CHAPTER 3 PATTERNS OF PUBLIC DIALOGUE OF THE KOREAN CHURCH IN HISTORY

The Korean church of today, faced with the serious crisis of a "loss of social relevance," as described in chapter 2, has to be fully aware of the necessity of "public dialogue" within society. In this chapter the patterns of the Korean church's public dialogue will be sketched by exploring the practices and activities of public dialogue that the Korean church has undertaken in the Korean historical reality.

Korean Christianity cannot be understood without consideration of Korean circumstances, because it was formed through the Korean historical reality of suffering. This historical research about the practices of public dialogue within the Korean church is a preliminary work which suggests a direction and an alternative paradigm for new social participation required today. The historical understanding of public dialogue will help the Korean church to listen to the voice of society and to realize changes in the church to make it a responsive and transformative community.

The analysis of the public dialogue of Korean Christianity will be approached from the perspective of the social consciousness of Korean Christians in the history of the struggle for justice, human rights and independence, because it will emphasize a review of public dialogue in Korean church history. This will cover the period from the beginning of the Protestant mission to the 1980s, and this will be divided into three periods. Each period shows a distinctive pattern of public dialogue, and consequently public dialogue can be broadly classified into three patterns according to the three historical periods.

The first public dialogue of the Korean church occurs in the period from the beginning of the missions (1884) to the March First Independent Movement (1919). During this

period, the Korean church participated in and practiced external social activities based on faith in many ways. Therefore, this period is characterized by "healthy public dialogue." In the second period of public dialogue from 1920 to the April Nineteenth Revolution of 1960, the Korean church emphasized individual salvation and sanctification under the Japanese imperial oppression of Korea, and faith was not presented as external evidence. Eventually, the Korean church lost the relationship with society, so it was an age of "unhealthy" public dialogue. Since the 1960s the Korean church has clearly separated into two—a group with individual or privatized faith and a group for social practice. According to the trend of the times, the pattern of public dialogue was also polarized. In this polarized period, however, there was an attempt at a new public dialogue, namely the so-called *Madanggŭk* (drama on open area), in which the Korean people could express themselves and practice public dialogue beyond the limitations of the oppression of the times. Therefore, the third period is an age of polarized public dialogue and art-cultural public dialogue.

- The first period of public dialogue: *Healthy Public Dialogue* 1884-1919 (from the beginning of mission to the March First Movement)
- 2. The second period of public dialogue: *Unhealthy Public Dialogue* 1920-1960 (from 1920 to the April Nineteenth Revolution of 1960)
- The third period of public dialogue:
 Polarized Public Dialogue and Art-Cultural Public Dialogue
 (the latter period of the mission after the 1960s)

3.1 The Period of Healthy Public Dialogue

In the late 19th century, the Protestant mission was begun in earnest by Dr. Horace N.

³ The words "healthy" and "unhealthy" here are rooted in Albert Outler's (1971:284) interpretation. Outler, a Wesleyan theologian, interprets Wesley's evangelism as "healthy" evangelism in the sense that faith is developed into social action, but he interprets the overemphasis on self-righteousness and individual salvation as "unhealthy" evangelism.

Allen,⁴ a medical missionary of the Presbyterian Mission Board. This was an extremely complicated and uncertain time and a turning point in history. During this period Korea entered a critical phase both inside and outside the nation. Internally, traditional Korean society was undergoing great changes, moving from a closed feudal society based on Confucian values to a new, modern society. It was thus a time in which a new guiding ideology was required. Externally, the Koreans were suffering under the Japanese imperialistic invasion. Japanese imperialistic aggression against Korea was maintained with terrible oppression and exploitation until Japan left Korea after being completely defeated in the Second World War.

Therefore, Korea was faced with two tasks. One was to reform feudalism from inside, and the other was to maintain the land, free from imperialistic invasion. The preservation of civilization and independence became the national priority (Ju C.Y. 1983:76). Hence, Christianity in Korea, which had been accepted in the early years with the opening of ports to foreigners, would not have been able to exist if it had been indifferent to the socio-historical issues at that time, such as anti-feudalism and anti-Japanese imperialism (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1989a:292). American Christianity became contextualized in Korea (Ju C.Y. 1983:76) by communicating with historical reality. This is the foundation of the pattern of public dialogue of the Korean church in this period which can be considered as "healthy public dialogue." In the light of this, this chapter will now examine practices of public dialogue in the Korean church in those days.

3.1.1 Social Enlightenment Movement

The main policy of the missionary community in the first stage of missionary work was to concentrate on the indirect mission of philanthropic and educational work because

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⁴ He arrived in Korea in September 1884. On April 5, 1885, Rev. M.G.Underwood, a Presbyterian missionary, and Henry Appenzeler, a Methodist missionary and his wife joined him

Christian evangelism was banned at that time.

Firstly, the mission began with work at hospitals and schools. The early hospitals were the Gwanghyewon (not the Severance Hospital) where Allen was active and the Jeongdong-Jeil hospital of the Methodist Church in 1885. About thirty hospitals were built by 1910 (Min K.B. 1987:95-98). Furthermore, in a situation of immediate need for universal education, Christian schools such as the Baejae founded by Appenzeller, the Gyeongsin founded by Underwood, the Ewha established by Merry Scranton and so on were established in 1886. In 1909, 17,656 students were being taught in 720 schools (Kim Y.S. 1971:383).⁵

By correcting the exclusive attitude of the Koreans to the West through the activities of hospitals and schools together with the roles of the YMCA established in 1903 and the YWCA in 1922, Korean Christianity could finally make an evangelical mission possible. At the same time, Korean Christianity encouraged the nation to become an enlightened, civilized and modernized society, and played the role of a 'standard bearer' for social change by challenging feudalistic thoughts and promoting the spread of a new sense of values and critical principles through philanthropism, the protection of human rights, sexual equality and a democratic system (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1989a:196,198-199).

Secondly, the translation of the Bible into the Korean language, *Hangul*,⁶ which was used by "*minjung*" (the populace or common people) is another representative factor of social enlightenment and transformation of Korean Christianity. Besides a crusade against illiteracy and the propagation of the Bible, the significance of the translation of the Bible lies in the fact that it created a major language-event by introducing a

⁶ The New Testament was published by the British and foreign Bible societies in 1887. In Japan Lee Su Jung translated the Gospel of Mark into Korean in 1884 and the Gospel of Luke in 1885. By 1900 the Bible was translated into the Korean vernacular language.

