

A REFLECTION ON 200 YEARS OF CATHOLICISM AND 100 YEARS OF PROTESTANTISM IN KOREA

by *Sung-Hae Kim*

In the New Testament we find about 160 occurrences when the followers of Christ called each other "brothers". Jesus himself called those who practice the will of his father "my brother and sister" (Mt 12,50 = Mk 3,35 = Lk 8,21). This means that we Christians are to be the ideal brothers and sisters, our witness being our "love for one another". Now I would like to reflect on this image of Christian brotherhood using two well-known parables. The first story is that of the "Good Brothers", a children's literature found in the Korean primary school textbook. The older married brother wants to give some of his portion of his harvest to this younger brother, thinking that he has to be ready for marriage. But the younger brother carried some of his harvest to give to the older brother, thinking that the older brother would need more to support his family. For several nights they went back and forth, carrying the barley and finally met in the dark field and embraced each other.

The second story that I like to recall is the parable of "Two Sisters" from the prophetic literature of the Old Testament. Forgetting the former time when they were poor, both the older and younger sisters got fat and adoned themselves. They followed the good looking men of the streets, boasting of and enjoying the passing glories. Finally they were abandoned by their husbands and fell into misery (Jer 3, Ezel 16 and 23, etc.). Of course, these two sisters signified the people of God in the divided kingdom period, Israel in the north and Judah in the south, who competed with each other in jealousy, contempt, and indifference. While claiming one's own orthodoxy, the north and south were in fact approaching total destruction.

When we reflect on the relationship during the last 100 years between the Korean Catholic church and the Protestant churches, it seems to be closer to the parable of jealous sisters.¹ We are like the two sisters not only in our relationship, but also in our faithfulness to God, who is our father and master. One might wonder why I bring out this sad parable, when Christianity in Korea is celebrating its glorious history with its recognized social contributions and the present fast growth of the Christian population, which is incomparable in any other part of Asia. In order to be true to ourselves before we celebrate, I want to see the present state of ourselves as it is reflected first in our recent Church journals and then in the Korean public through the analysis of representative newspapers.

The Pastoral Theology, the official bimonthly journal of the Korean Catholic Church, published the bicentennial issue in January, 1984 (volume 91). It includes discussion on the inculturation/indigenization (*to-chak-hwa* in Korean) of the Church and a pastoral letter of Korean bishops as an official statement of the Catholic church on the 200th anniversary. One of the participants of the discussion expresses his concern that "if we do not focus

our attention on the issue of inculturation as we approach the new era of Christian mission, we might have to face a rejection by the non-Christians in our land as a church being stagnant and out of the touch of reality" (p. 54). While he feels that inculturation is of central importance for the Korean Church today, he is worried no one in Catholic Church seems to know where to start to achieve this goal (p. 56). All the participants agreed that inculturation of the church as a whole (including its liturgy) is a desirable thing, even though the method to achieve it is still open to debate. For instance should it start from the small communities of farmers in their life setting, or with the experiments in the particular parishes or with the religious communities or should a research institute for the study of traditional culture in depth be established?

The pastoral letter of the Korean Catholic bishops which is found at the end of the journal encourages reflection and repentance of heart: "When we look back, we cannot help but to feel that we are still unworthy servants. Our heart is not filled with the noble spirit of the martyres, our spiritual ancestors . . . we lack the love and fidelity to Christ and his church because we have neglected our mission to spread the Gospel. We also have to confess the lack of gospel spirit in our lives" (art. 5). As the leaders of the Catholic Church which is celebrating the glory of its ancestors by the canonization of 103 martyrs, it is natural that the bishops placed the spirit of martyrs as the standard. At the same time, however, they are confessing that the present state of Korean Catholicism (by pointing to their own example) is too far away from the belief of our forerunners who valued faith more than anything else.

The Theological Thought, a scholarly Protestant quarterly published by the ecumenically-oriented Korea Theological Study Institute, dedicated its 41st volume (Summer, 1983) to the theme, "*Korean Christian's Way of Thinking*". A few articles and a discussion on the theme tried to analyze the structure of consciousness of Korean Christians from the angle of psychoanalysis, practical theology, and sociology. Allowing for the fact that there exists individual differences, all the participants agreed that the Christians in Korea as a whole are not mature Christians because they lost some of the characteristics of Christianity through indigenization. One participant states: "What bond can bind the people when they are separated from nature when they can choose freely relationships with others? Ideally, it is the consciousness of democratic citizenship and job ethics. And where can we find such a consciousness? Korean shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism can not give us the answer. After all, Christianity is the only spiritual basis for such values. But after Christianity came into Korea, it was indigenized-yes, since it was shamanized and Confucianized, Korean Christianity is not able to play its function for the present." (p. 283)

