

CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

I.S.B.N.

THESES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE



National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
- NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE



National Library of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Division

Division des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

61938

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

Michael Cheng-teh Tai

Date of Birth — Date de naissance

March 31, 1943

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance

Taiwan

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

1302 33rd St W
Saskatoon, Sask.

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

The Development of the Social Teachings in Asian Churches

University — Université

Concordia University, Montreal

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

Ph.D.

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

1984

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse

Dr. Fred Bird

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date

April, 4, 1984

Signature

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL TEACHINGS IN ASIAN CHURCHES:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE STATEMENTS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE OF THE
CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE OF ASIA 1949-1980

Michael Cheng-teh Tai)

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Religion

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

March 1984

© Michael Cheng-teh Tai, 1984

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
Division of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Michael Cheng-teh Tai

Entitled: The Development of Social Teachings in Asian Churches:
An Analysis of the Statements on Social Justice of the
Christian Conference of Asia, 1949-1980

and submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of

Doctor of Philosophy

complies with the regulations of this University and meets the accepted
standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final examining committee:

DB Sweet

Chair

Shute M. D. Brown

Michael Fahay

Cecil H. Fowles

C. Davis

Fredrick B. Gul

Supervisor

Approved by

C. Davis
Chair of department or Graduate
Program Director

19

Dean of Faculty or Division

ABSTRACT

The Development of Social Teachings in Asian Churches:
An Analysis of the Statements on Social Justice of the
Christian Conference of Asia 1949-1980

Michael Cheng-teh Tai.

Concordia University, 1984

Asian people, despite their different cultural heritages and social structures, have confronted a common problem -- the injustice imposed upon them by the colonial powers and autocratic regimes. They have also struggled for the common goals of freedom and equality. These common experiences and expectations brought the Asian churches together to give common social teachings to the Asian people.

The churches in Asia, patronized by the colonial power prior to their national independence, acquired a new awareness that their task should be an ongoing reflection of the Asian people's situation. Churches thus published statements on the recurring social issues and offered guidelines for Christian social concerns through the Asian ecumenical church body, East Asia Christian Conference/Christian Conference of Asia.

The teachings of the churches in the last three decades evolved from stressing people's participation in nation-building to a call for a second liberation of people. They encouraged local churches to hold special educational programmes to teach people the meaning of independence, citizenship rights and duties. Christian Conference of Asia was optimistic that freedom, equality and justice would prevail. This optimism, however, was soon overshadowed by the emergence of new oppressive classes. The churches, witnessing the continuation of people's

sufferings, shifted their emphasis to demanding a total transformation of the national power structures.

Several factors contributed to this transition of teachings. Nationalism was the main element in Asian history during the forties and fifties. Accordingly, the teachings of the churches moved in the direction of nation building and development. However, the exploitation of the weak and the poor by the powerful did not cease with independence and nation-building. Poverty, churches argued, was not due to lack of goods but due to exploitation and the distribution of wealth. The tyranny of power deprived people's right to take part in national decision-making and further consolidated the power base of the ruling class who declared emergency or martial law in the name of national security. These manifestations in political oppression forced the churches to state in the seventies that a total transformation of power structures was necessary to bring a second liberation for the people.

Theologically, Asian churches argued that an indigenous theology should be developed to fill the vacuum created by modernization and to speak effectively to Asian issues. Modernization had confused the value system which dominated Asian people for ages, shook the foundation of social cohesion, weakened previously close family relationships and created a tension between tradition and modernity.