⁵ Compared with the 60 general schools with 10,914 students at that time, Christian schools were given more weight (Kim Y.S. 1971:383).

messianic language to the common people of Korea. These people had been oppressed and exploited and suffered under social chaos and foreign threat. The historical language of the Bible became the historical language of the Korean people.⁷ The story exerted its strong spiritual power when it was told in the light of the historical situation of the time. For the Korean Christians, the Exodus was not merely that of the church but of the whole people of Korea.

Thirdly, aspirations to read and study the Bible, which resulted from the translation of the Bible into *Hangul*, led naturally to the organization of "Sakyunghoe" (the Bible examining meeting) that became open universal religious communities for the people excluded from Confucian and Buddhist communities. Sakyunghoe was a space where the Korean could acquire "communicative competence in socio-ethical discourse" (Habermas 1987) through those communities (Park J.C. 1998:18). Later, these fundamental communities played a crucial role in the nationwide organization and movement of the Koreans against the Japanese imperialism (Park J.C. 1998:19).

3.1.2 National Movement against Japanese Regime

Under the political fate of Japanese aggression and rule, public dialogue in Korean Christianity assumed the form of a national movement for independence and sovereignty. The reason this national movement as a form of public dialogue was possible is that the Korean people had already been enlightened and had acquired national consciousness and communicative competence for social dialogue through the social enlightenment movements.

During the Chinese-Japanese War (1984-85) and foreign aggression, Korean Christianity expressed national faith, by organizing the Independent Association

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⁷ The story of Moses and the Exodus was so vividly related to the national destiny of the Korean people and was told and retold to raise the national and political consciousness of the hearers for liberation (Suh K.S. 1983:22).

(Tongnip Hyophoe) under Seo Chae Pil on July 2, 1896, publishing the Independent Newspaper (Tongnip Sinmun), and constructing the Independent Gate. The activities of the Independence Association and the Independent Newspaper focused on two aspects: the national independent movement and the civil rights movement (Kang M.G. 1984:224). The Independent Newspaper served as a vehicle for the Western liberal ideas championed by the new intellectuals. At the same time, the daily "Hwangsong Sinmun" (Capital Gazette) served as a forum for Confucian reform elements within the Independent Association. The Korean press also played a prominent role in fighting Japanese aggression.

Despite these efforts, and despite having won recognition from Russia, England and America in 1905, Japan moved immediately to establish a protectorate over Korea. The Protectorate Treaty of 1905 gave full authority over Korea's relations with foreign countries to the Japanese foreign office. This meant that Korea was deprived of diplomatic rights and the Japanese invasion of Korea became evident. In the context of 1905, the Korean church held "the One Week Prayer Meeting" for the nation all over the country. This prayer meeting, in which not only Christians but also non-Christians participated, inspired the Korean people with the national spirit and consciousness (Lee & Cho 1997:121). The event of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 shifted the attention of the Korean people from internal contradictions to external contradictions, from issues of internal reforms to the issues of national sovereignty and independence (Kim Y.B. 1983:89).

In 1907, "the Sinminhoe" (the New People's Association) against Japanese rule was secretly formed mainly by Protestant Christians, including Ahn Chang Ho, Lee Tong

⁸ The activities of the Independence Association were directed toward three principal goals. Firstly, the aim was to safeguard the nation's independence in the face of external aggression. Secondly, the association sought to promote a self-strengthening movement, and thus sought

principally to establish modern schools in every village, to build textile and paper mills, and ironworks as well, and to develop a modern national defense capability—all under the slogan of "Korea for the Koreans!" Thirdly and most importantly, the Association initiated a democratic people's rights movement in order to increase popular participation in the political process.

Hwi, Yang Ki Tak, Lee Sung Hun, and Lee Kap. This made more positive resistance. Sinminhoe promoted not only the development of modern industry and education by founding factories and schools, but also the preparation for armed operations for Korean independence outside the country.

August 29, 1910 was the day when Korea was formally annexed to Japan. The Koreans lost their country and became enslaved as subjects to the Japanese military rule. Under the circumstances of national humiliation, the Korean church led a revival movement called "the Million Souls for Christians" with the slogan "Leading one million people into Christ." This was in direct conflict with the Japanese authorities.

There were anti-Japanese movements in the economic sphere as well as in the political sphere. The Koreans lost their livelihood as a result of Japanese economic dispossession and the domination of Korea traders, compulsory seizure of Korean farmland, and the revision and enforcement of unreasonable tax laws. Under these sufferings, the campaign to boycott Japanese products, the resistance movement against tax, and the movement for redemption of the national debt (Kukchae Posang Undong)⁹ arose as pan-national movements during the Protectorate period.

Obviously the existence of the Christian community was a formidable problem for the Japanese military regime in Korea. Thus, Japan hatched a plot to crack down on the Christian nationalist forces. This was "the Korean Conspiracy Case" or "the 105 People Event." In October 1911, 123 people were prosecuted, and 105 among them were convicted on the grounds that the arrested had plotted to assassinate Terauchi, the governor general, on his way to the opening ceremony of Abrok river bridge. Of the 123

rings.

⁹ In 1907, the Association for Redemption of the National Debt was organized to conduct a campaign to repay the immense debts artfully forced upon the Korean government by Japan. The existence of these debts threatened the nation's independence, and so the idea that the national debt might be repaid through the united efforts of the Korean people gained immediate support throughout the country. Toward this common end, men donated the money they saved by giving up smoking, while women and girls responded by selling their ornamental hairpins and

prosecuted, 93 were Christians (including 2 Catholics) (Yoon K.R. 1995:181). As a result of the Korean Conspiracy Case, Christianity and national education met with great difficulties (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1989a:327-328). 10 In fact, the number of students in Christian schools and Christians attendant at the Sunday service or religious assemblies decreased (Yoon K.R. 1995:192). 11 At the same time, the activities of Sinminhoe, a secret nationalist association against Japan, were brought to a halt, for the majority of the organization's directors were arrested in connection with the Korean Conspiracy Case (Yoon K.R. 1995:202). The 105 people event reveals the great pressure exerted by Japan on the national movements and the great persecution of the Korean church by the Japanese regime (Yoon K.R. 1995:174). After the incident, Korean Christianity became a vicarious symbol of the Cross for the entire Korean people (Kim Y.B. 1983:100).

3.1.3 The Great Revival Movement

Korean Christianity practiced public dialogue in the religious sphere itself as well as in the social sphere. The Great Revival Movement by Gil Sun Ju in 1907 represents the first major stage in the internalization of the Christian message in the Christian community in Korea. Through the revival movement, the people who had accepted the Christian faith with personal or patriotic motives began to experience being born again as true Christians, and Korean Christianity was born again as a religion with a religious dimension.