Throughout this discussion indigenization is looked upon as a negative phenomenon. They find a shamanistic element in the Christian prayers that ask for blessing and healing and in looking for a instantaneous experience of consolation through emotional preaching that one can easily find in Prote-

stant churches. They see a Confucian heritage in the memorization of the scriptural verses and dependence upon the ecclesial authorities. They perceive Buddhistic influence in the particularly Korean form of the 100 days continual prayer service, etc. The conclusion of the discussion is that for the Korean Christians to grow out of an immature state, the direction has to be taken toward de-indigenization or non-religious Christianity as D. BONHOEFFER once suggested.²

It is quite interesting when one compares the two discussions which took place within a few months. One same term *to-chak-hwa* (indigenization/inculturation) is used differently by the Catholics and Protestants. By *to-chak-hwa* the Catholic discussion group implied that inculturation is something that has not happened yet in the Korean Church and it can be identified with evangelization in the sense that the Gospel transforms the total reality (culture and present social situation) of Korea. Therefore, *to-chak-hwa* is the hope and the goal that should be realized. On the other hand, for the Protestant discussion group *to-chak-hwa* is something that has happened already in the Korean Church, and it is not desirable because it weakened the creativity of Christianity.

This difference cannot be explained fully by the simple fact that the term "indigenization" is replaced by a direct translation of "inculturation" (*moon-hwa-hwa*) or by a cultural or political theology among the Protestant theologians. More fundamentally the two traditions have had diverse conceptions of religion and distinctive understandings of what Christianity should do with traditional cultures. The Catholic tradition, accepting the natural theology, understood religion as the basic bond between God and the human. Christianity is the fulfilment of non-Christian religious traditions. Therefore the Church should incorporate pre-Christian elements of every culture as an actualization of its universality. On the contrary, the Protestant tradition emphasized the separation of nature and revelation whose tendency was most clearly verbalized by the Barthian theology. Since K. BARTH and his disciple, D. BONHOEFFER have been widely read, religion is understood either as an anti-Christian phenomenon or ritualistic decorations that one has to take off in order to be a true Christian.

In spite of the differences in the usage of the term *to-chak-hwa* and in the expression of future perspective, there is an important agreement at the core of both discussions. They unanimously confess that Korean Christians are still far away from Christian maturity.

Now we will compare the self-reflections of the Christians in Korea with the image of Christians reflected in the society as a whole. I have collected all the articles on Christianity for the last two years which have appeared in the two most widely read daily newspaper in South Korea, *Dong-a Il-bo* and *Cho-sun Il-bo*. These newspaper articles can be analyzed according to three categories: the report on the church seminars on the 100th and 200th anniversaries, editorials warning of the aggrandizement of the fast growing churches and a few events that were caused by the conflict between Christianity and other religions, especially Buddhism.³

The newspaper report on the second general meeting of the 100th anniversary memorial committee of the Korean Protestant churches. It agreed that the image of the church should be changed from the receiving church to the giving church, from the imported faith to the inculturated faith (*Cho-sun Il-bo* 1982.1.28). On March 12th of the same newspaper a joint-meeting of the Protestant and Catholic leaders was reported. The main problems reported were the fast quantitative growth without qualitative deepening of faith, Christian's exclusive attitude toward others caused by the consciousness of divine election, and the immaturity of the Korean Church which has not developed its own theology.

On October 1 (the traditional harvest festival) the requiem Mass for the deceased ancestors offered by Catholic dioceses were positively reported along with the attempts to indigenize the Thanksgiving service by a few progressive Presbyterian churches. The report concluded with a quotation from an anonymous Christian interviewer: "It seems to be necessary for the Christian churches to make the decision to accept our beautiful traditional custom of remembering our ancestors." This in fact is an expectation of Korean society in general from Christianity. On December 16 a symposium organized by the Christian Academy, *Religiously Pluralistic Society and the Problem of Dialogue* was reported. The symposium took seriously a questionnaire study that showed that the attitude of the non-Christians toward the Christians in Korea is not all that favorable and that Christians should try to dialogue both with people of other faiths and with those without any religious affiliation.

