixteenth century, Spain and Portugal justified the pillage of Latin America primarily on religious grounds: while they were engaged in seizing the wealth and resources of the Native peoples they were also engaged in saving their souls. The British Empire believed it was spreading a superior civilization that was at once Christian, English and white. In the twentieth century, the Nazis tended to conceive of German identity as both racial and national and constructed a cult to undergird it.

Religious Dimensions of American Imperialism: Origins

While it is easy to recognize similarities between these earlier forms of imperialism and its current American form, a full understanding of the nature of American imperialism requires attention to its unique national sense of identity, whose origins can be found in the faith and assumptions of the English Puritan and Separatist colonists who helped to settle England's North American colonies.

England's earliest permanent North American settlements could not

have been more different. Virginia was established by commercial speculators who were quite willing to share the faith of the Church of England with the Native people and the African slaves, whose non-Christian condition was considered to reduce them to a subordinate position as dependents of the English Crown. But religion was by no means the primary motivation for their efforts.

The New England colonies, on the other hand, were established by settlers with very different objectives. They were hoping for a place to practice their version of Christian faith without the restrictions by which England was attempting to encourage national unity through religious conformity. Some were Puritans who considered that the Church of England had not yet completed its Reformation and wanted to eliminate all the traces of its old Roman Catholic heritage; others were more radical, believing that the very idea of an Established Church such as that of England was inevitably corrupted and corrupting. All were heirs of John Calvin, convinced that the Elect were those chosen by God to escape the sure punishment that would befall those not so fortunate; all were certain that faithful Christians should be responsible for government and not the other way around; and all believed in the scriptures as a sure and certain guide for every human action. All trusted profoundly in divine providence and saw the hand of God in every action and event; all interpreted those events in the light of the biblical stories which they believed themselves to be re-living.

Those beliefs dominated the spirituality and the theology of the early settlers of New England. In their own story of persecution and liberation, they saw themselves as the new People of God, oppressed by the English Pharaoh and escaping his clutches. In their departure from England they were living their own exodus. In their perilous journey across the Atlantic, they were reliving the experience of the Israelites making their way through the Red Sea. They had no doubt that America was the new Promised Land, that they themselves were God's New Israel, and that just as God had once taken the land of Canaan from its original inhabitants and given it to their spiritual ancestors, so now God was giving the land of the Native Americans into their hands. Just as the conquest of. Canaan was assumed to demonstrate God's will, so the successful settlement of the rugged landscape of North America and the defeat of its Native people was interpreted as the acting out of God's Providence.[1)]

The sermons, tracts, hymns and prayers which have survived from the early generations of New England's Christian settlers reveal all the major strains of the ideology that has shaped American imperialism: the special relationship between God and Americans, indeed their identity as "God's New Israel;" America's "manifest destiny" as revealed by its expansionist successes; and the unique mission entrusted by God to these earnest and hardy settlers, to be a "light to the nations."

Nowhere is that ideology more clearly articulated than in the famous address, "A Modell of Christian Charity," written by John Winthrop, leader of a large group of settlers, on board the ship Arrabella, as they approached the American coast.

Winthrop began his essay with the observation that social distinctions between rich and poor, rulers and ruled, are God's will, not only for the good of the whole, but also to provide faithful people with opportunities for service to those over or under them, and to demonstrate human beings' mutual need of one another. Winthrop recognized the opportunity that their new setting provided for creating a civil and Christian society that would clearly reflect God's will, not only for themselves but also in order to be an example to the whole world.[2)]

The colonists' efforts at establishing a "godly society" in accordance with God's will were to be based on a covenant. That enterprise, Winthrop warned, was not only a God-given calling but a profound challenge; God's support would be contingent upon their own continued faithfulness.

> For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us; so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world,…we shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are going….[3)]

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1) Conrad Cherry, ed., *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, revised ed., 1998), 19-20, 26-27.

2) John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity," in Cherry, ed., *God's New Israel,* 37-38.

Religious Dimensions of American Imperialism: Evolution

The survival of the major themes of the faith of New England's earliest settlers has been thoroughly documented throughout the political and cultural history of the United States. Long before the American Revolution, the Puritan theologian Jonathan Edwards had argued that the expected Millennium would probably begin in North America.[4] Faith in a unique American destiny informed the Declaration of Independence by which the thirteen colonies of the Eastern Seaboard declared an end to their colonial relationship with Great Britain in 1776, and provided the principles for interpreting the surprising success of their armed struggle against one of the best armies in the world.

The United States, declared the famous nineteenth century American preacher Lyman Beecher, "is destined to lead the way in the moral and political emancipation of the world."[5] Beecher's 1835 book, *A Plea for the West,* argued that the western territory of the United States, still sparsely settled by Americans, would become the center of a civilization that would contribute mightily to worldwide evangelization. Indeed, he even admitted that Jonathan Edwards might be right in expecting the Millennium to begin on American soil, but he warned that the spread of the gospel could only succeed where American-style civil and religious freedom prevailed.

The same principles proclaimed by Beecher were used in the mid-nineteenth century to justify the war which ended with the annexation of forty percent of the territory of Mexico and, at the turn of the century, the capture of Puerto Rico, Cuba and several islands of the Pacific from Spain, the long and bloody conquest of the Philippines, and the seizure of the Panama Canal Zone with the collusion of that country's small business community and its corrupt ambassador. Liberal Protestant leaders such as Lyman Abbott made it clear that they understood the "civilizing" of the world (by which they meant the spread of American institutions and culture) as an integral part of Christian

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3) "A Modell of Christian Charity," 39-40. I have modernized Winthrop's seventeenth century spelling.

4) Jonathan Edwards, "The Latter-Day Glory Is Probably to Begin in America," in Cherry, ed., *God's New Israel,* 54-60.

5) Lyman Beecher, *A Plea for the West* (Cincinnati, OH: Truman and Smith, 1835), 10-11.

mission: "[D]emocracy," he wrote, "is not merely a political theory, it is not merely a social opinion; it is a profound religious faith." [6] He enthusiastically defended the right of the United States to impose American educational, cultural and religious institutions around the world.

> It is said that we have no right to go to a land occupied by a barbaric people and interfere with their life. I deny the right of a barbaric people to retain possession of any corner of the globe. Barbarism has no rights which civilization is bound to respect." [7]

In the 1960s, the sociologist Robert Bellah used the concept of civil religion to explain how American social and political history had been interpreted by a framework of belief which was essentially religious in nature. He emphasized that American civil religion "exists alongside and rather clearly differentiated from the churches," and "though much is selectively derived from Christianity, this religion is clearly not itself Christianity." However, its beliefs are obviously derived from a selective reading of the Biblical story; in this uniquely American public faith, "Europe is Egypt; America is the promised land. God has led his [sic] people to establish a new sort of social order that shall be a light to the nations." [8] Citing the religious references in President John F. Kennedy's 1961 Inaugural Address, Bellah observes the prevalent belief that human rights as practiced in the United States "are more basic than any political structure and provide a point of revolutionary leverage from which any state structure may be radically altered. That is the basis for [Kennedy's] reassertion of the revolutionary significance of America" [9] - a significance, it might be added, that could and has also provided a rationale for intervention in the affairs of nations judged to be lacking in those God-given rights. Everything about American culture - its capitalist economy, its system of representative democracy, its two-party system, its individualism, its values, religion and

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6) Quoted in Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 109.

7) Lyman Abbott, *The Rights of Man: A Study in Twentieth Century Problems* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1901), 274.

8) Robert

9) "Civil Religion in America,"

culture - is considered as an expression of God's will and should therefore be shared by the rest of the world. Even when the civil religion Bellah described appeared to be losing some of its strength in the later decades of the twentieth century,[10] a newly militant evangelical Protestant Christianity emerged in the United States to re-affirm traditional belief in America's special relationship with God and its God-given global mission.[11]

For nearly one hundred years, American imperialism was fed by its fear and hatred for Communism. Its conflict with the Soviet Union was, of course, in many ways a typical struggle of one empire against another. But American public opinion was routinely kindled against Communism because it was against religion, and Marxist ideological atheism was one of the reasons that the United States fought it so fiercely. That hatred and fear fed American participation in the Korean War over fifty years ago, and it still shapes the relationship between the United States and the Korean peninsula. More recently, Americans have been encouraged to interpret conflicts in the Middle East in religious terms, with Islam as the new enemy of both God and the United States.

People in other parts of the world, and indeed some Americans frequently interpret American imperialism as similar in every way to that of any other great power. They note the same sense of superiority, the same arrogance, the same insistence that its way is the only right way. And of course its imperialism has brought the United States enormous benefits and led it to the same kind of behavior that imperialism always brings to empires. But it is common for Americans to overlook the negative aspects of its behavior, and if they notice that the United States has prospered at the expense of other nations, they rarely blame imperialism; they interpret it as God's reward for their faithfulness. The noted Palestinian-born scholar of post-colonialism, Edward Said, pointed out this phenomenon:

> So influential has been the discourse insisting on American specialness,

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10) See Robert Bellah, *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975, 1992) and R. Bellah et al, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, 2007)

11) See John L. Kater, *Christians on the Right: The Moral Majority in Perspective* (New York:Seabury Press, 1982)

> altruism and opportunity, that imperialism in the United States as a word or ideology has turned up only rarely and recently in accounts of the United States culture, politics and history. But the connection between imperial politics and culture in North America, and in particular in the United States, is astonishingly direct. American attitudes to greatness, to hierarchies of race, to the perils of other revolutions - the American Revolution being considered unique and somehow unrepeatable anywhere else in the world - these have remained constant, have dictated, have obscured the realities of empire while apologists for overseas American interests have insisted on American innocence, doing good, fighting for freedom.[12)]

Of course there are some Americans, especially those in positions of power, who understand the ways American imperialism gives the United States military and economic advantages, and it is easy for them to manipulate public opinion by appealing to the old American sense that they have a special mission given to them by God. Most Americans now realize that the invasion of Iraq was a terrible mistake; but when it began, most supported it because they were led to believe they were "helping" the people of Iraq to become more like the United States. They were able to ignore the political, economic and even the military consequences of imperialism and believe the struggle was between God's enemies and what they would call "the American way of life." In doing so, they were acting out their peculiarly American religious heritage.