In addition, in the process of the nationwide revival movement, the early-morning prayer, the collective audible prayer and the all-night prayer were very clearly established as features of the Korean church. Likewise, the movement embodied the ecumenical spirit, and led to the quantitative growth and spiritual strength of the Korean

¹⁰ The Japanese regime suppressed Christian schools. Proclaiming an educational policy of "the Japanization of the Koreans," Japan forced Koreans to use the Japanese language and kept the management under close observation.

11 In Suncheon province, the number of Christians decreased from 3000 to 300.

church (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1989a:274-275).¹² In this way, the Korean church with its internal maturity in spirituality could develop into a church with national faith, and could then perform its duties as a national church responding to historical contexts during the Japanese domination.

3.1.4 The March First Independent Movement of 1919

After the Treaty of Protectorate (1905) and the Annexation of Korea (1910) the Korean people suffered severe political oppression, economical exploitation, cultural obliteration, social discrimination and religious suppression at hands of the coercive Japanese regime. These historical sufferings changed the form of public dialogue of the Korean church from enlightenment and national movements to more positive resistance, namely, a more strongly organized independence movement against Japanese rule. The peak was "the March First Independent Movement" in 1919.

Thirty-three persons in all, sixteen of whom were Christians, fifteen Chondoists, and two Buddhists, were elected as the representatives (Kim Y.J. 2002:172), determining to carry out "the Independence *Manse* Movement" on March 1, 1919 with three principles—to popularize, to unify and to be nonviolent. Right after reading "the Declaration of Independence," the widespread peaceful demonstrators started shouting "Taehan tongnip manse" ("long live an independent Korea") parading through the streets. Over a million people from all levels of society participated in the demonstrations in all but seven of Korea's 218 counties, in spite of Japanese disturbances by force (Eckert 1990:279). ¹³ It was a unified demonstration and a national outcry that went beyond all differences of faith and denomination (Lee H.J.

historical church.

¹² On the other hand, "the great revival movement" and "the one million souls to Christ movement" were encountered criticism because those pursued extremes of the other world, moral repentance, personal salvation rather than of this world, reality of national society, so reduced the consciousness against Japanese imperialism and made the Korean church an anti-

¹³ Estimates of casualties range form the official Japanese count of 553 killed, 1,409 injured, and 12,522 arrested between March and December to a Korean nationalist estimate of over 7,500 deaths, roughly 15,000 injured, and some 45,000 arrested.

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1983:178; Kim I.S. 2002:217).

Kim Yong Ok describes the March First Movement as a peak of public dialogue of the

Korean church as follows:

Christian community had the Bible as a basic language, which determined a style

and way to participate in the March First Movement. The biblical language was

not a political-neutral language taught by American missionaries. It was a

language orienting to the kingdom of the Messiah and directing to religious depth

of the March First Movement together with other religious language—Buddhism

of Han Yong Woon and Chondoism of Son Byeong Hee (Byun S.H. 1993:400).

The reason it could play a leading role in the March First Movement was that it had an

already equipped nationwide organization network through the religious communities

all over the country, with which it could contact and communicate systematically, and

could thus mobilize the Korean people. 14 Thus, the March First Movement could spread

throughout the country and lasted for a long time.

Even though it failed to depose the Japanese and to secure independence, the March

First Movement strengthened the Korean people's sense of national identity and

patriotism, and let the Japanese authorities and the world know the strong desire for

independence of Korean nation. Such practical participation in public dialogue served

as a momentum for the people to take the initiative in socio-historical reform. As a

result, the public dialogue in the March First movement produced a new conception

that Christianity was not a foreign religion but the most patriotic religion in Korea. That

is, as fulfilling the spirit of the love for the nation that was fostered by education and

evangelism, Christianity secured its place as a public religion sharing its destiny with a

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¹⁴ For that reason, the damage to the Christian church was more severe than to other religions and organizations. Many church leaders and laypersons were killed, injured and arrested, and

many church buildings and Christian schools were burnt.

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nation (Kim S.T. 1994:305-306).

In conclusion, as researched above, Korean Christianity of the early days of the mission showed healthy public dialogue with the idea that faith and social participation are one. The public dialogue in this period was fulfilled in various forms. It began with the enlightenment of the people's consciousness, and then went through the form of an anti-Japanese national movement, finally reaching the direct form of independence movement. In fact, for the Korean people Christianity was more than a religion. By providing monotheism and universal community for Korean society that had been based on polytheism, pantheism, and particularistic community, Korean Christianity helped the Korean people to develop critical principles.

The Korean church could become a transformative community by developing the ability to communicate with society through the Bible (Kim K.J. 1996:273-274). For the Korean people, the biblical language was also more than the language of Christian community. The biblical language set up its foundation at the first stage of the translation and spread of the Bible, and went to the second stage of internalization through the experience of the Holy Sprit and the collective repentance movement, finally reaching the practical stage of participation in the emancipation of the Koreans from suffering.

The application of the biblical language to the historical experiences of the Korean people meant historicization or secularization of the Christian language and Korean Christianity beyond the boundaries of the Christian church. The biblical language and faith of the Korean found a way of expression in actions as it did in the March First Independence movement and other subsequent events (Kim Y.B. 1983:117-118). Even if there was some vulnerability and limitations, Korean Christianity showed the dignity as an avant-garde of healthy public dialogue by serving as a social-transformative community as well as a spiritual community in meeting the needs of the times.

3.2 The Period of Unhealthy Public Dialogue

Korean Christianity was not always responsive to the context, but sometimes lost its true identity in Korean history. In the atmosphere of coercive rule of Japan after the March 1st Movement, the Korean Church took, as a whole, a passive attitude toward national issues, concentrating on internal piety centered on individual salvation under the distorted influence of the Great Revival Movement. Nevertheless, some practices of public dialogue of the Korean church continued through realistic enlightenment movements.

3.2.1 Realistic Enlightenment Movement

After the March First Movement Korean Christianity chose the enlightening form for public dialogue, instead of positive struggles against Japan, with the object of motivating national consciousness and developing national independence, because it diagnosed that the failure of the movement resulted from an insufficient capacity for national independence. Educational, cultural and social enlightenment movements were thus promoted from the viewpoint of "a theory of national reconstruction" (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1989b:41) the aim of which was to reconstruct a nation with Christian thoughts.

First of all, there was the publishing movement, that is, nationalistic journalism such as Donga Ilbo (Donga daily newspaper), Chosun Ilbo (Chosun daily newspaper) and a great variety of magazines. Korean Christianity also published forty-one journals including "the Christianity News" which carried not only the Christian news but also the news items of independence movement and the other general political social news for enlightenment and conscientization of Koreans (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1989b:41).