Due to its growing importance the interest of society in Christianity and its social role has increased. Just as the newspaper criticized the division and fight within the Buddhist Sangha, the negative criticism of the Christian Church centers around the material aggrandizement, i.e., the building of the giant churches and the enormous collections which are used in these giant churches. On January 22, 1982 *Cho-sun Il-bo* pointed out the fact that the management of churches is becoming more like a business and wonders whether the church collections can be used mostly for the poor. On March 14 it again warned that the Catholic church seems to be following the Protestant churches in its use of money by building and decorating its churches. A year later (June 19, 1983) the same newspaper writes: "However Christian churches excuse themselves that they have no fault, society does not appear to agree with them. . . . Probably it is because of the initial expectation and hope in the Church that it should be poor for others. . . . The main problem is its non-religiousness in the practice that even in the poor sections of the cities 38 different kinds of collections are demanded and then all money is spent for the preparation and enlargement of 'my house', 'my car', and 'my festivals' instead of sharing it with the poor neighbors."

Reading this editorial one may be confused as to whether the functions of the Church and society have changed. The hard sermons that the prophet Amos raised against the luxurious temple and rituals of Bethel now are preached by the voice of social conscience toward the Church. Certainly the

Korean churches as a whole are losing the ideal of the gospel poverty. While we like to talk about our ancestors' spirit of martyrdom and the radical sacrifices that they made for faith, we do not want to be poor for others. Since our faith is so lukewarm, how can we expect that a creative and energetic theology will come out of us? The present Catholic and Protestant churches of Korea come near to the two sisters of the Old Testament. We are so busy with our own growth that we have no thought for each other and much less so with men of other faiths who are slower in their modernization.

On May 26, 1982 both *Dong-a Il-bo* and *Cho-sun Il-bo* reported the Protestant minister MYONG JIN-HUNG's criticism on Buddhism and the following demonstration by the indignant Buddhists in Won-ju.⁴ This demonstration started in the northern province of Kangwondo spread to the main Zen Temple in Seoul. The Buddhist sangha in Won-ju and Daegu (in a Southern Province) organized the great Dharma meeting to protect Buddhism. On June 29, the Research Institute of Modern Society led an open discussion to find a way of dialogue. During this discussion a methodist minister, Professor BYUN SUN-HWAN commented on the famous thesis that outside of the Church there is a salvation. This comment blazed another fury among the catechists of the Methodist Church who demanded a condemnation of Professor BYUN.⁵ With a written confession of faith from Professor BYUN the fury has calmed down, but the main cause that aroused these conflicts is not solved. The fundamental attitude of the Christians toward the non-Christians is negative and a clear theological understanding has not been formed.

For the Catholics the documents of the second Vatican council can work as the guideline, but the concrete interpretation and application in the Korean context is not clearly formulated yet.⁶ For the Protestants, however, because of the different church structure, one cannot expect a single policy statement, but some formulation will be necessary to live in a religiously pluralistic society like Korea.

On January 1, 1984 *Dong-a Il-bo* treated Catholicism and Protestantism in Korea together under the title, *Cross and Glory*. With short historical introductions by the church historians, the witness value of martyrdom was credited to the Catholics and the major contributions in modernization by the Protestant churches was recognized. This New Year newspaper article signified that we Christians in fact have to stand together before our society and our history as well as before God.

From the perspective of the history of religion, the Korean people has experienced three major movements of modernization, which were energized with an introduction of a new religion at each time. The first stream of modernization flowed in at the period of the Three Kingdoms (4th-7th centuries A.D.) with the introduction of Buddhism. The Buddhist monks brought from China not only a new and highly developed religious system but a centralized political system, Chinese letters, art and culture in general. They even introduced the most developed military strategy of that time.⁷ Buddhism was called as a "western learning" because it came from the west of

Korean peninsula, i.e., China and beyond. It was welcomed, therefore, by the kings of the three kingdoms who were competing with each other for the hegemony of the peninsula. Buddhism was the political ideology for about one thousand years through Unified Silla (7th–10th centuries) and Koryŏ period (918–1392).