Commenting on American imperialism after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the American ethicist Gary Dorrien notes that with the exception of its own Native American tribal reservations, the United States - unlike most traditional empires - rarely engages in long-term political or military occupation of other peoples. Yet, he writes, "Since 1989, the United States has forged a new kind of empire - one not based on the conquest of territory - that outstrips all colonizing empires of the past." He notes the overwhelming economic and military power represented by seven hundred fifty military bases around the world as well as other signs of American economic and technological dominance. "Moreover," he writes,

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12) Edward Said, "Culture and Imperialism," York University, Toronto, 10 February 1993 (http://www.zmag.org/zmag/articles/barsaid.htm)

> the United States is not merely dominant; it assumes imperial responsibilities and reaps the benefits that derive from them. It is imperial in the sense of enforcing its own idea of world order in America's interest, presuming the right to lay down the rules of trade, commerce, security, and political legitimacy. It rewards or punishes nations on the basis of their willingness to create open markets, support American military policies, and establish pro-American governments. Today the U.S. is redesigning the economy of Iraq, ignoring longstanding Iraqi laws that limit foreign ownership and principles of international law that limit the powers of occupiers. Waging an offensive war to change the government of a sovereign country and restructure its economy is obviously an imperial enterprise. Doing it to consolidate one's power and change the political culture of a sprawling, explosive, multinational region halfway around the globe is more so on an unprecedented scale.[13)]

Religious Dimensions of American Imperialism: Responses

Imperialism is always and everywhere a dangerous phenomenon. In the twenty-first century, the dangers it represents threaten the survival of the planet. People in other parts of the world can often counteract the negative political and economic aspects of American imperialism. But the religious dimension of American imperialism must also be understood and addressed.

The new chapter of the history of globalization which we are currently living at the beginning of the twenty-first century has had severe political and economic consequences throughout the world. Many of those consequences can be traced to the dominance of an American political machine that blends neo-conservative economics with the vision of a "unipolar world." In Dorrien's words, "The goal of the Pax *Americana* is to create American-style democracies throughout the world…That sentiment is amply rooted in the social gospel of the early twentieth century." [14)]

Furthermore, the spread of American ideas and culture has also carried

13) Gary Dorrien, "Imperial Designs: Theological Ethics and the Ideologies of International Politics," *Cross Currents,* Summer 2004 (http://www.crosscurrents.org/Dorrien0204.htm)

14) Dorrien, "Imperial Designs."

with it a version of Christianity which enshrines the very values underlying American imperialism. All too often missionaries, supported and funded from the United States, convey the worldview of Christian America to other peoples. Attracted by its successes, ready audiences espouse individualism and competition, fear and distrust of those who hold different values or practice different religions, and look to the United States as patron and guide. They seem unwilling or unable to detect the religious imperialism that underlies such an expression of Christian faith.

The peculiar nature of American imperialism calls for a religious and theological response if it is to be fully countered. American Christians must learn to examine critically their assumption that God is always on America's side, that Americans are God's chosen people, and that the American way of life is always an accurate reflection of Christian values. American Christians need to be helped to understand that Christianity is a world religion, not an American religion, and that God does not have a special relationship with America and Americans. There is nothing specifically Christian about capitalism or a two-party political system or individualism; they are products of a particular American history and culture. Peace and justice and compassion are the true Christian values, and sometimes American imperialism violates them all. When American policies ignore the rights of other peoples, when its leaders forget the importance of peace, or when the right to intrude on other nations and their way of life is asserted, we encounter an ideology that rests ultimately on distorted theology.

Dorrien argues that the dangers of American imperialism must be lessened by a focus on the international community. Such a focus, he argues,

> He has a realistic basis: that the benefits of multilateral cooperation outweigh the costs and risks of not working together. A superpower that insists on absolute security for itself makes all other nations insecure. All parties are better off when the most powerful nations agree not to do everything that is in their power and nations work together to create new forms of collective security. In an increasingly interdependent world, single nation-states have to cooperate with each other to address security issues that transcend national boundaries.[15)]

15) Dorrien, "Imperial Designs."

Forty years after the publication of his famous essay on American civil religion, Robert Bellah returned to the theme in the light of the current phenomenon of neo-conservative imperialism. "I would argue," he writes, 'that in the present world the very idea of national interests needs to be rethought. It is in the ultimate best interest of every nation that transnational institutions replace nation-state power politics…" But such a change requires attention to the cultural and religious underpinnings of American-style imperialism.

A chance for another course, another role for America in the world, depends ultimately on the reform of our own cultures. A culture of unfettered individualism combined with absolute world power is an explosive mixture. A few religious voices have been raised to say so. The question of the hour is whether our fellow citizens, not to mention our leaders, are ready to hear such voices.[16)]

American Christians clearly bear the brunt of the burden of rescuing their national life from the distorted religious ideology which supports the imperial project. But people of faith and wisdom in other parts of the world can lend their voices as well.

It is appropriate that the first Korean astronaut in space, Yi So-yeon, supply the postscript to this analysis. Reflecting on the experience of her sojourn , she commented,

> The Earth looks so blue, beautiful, idle and peaceful. It makes me regret the way I have lived there, always competing with others. There is no nationality in space, since we must cooperate in order to survive. I believe it is the same on Earth. I wish we can all live in peace and harmony on it too.[17)]

16) Robert N. Bellah, "The New American Empire: The Likely Consequences of the 'Bush Doctrine'," in Wes Avram, ed., *Anxious About Empire: Theological Essays on the New Global Realities* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2004), 26.

17) Quoted in Michael Breen, "No Space for Nationalism in Space," *The Korea Times* (April 18, 2008), 6.

Abstract

American imperialism is often considered to be similar to that practiced by other nations throughout history. This article argues that while it shares many characteristics with other forms of imperialism, an adequate understanding and response to American imperialism must take into account its unique religious interpretation of the nation's destiny. This facet of American national identity is ultimately derived from the faith of the early Puritan and Separatist settlers of New England who believed that their history reflected the history of the people of Israel. It lent itself to a "civil religion" that continued to conceive of the United States as a "light to the nations" with a special God-given mission and calling, and has recently re-emerged in militant American Evangelicalism.

Key Words

American imperialism, Pax Americana, Puritan, Church of England, New England, post-colonialism, the invasion of Iraq, globalization, neo-conservative economic, civil religion, militant American Evangelism.

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Remembering Ludek Broz: Theologian of a Radical Christian Humanism

Daniel J. Adams*

Korea is a land where one honors one's ancestors. In the living out of the theological vocation, one is always aware of theological ancestors who have gone on before. Some of these theological ancestors have been lifelong companions, such as St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and John Calvin. Others have been with us for a much shorter period, such as Karl Barth, Paul Tillich, and Ham Sok-hon. Still others have been passing acquaintances, whom we have met through their lectures, books, or in chance personal meetings, such as Jurgen Moltmann, Tissa Balasuriya, C. S. Song, and Jung Young Lee.

One of these latter theological ancestors was the Czech theologian Ludek Broz, who was a visiting professor at Hanil University and Presbyterian Theological Seminary during the spring semester of 1997. This was the first time that I made his acquaintance, and little did I know that a friendship would develop which continued until his death in August of 2003. Since he was an advocate of contextual theology and a particular

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He is professor of theology at Hanil University & Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Jeonbuk, Korea. He is a graduate of Seattle Pacific University and the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary. He holds a Ph.D. in theology from Aquinas Institute of Theology and an M.A. in Chinese studies from Soochow University in Taiwan. Among his recent publications are *Doing Theology in Postmodern Times* (2006), *Always Being Reformed: Systematic Theology* (2006) and *Sermons from the Desert* (2007). Email : chadhanil777@yahoo.com

friend of Korea, it is fitting that in 2008, five years following his death, he be remembered.

Introduction: Twentieth-Century Czech Theology

Ludek Broz was one of an outstanding company of postwar theologians and ecumenical leaders to emerge from what was then Czechoslovakia. Included in this group were Josef Lukl Hromadka, Jan Milic Lochman, and Milan Opocensky. Together with Broz they engaged with a prophetic voice the Soviet power which occupied their homeland.[1] They lectured, preached, wrote books, edited journals, and kept alive the light of faith even in the darkest of times. They took part in a Christian-Marxist dialogue that was often misunderstood, both by the Soviets and by many in the West.[2] They were active in the Christian Peace Conference and were sometimes labeled as communist sympathizers as a result. On visits to the United States they were frequently picketed and heckled by right wing Christian groups. In ecumenical meetings they sought to rise above the political division of East and West and were denounced by some and praised by others. Only now, in this third millennium, when their voices have been stilled, are we beginning to understand how prophetic they really were.

Josef L. Hromadka (1889-1969), the elder teacher in this group, was a prolific author, lecturer, theologian, and professor at the Comenius Theological Faculty in Prague. He was a founder and first president of the Christian Peace Conference as well as a guest professor at Princeton Theological Seminary. Active in ecumenical affairs, especially in the World Council of Churches, he always sought to overcome the East-West divide while at the same time recognizing that the context for his theological life and work was primarily on the eastern side of that divide. His words delivered at the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1948 are perhaps more timely now, in this age of globalization, than they

1) For the philosophical roots of twentieth century Czech Protestant thinkers see Lubomr Novy, Ji Gabriel & Jaroslav Hroch, eds., *Czech Philosophy in the XXth Century: Czech Philosophical Studies II* (Washington, DC: Paideia Press & The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 1994), 63-76.

2) One of the fruits of this dialogue was Vitezslav Gardavsky, *God Is Not Yet Dead,* trans. Vivienne Menkes (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1973). The book became something of a bestseller in both the East and the West.

were at the beginning of the Cold War: "The Church of Christ has got to go beyond the present national, political and "bloc" divisions. She cannot, if she be loyal to her mission, identify herself with any group of people…Without illusions or self-deception she is aware of the terrible dangers lurking within the Western and Eastern heart."[3] Hromadka, as a theologian, professor, church leader, and ecumenist, influenced twentieth-century Czech ecclesiastical life and work more than any other person.

Jan Milic Lochman (1922-2004), was the quiet scholar in the group, who although active in both the World Council of Churches and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, spent eighteen years as a professor of theology at the Comenius Theological Faculty and over twenty-three years as a professor at the University of Basel in Switzerland. Indeed he writes that "If there is anything special about my theological and academic pilgrimage, it is the simple fact that I have taught theology both in Eastern and Western Europe."[4] Lochman was a sensitive interpreter of the theological situation in the East. He took a leading role in producing a WARC statement on the theological basis of human rights in 1976 and always championed the eschatological hope of the Czech reformers of the past, beginning in the fourteenth century and continuing up through the seventeenth century even into the twentieth century as in the Prague Spring of 1968. According to Lochman the forerunners and leaders of the Czech Reformation "were able to apply this hope not only to their personal destiny but also to their church and society."[5] Lochman's influence came primarily through his teaching, and while at Basel, there were numerous doctoral students who were attracted to him and to his incisive thought.

Milan Opocensky (1931-2007), was both a theologian and professor of social ethics at the Comenius Theological Faculty. However in more recent decades his major focus was within the ecumenical movement, especially

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3) Josef L. Hromadka, "The Church and Today's International Situation - Amsterdam, August 1948," in *50th Anniversary of the WCC - Challenges of Remembering: To the Honour of J. L. Hromadka* (Praha: Christian Peace Conference, International, 1998), 14. As a theological student in the mid-1960s, I remember attending several lectures by Hromadka delivered at the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary.

4) Jan Milic Lochman, "Theology and Cultural Contexts," *Center of Theological Inquiry Reflections* 2 (1998), 24.