Though Asian churches have tried to exert their influence upon Asian societies, the effect has been limited. Besides the minority status, Asian churches tend to be vague and unreflective in their teachings. Nevertheless, they have contributed to a sense of unity within the Asian churches and tried to achieve a balance between over-identifying with Asian nationalism and the Western Christian tradition.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER ONE — INTRODUCTION	1
I. The Issues to be Considered and Sources of Information	2
II. East Asia Christian Conference/The Christian Conference of Asia	5
A. Historical Prelude to EACC	5
B. The Formation of EACC	8
C. The First Ten Years of EACC	10
D. EACC in the Seventies	12
E. CCA after the Seventies	15
F. CCA and the World Churches	20
III. Preview of Subsequent Chapters	22
Notes	31
 CHAPTER TWO — ASIAN SOCIETIES AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW	 33
I. Introduction	33
II. Colonialism, Missions and Christian Churches	34
A. Education	36
B. Medical Work	38
C. Social Services	40
D. Economic Development	40
III. Alliances Between Missions and Colonialism	41
IV. The Development of Nationalism in Asia	42
V. The Church and the Nationalist Movement	45
A. India	46
B. China	47
C. Korea	48
D. The Philippines	49
E. Other Countries	50
VI. Heritage of the Past—The Situation After Independence	50
VII. The Present Reality in Asia	53
A. Political Trends	53
B. Economic Factors	56
C. International Dimension	57
Summary	58
Notes	62

CHAPTER THREE — FIRST STAGE OF THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE ASIAN CHURCHES	64
I. Introduction	64
A. The First Stage: The Period of Nation-Building	65
B. The Second Stage: The Period of Enlightenment	65
C. The Third Stage: The Period of the Striving for a Second Liberation	66
II. The Exposition of the Social Teachings of Asian Churches—The Period of Nation-Building	66
A. 1949—The Asian Church in Political and Social Life	66
B. 1957—The Common Evangelistic Work of the Church in East Asia	70
C. 1959—Witness Together	72
D. 1964—The Christian Community Within Human Community	76
III. Analysis	79
A. Nationalism and the Social Teachings of the Asian Churches	79
B. Japanese Colonialism and Churches in Formosa and Korea	95
1. The Taiwanese Churches under the Japanese Colonial Rule (1895-1945),	95
2. Korean Christians under Japanese Colonial Rule	97
3. Japanese Expansionism and Christians in Japan	99
a) Japan's Historical Reaction to Christians in Subjugated Korea	99
b) Toyoshiko Kagawa and His Contribution to Social Thought and Action	102
C. "Participation in Nation-Building" as the Teaching of the Church	104
D. The Awareness and the Leaders of the Churches at this Stage	109
1. M. M. Thomas	111
2. D. T. Niles	113
3. Masao Takenaka	114
4. Sho-ki Coe	116
IV. Summary	117
A. What Are the Teachings of the Asian Churches?	117
B. Why Did They Teach These Programs	118
Notes	120

CHAPTER FOUR — THE SECOND STAGE OF THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE ASIAN CHURCHES—THE PERIOD OF ENLIGHTENMENT	124
I. Introduction	124
II. Exposition of the Social Teachings of the Asian Churches	124
A. 1966—Confessing the Faith in Asia Today	124
B. 1966—The World Conference on Church and Society	129
C. 1967—The Asian Conference on Church and Society	131
D. 1968—Modernization of Asian Society	134

III. Analysis	137
A. Urbanization in Asia	138
1. Population Growth	138
2. Industrialization	140
B. The Attempt to be Relevant	146
1. Syncretism	149
2. Accommodation	151
3. Contextualization	153
C. The Quest for Revolutionary Change in Power Structure	166
1. The Nature of Government in Asia	167
2. The Urban-Industrial-Rural Mission—Asian Churches in Action	170
Summary	180
Notes	183

CHAPTER FIVE — THE THIRD STAGE OF THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF
ASIAN CHURCHES—THE PERIOD OF THE STRIVING
FOR A SECOND LIBERATION 186