The second stream of modernization flowed again from China with the introduction of Neo-Confucianism about the end of Koryŏ period. The new scholar-officials who came into power through the national examination system criticized both the old gentry family and the rich Buddhist temples. Consequently Neo-Confucianism became the new national ideology for Chosŏn period (1392–1910). The whole political and social system was reorganized according to Neo-Confucian ideal and it gradually penetrated into the general public by forming rites and customs.⁸

The third stream of modernization began with the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries in Japan and China in the 16th century. The new “western learning” which included both Catholicism and scientific knowledge from the west was introduced into Korea through Chinese books in the 17th and 18th centuries. Protestantism came in a century later when the open door policy was officially adopted by the Korean government. In other words, we Christians like to say that we have contributed greatly to the modernization of the country. More accurately, however, Christianity came in in the midst of modernization (and in some way at a very appropriate time) with its spiritual values (human equality, democratic ideal, etc.) and scientific development of movable printing, medicine, modern education, and the concern for social welfare. Just as Buddhism was so about 1500 years ago, Christianity introduced not only a new faith but all its modern learning. Consequently it has been attractive to the progressive young generation. While Buddhism was accepted by the rising kingship at the period of the Three Kingdoms, Christianity was accepted by the ordinary people who longed for a new world and it developed as people’s religion.

This historical trend does not, of course, explain the whole story of Korean Christianity. In spite of this social background that made it possible for the Korean Church to prosper, both Catholicism and Protestantism in Korea showed their genuineness and fidelity to the faith at the time of persecutions. Probably these witnesses of personal commitment show the vitality of the Korean Church more than its voluntary search for Christian faith at the beginning.

A Church historian LEE WON-SOON pointed out the four common elements shared by the early histories of Catholicism and Protestantism in Korea.⁹ First, there were the repeated attempts to introduce Christianity into Korea, the hermit kingdom, since Christian missionaries were working both in Japan and China. Second, the first Koreans were baptized outside of Korean peninsula, such as the Korean war prisoners in Japan in the 17th century and YI SUNG-HUN in Peking (1784) for Catholic side, and in the case of Protestant tradition, YI EUNG-CHAN and his companions in Manchuria (1876) and YI SOO-JUNG in Tokyo (1883). Third, the faith was spreading voluntarily by the

lay efforts before the ordained missionaries came in.¹⁰ Fourth, both Catholic and Protestant Christians suffered the long persecutions at the end of Yi dynasty, Japanese colonial period, and during the Korean War (1950-53).

Although these impressive common experiences are shared by Catholic and Protestant churches in Korea, one feels that something important is missing at present. It is the fact that not even one book has been written to combine the histories of Korean Catholicism and Protestantism. The history of the Protestant churches has centered around the missionary records, while the Catholic church history concentrated on the heroic story of martyrdom. When both traditions look beyond, the history of Christianity in Korea will be written together with a new perspective.

I have pointed out the major issues of the present state and past history of Christianity in Korea. Now I like to suggest a few expectations and the future visions from the historical perspective. First of all, both the Catholic church and Protestant churches should face the reality of division, some of which were imported from outside and some created here. For instance, one can count nearly 200 sects within Korean Protestantism among which the most famous division in Presbyterian Church into Jesus Presbyterianism and Christ Presbyterianism. The organizational division cannot be overcome in the near future, but at least we have to confirm the fact that we share the one and same faith in Christ Jesus. Like the parable of good brothers I mentioned in the beginning of the article I hope we can be concerned for the good of others and rejoice when the gospel message is preached by other churches. The common translation of the Bible and the theological joint work by the Theological Research Institute of Sogang University and the Korea Theological Study Institute, which bore a fruit in a book called *One Faith*, are the wonderful witnesses to the unity of Christian faith. Such ecumenical efforts for academic research and social service should be increased in the future.

Secondly, the development of Korean spirituality and formation of inculturated theology is something that we need more than anything else. For the last few years the Catholic writers have tried to understand traditional thoughts and have published their reflections on this in articles in the *Theological Perspectives* and the *Pastoral Theology*. The titles of the articles were such: "The Korean Concept of Man", "The Korean Understanding of God", "The Concept of Sin among the Koreans", "The Structure of Korean Religiosity", etc. Recently Professor SHIM SANG-TAE of Seoul Catholic Seminary wrote a lengthy article on "The Basic Problems on the Inculturation of Theology", in which he tried to establish the theoretical foundation of inculturation. The Catholic tradition, however, has not yet brought about any concrete examples of an inculturated spirituality or theology. The recently published book by Father CHONG HO-KYUNG might be a sign of a new beginning.¹¹ From 17 years of experience of the Catholic Farmers' movement he first analyses the causes that keep the Korean farmers poor, passive, and hopeless.¹² Their poverty is not only an economic one but they are deprived of their own culture, good educational opportunity and health care. In order to revive the hope and dignity of the farmers, Father CHONG found the key to the answer in the