5) Ibid., 39.

the World Alliance of Reformed Churches where he served a number of positions including that of general secretary. From early on Opocensky attempted to cross the East-West divide and he frequently lectured in the West.[6] Always critical of the dehumanizing forces, in both East and West, Opocensky was a strong advocate of those oppressed by unjust political and economic structures. Following the collapse of communism in Europe, Opocensky turned his attention to the free market system and the forces of globalization. He watched in dismay as the East emulated the West in the pursuit of material and monetary gain. It was Opocensky more than any other person who advocated a *processus confessionis* within the churches of Europe and North America, whereby the churches would turn away from the free market system and seek to alleviate the problems brought about by an unjust global economic order.[7]

Ludek Broz (1922-2003), was perhaps the least known of the four theologians in this group. For most of his career he was a professor of theology at the Comenius Theological Faculty and director of the Czech church publishing house Kalich. He served with Hromadka in the Christian Peace Conference and in founding the quarterly journal *Communio Vitorum* which he edited for many years. Unlike Lochman and Opocensky, who spent much of their careers living and working in the West, Broz served the Czech church as a theologian and publisher in Prague. Aside from special lectureships, including a term as visiting professor at the University of

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6) In the early 1960s, Opocensky came to lecture at the University of Washington in Seattle. Since it was a state university and Opocensky was both an ordained minister and a theologian, he was not permitted to lecture on the campus. His lecture was held across the street from the campus in Wesley House. He was picketed and heckled by a number of right wing Christians affiliated with the Bible Presbyterian Church who accused him of being a communist. In spite of the shouting going on in the street outside, the lecture and the question and answer period which followed took place without any further incident. I was a student at the university and attended the lecture. Many years later, during a meeting with Opocensky here in Korea, I reminded of him of that lecture and of his entering Wesley House through the crowd of hecklers. He replied, "I really felt at the time that I was being thrown to the wolves."

7) See "Confessing Christ in an Unjust World: A *processus confessionis*," a series of papers resulting from ecumenical consultations [http://warc.ch/pc/index-e.html], accessed on 5/3/2000.

Dubuque Theological Seminary, and involvement in the ecumenical movement, Broz occupied a position of editor and publisher which kept him largely out of the public eye. As an advocate for economic justice, Broz focused his non-European travels on Africa and Asia, and often lectured at theological institutions and to groups that were outside the usual ecumenical circuit. Through his extensive editing and writing, Ludek Broz has left an enduring legacy. Broz and his theological life and work deserve to be remembered, for he has much to teach us about the times in which we live.

An Overview of the Life and Work of Ludek Broz

Ludek Broz was born on 2 May 1922 in Prague.[8] Following the completion of his secondary education in 1941, he began his theological studies in an illegal seminary of the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren. This was during the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia and all of the recognized theological faculties were forcibly closed. During these years Broz also gave religious instruction in several schools and helped in several church parishes. Thus from the very beginning of his theological studies, Broz had to contend with the forces of occupation. It is significant that he resisted those forces through his vocation as a teacher and pastor in training.

Following the end of World War II and the collapse of Nazism, Broz continued his theological studies at the Hus Faculty of Protestant Theology at the Charles University in Prague. At the same time he studied philosophy and Semitic languages in the Faculty of Philosophy. He completed his Bachelor of Theology degree at the Protestant Theological Faculty of the University of Strasbourg in France in 1948. While in Strasbourg Broz became fluent in French and this was to serve him in good stead many years later when he turned his attentions to francophone Africa. He returned to his homeland to study for the doctorate in theology and received his degree in 1961 from the Comenius Faculty of Theology with a dissertation on the renowned Italian reformer Pierre Martire Vermigli.[9] This was followed by

8) Much of the material in this section concerning the life and work of Ludek Broz is taken from several sources including the *Czech Working Group Newsletter* (Autumn 2003), the University of Dubuque *Seminary* Notes, 8/2 (2004), *WARC Update,* 13/4 (2003), as well as faxes and correspondence from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the Rev. John Michael co-editor of the *Czech Working Group Newsletter.*

the completion of his Habilitationschrift which qualified him to become a professor in the theological faculty.

With the exception of a guest professorship at the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary in the USA in 1988, Broz spent his entire teaching career as a member of the Comenius Theological Faculty where he was professor of systematic theology. From 1976 onward he was the Head of the Department of Systematic Theology and from 1988-1990 he served as Dean of the Comenius Theological Faculty. In 1986 he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Geneva. He retired from full-time teaching in 1990.

Although only one of Broz's books has been published in English translation, he was a prolific author in the Czech language and wrote several books and numerous essays in festschriften and academic journals.[10] As a systematic theologian he had wide interests and his bibliography includes essays on O. Cullmann, J. B. Soucka, M. Buber, L. Wittgenstein, C. Levi-Strauss, P. Ricour, Y. Congar, and M. Chenu. He also wrote on hermeneutics, semantics, linguistics and logic. He was particularly interested in the thought of his mentor J. L. Hromadka and in one essay, compared Hromadka's thought with that of Karl Barth. In 1988 he authored a Czech biography of Barth. Broz was an active translator and he translated many books from French, English, and German into Czech.[11] In addition to his work with the Christian Peace Conference, he participated in numerous ecumenical projects between various Protestant groups and between Protestants and Catholics. Broz was a participant in the Prague Consultations which were held in 1986, 1987, 1989, 1994, 1998, and 2000. Initially held in Prague for the first three years, the consultations later moved to other cities such as Geneva and Strasbourg. He was also an active

9) For more information on this Italian reformer see Joseph C. Mclelland, "Vermigli, Peter Martyr (1500-1562)," *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith,* ed. Donald K. McKim (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 384-385. Significantly, Vermigli spent several years teaching on the faculty at Strasbourg, where Broz was to study four hundred years later.

10) See Ludek Broz, *The Gospel Today* (Delhi: ISPCK, 1984).

11) One such translation was the author's book: Daniel J. Adams, *Cross-Cultural Theology: Western Reflections in Asia* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1987). Broz translated it into Czech as *Teologie Napric Kulturami:Zapadni Uvahy v Asii,* trans. Ludek Broz (Praha: Metanoia Press, 1999).

member of the Societe Europeenne de Culture. Theologically Broz served as a bridge builder between the Czech church and the world, and the world and the Czech church.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of Broz to the theological life and work of the Czech church was through his service as an editor and publisher. He first became involved in publishing as a result of his work with Sunday schools and continuing education for church elders. From 1949-1971 he was secretary of the Synod Council responsible for church education and in this position he worked with the editing and publishing of curriculum materials. From 1946-1949 he was editor of a Protestant weekly *Kostnicke Jiskry* which gave him an ecumenical audience beyond the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren. In 1958, together with J. L. Hromadka and J. B. Soucek, he founded the international journal *Communio Viatorum,* a theological quarterly which appeared in English, French, and German. Broz served as chief editor of *Communio Viatorum* from 1958 until his retirement in 1990. It was through this journal that Broz's audience became an international one. Not surprisingly he also served as the chief editor of the church publishing house Kalich for over twenty years. No doubt his greatest publishing effort was the journal *Metanoia,* which he founded in 1991 and edited through 2002 shortly before his death in 2003.

A Decade of Independent Publishing

Following his retirement from teaching at the Comenius Theological Faculty and from all of his official church editing and publishing positions, Broz founded a new journal with the rather lengthy title *Metanoia - An Independent Periodical of Social and Cultural Issues.* Although several of the early issues were published by Kalich, Broz took over the publication of the journal himself and founded the L. Broz Metanoia Press expressly for this purpose. Originally conceived as a quarterly, Metanoia was published in English and French and was thoroughly international in its contributors, readership, and subject matter. Buoyed by the success of the journal, Broz added a Czech edition in 1993 known as *Ceska Metanoia.*

In the first issue, which appeared in the summer of 1991, Broz wrote that "By calling this quarterly metanoia, we intend to express our program for the last ten years of the 20th century." [12] Ten years later, using the terrorist

attack in the United States on 11 September 2001 as a reference point, Broz wrote an editorial entitled "The Unquestionable End of the Twentieth Century."[13] Although the journal was to continue publication for another year, there can be no doubt that Broz did fulfill his promise to chronicle the events of the final decade of the century and provide a thoroughly Christian and humanistic program to deal with those events.

There were some, of course, who used the collapse of communism in Europe as their reference point for the end of the twentieth century. This was true both in the East and in the West. In Parnu, Estonia, in front of the Parnu New Art Museum also known as the Charlie Chaplin Centre, there is an unusual statue of Lenin with the head and hands cut off. Cast iron statues of Lenin were found in town squares and school yards all throughout the former Soviet bloc. With the fall of communism these statues were pulled down and discarded. The artist brought one of these discarded statues to the museum and replaced the head and hands with flashing yellow lights. But what is most telling is the sign on the base of the statue. It reads simply "Bye-bye the 20th Century!"

In the West this argument was put most forcefully by Francis Fukuyama in the summer of 1989 in an article entitled "The End of History" in the journal The National Interest and followed up in 1992 with the book *The End of History and the Last Man.*[14]

According to Fukuyama "a remarkable consensus concerning the legitimacy of liberal democracy as a system of government had emerged throughout the world over the past few years, as it conquered rival ideologies like hereditary monarchy, fascism, and most recently communism."[15] Liberal democracy involves not only political rights, but also economic rights. Thus Fukuyama asserts that "In its economic manifestation, liberalism is the recognition of the right of free economic activity and economic exchange based on private property and markets."[16]

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12) Ludek Broz, "Editorial," *Metanoia* 1 (1991), 1.

13) Ludek Broz, "Editorial: The Unquestionable End of the Twentieth Century," *Metanoia* 11/3-4 (2001), 1.

14) Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History," *The National Interest* 16 (1989), 3-18 and Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1992).

15) *Fukuyama, The End of History and the Last Man,* xi.

16) Ibid., 44.

Furthermore, he avers that those democratic states that "protect such economic rights we will consider liberal; those that are opposed or base themselves on other principles (such as "economic justice") will not qualify."[17] With the collapse of authoritarian political systems - the last of which was communism - liberal democracy, and with it the free-market economy, emerged triumphant and "History" came to an end.