I. Introduction	186
II. The Exposition of the Social Teachings of Asian Church—The Stage of the People's Second Liberation	187
A. 1970—The Asian Ecumenical Conference for Development	187
B. 1972—The Conference of the Association of Theological Schools in Southeast Asia	191
C. 1973—The Fifth Assembly of the EACC	193
D. 1974—Race and Minority Issues	198
E. 1975—Consultation on Mission in Asia Today	200
F. 1977—The Sixth Assembly of the CCA	203
G. 1979—The Asian Theological Conference	209
H. 1980—A Consultation on "Christian Response to Race and Minority Issues in Asia"	210
III. Analysis	212
A. Poverty	213
B. A Culturally Relevant Concept of Development	224
C. The Church's Concern for the Minority Groups	236
1. Ethnic Groups as Minority	236
a) Philippines	242
(1) Highlanders	242
(2) Muslims	244
b) Tribal People of Bangladesh	245
c) Mountain People in Taiwan	245
d) Chinese in Indonesia	247
e) Burakumin in Japan	248
f) Christian Churches in Pakistan	249
g) Tamils in Malaysia and Sri Lanka	250
h) Aborigines of Australia and Maoris of New Zealand	251
2. Women as Minorities	254
Summary	258
Notes	262

CHAPTER SIX — THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF WCC AND THE ASIAN CHURCHES	266
I. Introduction	266
II. The Development of the Social Teachings of the WCC	266
A. The Responsible Society (1948-1965)	266
B. The Birth of a Radical Stance (1966-1968)	268
C. The Dawn of Liberation Theology (1969-1979)	271
III. The Teachings of the CCA as the Reflection of the Teachings of the WCC	274
IV. The Emergence of the Theology of Liberation	281
A. Liberation and Salvation	282
B. Christology and History	284
C. Church Mission and Evangelization	284
D. Liberation Theology and Asian Theological Thinking	286
E. Liberation or Development?	288
Notes	290
 CHAPTER SEVEN — CONCLUSION	 293
I. Introduction	293
II. The Mental Development of CCA	293
III. How Can We Explain the Changes in CCA's Teaching?	297
A. CCA Responding to WCC	297
B. CCA Gained New Insights Over Time	300
C. Changes in Social Problems	304
D. Inevitable Shifts of Historical Development of Social Movement	307
IV. How Realistic and Idealistic are CCA's Teachings?	309
V. What Kind of Role has the CCA Playing in Asian Society?	311
A. The Role Within the Asian Churches	311
B. The Social Contribution of CCA	313
Notes	321
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 322

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Member Churches of Christian Conference of Asia	17
Table 2.	Colonial Background of Asian Countries	60
Table 3.	Types of Political Regimes in Asia	61
Table 4.	Population Growth in Southeast Asia	139
Table 5.	Tensions Between Eastern and Western Cultures	159

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Amid all the social confusion of the present days, with its clamour of conflicting voices, the churches also are making their voice heard. These social conflicts are due in part to the growth of large, modern unified states, with their democratic tendencies and their party struggles. They are also outcome of modern industrialization, the development of the proletariat, and the emancipation of the masses in many lands. The problems do not merely concern political economists, specialists in social science, and modern independent philosophers of culture; they are also the concern of the churches. . . .

These words of Ernst Troeltsch, written in 1911, still hold truth today. The churches in every continent are concerned with the modern social confusion which has brought them vis-a-vis new problems and new duties in the ordering of social life. They have plunged into the study of these new problems and duties and tried to exercise their influence. The Christian churches in Asia, despite their minority status, have also grappled with these issues.

Prior to World War II, the churches in Asia were the mission fields of the Western countries. It was only after the independence of the Asian nations that the churches in Asia became autonomous, and almost immediately they plunged themselves into the nationalistic movements. Before the War, the churches in Asia under the patronage of the colonial regimes, had more or less sided with the colonial rulers. They, however, were stimulated by the nationalistic mentality and soon became the supporters of the independence struggles. These Asian churches, in an attempt to exercise their religious influence, had

published various statements through their ecumenical association, the Christian Conference of Asia, calling for the participation of Christians and all people alike in the struggle of nation-building. After witnessing the internalization of the colonial powers and the continuous suffering of the people, they then took a further step by calling for a just society in which wealth would be more equally distributed and power would be more fully shared.