Furthermore, Christian social associations such as Singanhoe (the New Korea Society),

Geunwoohoe (the Diligent Christian Women's Fellowship), Christian Sinwoohoe (the Christ-believers' Fellowship), the Positive Faith-activity Corps were formed to creatively solve the problems of church and society, faith and people.

Social enlightenment movements such as the promotion of Korean production movement, ¹⁵ the rural enlightenment campaign and the temperance movement arose against Japanese colonial economic policy. It heightened mass awareness of economic issues, and it altered, at least temporarily, Korean consumption habits. Besides this, there were evening classes at the church, social work, the social equality movement to emancipate the lowest classes, the Korean history acknowledging movement by Nam Gung Eok and so on.

The concern of the public dialogue of Christianity toward social reality was assembled into "Sahoesinjo" (the Social Creed) in 1932.¹⁶ But social participation movements of this period were limited by not getting over the form of enlightenment.

3.2.2 Transcendental Mysticism Faith Movement

1997:146-147).

The failure of national independence created an atmosphere of defeatism and nihilism in Korea, and the Japanese governor suppressed public dialogue even more severely. Thus, the Korean church gradually focused on individual sanctification and internal piety and lost its interest in society. At that time, an enthusiastic revival movement together with miracles and wonders was generated with Gil Sun Ju and Kim Ik Doo as leaders, and later it continued to the revival movement of Lee Yong Do.

¹⁵ In December 1922, all Koreans, rich and poor, were called upon to support exclusively native products by patronizing Korean stores whenever possible and using Korean-produced clothing, foodstuffs, and other daily necessities. As its height in the summer of 1923, the Korean Production Movement had become the most successful mass mobilization of Koreans since the March First Movement.

¹⁶ The Korean National Council of Churches, that is the ecumenical movement organization of Prebyterian and Methodist churches, made it. It contains the will of the church to solve the social problems of the times in the perspective of Christianity. It dealt with human equality, sexual equality, advancement of women's rights, the holiness of marriage and chastity, respect of children's personality, prohibition of prostitution, labor problems, legislation of the law of guarantee for minimum wages, tenancy law, and social compensation law (Lee & Cho

Originally, such a revival movement gave new religious courage to hopeless Christians, and aimed at internal reform of the institutional church (Park J.C. 1998:65). From the beginning of the 1930s, however, the revival movement gradually changed into eschatological faith and the second advent of Christ, and finally, belief in the hereafter, and escapism from reality (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies 1989a:41). While neglecting the shadowy colonial situation of the nation and falling into mystic individual faith, the Korean church became the target of public censure. As a result, many people who had crowded into the church in the days of the March 1st Movement in 1919 now left the Korean church (Lee & Cho 1997:134-135; Ju C.Y. 1983: 231-232).

3.2.3 Shinto-Shrine Worship of the Korean Church

In the context of the Korean church internalizing mystic and transcendental faith and becoming a ghetto, or isolated from society during this period, Christian intellectuals who had played important roles as national leaders fled from both faith and historical responsibility by apostatizing to the pro-Japanese the Japanese religious suppression.

From 1935, Japan enforced a policy that compelled the Koreans to attend Shinto ceremonies and to worship and bow to the Shinto shrine of the Japanese Emperor or spirits of Japanese warriors. The Korean Church suffered most from this policy, for the policy ran counter to the doctrine "Don't worship idols." Many Christians closed their schools and churches rather than accede to the order. Some foreign missionaries were expelled and several thousand clergymen were arrested between 1935 and 1938, as a large portion of the Korean Christian community continued to resist. However, all the institutional churches yielded to worship at the Shinto Shrine in 1938 owing to the menace and conciliation offered by Japan. This meant Korean Christianity's loss of self-identity and enslavement to Japanese gods. Shintoism split the Korean Christian

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¹⁷ The Christians who protested it, keeping consciousness of faith and self-esteem amounted to about two thousand, and fifty Christians were martyred in prison (among them, a representative martyr is Rev. Choo Ki-chul). At that time the number of churches to be locked out was over two hundred, and almost all Christian schools were closed (Lee & Cho 1997: 152-153).

church.

This treachery of the Korean Christian community was repeated in 1938, when the Japanese authorities began to mobilize all Korean human and material resources for a war, proclaiming the Law for National Total Mobilization, and again in 1939 when Japan exercised the conscription system in Korea and dragged Korean youths to the battle line of the Japanese army. At this time, pro-Japanese Christian leaders of the Korean church unfortunately presented an attitude of anti-nation and anti-faith, by holding a Christian meeting to exhort the conscription system.

3.2.4 The Split in the Korean Church after the Liberation

August 15, 1945¹⁹ was a day of liberation from Japanese rule in Korea, but this joy was short-lived. Ideological conflict broke out between democracy and communism, and Korea was divided into two—North Korea and South Korea. On May 10, 1948, general elections were held in the South alone, and on August 15, the "Daehanminguk" (the Republic of Korea) was officially established with Seoul as its capital and Lee Syung Man as president.²⁰

The three years of war from June 25, 1950 to 1953, when North Korea launched a full-scale invasion of the South, devastated the entire land and wrecked the economy. Millions of people were left homeless and separated from their families. Furthermore, this war in which Koreans fought against Koreans hardened the division between the North and South and left scars which still last today.

After the war, the country obviously faced many problems. The first Lee Syung Man

¹⁸ Approximately 450,000 Koreans were drafted at this time.

¹⁹ On the day, Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allied Powers shortly after atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As a result, Korea was finally liberated, and regained its independence after thirty-five years of colonial rule.

Almost concurrently, a Communist regime was established in the North with Kim II-sung as the ruler with virtually absolute power. On September 9, 1948, the "Joseon Minjujuui Immin Gonghwaguk," or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), was officially established in the North with Pyeongyang as its capital.

Government of South Korea failed in a cleanup of the vestiges of Japanese imperialism after the liberation. Instead, he joined the anti-national group to his political power. Furthermore, he became increasingly autocratic, dominated Korean politics depending on the United States, and tried the long-term seizure of power through improper amendments of the constitution and a rigged election. At last, on April 19, 1960, the student-led popular uprising later known as "the Sailgu (April 19) Revolution" broke out, and it forced Lee to step down.