Broz, however, did not see the collapse of communism as signaling the end of the twentieth century, and the reason can be found in the editorial of the first issue of *Metanoia* where he wrote that "Socialism became an enormously discredited word and democracy, which once protected the poor majority against the rich, now guards the well off middle class, sufficiently large, from the poor."[18] He went on to note that a global electronic network functions "exclusively for *sheer financial gain*" and this is the source of most of our contemporary evils.[19] Broz, following in the footsteps of Hromadka, saw clearly that both communism and liberal democracy had within them the seeds of evil. In his editorial of 2001 he wrote:

> What after September 11, 2001 - when so many things considered certain became uncertain if not ambiguous - remains absolutely sure, is that our world took a very different turn. Not only that the great successes of western man (wealthy, skillful, capable of anything) appear questionable, it seems that the composite of his well-being, the whole system upon which he built up his life, whether we call it liberal capitalist or post-modern, is in jeopardy. The collapsed *Twin Towers* and the damaged *Pentagon* are two horrifying shouts. They reveal the depths of human hatred and force us to realize that the situation had become so dramatically serious that we cannot go on as before.[20]

For Broz the true end of the twentieth century came with the realization that liberal democracy with its ties to the free market economic system

17) Ibid., 44.
18) Broz, "Editorial," *Metanoia* 1 (1991), 9.
19) Ibid., 10.
20) Broz, "Editorial: The Unquestionable End of the Twentieth Century," *Metanoia* 11/3-4 (2002), 1.

contained within it the seeds of its own destruction. Thus not one, but *two*, twentieth-century socio-political economic systems had either collapsed (communism) or were showing signs of terminal weakness (free market capitalism). The former was characterized by political and economic control; the latter was characterized by political and economic freedom. Both in their own way were dehumanizing.

In an earlier editorial in *Metanonia,* Broz argued that liberal democracies could only become truly democratic by becoming humane. He asserted that "the morality of a group depends on the morality of its members."[21] It is here that religion has an important role to play.

> Perhaps very much depends on the rediscovery of the original Latin meaning of *religion:* to be linked up (from *religare*) with other members of the civitas (originally of an *urban community*), which has now become the global village of ill repute. And if you ask me how it can be done - this *link up/religare* - I can assure you there is no other 'technique' then that of comprehension, sympathy and imagination in the effort to meet others' needs - which naturally means to set up qualities which are absolutely lacking in the egoists professing the fundamental articles of the free market.[22]

As the journal *Metanoia* examined world affairs between the years 1991 and 2002, there was a concerted effort to bring religion to bear upon all aspects of society and culture, and this was nowhere more obvious than in dealing with the globalized free market economy.

There were, however, other topics for consideration such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the role of science and technology in contemporary life, interfaith relations, racism, unemployment, as well as issues specific to one country such as Haiti, South Africa, and Germany. Contributors to *Metanoia* included such well-known figures as Raimund Panikkar, Robert N. Bellah, Huston Smith, James W. Heisig, Hans Ucko, Albert Longchamp, Konrad Raiser, Jan Milic Lochman, and Joseph Joblin. J. B. Wright occasionally contributed the "London Letter" and Pieter Bouman kept the

21) Broz, "Editorial: Democracy, This Ambiguous Venture," *Metanoia* 6/4 (1996-7), 171.

22) Ibid., 171.

readers informed of significant happenings in Rome. *Metanoia* provided a voice for scores of lesser-known scholars and ecumenical workers from around the globe. There were book reviews as well as brief citations from significant books, articles in other journals, and documents from conferences and seminars. Of course, the highlight of every issue was Broz's editorial - strong, opinionated, and usually right on target.

The uniqueness of *Metanoia* was due to its independence. It was not beholden to any denominational or church hierarchy nor was it under the control of a board of directors. The editor and the contributors were able to state their views forcefully and without fear. This meant, of course, that *Metanoia* was almost always chronically short of funds and it went from a quarterly to a biannual publication schedule. In some years only one issue went to the press and numbers were frequently combined into one issue. Broz continued to publish, however, for he was convinced that the problems of contemporary society and culture can be solved only through a radical *metanoia* of those who call themselves Christian.

In one of the last issues of *Metanoia* to be published Broz wrote at length concerning what he considered to be the major problem of today's world.

> Till September 11th the wealthy free world could console itself that the fringe elements of the world society (*les marginaux*) have not the power and force with which they could oppose it. This opinion has been made so radically problematic by the destruction of the *Twin Towers* just as the security of Israel by the *Intifada.* These complicated, sore and painful facts, which are the substratum of the cruel, killing and suicidal resistance subsumed by ideologues under the heading of terrorism, cannot be eliminated by the police or the army. These matters of fact are a challenge and target for pedagogues and economists, social workers, physicians, for the International Red Cross and Crescent, for theologians who can forget their own beliefs and for politicians who don't abhor cosmopolitism, for people who can be neighbors. Are there people of this sort anywhere?[23)]

There can be no doubt that Ludek Broz was most certainly person of

23) Broz, "Editorial: More Horrors to Follow?" *Metanoia* 12/1-2 (2002), 4.

this sort and he drew others of a similar mind to contribute to *Metanoia.* During its eleven years of publication it was one of the most intellectually stimulating, prophetic, and thought provoking journals to appear on the scene in Christian journalism.

The Quest for International Understanding

Although thoroughly European in his education and theological context, Ludek Broz was always reaching outward to understand the Other, whether in Africa, Asia, or North America. Through his writing and publishing and in his travels, Broz sought to foster international understanding, for he really did believe that the people of the world are neighbors. Initially his interest was in francophone Africa and it was here that he put his linguistic skills to good use. He made visits to Lambarene in Gabon, Dakar in Senegal, and to areas of French speaking Cameron where he lectured in theological schools, met with church and community leaders, and carried out research on the effects of globalization and free market economic policies. He became a supporter of theology from the developing world and sought to make Europeans aware of how their economic policies were affecting the lives of ordinary Africans.

In 1988 Broz visited the United States where he served as a guest professor at the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary in the state of Iowa. Originally founded as the German Theological School of the Northwest, Dubuque has had a long history of involvement with central Europe. At the time of Broz's visit Dubuque's professor of Old Testament was an immigrant from Yugoslavia. The nearby city of Cedar Rapids had a large Czech immigrant population and many streets had Czech names. In addition the University of Dubuque had an exchange program with the Comenius Theological Faculty and Czech students came to Dubuque to study for a year.[24] Earlier Hromadka had been a guest lecturer at this same university. Broz sought to strengthen these East-West ties through his teaching and his presence in a region of the United States that was

24) In the autumn semester of 1991, while a visiting professor at the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary, the author of this article met a Czech exchange student and his wife who were from the Comenius Theological Faculty.

politically conservative and strongly anti-communist.

Broz was also concerned with Asia. He made a trip to Indonesia, and in December of 1991 presented a paper at the World Symposium on Human Rights held in Quezon City, Philippines. Both Indonesia and the Philippines had been under colonial rule, both were struggling to emerge from years of rule by military dictatorships, both were suffering from numerous human rights abuses, and both were heavily involved in the globalized free market economy. Broz found that many of the problems of Africa and Asia were similar, both as to their causes and as to their possible solutions.

Broz had an especially close relationship with Korea. Significantly the first issue of *Metanoia* included a one-page quote from Chung Hyun-Kyung's presentation at the Seventh Assembly of World Council of Churches held in Canberra, Australia entitled "for Metanoia: toward a Political Economy of Life."[25] In 1997 Broz came to Korea to attend a "Consultation on Government-Sponsored Lotteries" held in Pusan from April 7-10. Delegates came from the Philippines, Scotland, the USA, Uganda, Taiwan, and the Czech Republic. Staff from the WARC were present, as well as delegates from the member churches in Korea and from Pusan Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Korea. Broz, along with others at the conference, was concerned that government sponsored lotteries targeted the poor and where a form of economic exploitation.

It was in the spring semester of 1997 that Broz also came to Hanil University to serve as a special lecturer in the field of systematic theology. In addition to speaking to specific classes and lecturing to the international students, Broz interacted with Korean faculty and brought a new awareness of Czech theological concerns as well as strengthening the emerging ties between the Korean and Czech churches.

In a lecture entitled "The Czech Churches in the Post-Socialism" delivered at Hanil in April of 1997, Broz returned to familiar themes, themes that had long been the focus of his editorials in *Metanoia.* Delivered to a Korean audience, these themes took on a dramatic new meaning, for they were spoken against the background of a divided Korean peninsula in which the South is democratic and capitalist, and the North is authoritarian and communist. One might possibly say that the current situation in the

25) Chung Hyun-kyung, "for Metanoia: toward a Political Economy of Life," *Metanoia* 1 (1991), 61.

North is similar to Czechoslovakia under communism and the situation in the South is similar to the Czech Republic under a liberal democracy. Broz pointed out that in one sense, "*socialism did not work.*"[26] As a result the word itself has become "rather cursed; few people dare to even pronounce it. The optimism of 1989-91 was replaced by skepticism: *We have left real socialism to enter into real capitalism,* is the last word and expresses the feelings of many."[27]

Broz went on to point out that almost no one asked why socialism did not work. Why? Because "the majority is absorbed by the very concrete questions, how to live in a free society with continuous price rising without any security or social care from the state."[28] In Broz's view socialism was not socialist enough; that is, it failed to truly be humane. The problem, however, is that liberal democracy is not much better. He said, "We call this democracy *liberal,* in reality it is correct only that it is linked to the *liberal economy,* which is a euphemism for capitalism and its market called free.'[29] Under the socialist system, with all of its mistakes, there was 'a society without unemployed persons, with developed social and health care, [and] generally accessible basic education."[30] Under the globalized free market economy, millions of persons are simply left out of the system with no form of social security, no access to health care, and no opportunities for quality

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26) Ludek Broz, "The Czech Churches in the Post-Socialism," lecture delivered at Hanil University, 15 April, 1997, 4. It should be noted that in the East "socialism" is the preferred term, referring to the economic system, while in the West "communism" is the preferred term, referring to the political system. In reference to the pre-Velvet Revolution Czech Republic (then Czechoslovakia) and to North Korea the terms can be used interchangeably.

27) Ibid., 4. Several years ago, in a conversation with an official of the US Embassy concerning the situation in North Korea, I mentioned that perhaps there were some things in the communist system, such a universal health care and guaranteed employment, worth preserving. He answered that to the effect that people under communism have suffered so much that they want to keep nothing from the old system. He went on to suggest that this would be the same reaction in North Korea should the current communist system there collapse. "They will," he assured me, "welcome free market capitalism with open arms."

28) Ibid., 4.

29) Ibid., 6.

30) Ibid., 9.

education. Using Eastern Europe as a model, Broz challenged his Korean audience to keep these realities in mind when considering the reunification of the Korean peninsula. He concluded his lecture with the following words concerning the positive aspects of socialism: "But these positive aspects are the argument of Czech Christians for their task to reconsider the meaning of the relatively recent past in order of having better prerequisites for composing and shaping their more human future." [31] Clearly in the opinion of Ludek Broz, the twentieth century may be ended, but the process of history is far from ended and Christians, along with others of good will, have a crucial role to play in the continuing historical process.