minister of Jesus. Jesus' movement of faith started with being one with the poor people of his time. He helped the people find God in themselves and fought with the sins of the world (possessiveness, attachment to power and fame, and rivalry) that make man sick and divides the world. He dedicated his entire life to form a community that can share and serve, a community worthy of humanity, a community that can build the kingdom of God. Father CHONG calls this movement of faith Jesus' ministry of people. And following Jesus's example we have to be one with the poor farmers of this land, awake the boundless possibilities in them so they can meet God in themselves. The fact that God lives in the human and by becoming harmonized with nature man finds the rootedness in God is repeatedly emphasized.¹³ Here we find the creative combination of the Christian faith of man as the image of God and the East Asian respect for nature and its order as the way of Heaven. Father CHONG suggests the ways to struggle with the powers of evil that keep man in a inhuman condition and to build up the community that prays together and shares the sufferings and joys of life. He offers 10 basic pastoral principles to form the community of sharing and service: begin and end with God; follow Jesus; be in harmony with nature; constantly renew the heart; participate and work voluntarily; respect individuals and cooperate with openness and consensus; intergrate life with prayer, work, play, and study; organize community according to village units; start with the easy and possible task; include the entire village in the parish planning and open the church buildings for public service.¹⁴

The Protestant theologians have been more active than the Catholics in forming various theologies, i.e., a theology of culture, a theology of people (*Minchung*), and recently even a theology of play. The content of these theologies are not systematized yet, but these attempts should continue in order to bear fruits. I am hopeful concerning the possibility of an inculturated theology in the Korean Church because the basis has been formed by the significant decision concerning the use of the divine title, *Ha-neu-nim*, the honorific title of Heaven used by all Koreans throughout history when they refer to Heaven in a sense of the supreme deity in whose hand human destiny is committed.¹⁵ Since this traditional title of God has been chosen for the common translation of the Bible, it gives us the basis to build the attitude to renew our culture by the power of the gospel of Christ.

Thirdly, the christian Church has to be a Church for others by concretely witnessing the Gospel in our social reality. In order to that the Korean Church has to continue to emphasize the prophetic tradition which has been weak in the traditional religions. Recently the Church was the major voice of conscience against the abuses and corruptions of power in the political, economic, and social area. From 1960's the issues of human rights has been articulated; first by the formation of the association of the Christian professors (1963) and the revitalization of the Catholic Workers' Movement (1966). In February 9, 1968 the Catholic bishops published the first joint statement for the rights of the workers stating that workers can freely form their own unions and receive a suitable wage for their work. It also reminded the

government of its duty to protect the laborers and to be concerned about the redistribution of the profits.¹⁶ This statement was followed by continued reinforcements and arose public interest through the mass media.

On October 15, 1971 the representatives of the Catholic and Protestant leaders had a joint seminar on social justice and began to collaborate in their work for the human rights. All through 1970's Myongdong Cathedral of Seoul was the center of the Christian human right's movement. All the details of the events, prayer meetings, sermons, and statements are found in the *History of Human Right Movements by Koreans Catholicism*. This book which published this year is a living witness of the social involvement of Christianity for the twenty crucial years of Korean history (1960-1979). At present the Church is groping for the direction it should take as to its prophetic mission. Jeremiah, the prophet of doom, who sharply criticized Jerusalem to repent, but changed his voice from doom to consolation and hope by this symbolic act of buying a piece of land in the perishing city (Jer 32:6-15). His action was a sign of faith and hope in the future despite the seeming darkness of the present. Likewise we have to plant hope and trust when despair and mistrust is prevalent in the society, as it is now. The recent interest in preparing for evangelization of North Korea may be one means of planting seeds of hope now.

Finally, then, what do Catholic and Protestant Churches have in mind when they cry for the "evangelization of the nation"? Does it mean that they want to baptize all Koreans by the policy of continually working to double the size of individual congregations? Or do they want to reign as a political and social power by making the majority of the population Christian? The above mentioned pastoral letter of the Catholic bishops answered these questions: "The reason that we like to follow the spirit of martyrdom during the 200th anniversary is not for the sake of the martyrdom itself, nor for the ambitious establishment of a giant religious institution on this land . . . Rather it is to live the life of faith and love that they witnessed, so that we can save our people. In other words, we want to offer the light of salvation in the society that has lost the sense of direction and is confused by the darkness of materialism" (art. 11). I hope the Korean Catholic Church will keep this promise and I dare to hope that all other Christian Churches in Korea also will strive for the evangelization of nation in this sense. If we truly become the servants of God who empty ourselves and become poor as Christ had done to enrich our neighbors, we Christians will grow as mature believers and mature believing community, and the tension with other religious groups will naturally be relieved.