In this situation, Korean Christianity was anti-democratic and anti-national, and supported the corrupt despotic government (Lee W.G. 1998:34-35). In addition, the phenomenon of the split occurred even in the history of Korean Christianity during the period (Lee & Cho 1997:181). Korean Christianity should have introspected and repented thoroughly for the deviated faith, anti-national attitude and distorted history that most Korean Christian leaders showed. However, far from repenting their faults, they became owners of the church and seized ecclesiastic authority. Then, some conscientious Christians who had suffered and been driven out at the time of Japanese rule demanded repentance and reflection from anti-national people, heading the church reconstruction movement.

The reconstruction movement, however, was not absorbed into the general religious campaign or movement of Korean Christianity (Lee & Cho 1997:163-168). Eventually, the issue of 'who worshipped at the Shinto-shrine or not' caused a split in the Korean church. This was particularly the case in the Presbyterian denomination, the greatest religious body of Korean Christianity, which was divided at that time. Another division of the Korean church occurred due to the conflict between progressive and conservative theological thoughts, and as a result of it there are now 168 denominations exist in the Korean Protestant church.²¹

²¹Kijang denomination was dismembered from the Presbyterian Church because of theological argument between the liberal and conservative group. And then the Presbyterian Church was split once into Hapdong and Tonghap denominations because of ideological problems based on their different opinion about W.C.C. (Lee W.G. 2000:211).

In conclusion, as positive social movements by Christians were banned by Japanese oppressive rule during the period of post-March First movement, eschatological faith and individual salvation-centered faith were widespread in Korean Christianity. After the Liberation of August 15, the Korean Church did not liquidate the history of distortion and apostasy. On the contrary, internally the Korean church was divided, and externally it showed the attitude of supporting the dictatorial government in collusion of politics and religion.

In the process, Korean Christianity lost the ability and human resources for public dialogue towards social change. As Song Kun Ho (1981:87; Lee & Cho 1997:232) indicated, "Christianity disappeared from the stage of history." Accordingly, it is "a dark and depressed age" (Lee W.G. 2000:207-212) losing the ethos of public dialogue. Thus the public dialogue of this period can be said to be "unhealthy public dialogue."

3.3 The Period of Polarized Public Dialogue

Public dialogue since the 1960s has shown two directions. One is the national evangelization movement; the other is the social reform movement. While the conservative groups turned inwards toward the church, the progressive group took part in social reform activities with more direct and positive form of public dialogue. This reflects the polarization of the Korean church. In those times, what is worthy of close attention is the advent of new public dialogue that assumed a cultural pattern, that is, the so-called "Madanggŭk" (drama on open ground or outdoors). The Madanggŭk has an important position in public dialogue in that it was created and performed under unfavorable conditions for public dialogue—the condition of political dictatorship of Korea as well as the polarization of the Korean church.

3.3.1 National Evangelization Movement

The movement for national evangelization started with a positive aim to give a hope for the future to the people through preaching the Gospel in a situation of socio-political anomie as a result of the April 19 Revolution and the May 16 Coup D'etat (Lee & Cho. 1997:259).

Proclaiming 1965 as the year of "the National Evangelization Movement," the Korean church started a nationwide movement for evangelization with the slogan of "thirty million people to Christ."²² It developed into a series of revival movements such as the National Christian Assembly (1965), Billy Graham's Korean Evangelism Assembly (1973), the Explosion of Holy Sprit 74 (1974), the National Evangelization Holy Meeting (1977), the World Evangelization Holy Assembly (1980, 1988), and the 100th Anniversary of Mission Assembly (1984) (Kim Y.J. 2002:324-328).

The Korean Church accomplished a truly remarkable rapid growth in numbers through these movements. In addition, the national evangelization movement was a significant event that embodied ecumenicalism, because it rose above the religious denomination, and Christians were united to participate in it on their own initiative. However, as observed in chapter 2, in pursuit of church-centered growth and big churches, the evangelization movement finally presented negative aspects by turning from the church's social responsibility to remedy and reform Korean society (Lee & Cho 1997:303).

3.3.2 Anti-Dictatorship Pro-Democracy Movement

It was after the April Revolution of 1960 that Korean Christianity started public dialogue again. Having been criticized as an anti-social group supporting the corrupt despotic government, the Korean Church began to repent for its lack of interest in social justice and to recognize its social responsibility. At this very moment, the signs of practicing

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²²This evangelization movement made record of 2,013 assemblies, about 2,300,000 participants, and 8.333 new believers in one year of 1965 (Lee & Cho 1997:302).

public dialogue began to appear in the Korean church.

3.3.2.1 Democratization Movement of the 1960s-1970s

The April Revolution destroyed the corrupt despotic government of Lee Syung Man, but on May 16, 1961, a military coup led by General Park Chung Hee took control of the government. Korea was faced again with the undemocratic situation of long-term military dictatorship.

On June 22, 1965, Park Chung Hee's military government promoted humiliating diplomacy in the government's proposed normalization treaty with Japan. The Korean church once again began to practice public dialogue for social change. The Korean National Council of Churches (KNCC) issued a statement in 1962 urging the military government to hand over its political power to civilians, and objected to the treaty of Korean-Japan of 1965. In the same year, 240 Korean Christian leaders held a meeting to make a statement ²³ against the treaty, and the Korean church organized a nationwide movement against the treaty through street demonstrations and prayer meetings for national salvation. The mass media of the times noted "it was the first event concerning the nation's destiny that the whole Korean Christian community had participated in since the March First movement of 1919" (Lee & Cho 1997:261-262).

When Park promoted the Amendment of the Constitution in 1969 to re-elect the president for a third term and seeking long-term seizure of political power, KNCC conducted a movement against the amendment of the constitution. On the other hand, 242 persons with a conservative faith censured political participation by the church, and proclaimed their attitude in support of this constitutional revision with the title of "the declaration about constitution amendment and consciousness freedom." This is an extreme instance of polarization within the Korean church (Lee & Cho 1997:266; Kim

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²³ At the end of the statement, it said: "We resist all forms of dictatorship, injustice, irregularities, and corruption. We reject the impure influence of foreign powers on all aspects of economics, culture, ethics, and politics. We resolve to make a contribution to the historical development of our country with prayer and service led by the Holy Spirit" (Ju C.Y. 1983:78-79).

Y.J. 2002:277). The bill for amending the constitution for the third term was approved irregularly on September 14, 1969 in spite of opposition to it. This amendment paved the way for grasping political power in the long term, which led to the Yushin (Revitalizing Reforms) regime in 1972.