Ludek Broz and Christian Humanism

Some months ago it was suggested that the term "theological liberalism" be replaced by the term "Christian humanism." [32] Ludek Broz was a Christian humanist by almost any definition of the term, for he was profoundly Christian in his faith commitment and ecclesiastical affiliation. At the same time he was deeply humanist in his belief that all people are neighbors and that we are all responsible for one another. The problem with communism (or socialism as he put it), and liberal democracy, is that they were not humane. Ideology on the one hand and economic profit on the other were placed ahead of the human person and his or her wellbeing. Rather than serving humankind, both systems demanded that humankind serve the system. Throughout his lengthy career as a theologian, editor and publisher, and champion of the developing world, Broz fought against systems that dehumanized and oppressed.

There were, according to Broz, two major problems that led to this dehumanization. The first was that both communism and liberal democracy functioned on the basis of slavery. Under communism the people were slaves of the state. Their personal freedoms were curtailed, the state took

31) Ibid., 9.

32) See Edgardo Coon-Emeric, "Symphonic Truth: von Balthasar and Christian Humanism," Christian Century 122/11 (2005), 30-34. The reason for this suggestion was in part to overcome the so-called liberal-conservative divide in the churches. It is believed that the term Christian humanism more closely describes the unity of religious and human concerns as well as is more faithful to the meaning of the Incarnation.

over the means of production and private ownership was eliminated, and all political opposition was banned. In return the state guaranteed its citizens housing, medical care, education, and social security through government pensions.

Under liberal democracy the situation was dramatically reversed. Political opposition and the right to dissent were guaranteed, personal freedoms were virtually unlimited, and all means of production and property were in private hands. However under liberal democracy people were slaves of the free market economy. Housing became expensive, and for many unaffordable. Medical care and health insurance became so costly that millions of people had no medical coverage whatsoever. Although in theory education was open to all, the high costs of higher education meant that it was beyond the reach of many. Most troublesome of all was the almost complete elimination of the pension system and social security for the sick and elderly.

When the Velvet Revolution took place in Czechoslovakia in 1989, Broz was already 67 years of age and nearing his retirement in 1990. He felt this change personally as he was forced to rely on his own resources for social security during his retirement years. This became even more problematic as the currency went through several devaluations with the result that personal savings and what church pension one had lost considerable value. For persons of Broz's age group, there was an entire generation that was in this transition time between a communist/socialist system to a liberal democratic free market system.[33] Broz and others of his generation were quite literally caught in the gap between two political and economic systems, and there was no social safety net during this transition period.

Of course Broz's argument went beyond just his own personal experience. He could see that even in a rich country such as the United States there were as many as forty-seven million people without health insurance, most of whom were poor and people of color.[34] And this fact brought him to consider the second problem leading to dehumanization -

33) For a discussion of this problem as it relates to the post-communist situation Estonia and Lithuania see Daniel J. Adams, "Postmodern Dislocations and Christian Responsibility," *Theology and Society* 20/1 (2006), 89-112.

34) The number 47,000,000 is taken from the American Association of Retired

the market put profits before people. This is true in the post-communist East and in the capitalist and liberal democratic West. Even in the United States, undeniably the wealthiest nation in the world, there is an appalling disregard for the welfare of the sick, the elderly, and the poor. The value of a human person is dictated by the market. If one is a producer and a consumer, then a person has value. If one ceases to be a producer, but because of personal wealth continues to be a consumer, then a person has value. But if one ceases to be producer and a consumer, then a person has no value whatsoever. A person who is retired, who is sick, and who is poor is left with virtually no forms of social security, for that person plays no productive role in the free market economic system. Thus "the United States has increasingly developed a two-tier pension system. Companies seeking to increase profits have cut retirement benefits….But executives have persuaded their directors to reward them with ever-larger pay packages."[35] The problem is not that there are no funds to care for those in need; the problem is that these funds are increasingly being allocated to the rich even as social programs are cut for the poor. Broz could see that the problem of dehumanization was endemic to the free market economic system itself. Hromadka was correct in his assertion that there is an evil which lies in the human heart in both the East and in the West.

It was the belief of Broz that this dehumanization could only be counteracted by a form of Christian humanism, and for this he returned to the original emphases of the Czech Reformation found in the work of John Hus (1371-1415) and John Amos Comenius (1592-1670). Hus was the religious reformer.[36] He was the pastor, the preacher, the tireless advocate of religious reform, and ultimately the martyr. Comenius was the humanist reformer.[37] He was the teacher, scientist, educator, writer, and bishop. He

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Persons (AARP). See Bill Novelli, "Time to Get Mad - Again," *AARP Bulletin* (December 2007), 31.

35) David Leonhardt, "For Executives, Nest Egg is Wrapped in a Security Blanket," *New York Times* (March 5, 2002).

36) For the life and work of John Hus see the following three books by Matthew Spinka, *John Hus and the Czech Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, 1966); *John Hus: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968); and *John Hus at the Council of Constance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

37) For the life and work of John Amos Comenius see Matthew Spinka, *John*

was the tireless advocate of educational and social reform. Comenius is usually considered to be father of modern education. He was also asked to be the first president of Harvard University, a post which he graciously declined. Today his legacy lives on in the many schools, institutes, and colleges and universities which bear his name. One of UNESCO's most prestigious awards honoring outstanding achievements in education, the Comenius Medal, is named after him. And, of course, it was at the Comenius Theological Faculty where Broz spent his teaching career.

Significantly both Hus and Comenius lived under religious and political systems which were dehumanizing. Hus was burned at the stake for heresy after being summoned to the Council of Constance. Although the Emperor guaranteed his personal safety, even if he were found guilty, the members of the Council still had him executed. Comenius, because of the persecutions during the Counter-Reformation, found himself a refugee and exile in Europe for forty-two years and he died and was buried, not his Czech homeland, but in the Netherlands. Yet Hus stood for religious reform and Comenius stood for social reform thus giving the Czech Reformation a distinctly Christian humanist perspective.

As Broz considered the dehumanizing tendencies of communism's political system and the dehumanizing tendencies of liberal democracy's free market economic system, he could not help but harken back to the Christian humanism of the Czech Reformation. It was his opinion that the humanistic focus of Comenius has been largely forgotten by the church in its tendency to be overly confessional and concerned with theological correctness. With his own denomination, the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren in mind, he wrote:

> It became a theological custom to denounce the greater part of this struggle in the Brethren Unity as moralism, and to deplore similar characteristics in Comenius' thought and work as his questionable

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Amos Comenius, That Incomparable Moravian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943) and *John Amos Comenius on Education,* introduction by Jean Piaget (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1967). Two of Comenius's well-known works that are available in English are *The Labyrinth of the World* (Chicago: National Union of Czechoslovak Protestants, 1942), and *The School of Infancy* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1956).

> humanism···. But is it possible to be inclusive without being exclusive? To say *Yes* to peace without saying No to arms? To try to create a new world without hunger and not to fight against the so-called free market? Can we realize a world-wide ecumenism without fighting against *l' esprit de chocher* (the parochial mentality) of our confession? The Czech Reformation of days gone by reminds us that perhaps the most suitable epithet for an actual Reformation would be "*radical.*" [38]

Broz believed that the legacy of the Czech Reformation was both religious and humanist, and that if the truly radical nature of the Reformation was to be realized in our time, the humanist Reformation legacy must be recovered.

Conclusion: Ludek Broz as a Person

It is not often in an academic essay that one writes concerning a theologian's personal life, however, considering the political changes that Broz had been through in his lifetime, and considering his on-going struggle against the free market economic system, he remained remarkably optimistic and hopeful. Unlike some people who have become embittered or overwhelmingly critical, Broz kept his sense of humor, maintained his interest in culture and the arts, and was a loyal friend.

In his personal life Broz was a man who showed humanity in his relations with others. He was married and had two children and enjoyed a rich family life. He was respected by his colleagues and students, and by those in the Czech church which he faithfully served. One sign of his humanity is that he was an excellent correspondent and was eager to share his observations on the personalities and events making news in the church, society, and culture.[39] In one letter he mentioned that he still had about twenty letters to write yet that day.[40] This indicated that he personally

38) Ludek Broz, "Towards a More Inclusive Concept of the Reformation," *Metanoia* 10/1-2 (2000), 96.

39) I have a bulging file of Broz's correspondence including a number of artistic post cards with special Czech commemorative stamps. Remembering that I was a stamp collector, he always made certain that the stamps on his envelopes and cards were collector's items.

40) Letter from Ludek Broz, October 20, 2000.

answered virtually all of the letters he received. In another letter he wrote "that I could not refuse if any occasion appear [sic] to visit Korea again."[41] In many of his letters he enquired concerning Korean theologians and scholars whom he had met. The ties that he had with the countries he visited were both personal and deep, and he longed for the opportunity to make repeat visits.

Broz also exhibited a dry wit that often came out in his writing. On one occasion following three major ecumenical meetings where the global economic situation was discussed, and where statements were issued, it was obvious that none of the churches involved would actually do anything. The discussion and statements were purely cosmetic. Broz was convinced, however, that at least some good came from getting together to meet and discuss the issues. He wrote "With my natural naivety I tried to convince one rather malicious friend of this. 'To meet people I prefer to go to the pub. It is less expensive,' he answered. And I remained (ecumenically) open-mouthed."[42]

On one occasion when my wife and I invited Broz out to a restaurant for dinner following a lecture at Hanil University, he inquired, "What kind of food will be served at this restaurant?" When we told him that the main meat dish would be beef he replied with a twinkle in his eye, "Ah, then we can still be friends, for if chicken were on the menu I am afraid that would be the end of our friendship, for I hate to eat chicken."

Students were especially attracted to Broz's lectures, for he always carefully explained what he was saying and was very patient with questions, particularly in Korea where there was often misunderstanding due to difficulties in translation. He came across to the students not only as an excellent teacher, but also as a warm human being. In his interpersonal relationships Broz lived out the Christian humanism which he so passionately advocated.

Ludek Broz was a Christian humanist in the finest sense of the word. He was a champion of progressive theology in its fight against the free market economic system and its openness to the Other no matter what religion, ethnic group, or nationality. He believed that all humankind are neighbors and that it is a Christian imperative that we live - and act - as

41) Letter from Ludek Broz, February 6, 2002.
42) Ludek Broz, "Editorial: The Meeting-Places," *Metanoia* 7/3 (1997), 102.

such. It is fitting that he be remembered, for he has left a rich theological legacy for us all.

Abstract

Ludek Broz is perhaps the least known of a group of twentieth-century Czech theologians which included Josef Hormadka, Jan Milic Lochman, and Milan Opocensky. However, Broz has left a theological legacy that deserves to be remembered. For most of his career Broz was a professor of theology at the Comenius Theological Faculty in Prague and chief editor of the Czech church publishing house Kalich. He was a founding editor of *Communio Viatorum,* author of numerous works on contemporary theology, and a frequent speaker at ecumenical gatherings.

From 1991 through 2002 he was the editor of *Metanoia - An Independent Periodical of Social and Cultural Issues* which highlighted progressive theological thought and commentary from around the world. Through his editorials, Broz was a relentless critic of the free market economic system which has become a hallmark of liberal democracy.