This thesis is a study of public statements of the Asian churches with regard to social issues in the years between 1950 and 1980. "The Asian Churches" here refers to the Christian Conference of Asia, and its former organization, The East Asian Christian Conference. This ecumenical association has tried to create a consensus and a united front to address social problems in Asian societies.

I. The Issues to be Considered and Sources of Information

This thesis will involve the largely descriptive and explanatory role of describing the social teachings expressed by the ecumenical association of Asian churches, and of explaining the meaning of these statements and the contexts for them. In the process, the thesis will observe that clear shifts occurred in these social teachings from the 1950's until the 1980's. As this thesis concludes it will attempt to explain why these shifts occurred. Still, this thesis is not meant to be merely descriptive and explanatory. This thesis also will attempt to evaluate the role of the Christian Conference of Asia and its significance. In particular this thesis will examine the degree to which the Christian Conference of Asia can and has been able to foster a more

indigenized expression of Christian social teachings, the extent to which the Christian Conference of Asia has been able to be both prophetic and realistic in its teachings.

Two methods will be applied in this thesis, namely, historical (descriptive) and analytical.

1. Historical: As a study of the development of the social teachings of Asian churches, the first two things to be examined must be "what" and "how". In other words, what were the teachings and how did they come into being. Therefore, each chapter dealing with the social teachings of the Asian churches will begin with the examination of the contents of teachings, as seen through various statements of the Christian Conference of Asia in chronological order, according to the stage of their developments.

2. Analytical: After the "what" is answered, the next questions will be "how" and "why". How were the statements brought into being and why were they the concerns of the churches? In order to answer these questions we must examine the social conditions of Asia, the theological trends dominating the church leaders and the practicality of the teachings.

This thesis has explored three sources of information: First, the statements published by the Christian Conference of Asia and its former organization, EACC, relating to the social issues facing Asia. Second, the papers and minutes of the conferences of CCA/EACC, including published and unpublished materials. These two sources of information will be traced from 1949 at the time of the first Asian church leaders' conference until 1980. Most of these have been published in English, although some are in Chinese or Japanese. As a person from Asia, I

attended one of the CCA meetings as one of the Taiwanese delegates in 1970. This first-hand experience has enabled me to see deeper into the organization itself, its functions and its socio-political stands.

I also visited some of the church leaders in the Asian region in 1978 and again in 1981, to discuss the contents of some of the CCA statements and the regional churches' reactions to them. Among these leaders were: Dr. C. M. Kao, the general secretary of the Presbyterian church in Taiwan; Chin-fen Hsiao, principal of the Tainan Theological College; C. S. Song, a foremost Asian theologian; the Rev. Hiroshi Shinni, a professor at Aoyama Gakuin University in Tokyo; the Rev. Chee Sung Park, moderator of the Presbyterian church in Korea; Dr. George Ninan, executive secretary of Urban Rural Mission of CCA; and his predecessor, Oh Jae Shik. I also was invited to attend a Mission Consultation in Taiwan in 1981. All these experiences have helped to develop my research on the social teachings of the Christian churches in Asia.

Besides the statements and information which I have mentioned above, the third source of this thesis is the books, articles and statements written by individual Asian theologians, i.e., C. S. Song, M. M. Thomas, Kosuke Koyama, E. Nacpil. Professor Bob Lee of San Francisco, and Dr. Roy Sano of the Pacific and Asian-American Centers for Theology and Strategies have both also provided me with valuable information on Asian theology. Dr. C. S. Song has helped me acquire some out-of-print materials and the Rev. Dorothy Harvey of the Archives Department of the World Council of Churches has located some unpublished materials for me.