But I am not certain whether we, who learned to be exclusive to the point that we believe we are the only ones who should be saved, can learn the generous heart of God so easily. Even the trials in the darkness in the belly of the great fish could not change the basic perspective of the prophet Jonah. In the final dialogue between God and Jonah, who was displeased with the forgiveness of God of the wicked city and bitterly complained when the gourd plant was withered away I see the image of ourselves who are looking forward to third and second centuries of our respective faith:

God said to Jonah, "Have you reason to be angry over the plant?" "I have reason to be angry," Jonah answered, "angry enough to die". Then the Lord said, "You are concerned over the plant which cost you no labor and which you did not raise; it came up in one night and in one night it perished. And should I not be concerned over Nineveh, the great city, in which there are more than a hundred and twenty thousand persons who cannot distinguish their right hand from their left, not to mention the many cattle?"

(Jonah 4,9-11)

¹ See YOUN KYONG-RO, *The Attitude of the Early Protestants in Korea toward the Catholicism: Collections on the History of Korean Church* (in Korean) at the 60th Birthday of Father Choi Suk-wu, 1982, pp. 353-382. He illustrates the several events of conflicts around 1900 and concludes that the early protestant missionaries did not want to recognize Catholic activity as a part of Christian mission.

² *The Theological Thought* 41, 286-7. D. BONHOEFFER's influence has been strong among the Protestant intellectuals in Korea because KARL BARTH was the theologian until recently. This also shows that Korean theologians have depended on European theology.

³ Buddhism holds the largest followers among the traditional religions of Korea (30-35 % of total population of Korea), while Christian population is approaching 25 % (Protestant 20 % and Catholic 5 %). Buddhism and Christianity are two most active living religions at present.

⁴ The minister MYONG was a former Buddhist who was converted to Christianity. As the pastor of Nam-san Church he criticized in his sermon the fact that the Buddhists adore the idols and that there is no salvation in Buddhism. The Buddhists in Won-ju demonstrated before his Church to recant what he said.

⁵ Professor BYUN who studied theology with Buri also cites the various Catholic theologians (RAHNER, KÜNG etc.) to support the orthodoxy of his interpretation. Protestantism in Korea as a whole is evangelical and fundamentalistic.

⁶ The Pastoral Council of the 200th anniversary is working on a document on this problem now.

⁷ YI KI-BAIK, *The National Buddhism and Confucianism in Silla Period* (in Korean), 1978, pp. 44-49.

⁸ *The History of Korea* (in Korean), ed. by the Korean Educational Committee, volume 10, 1981, pp. 185-216.

⁹ "A Study on the Progress of Faith of Korean Catholicism and Protestantism", *The Pastoral Theology* 91, 25-34.

¹⁰ When the first Chinese priest CHOO MOON-MO came in 10 years after YI SUNG-HUN, he found that a community of four thousands Christians were waiting for him. Likewise when ALLEN, and then UNDERWOOD and APPENZELLER arrived, 300 catechumens were ready for baptism.

¹¹ *The Community of Sharing and Serving: The Pastoral Theology of the Farmers* (in Korean), Benedictine Press, 1984.

¹² The causes are as follows: the size of the land owned by each farmer is too small and the number of the farmers who cultivate the land of the non-resident owners is increasing; the government policy to keep the price of the crops low by the import of foreign crops decreases the incentive of farming; the unfair bargaining system that makes the farmers buy fertilizers at a high price and sell the crops at a low price; high tax and excessive expenditure stimulated by TV; the farmers' union is not working for the farmers themselves but controlled by the economic policy of the government. (Ibid., pp. 31-42)

¹³ Ibid., pp. 108, 111, 118, 154, 164.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 164-165. He also offers a detailed process to form communities of farmers and finally the tie between the farmers and the city.

¹⁵ The choice of the divine title has a long history of controversy and agony in East Asia (Japan, China, and Korea). A direction seems to have been taken in all three countries to rediscover the positive value in adopting the traditional divine title and transforming it in the Christian sense.

¹⁶ *The History of Human Right Movements by Korean Catholicism* (in Korean), ed. by Myongdong Catholic Church, 1984, pp. 46-55. This statement was issued because the Catholic workers were fired in the Kanghwa island and the priest who directed them was criticized as a communist.