Broz was also interested in world affairs and traveled throughout Europe, Africa, North America, and Asia to further international understanding. His relationship with Korea was especially close as he visited here to attend an international conference and to be a guest lecturer at Hanil University. In his international work he always sought to show the connections between the global economy and the gap between the rich and the poor nations.

Drawing upon the religious reformer John Hus and the social reformer John Amos Comenius, Broz advocated a Christian humanism that opposed both the dehumanizing forces of the East which were political, and the dehumanizing forces of the West which are economic. He favored a Christian faith that was humane and he sought, in a true Christian fashion, to show that the Reformation was in its original intent truly radical.

As a person Broz was caring, witty, warm, and understanding. He was truly a Christian humanist in the finest sense of the word, and he has left us a rich theological legacy.

Key Words

dehumanizing, *processus confessionis,* communism, socialism, liberal democracy, free market economic system, *metanoia,* globalization, capitalism, Christian humanism

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Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth

Park Seong-won*

"Resisting neo-liberal economic globalization is essential to Christian faith." "To create a more just economy is essential to the integrity of Christian faith." This is what appears again and again in WARC documents on Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth including the recent WARC UPDATE (December 2007). This is a quotation from the Accra Confession adopted by the 24th General Council of the World Alliance (Accra, 2004) which reads, "The General Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches affirms that global economic justice is essential to the integrity of our faith in God and our discipleship as Christians."

"Putting justice in the economy and the earth at the heart of our Christian faith" is, I dare to say, the most significant and unique legacy that Prof. Milan Opočenský left for the ecumenical movement at the threshold of

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He currently teaches at the Young Nam Theological College and Seminary as a Professor of Practical Theology at Taegu, Korea. He is a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. For almost twenty years, he had served the World Alliance of Reformed Churches as Executive Secretary of Department of Cooperation and Witness. email : parkswon@hotmail.com, Web: http://lifeinbeauty.org

the 21st century. Indeed, the 21st century is overwhelmingly being dominated by the, so called, "neo-liberal economic globalization" discourse. In the face of this imperialistic pressure, Milan challenged the ecumenical movement to take up the issue of justice in the economy and the earth as a matter of faith and to take a faith stance on neo-liberal economic globalization.

Today, we recognize that the struggle for justice in the economy and the earth has become one of the most significant agendas for the ecumenical movement in the 21st century. The 8th General Assembly of the World Council of Churches has welcomed the Alliance's initiative and encouraged its member churches to join the movement while also launching their own programme which has now come to be known as AGAPE (Alternative Globalization Addressing People and the Earth). Since Harare, WARC and WCC - later joined by the LWF as well - have jointly launched a serious of ecumenical responses to economic globalization by holding a series of regional consultations in Bangkok (1999), Budapest (2001), Fiji (2001), Soesterberg (2002), Buenos Aires (2003), and Stony Point (2004). Since Accra, the Council for World Mission has also joined the movement and CWM, WARC and WCC have initiated a covenanting for justice movement called "Oikotree." [1] From all these development, one can see that this issue Milan had initiated has now become a really major ecumenical issue for our world today.

Why has Milan taken this issue up as a major ecumenical witness in the 21st century? What led him to commit to the struggle for economic justice? Why has he challenged the church to take this issue as a matter of faith?

A Prophetic Imagination

In April 1997, just before Milan was installed in the office of WARC General Secretary at the 22nd WARC General Council (August 1997, Seoul), I had a privilege of visiting Prague at his invitation. Milan told me that I was the first Korean pastor who visited Czechoslovakia at that time maybe in her history. Milan offered me a guided tour to Prague Castle. Standing in the square located between the St. Vitus Cathedral and the office of the state president Milan said to me, "Seong-Won, this is a kind of

1) http://www.oikotree.org

irony in human history. How can they (the state presidents) refuse to recognize God while they see the Cathedral from their office every day?"

While we had worked together in the Alliance, Milan introduced Wednesday meditation in the office, which is still continued even today. Whenever he led the meditation, he used to open the meditation by taking daily biblical passages from the very old Book of Prayer of his church. He explained again and again that in the former time, Christians visited every house and shouted the Word of God at the door, taking a biblical passage from the Book of Prayer. From these two stories, we could feel that one of the major theological tasks in Milan's mind would be to recognize God's presence in human history and to proclaim God's Word towards the concrete life of human beings and society.

The demise of the socialist bloc, which he had to face just less than a year since his installation, probably inspired him to see the signs of the time which was opening a new chapter of human history. Reading this sign of the time he made a proposal to the WARC Executive Committee to launch a study process on Faith and Economy from a Reformed perspective. It was probably already in the Executive Committee held in 1992. The WARC Executive Committee decided to launch the process and a series of regional consultations were held in Manila, Kitwe, San Jose, and Edinburgh. Among them, participants in the Kitwe consultation suggested that the Alliance consider a declaration, *a status confessionis,* on economic injustice and ecological destruction.

While we worked together in the Alliance, Milan often challenged the Alliance family with the argument that the ecumenical movement today was faced with at least five issues which might require a *status confessionis*: They were economic injustice, ecological destruction, gender injustice, weapons of mass destruction, and militarism. If he were still alive today, I am sure that he would have added one more issue to this list and that would be the issue of global empire. He probably had a feeling that the global situation at the threshold of the 21st century had put the Church of Christ in the context in which churches are compelled to respond to the world reality in the language of confession. Despite his theological orientation and training in Christian ethics he often said that economic injustice is not an ethical issue but a faith issue.

A Costly Learning Process

The Debrecen General Council of WARC carefully reflected on the proposal from the Kitwe consultation. Instead of a quick movement to *status confessionis*, the Debrecen General Council decided to launch a Confessing movement by calling all member churches at all levels to be engaged in "A Committed Process of Recognition, Education and Confession (*processus confessionis*) regarding economic injustice and ecological destruction." Later the process was given a more comprehensive title, "Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth."

With the historical commitment in Debrecen a confessing journey with steps of recognition, education and confession was begun. Just after the Debrecen Call, the world has experienced a domino phenomenon of economic crisis which started in some Asian countries like Thailand, Indonesia and Korea, the so called Asian tigers. After the Mexico crisis in 1994, the Asian crisis has shown a dangerous aspect of neo-liberal economic globalization. The domino game continued in Russia in 1998, and in Argentina in 2000 which clearly demonstrated what it means to be incorporated into neo-liberal economic globalization. Having seen this phenomenon, Milan told me that the Debrecen action seemed to be providential.

As we see the global financial market crisis today such turmoil in global economy has not stopped with those crises in the 1990s. Rather the crisis has been continuing and deepened today. The recent crisis in the United States makes the global financial market upside down. In relation to recent US economic crisis even George Soros stated that the world might face its worst financial crisis since the Second World War. In the face of increasing volatility in the world financial markets Soros gave a warning at the World Economic Forum in Davos last January by saying, "the current crisis is not only the bust that follows the housing boom. It's basically the end of a 60-year period of continuing credit expansion." He went on saying, "A recession in the developed world is now more or less inevitable." And it was, he concluded, the "end of an era." His warning was given before the huge losses at Société Générale and the worldwide financial crisis which is being deepened at this moment. The newly sworn President of Korea, who was a former CEO of Hyundai, said on 15 March 2008 that the current economic crisis seems to be the worst one since the oil shock.

"Million faces, One Message, Climate Justice!" was the impressive message printed on a placard that was hanging in the lobby of the plenary hall where the Conference of Parties of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was held in Bali in December 2007. Global warming and climate change is one of the most serious life-threatening global problems that the whole creation is facing today. Those who participated in the Accra General Council will remember this from the shocking figure Power Point presentation. One of the pictures showed that, according to data by Prof. Joh van Klinken of Groningen University, between 1850 and 1950 one animal species vanished every year; about 1989 one animal species vanished per day; about 2000 one animal species vanishes per hour and within 50 years, 25% of animal and plant species will vanish due to global warming. According to the report of the International Panel on Climate Change, the percentage of vanished species is going to be 30%. Dr. Clara Deser, senior scientist of National Centre for Atmospheric Research(NCAR) said in her interview with a Korean paper on 3 March 2008 that global warming process is advancing 10 or 20 years faster than expected. The portion of the glacier in the Polar Regions that had melted down last year was what was expected to happen 10 or 20 years later. The situation is much more serious than we imagine.

In Bali one of the frequent languages spoken was "Climate Injustice." "Climate injustice is a neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism," said the NGOs. Vandana Shiva, one of the speakers to WARC General Council in Accra spoke of the Earth Democracy in face with ecological injustice. Arundati Roy, an Indian novel writer said, "If you are religious person, destroying nature is a blasphemy. Today, the language like "eco-spiritualism" is also spoken. What this notion may mean to the church would be that the struggle for ecological justice is again a matter of faith requiring us to take a faith stance on this issue.

A Confessing Journey

When the Debrecen General Council encouraged member churches to start the confessing journey with recognition churches were encouraged not only to clarify the system of injustices but also to read the signs of the time with prophetic imagination. What are the signs of time today? As Jesus was confronted with the worldview of the empire at his time, we are also

confronted with the worldview of empire in our time.

Our mind and heart are under threat of mammonism and our life is under severe threat and our community is about to be broken down. As Moses faced cries and groans of the slaves and the Apostle Paul heard the groaning of the whole of creation, the church today is facing the lamentations of God's people on the globe and the whole creation whose suffering reaches to the heavens.

The participants of the WARC member churches from the South who met in Buenos Aires in April 2003 expressed their clear "Faith Stance on the Global Crisis of Life" They took a faith stance, because the present moment in the world's history as a kairos, challenges them to decisive action, because the whole of creation faces a crisis of life and an immense suffering. They discovered the dramatic convergence of the sufferings and crises of both people and nature in the countries of the South. They took a faith stance because they recognized that the entire creation is in crisis. They took a faith stance because the very integrity of our faith was in question.

The faith stance analyzed that, "the neoliberal ideology and practice uses a theological and ideological framework to justify its presumed messianic role by claiming: economic sovereignty, absolute power and authority beyond any regulation, the right to act above national and international law, the right to act beyond ethical and moral rules. Neo-liberal ideology claims absolute power, a power which is over and against the sovereignty of God and the claims of the Gospel." Therefore, they said that, "it is critical, for the integrity of our faith, that we take a faith stance."

Many people and churches, including sister ecumenical organizations, were curious to see whether WARC would reach a confession. Many member churches were also curious to know how the 24th General Council would conclude the confessing process. Some churches were concerned about the possible disunity of the Reformed family if the Alliance took a status confessionis, in effect making a statement against neo-liberal economic globalization a matter of doctrine.

The churches from the South particularly challenged the Alliance, asking how long it would take in confessing faith against economic injustice and ecological destruction. Even though the concerns were different in terms of what form the Alliance might take in response to global economic injustice the churches were already in consensus that the current dominating economic structure is not just and needs changing.