II. East Asia Christian Conference/The Christian Conference of Asia

A. Historical Prelude to EACC

1949 was an important year in the history of the churches in Asia. Thirty-five church leaders from twelve Asian countries² met for the first time in history³ to discuss the contemporary changing situations in Asia. The meeting was under the auspices of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council. The purpose of this conference was to plan a closer cooperation between Protestant churches in the orient as a part of the world-wide ecumenical movement. This conference expressed the growing sense of "Asianness" which was dawning in the whole region, and requested the appointment of someone who would serve as "an ecumenical ambassador among the Asian churches, interpreting them to one another, fostering mutual service and effective witness, and strengthening the bonds between the churches in Asia and the church universal."⁴ Dr. R. B. Manikam of India was chosen for this post by both the World Council of Churches and by the International Missionary Council.

One of Dr. Manikam's early discoveries was that many of the Christians in Asian lands knew more about their Christian brethren in Europe and America than they did about their fellow-Christians in Asia. Asian Christians interested in Ecumenical encounters have shown more enthusiasm in going to Amsterdam or Evanston than for crossing the road from the local Baptist church to the local parish church. Under his endeavor, a closer contact between churches in each region was established. The dominant concern amidst his many journeys and discussions

was "Christianity and the Asian Revolution."

The years between 1950 and 1956 saw the development of an awareness among the churches in East Asia, of challenges and opportunities similar to those their own neighbors were facing.

The stimulation of regional cooperation, contacts and exchanges by the WCC and IMC through their ecumenical secretariat, led to new desires on the part of the churches in East Asia to seek together for concrete steps toward united action in Christian mission in the region. In July 1955, representatives of some of the churches came together at Hong Kong to set up the "Asia Council on Ecumenical Mission." This was to initiate the study and implementation of regional ecumenical projects such as evangelistic mission, stewardship training, theological education, and organizing responses to the social challenges to the Christian church. The decision to form the ACEM underlined the need for coordinating such initiatives with the ongoing work of the East Asia secretariat of the two world bodies. The joint East Asia Secretary himself had articulated the issues and challenged the churches in the region to work cooperatively. He then requested the calling of a representative conference of WCC member-churches, and East Asia's IMC member-council to consider how these new tasks might best be fulfilled. This conference was scheduled for 1957 in Prapat.

Prapat, Indonesia, 1957—The minutes of the 1957 Conference included: "Prapat will become one of the place-names in ecumenical history and it will be remembered like Edinburgh, Amsterdam, Evanston and the like, for its ecumenical significance."⁵

This Prapat conference gathered delegates from 12 East Asian countries—Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaya,

Singapore, Pakistan, Philippines, Taiwan and Thailand—to discuss the new situations in Asia. The whole situation of Asia was shaking. Changes were taking place rapidly. Many countries in East Asia had newly-obtained political independence. The fairly well-organized life which the countries knew before the war was gone. Now, Asian countries were wrestling to find new ways of life in the political, social and economic fields. It was proposed that the East Asian Christian Conference be formed in order to share the common colonial experience, to cooperate in finding new ways of life, and to strengthen the new Asian identity of the Christian churches.

The following factors also contributed to the launching of the East Asian Christian Conference:

First was the psychological reality of living in nations which had strongly-entrenched non-Christian traditional religions. Apart from The Philippines, each Asian country had only a small percentage of its population professing the Christian faith. This had led the churches to a certain understanding of people of other faiths, and to the awareness that their common minority status would exert very little influence upon people. An organized Asian ecumenical body would more likely enforce the effectiveness of their service to the people.

Second was the common colonialist heritage of the Asian nations. Asian nations had been under the yoke of varieties of empires. British, Dutch, Portuguese, French, Spanish and American rulers had dominated parts of Asia during periods of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They had left behind languages, plus culture systems of education, law and medicine which lingered on into the newly-liberated nations. Colonizers had also left "the church." In its early years, the churches

owed much of their power to the patronage of the colonial rulers. Then the tide of history changed the whole picture. The churches had sensed that they should be "Asian churches." This feeling became stronger in 1950 and afterwards. The churches and their leaders in Asia became aware of each other and began to realize their solidarity as Asian Christians.