The Korean Christian Declaration of 1973 by clergymen leading the Korean church clearly reflected the awakening of the Korean church to public dialogue. Besides, the Korean Student Christian Federation (KSCF) held a "prayer meeting for the people" on October 11, 1974, and adopted "the KSCF Declaration of the Cross," strengthening their will to anti-dictatorship and pro-democracy struggles (Lee & Cho 1997:277).

On November 18, 1974, the Korean Church announced the Theological Statement of Korean Christians signed by sixty-six leaders from the church and theological seminaries, presupposing that Christ did not come to the institutional church but into the midst of history and the world. The statement provided the Korean church with a theological patron for public dialogue and practical activity.

When the Commemorative Mass of the March First Movement was held at the Myeong-dong Catholic Church on March 1, 1976, the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church were united and announced "the Declaration for the Restoration of Democracy." This declaration that was called the "Myeon-dong event" or "March First event" became a milestone of the democratization movement, and served as momentum for the solidarity between Catholicism and Protestantism, and between the Korean church and the church of the world (Lee & Cho 1997:288).

The Ecumenical Youth of Council (EYC)²⁴ announced "the Declaration of Youth Movement for the Denomination Unification" and "the Declaration of the Good

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²⁴ Christian youth movement that had been restricted within few progressive churches developed an ecumenical movement for denominational unity. At the result, 70 young Christian representatives from six denominations, which had joined the N.C.C., announced the declaration of ecumenical youth movement on January 29, 1976, so E.Y.C. (Ecumenical Youth of Council) was established.

Samaritan Movement," proclaimed to actualize "sharing practice" and social responsibility of young Christians. Thereafter, EYC dedicated itself to the struggle to accomplish democratization, to ensure the popular right to live, to defend human rights, and to realize national unification as well as church unity.

3.3.2.2 The Democratization Movement in the 1980s

The May 18 Democratization Movement of Kwangju Citizens: When Park Chung Hee was assassinated on October 29, 1979, Prime Minister Choi Kyu Hah became acting president. But his rule was extremely brief. On December 12, General Chun Doo Hwan came to power in a coup-like military revolt. On May 17, acting through the Choi government, Chun proclaimed Martial Law Decree No. 10, which extended the already existing martial law even to Cheju Island, dissolved the National Assembly, closed down all colleges and universities, banned labor strikes, and prohibited all political discussion and activity.

On May 18, 1980, there arose a pro-democracy uprising demanding an end to martial law in the southwestern city of Gwangju, which later became known as "the Gwangju Democratization Movement." The army troops sent into the city to suppress it began indiscriminately clubbing and bayoneting both demonstrators and spectators with a brutality that shocked and outraged Gwangju's citizens. The Gwangju democratization movement was an event in which the brutality of the new military authority and the antinational or anti-democratic character of Chun's military dictatorship were exposed to the world (The History Institute 2001:367).²⁵

The new military authority made a comment, distorting the truth, to the effect that the tragic affair at Gwangju was due to the destruction, provocation and agitation of the

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²⁵ When it was all over, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Gwangju citizens were dead. The official number was about 200. Witnesses to the tragedy, however, claimed a much higher number, usually around 2,000 and a 1986 Asia Watch report noted that the city's death statistics for May 1980 were 2,300 over the monthly average.

communists. Thereupon, the Korean church set out in its movements to disclose the truth of the Gwangju. On May 25, Christians in Mokpo district held an emergency prayer meeting for national salvation and made a declaration claiming that the resistance of Gwangju's citizens was an intentional and organized massacre of innocent people. On May 30, 1980, Kim Eui Ki, a youth from the Brother Methodist Church in Seoul, disclosed the truth of Gwangju by throwing himself off the Christian Hall. Pastor Im Ki Yun of the Cheil Church in Pusan city was tortured to death at Pusan branch office of Counter-Intelligence Corps (Lee S.G. 1993:279). In this way, the movements to reveal the truth about Gwangju event proceeded miserably.

Democratization National Convention of June 10, 1987: Chun Doo Hwan, who seized political power by force by bringing under his control the Gwangju Democratization Movement of 1980, established the Fifth Republic similar to Park's Yushin system. Chun strengthened control over society to consolidate his power. He banned political activity by politicians who could challenge his regime and also suppressed social movements and freedom of speech, by making "a special law on political atmosphere renovation," "the prohibition law on assembly and demonstration" and "the prohibition law of the third person" and so on. Under these undemocratic circumstances, on June 1987 the June Resistance began as a great march for national peace and democratization.

The intense aspiration toward democratization of a whole people who had been oppressed by authorities for about forty years was expressed in "the June 10 Democratization National Convention," and developed into the movements of "A Day of Tear Bomb Banishment" on June 18, and then "A Day of the Great March for Peace" on June 26. In this way, the Korean church held prayer meetings for the nation, and guided practice in public dialogue by organizing "the Public Movement Headquarters for Obtaining Democratic Constitution." Not only progressive churches, but also conservative churches that had often taken a cool attitude on social participation, took part in this democratization movement (Lee S.G. 1993:296-297).

3.3.3 Social Reform Movement

It was after the 1960s that the Korean church started positive social reform movements with missionary concern to improve living conditions of laborers, farmers and low-income urban people under industrialization. Park Chung Hee's military authority accomplished rapid economic growth called "a Miracle of Han-river" through a series of "the 5 Years Economic Development Plans" from 1962. However, the plan caused impoverishment of rural society and a rural exodus, an increase of urban poor people, poor working conditions, escalating foreign debt, and excessive dependence on foreign countries, because it chose export-oriented economic growth and labor-intensive industries based on the policy of a low wage and a low grain price. As a natural consequence the problems of labor, urban poor people and peasants deepened (Kwon T.H. 1981; Lee W.G. 2000:213,216).

At that time, there was a flame that lit public dialogue on social issues. This was the event of the suicide of Chun Tae II, a teacher at a Sunday school of the Changhyun Church and a cloth-cutter and an assistant of sewing at the Pyunghwa Market in Seoul (Lee & Cho 1997:301). The other side of the coin of the rapid growth in the economy by ten percent each year was the grim reality of labor, where a worker who had been at a sewing factory for five years suffered from tuberculosis of the lungs in the end, but in spite of this illness, was compelled to work for about fourteen hours a day to earn his or her family's living. So Chun Tae II decided to sacrifice himself for the improvement of human rights and working conditions, and he burned himself on November 13, 1970, holding the book of the Labor Standard Law and calling out the slogan, "Observe the Labor Standard Law!" His flames became a symbolic event that urged people to reconsider the meaning of high economic growth. Faced with the reality of the common people through his death, popular movements for laborers, farmers, and the urban poor began to develop systematically (Lee & Cho 1997:301; The History Institute 2001:349). The popular movement of the Korean church during this period was accelerated by

activities of the Urban-Industrial Mission.²⁶ On September 28, 1971, the Christian Industrial Mission, the Korean Student Christian Federation (KSCF), the Christian Academy, the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association of Korea (KYMCA) and the Young Women's Christian Association of Korea (KYWCA) in combination with the Jeunesse Ouvriere Chretienne (JOC: Catholic Young Laborers Association) organized "the Council of the Korean Industry Problem" (An annual project report of Christian Social Activity Committee in 1972. Lee S.R. 2000:57).²⁷

Human Rights Movement: As the movements against the military dictatorship regime spread all over the country, Park Chung Hee proclaimed "the Yushin Restoration Constitution" of the anti-democratic political system and placed a gag on free speech. As a result of this, Parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of association were denied, and human rights were cruelly infringed upon while the Yushin regime physically repressed those persons or groups against authority and put them (mainly progressive clergymen, students and workers) into prison.