Based on the consensus of the problematic nature of today's global economy the General Council easily reached a consensus that we need to respond in a confessional manner even though some of the delegates, mainly from the North, were in favour of a declaration or a statement.

However, the General Council hesitated to go for a status confessionis. The General Council did not want to divide the Reformed family on confessional lines on this issue. What was of important was that the Reformed family took a faith stance against economic injustice and ecological destruction. The General Council also avoided making any confession in the traditional sense. Instead the path that it followed was to confess that there is a necessity and urgency to respond actively to the economic injustices of our time.

"Faith commitment may be expressed in various ways according to regional and theological traditions: as confession, as confessing together, as faith stance, as being faithful to the covenant of God," the Accra Confession states. "We choose confession, not meaning a classical doctrinal confession ··· but to show the necessity and urgency of an active response to the challenges of our time and the call of Debrecen. We invite member churches to receive and respond to our common witness."

Throughout a heated debate, the 24th General Council of WARC adopted the famous Accra Confession.[2] (see the attached full text of the Accra Confession.)

God or Mammon?

Since Seattle, many global people's movements have responded to neo-liberal economic globalization regime. What kind of response would or should the church make? What would be a unique response that the church would or should make? Let me raise a set of questions that might provoke us to reflect on this challenge.

First, what is my poor neighbour, theologically? We need to ask, not only who my poor neighbour is, but also what my poor neighbour is. We need to be theologically clear on the issue of poverty. How do we perceive poverty, theologically? We are not talking about what I might call

2) One can obtain the full text of the Accra Confession from the website of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, http://warc.jalb.de

"voluntary poverty" or honest poverty found in the dictionary that is encouraged by some religions like Buddhism and others. We are talking about the victimised and forced poor by others, including ourselves. What is my poor neighbour, theologically? Calvin identified the poor as "receivers of God, or receveurs de Dieu," "Vicars of Christ, vicaires du Christ,' and "Attorney of God, procureurs de Dieu." [3] In his preface to William Coats' book *God in Public,* Richard Shaull identified the poor as bearers of God's judgment. In other words, existence of the poor as our neighbours is God's judgement on our society. Existence of poverty in our midst is a theological contradiction if we are serious in witnessing to Christ who came to the world for giving life in fullness to ALL. Could we have this perception in our theological understanding on poverty?

Second, would humanitarian approach be enough in dealing with victims of systematic injustice? Would the confessional approach make a difference? Since Accra, I keep saying that there is a fundamental difference between a humanitarian approach and a confessional approach in theological dealing with the poor. If one takes a humanitarian approach my poor neighbour still remain as the other. If one takes a confessional approach, however, my poor neighbour is no more the other, but part of the same body of mine. The famous biblical statement on what it means to belong to the same body of Christ says, "If one member suffers, all suffer together with it." (I Cor. 12.26) What does this mean to us in the face of systematic injustice by which 80% of God's people on earth suffer because of global economic injustice and the whole eco-system of God's creation is groaning for salvation?

Third, what is our priority between church unity and global justice? One of the major concerns for those who were hesitant to go for confessing action in Accra was the worries of possible division of the churches. I still remember our debate between myself and a colleague and friend of mine from Europe on this issue. After two hours debate, we came to the agreement that justice is of a higher priority to unity. Unity with injustice is not authentic unity. We then agreed to go for confession, as long as confession does not imply exclusion of those who have not confessed. I kept saying that this type of confession is an invitational one. For those who reached the stage and readiness to confess they can go ahead while those

3) Andre Bieler, *L'humanisme social de Calvin,* Geneve : Labor et Fides, 1961.

who have not yet reached that stage may express their solidarity with those who confessed and may join the confession at a later stage.

Fourth, should the ecumenical witness to economic justice be pragmatic or prophetic? One of the major critiques on our analysis was that the churches' analysis on neo-liberal economic globalization was not scientific, practical and thorough enough. Of course, the churches' analysis can never be scientific enough. However, what should be the basis for the churches' witness to economic justice? Should it be practical and pragmatic or prophetic? William Coats said, "Eschatology becomes the central element in social ethics, especially in a time of crisis. It frees us from the necessity to seek solutions to our problems within the given parameters. Deriving its norms from "the end of the time" (eschatological), such an ethical stance exposes the limitations of the options open to us within the established order, stirs our imagination, and forces us into the struggle to give shape to new forms of social, economic, and political organization which move in the direction of greater freedom, equality and justice." [4)]

Fifth, whom do we serve; God or mammon? All the ecumenical documents pointed out many negative consequences of neo-liberal economic globalization, like the growing gap between the rich and the poor, ecological destruction, erosion of democracy, colonization of consciousness, etc. From a theological point of view, one of the most serious problems would be mammonism. Rene Krueger, former president of ISEDET in Buenos Aires, also pointed out that the key issue in our missiological task with regard to neo-liberal economic globalization would be the question of mammon by saying, "As churches today we face a highly theological mission: we can and we must publicly denounce the destructive effects of a totally free market. We can and we must warn humanity, which on one side seems to be more and more united, and on the other is splitting at its sides, that if Mammon is not controlled it only destroys life. We can and we must denounce the idolatry of the market. We can and we must point out that the alternative today is not "capitalism or communism," "conservative or revolutionary," "West or East," "North or South," rather the alternative today is GOD OR MAMMON.

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4) William Coats, *God in Public,* (Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974), 8.

Way ahead

Where we go from here? For the further ecumenical journey, let me raise two additional questions for reflection. The first question is related to eco-justice. I have the feeling that with regard to global warming and climate change, we are now really in a situation needing status confessionis. Of course this issue is included in the Accra Confession. However, the situation is much more serious now. Hans Blix, UN Chief Weapons Inspector, said "I am more worried about global warming than I am of any major military conflict." According to scientists, unless we don't take any decisive action by 2013, the earth might cross over the Rubicon River. Ecological watch is now 23:55. As one placard in Bali said, the climate justice is one message for all inhabitants on earth today. If climate justice is not possible, our salvation would really be at stake. Wouldn't this situation put the churches today in a context where a stronger and more decisive faith action should be made?

In 1989, the Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios I suggested the Christian churches to observe 1 September as a day "of the protection of the natural environment" and to offer "prayer and supplications to the Maker of all, both in thanksgiving for the great gift of creation and in petition for its protection and salvation." Ten years later, further proposal was made by European Christian Environmental Network to adopt a Time for Creation stretching from September 1 to the second Sunday in October. At the last meeting in February 2008, the WCC Central Committee decided to encourage all member churches to observe Creation Season along this line.

In his speech scheduled to be addressed in the UN Assembly in April 2008 Pope Benedict XI is supposed to affirm that climate change is a moral issue. We now really need to take the issue of Creation as a matter of faith. We must observe the Creation Season as equally important as those Christo-centric Church calendar like Advent Season, Christmas, Lent, Ester and Pentecost.

This challenge may lead us to shift our theological focus or widen our theological axiom from the Christo-centric to Creator-centric theology. Even though we worship Triune God, the truth is that over last two millenniums, the Christian theology has exclusively focused on the second article of the Trinity. Time has now come to widen or shift our focus to the first article of the Trinity, God, the Creator. By doing so, a spectrum of

Christian theology would be much more widen in dealing with many pressing ecumenical issues like eco-justice, inter-faith, wider ecumenical mission etc.

The second question to be tackled would be the question of alternative. Around two world wars, Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) prophesized "the decline of the West" (Untergang des Aberdlandes). Not because of circulation of different civilizations, but because of the Western civilization that has been developed along the line of the process of industrialization, urbanization and modernization, the whole creation is now painfully suffering.

In resistance to a tsunami of industrialization and British empire, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi(1869-1948), known as Mahatma Gandhi suggested "Village Swaraj" movement as an alternative. In response to industrialization that may, in his judgment, destroy not only political, social and economic system in India, but also people's spirituality as well, he strongly promoted a self-reliant, self-supported and self-governed local village as an alternative to be pursued. Wouldn't all the values, which he not only reflected but also practiced such as non-violence(ahimsa), truth, simplicity, spiritual and practical purity(Brahmacharya), faith(satya) and vegetarianism, be a sort of values that need to be promoted today in the context of neo-liberal economic globalization. Since I myself am now personally engaged in the eco-village movement in my context, we need to get more inspiration from Gandhi for a life-giving alternative vision like "Village Swaraj."

Let me close my presentation by tabling two questions for reflection together:

1. What kind of transformation of theology should be made to respond to the current economic and ecological catastrophe?
2. What sort of alternative civilization or culture of life should the Christian theology suggest?

Abstract

Many global people's movements have responded to neo-liberal economic globalization regime. What kind of response would or should the church make? What would be a unique response that the church would or should make? First, what is my poor neighbour, theologically? We need to ask, not only who my poor neighbour is, but also what my poor neighbour is. We need to be theologically clear on the issue of poverty. How do we perceive poverty, theologically? We are not talking about what I might call "voluntary poverty" or honest poverty found in the dictionary that is encouraged by some religions like Buddhism and others. Second, would humanitarian approach be enough in dealing with victims of systematic injustice? Would the confessional approach make a difference? Since Accra, I keep saying that there is a fundamental difference between a humanitarian approach and a confessional approach in theological dealing with the poor. Third, what is our priority between church unity and global justice? One of the major concerns for those who were hesitant to go for confessing action in Accra was the worries of possible division of the churches. I still remember our debate between myself and a colleague and friend of mine from Europe on this issue. For those who reached the stage and readiness to confess they can go ahead while those who have not yet reached that stage may express their solidarity with those who confessed and may join the confession at a later stage. Fourth, should the ecumenical witness to economic justice be pragmatic or prophetic? One of the major critiques on our analysis was that the churches' analysis on neo-liberal economic globalization was not scientific, practical and thorough enough. Fifth, whom do we serve; God or mammon? All the ecumenical documents pointed out many negative consequences of neo-liberal economic globalization, like the growing gap between the rich and the poor, ecological destruction, erosion of democracy, colonization of consciousness, etc. From a theological point of view, one of the most serious problems would be mammonism.

Key Words

Neo-liberal economic globalization, Christian faith, ecumenical movement, mammonism, neoliberal ideology, global justice, eco-justice, interfaith, mission.

(As agreed by the 24th WARC General Council, Accra 2004)

Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth

Introduction

1. In response to the urgent call of the Southern African constituency which met in Kitwe in 1995 and in recognition of the increasing urgency of global economic injustice and ecological destruction, the 23rd General Council (Debrecen, Hungary, 1997) invited the member churches of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to enter into a process of "recognition, education, and confession (*processus confessionis*)." The churches reflected on the text of Isaiah 58.6 "…break the chains of oppression and the yoke of injustice, and let the oppressed go free," as they heard the cries of brothers and sisters around the world and witnessed God's gift of creation under threat.
2. Since then, nine member churches have committed themselves to a faith stance; some are in the process of covenanting; and others have studied the issues and come to a recognition of the depth of the crisis. Further, in partnership with the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation and regional ecumenical organizations, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches has engaged in consultations in all regions of the world, from Seoul/Bangkok (1999) to Stony Point (2004). Additional consultations took place with churches from the South in Buenos Aires (2003) and with churches from South and North in London Colney (2004).
3. Gathered in Accra, Ghana, for the General Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, we visited the slave dungeons of Elmina and Cape Coast where millions of Africans were commodified, sold and subjected to the horrors of repression and death. The cries of "never again" are put to the lie by the ongoing realities of human trafficking and the oppression of the global economic system.
4. Today we come to take a decision of faith commitment.