A third force for change was the economic reality. In 1957, newly independent nations found that solutions to the economic ills did not come hand-in-hand with independence. The economic bondage which many nations struggled to overcome was related to long historic processes which could not be solved by simple means. Yet the reality of poverty could not be ignored. In the founding years of the East Asia Christian Conference, the intensity of this social concern in each society kept forcing itself onto the churches.

Fourth, a decisive factor in the establishment of EACC was the desire of WCC and IMC to set up an East Asia Secretariat to serve as a Christian ambassador to help foster the links between Asian churches. Bishop R. B. Manikam of India was chosen in this capacity as a bridge-builder.

B. The Formation of EACC

The "East Asia Christian Conference" was officially inaugurated in May, 1959 at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The initial membership consisted of forty-eight churches from fourteen countries in Asia, including Lutheran, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Orthodox, Baptist, and united churches such as the Church of South India and Kyodan in Japan. Its regional scopes covered India, Pakistan, Burma,

Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia, Korea, Formosa, Japan, etc. China was not represented at the inaugural assembly though there had been a strong hope that its delegates would also be present.

The term, "East Asian," has been used with sufficient elasticity to include churches and Christian councils in Australia and New Zealand in the membership of the conference. It was called "conference" rather than "council", because it was hoped that it would become an institution and attracted the churches to join which did not belong to WCC. As the preamble of the constitution adopted at Kuala Lumpur stated:

Believing that the purpose of God for the churches in East Asia is life together in a common obedience to Him for the doing of His will in the world, the EACC is hereby constituted as an organ of continuing cooperation among the churches and National Christian Councils in East Asia within the framework of the wider ecumenical movement.

The question of "Headquarters" was discussed and the model was accepted that EACC would function with the least possible number of paid staff members, but many honorary or part-time staff members were appointed to work from their own countries. The first team of "Central Staff" were D. T. Niles of Sri Lanka as secretary, Kyaw Than of Burma as associate secretary, and Alan Brash of New Zealand as secretary for inter-church aid.

This small staff worked with consulting groups, which convened from time to time and maintained close liaison with the World Council of Churches as well as with the churches and Christian councils in the region. The conference carried a large share of responsibility for the WCC's program of inter-church aid and service to refugees. It also sponsored the creation of an Association of Theological Schools in South East Asia.⁷ It was decided that the assembly would be called quad-

rennially, at which time representatives from member councils and churches would meet for a time of fellowship and enrichment as well as for setting forth the programs for the next four years.

Initially, WCC and IMC provided the major portion of the funds for the work of EACC. Though there was an emphasis that Asian churches should also participate in the financial support of EACC programs. The organization still heavily depends on the WCC for financial support.

C. The First Ten Years of EACC

The emphasis of the ministry of the first decade of EACC was revealed through the themes of two conferences that were held. In 1964 the theme, "The Christian Community within the Human Community," reflected the concern of EACC toward the role of Christians in society. The EACC emphasized that Christians were not an isolated group but that they must plunge into the building of a new society. In "Confessing Christ in Asia Today," as the theme of the 1966 conference suggests, EACC was not so much interested in the confession of some kind of credal statement, but in all the situations in Asia wherein Christians would be called upon to confess their faith in Jesus Christ. Confessing Christ in Asia today meant an existential involvement.

During this first ten years, EACC had witnessed a rapidly changing international relationship between Asian nations. The newly established independent nations, the normalization of relationships between South Korea and Japan, increasing detente between The Peoples' Republic of China and Western nations, political upheaval in Indonesia, the Indo-China war, the undetermined future of Formosa, and the Pakistan-India conflict: all were fermenting and boiling. In all of

these situations, EACC was faced with a basic question: How could the small churches in Asia address themselves to these issues effectively? Maintaining Christian integrity in taking a certain stance is one thing, but to get involved effectively with public issues is another. EACC thus refrained itself from issuing statements on various issues, but instead, concentrated its teachings on how to be responsible Christians in a responsible society.