Under these cruel circumstances, on November 23-24, 1973, the Faith and Human Rights Committee announced in the Declaration for Human Rights that "human rights is a value given from God," and on April 11, 1977, KNCC organized the Human Rights Committee which came into action formally. The activities paved the way for human rights movements in the institutional dimension (Lee & Cho 1997:310-312).

Labor Movement: In the face of the violence of monopolistic capitalism and the governing power, workers realized gradually that labor movements could not be

²⁶ The Urban Industrial Mission began at Incheon in 1961 and awakened social consciousness in the church about labor problems. After the 1970s the mission group enlarged the range of the public dialogue from the human rights rehabilitation movement and from the social justice practice movement to the democratization movement (Cho S.H. 1978:268-278).

²⁷ The object is as follows: "The problem of weak, poor and oppressed people, namely workers, poor people, peasants, is, in most cases, caused by not personal matters such as incompetence but by social and political problems. Hence our action organization for mission emphasizes not only "missionary activity" of the church but also "expression of action" for social reform of church mission."

separated from political movements. Thus, college or university students who had shown solidarity indirectly in public statements or by supporting struggles of the early 1970s began awakening labor political and social consciousness more directly by entering labor's world and organizing evening classes for laborers from the mid-1970s. Christian organizations such as the Urban-Industrial Mission and the Christian Academy contributed much to the struggles for labor.

The labor problem in those days was perceived not only as a problem between capital and labor but as a problem of structure and the regime itself. Hence, connecting with human rights movement for workers, intellectuals and churches, the labor movement began to turn the individual struggle of labor into a collective and organized combined movement, and also the economic struggle for the rights to live into a political struggle against a dictatorship (cf. The History Institute 2001:349,351,384-385; Kim S.G. 1984-1985; Lee W.G. 2000:217-218).

Agrarian Movement: According to the industrially directed economic development plan promoted in the 1960s and 1970s, the country was backward in the field of agriculture. Moreover, the policy based on low grain prices drove farmers into poverty. In response to this situation, the Korean Catholic Farmers Meeting was founded for agrarians' rights and interests, and an educational course for farmers was prepared in the Christian Academy in 1976. This helped the agrarian movement to progress actively (The History Institute 2001:351). Beginning with organization of the Chunnam Christian Farmers Association in 1978, the Christian Farmers Association became established throughout the country. In addition, the foundation of the League of Christian Farmers Association of 1982 played a decisive role in the higher agrarian movement.²⁸

In opposition to bureaucratic domination over farmers of the Yushin system the

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²⁸ The Christian Farmers Association was organized for the purpose of promoting economic, social, political status of farmers under the light of the gospel of Christ, and creating a farmers' self reliance culture to succeed national tradition, and realizing a just and free society through democratization (Lee & Cho 1997:327).

agrarian movement focused on a law-abiding labor struggle and a struggle to claim damages: for instance, a struggle against the low grain price policy, a struggle against excessive water tax and farmland tax, and a struggle for democratization. The movement of this period was led by a small number of progressive activists, and was limited to the agrarian movement centering on the church (The History Institute 2001:351-352).

3.4 Emergence of Cultural Public Dialogue: *Madanggŭk*

The demand of the people for anti-dictatorship, anti-foreign power and unification was expressed in the April 19 Revolution, but was distorted through the May 16 Coup, and finally was denied substantially through a series of subordinate processes, for instance, the ratification of the agreement between Korea and Japan. In such processes, nationalistic awakening was linked to the interest in a return to tradition, so that from the 1960s a far-reaching restoration of folk art that had almost been lost under the Japanese colonial rule began to progress.

The first public dialogue with a cultural form appeared in the process of the struggle against the Korean-Japanese treaty of 1965, in the social performance of "Hyangtouishick Chohongut" or "Minjokchok Minjujuui (Nationalistic Democracy) Funeral Ceremony," using Korean traditional ritual on May 20, 1965. This performance was a struggle against President Park's military dictatorship in the form of traditional culture (Jung I.D. 1985:21; Kang W.D. 1990:268). After the Society of Folk Mask Drama Studies was founded at the Seoul National University in Korea in 1971, folk drama meetings or mask dance clubs were organized at nearly all colleges or universities throughout the whole country, and then madanggǔk emerged as a new form, succeeding the traditional mask dance creatively in a modern style.

As the public dialogue through social movements was strongly suppressed by Park

Chung Hee's emergency measures, progressive intellectuals and students attempted to act out social participation within underground circles of the school and the church (The History Institute 2001:353). When student assemblies could not be maintained with political slogans in this repressive situation, cultural performance played a leading part in their assemblies (Lim J.T. 1990:134).

The mask dance and the madanggŭk movement as a creative renaissance of tradition were not limited to a cultural pattern but incorporated political and social issues (Lim J.T. 1990:22). This madanggŭk movement was spread to all levels of society including the workers on the front line in farm villages or factories, not to mention university (college) students and intellectuals of the country, and extended its field of activities from universities and the church to labor sites or farm areas, and from metropolitan areas to medium and small cities. The Korean church and Christian organizations participating in those days in social activities, such as the YMCA and the Urban Industrial Mission, joined and executed the madanggŭk movement.

In this way, the madanggŭk progressed actively, cutting its way through the suppression, and it accomplished "the unification of artistry and social-movement directivity" (Kang W.D. 1990:272). The madanggŭk was an important form of self-expression of the majority under the circumstances of a loss of freedom of expression (Lim J.T. 1990:69). Through the madanggŭk, the populace could throw their ability and energy into public dialogue for democratization and reform of the reality (Lim J.T. 1990:23) and fulfill a critical function of ideology (Kang W.D. 1990:272-273) in the vanguard of the social reform movement. Therefore, it seems a valid description that the madanggŭk was "an artistic victory over social consciousness of the popular community" (Lim J.T. 1990:83).