Reading the Signs of the Times

5. We have heard that creation continues to groan, in bondage, waiting for its liberation (Romans 8.22). We are challenged by the cries of the people who suffer and by the woundedness of creation itself. We see a dramatic convergence between the suffering of the people and the damage done to the rest of creation.
6. The signs of the times have become more alarming and must be interpreted. The root causes of massive threats to life are above all the product of an unjust economic system defended and protected by political and military might. Economic systems are a matter of life or death.
7. We live in a scandalous world that denies God's call to life for all. The annual income of the richest 1% is equal to that of the poorest 57%, and 24,000 people die each day from poverty and malnutrition. The debt of poor countries continues to increase despite paying back their original borrowing many times over. Resource-driven wars claim the lives of millions, while millions more die of preventable diseases. The HIV and AIDS global pandemic afflicts life in all parts of the world, affecting the poorest where generic drugs are not available. The majority of those in poverty are women and children and the number of people living in absolute poverty on less that one US dollar per day continues to increase.
8. The policy of unlimited growth among industrialized countries and the drive for profit of transnational corporations have plundered the earth and severely damaged the environment. In 1989, one species disappeared each day, and by 2000 it was one every hour. Climate change, the depletion of fish stocks, deforestation, soil erosion, and threats to fresh water are among the devastating consequences. Communities are disrupted, livelihoods are lost, coastal regions and Pacific islands are threatened with inundation, and storms increase. High levels of radioactivity threaten health and ecology. Life forms and cultural knowledge are being patented for financial gain.
9. This crisis is directly related to the development of neoliberal economic globalization, which is based on the following beliefs:
   - unrestrained competition, consumerism, and the unlimited economic growth and accumulation of wealth is the best for the whole world;
   - the ownership of private property has no social obligation;
   - capital speculation, liberalization and deregulation of the market,

privatization of public utilities and national resources, unrestricted access for foreign investments and imports, lower taxes, and the unrestricted movement of capital will achieve wealth for all;

- social obligations, protection of the poor and the weak, trade unions, and relationships between people, are subordinate to the processes of economic growth and capital accumulation.

10. This is an ideology that claims to be without alternative, demanding an endless flow of sacrifices from the poor and creation. It makes the false promise that it can save the world through the creation of wealth and prosperity, claiming sovereignty over life and demanding total allegiance, which amounts to idolatry.
11. We recognize the enormity and complexity of the situation. We do not seek simple answers. As seekers of truth and justice and looking through the eyes of powerless and suffering people, we see that the current world (dis)order is rooted in an extremely complex and immoral economic system defended by empire. In using the term "empire" we mean the coming together of economic, cultural, political and military power that constitutes a system of domination led by powerful nations to protect and defend their own interests.
12. In classical liberal economics, the state exists to protect private property and contracts in the competitive market. Through the struggles of the labour movement, states began to regulate markets and provide for the welfare of people. Since the 1980s, through the transnationalization of capital, neoliberalism has set out to dismantle the welfare functions of the state. Under neoliberalism the purpose of the economy is to increase profits and return for the owners of production and financial capital, while excluding the majority of the people and treating nature as a commodity.
13. As markets have become global, so have the political and legal institutions which protect them. The government of the United States of America and its allies, together with international finance and trade institutions (International Monetary Fund, World Bank, World Trade Organization) use political, economic, or military alliances to protect and advance the interest of capital owners.
14. We see the dramatic convergence of the economic crisis with the integration of economic globalization and geopolitics backed by neoliberal ideology. This is a global system that defends and protects the interests of the powerful. It affects and captivates us all. Further, in

biblical terms such a system of wealth accumulation at the expense of the poor is seen as unfaithful to God and responsible for preventable human suffering and is called Mammon. Jesus has told us that we cannot serve both God and Mammon (Lk 16.13).

Confession of Faith in the Face of Economic Injustice and Ecological Destruction

15. Faith commitment may be expressed in various ways according to regional and theological traditions: as confession, as confessing together, as faith stance, as being faithful to the covenant of God. We choose confession, not meaning a classical doctrinal confession, because the World Alliance of Reformed Churches cannot make such a confession, but to show the necessity and urgency of an active response to the challenges of our time and the call of Debrecen. We invite member churches to receive and respond to our common witness.
16. Speaking from our Reformed tradition and having read the signs of the times, the General Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches affirms that global economic justice is essential to the integrity of our faith in God and our discipleship as Christians. We believe that the integrity of our faith is at stake if we remain silent or refuse to act in the face of the current system of neoliberal economic globalization and therefore we confess before God and one another.
17. We believe in God, Creator and Sustainer of all life, who calls us as partners in the creation and redemption of the world. We live under the promise that Jesus Christ came so that all might have life in fullness (Jn 10.10). Guided and upheld by the Holy Spirit we open ourselves to the reality of our world.
18. We believe that God is sovereign over all creation. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof" (Psalm 24.1).
19. Therefore, we reject the current world economic order imposed by global neoliberal capitalism and any other economic system, including absolute planned economies, which defy God's covenant by excluding the poor, the vulnerable and the whole of creation from the fullness of life. We reject any claim of economic, political, and military empire which subverts God's sovereignty over life and acts contrary to God's just rule.

20. We believe that God has made a covenant with all of creation (Gen 9.8-12). God has brought into being an earth community based on the vision of justice and peace. The covenant is a gift of grace that is not for sale in the market place (Is 55.1). It is an economy of grace for the household of all of creation. Jesus shows that this is an inclusive covenant in which the poor and marginalized are preferential partners, and calls us to put justice for the "least of these" (Mt 25.40) at the centre of the community of life. All creation is blessed and included in this covenant (Hos2.18ff).
21. Therefore we reject the culture of rampant consumerism and the competitive greed and selfishness of the neoliberal global market system, or any other system, which claims there is no alternative.
22. We believe that any economy of the household of life, given to us by God's covenant to sustain life, is accountable to God. We believe the economy exists to serve the dignity and well being of people in community, within the bounds of the sustainability of creation. We believe that human beings are called to choose God over Mammon and that confessing our faith is an act of obedience.
23. Therefore we reject the unregulated accumulation of wealth and limitless growth that has already cost the lives of millions and destroyed much of God's creation.
24. We believe that God is a God of justice. In a world of corruption, exploitation, and greed, God is in a special way the God of the destitute, the poor, the exploited, the wronged, and the abused (Psalm 146.7-9). God calls for just relationships with all creation.
25. Therefore we reject any ideology or economic regime that puts profits before people, does not care for all creation, and privatizes those gifts of God meant for all. We reject any teaching which justifies those who support, or fail to resist, such an ideology in the name of the gospel.
26. We believe that God calls us to stand with those who are victims of injustice. We know what the Lord requires of us: to do justice, love kindness, and walk in God's way (Micah 6.8). We are called to stand against any form of injustice in the economy and the destruction of the environment, "so that justice may roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream" (Amos 5.24).
27. Therefore we reject any theology that claims that God is only with the rich and that poverty is the fault of the poor. We reject any form of injustice which destroys right relations - gender, race, class, disability, or

caste. We reject any theology which affirms that human interests dominate nature.

28. We believe that God calls us to hear the cries of the poor and the groaning of creation and to follow the public mission of Jesus Christ who came so that all may have life and have it in fullness (Jn 10.10). Jesus brings justice to the oppressed and gives bread to the hungry; he frees the prisoner and restores sight to the blind (Lk 4.18); he supports and protects the downtrodden, the stranger, the orphans and the widows.
29. Therefore we reject any church practice or teaching which excludes the poor and care for creation, in its mission; giving comfort to those who come to "steal, kill and destroy" (Jn 10.10) rather than following the "Good Shepherd" who has come for life for all (Jn 10.11).
30. We believe that God calls men, women and children from every place together, rich and poor, to uphold the unity of the church and its mission, so that the reconciliation to which Christ calls can become visible.
31. Therefore we reject any attempt in the life of the church to separate justice and unity.
32. We believe that we are called in the Spirit to account for the hope that is within us though Jesus Christ, and believe that justice shall prevail and peace shall reign.
33. We commit ourselves to seek a global covenant for justice in the economy and the earth in the household of God.
34. We humbly confess this hope, knowing that we, too, stand under the judgement of God's justice.
    - We acknowledge the complicity and guilt of those who consciously or unconsciously benefit from the current neoliberal economic global system; we recognize that this includes both churches and members of our own Reformed family and therefore we call for confession of sin.
    - We acknowledge that we have become captivated by the culture of consumerism, and the competitive greed and selfishness of the current economic system. This has all too often permeated our very spirituality.
    - We confess our sin in misusing creation and failing to play our role as stewards and companions of nature.
    - We confess our sin that our disunity within the Reformed family has impaired our ability to serve God's mission in fullness.
35. We believe, in obedience to Jesus Christ, that the church is called to confess, witness and act, even though the authorities and human law

might forbid them, and punishment and suffering be the consequence (Acts4.18ff). Jesus is Lord.

36. to God, Creator, Redeemer, Spirit, who has "brought down the mighty from their thrones, lifted up the lowly, filled the hungry with good things and sent the rich away with empty hands" (Lk 1.52f).

Covenanting for Justice

37. By confessing our faith together, we covenant in obedience to God's will as an act of faithfulness in mutual solidarity and in accountable relationships. This binds us together to work for justice in the economy and the earth both in our common global context as well as our various regional and local settings.
38. On this common journey, some churches have already expressed their commitment in a confession of faith. We urge them to continue to translate this confession into concrete actions both regionally and locally. Other churches have already begun to engage in this process, including taking actions and we urge them to engage further, through education, confession and action. To those other churches, which are still in the process of recognition, we urge them on the basis of our mutual covenanting accountability, to deepen their education and move forward towards confession.
39. The General Council calls upon member churches, on the basis of this covenanting relationship, to undertake the difficult and prophetic task of interpreting this confession to their local congregations.
40. The General Council urges member churches to implement this confession by following up the Public Issues Committee's recommendations on economic justice and ecological issues
41. The General Council commits the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to work together with other communions, the ecumenical community, the community of other faiths, civil movements and people's movements for a just economy and the integrity of creation and calls upon our member churches to do the same.
42. Now we proclaim with passion that we will commit ourselves, our time and our energy to changing, renewing, and restoring the economy and the earth, choosing life, so that we and our descendants might live (Deuteronomy 30.19).

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.