3.5 Limitation of Public Dialogue of the Korean Church and

Suggestion

The Korean church, as pointed out in the previous chapter, has a feature of the third church of Bulmann, in that it reflects "spirituality in suffering" in Korean history (Un J.K. 1999b:33). The suffering of the Korean church means "an experience of historical suffering" because it is political, economic and social suffering that the Korean people have experienced for several thousand years, while the spirituality of the Korean church means "the relationship with God" met through a response to society in the face of historical suffering. Therefore, the spirituality of Korean Christians is "spirituality in suffering."

Korean Christianity has developed the spirituality of suffering in reply to historical and social reality. As researched above, Korean Christianity exercised socio-historical responsibility in the early days of mission. As the trend of indifference toward society had been dominant since the 1920s, Korean Christianity lost the healthy public dialogue of the early days of the mission. Instead of actualizing faith in the reality of life, most of the Korean church focused on individual faith movements. But even if so, there were cries for a response to the historical question by a few pioneers from time to time. After the 1960s, the Korean Church began to reflect on its faults in history and started public dialogue all over again, taking part in socio-historical reality with the progressive camp as the leader.

The patterns of public dialogue of the Korean church can thus be classified according to the current of Korean Christian history. In the early period of the mission it expressed healthy public dialogue, as the balance of faith-practice, namely the balance between a spiritual community and a transformative community was accomplished in general. When examining the public dialogue of this period, one sees not only an indirect form of social enlightenment but also a direct form of the resistance to Japan in the moment of crisis in the country. After the March First independence movement, a dark age with unhealthy public dialogue followed, because the Korean church was distorted in

respect of spiritual community and hardly exhibited the example of transformative community. After the 1960s, public dialogue continued actively, assuming a direct form of resistance or opposition as well as an indirect form under undemocratic or despotic circumstances. In addition, at the very time when freedom of speech, assembly and association was suppressed, and public dialogue was polarized, a new pattern of public dialogue came into being. This was the madanggŭk as a public dialogue in an art-cultural pattern. The Korean church found a way of expression through the madanggŭk, and attempted to fulfill its social responsibility. But a few progressive churches led the movement while the Korean church was polarized in the matter of choice of participation in public dialogue.

In this point, the limitations of public dialogue in Korean church history are revealed. This can be arranged into two parts.

The first limitation is that a mere minority progressive church, except the age of the early mission, has led the public dialogue of participation in society, transforming history. That is, public dialogue is not a general current in the whole church in Korea. Even if the practice of public dialogue has continued through Korean Christianity history, the greater part of the Korean church kept silence or assumed the attitude of an onlooker when faced with political despotism and authoritarianism and the infringement of human rights.

Rather, most of the Korean church placed more importance on rapid church growth and in the motto "Growth First" of church individualism after 1960. The privatized church of Korea achieved quantitative growth, but on the other hand it remained unconcerned about society and history, and finally lost the dialectical relationship of spirituality in suffering and socio-historical participation.

Korean Christianity had realized the dream of a new national and spiritual community at the beginning of the Protestant mission, but at present retreats into the transcendental world, remaining content within the wall of the church, and tainted with modern material civilization. The Korean church has been criticized for going counter to the essentials of the church while losing the critical spirit and evading its responsibility to society (Kim K.J. 1996:283-284). Eventually, the loss of the relation of church and society brought about the double crises in the Korean church—a crisis of identity and a crisis of relevance.

The second limitation lies in the form of public dialogue. The public dialogue of the Korean church has been fulfilled broadly in two forms. One is an indirect form of enlightenment; the other is a direct form of resistance. These forms were to meet the demand of the times. However, times have changed. Today freedom of speech and assembly and direct participation by the people are allowed. Nowadays there is neither Japanese colonial period nor dictatorship. A new age by definition needs a new form in public dialogue.

Then what about the Korean church of today, no longer under non-democratic and oppressive circumstances? The public dialogue of social participation is almost halted. Present-day Korean society, however, has problems to be solved: for instance, urgent environmental pollution, exhaustion of natural resources and unification of North and South Korea together with problems from each sphere of politics, economy, society, education and religion. Furthermore, there is the other question of the missing reality of lives of God such as the starvation of brothers and sisters in North Korea and the misery of the reckless war.

The Korean church cannot disregard those questions any more. Now is the time for the Korean church to contribute to the restoration of life, peace and humanity with its participation in society. At this moment a question of what form or pattern of public dialogue is effective and necessary has been raised to recover its relevance to the world of today.

The public dialogue of the future seems to need not a form of resistance but a pattern

contributing to the creation of "the language of dialogue" and "the culture of dialogue." It should be a new public dialogue that leads the church to be not a resistance force but a companion or a participant in the face of the present social problems and conflicts. It should not to be confined only to social service but should aspire to transformative activities of mutual communicative cooperation and participation.

It is through the madanggŭk in the art-cultural dimension that a new paradigm of public dialogue will be explored. A desirable religion, as pointed out in chapter 2, lies in the dialectical synthesis of transcendence and participation; that is, the church should be both a spiritual community and a participative community in society. If described in terms of language, it means the church has to have both the language inside the church and the language outside the church.

If expressed in cultural language, Christianity has to contain both religious culture and action culture. Religious culture is referred to as value culture, designating the value of the Gospel in Christianity. Action culture, which is the culture of life, denotes the sphere of life taking part in the historical reality including politics, the economy and society. If this is the case, the implication that the present Korean church has spirituality but escapes from reality without social practices can be construed differently as follows: the Korean church has religious culture but lacks action culture relating to and participating in the value of the Gospel in the field of socio-political life.

The problem of the loss of the relation of the Gospel to society signifies that the Korean church has failed to connect the value culture of Christianity to action culture in the reality. Therefore, the reason why the Korean church of today has lost its influence on Korean society, despite its external growth, lies in the fact that the value of Christianity did not appear in the action or the life culture.

This dissertation concerns the role of art culture (expressive culture), especially the madanggŭk, in exploring a mediating structure for public dialogue that can be a point of

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contact between religious culture and action culture. Basically Christian culture is a comprehensive concept of three cultures, namely, religious culture, action culture and art culture (expressive culture). In what respects is the madanggŭk performance suggestive in keeping the balance of faith-praxis and the balance between religious (value) culture and action (life) culture? The answer to the question will be investigated in following chapters.