D. T. Niles, the General Secretary during those first ten years, expressed well the spirit upon which EACC's ministry was based:

"It is not possible to point to anything specific as the achievement of the EACC. Such achievement was never desired nor has it guided the policy of those who have directed the EACC. All we have sought to do is to inject into situations ideas which we felt were right at this time, to get key individuals in every country committed to these ideas, and then to put pressure behind these ideas so as to make costly any attempt to disregard them. Whatever is achieved will be to the credit of the churches or institutions or individuals who achieve them. The EACC, in the nature of the case, cannot claim credit."

His address is printed in the book, Ideas and Services, and the title itself is a summary of the EACC role as seen by D. T. Niles. This address was given to the Bangkok Assembly in 1968.

During this period, the basic programs of EACC were clearly determined by its two committees: (1) Business, and (2) Program. The Business Committee covered information, policy and structure, and finance. The Program Committee maintained areas such as inter-church aid, church and society, international affairs, laity, youth, message and unity, and theological education. With only a small number of full time staff members, all this was a heavy work load for the General Secretary, Dr. D. T. Niles. But under his able leadership EACC carried out its ministry and was heading into a new stage. Unfortunately, D. T.

Niles took ill and passed away in 1970. In his memory, EACC set up a memorial lecture circuit. The first of these was delivered at the 1973 assembly by M. M. Thomas, who had been a close friend of D. T. Niles.

D. EACC in the Seventies

In the seventies, the Asian historical arena was marked by the turmoil of Bangladesh, the expulsion of Nationalist China from the United Nations, and the Indo-China war having reached a precarious cease-fire. Furthermore, another important political development in the Asian scene was the emergence of a political leadership which was ready to take up extra-constitutional initiatives. Hence, authoritarian governments became the norm rather than the exception in many Asian countries. EACC then became more and more concerned with human rights and the participatory character of democratic institutions.

During this period, the Conference experimented with a second structure arrangement. All the programs of the Conference were broken into three main areas: (1) Justice and Service, (2) Life and Action of the Christian Community, and (3) Message and Communication. These three programs were to carry out their ministries under the leadership of the general secretary who was to be elected and appointed by the General Committee. This Committee was to be composed of one representative from each Asian country and was to meet during the Conference period. Eleven of its members were given the title, Executive Committee, and were designated to meet annually. A quadrennial assembly was established where representatives from member councils and churches were to meet for a time of fellowship and enrichment, to set forth the priorities and programs for the next four years. The three program committees, besides

carrying out the resolutions of the assembly, also were given free hands to plan their programs. The concerns of these three program committees were as follows:

1. Justice and Service Program Committee. This was the largest unit within the CCA in terms of both staff and budget-spending. Its main concerns were the church's role in a changing world, development and justice. The social teachings of CCA mainly came from the ministries of this program committee. According to the Constitution of CCA, this committee "is concerned with serving society and crossing frontiers to meet the challenges of society with compassion, hope, care and action for development; the work of interchurch aid; health concerns, refugee work and the whole work of development; social diakonia; urban-rural mission and international affairs."⁹

The churches were forced to respond to the mounting secular pressures resulting from the disenchantment of the Third World with aid from the developed world and the growing consciousness of the developing world's need for international economic justice. Following the Uppsala Assembly (1968), the World Council of Churches took significant steps to help the churches understand the issue of development. This was one area in which WCC and the Roman Catholic Church agreed to work on, together, openly. Under these circumstances, EACC and the Roman Catholic Church co-sponsored the Asian Ecumenical Conference on Development in 1970 (Tokyo). The coordinator of this program has been Dr. Yap Kim Hao of Malaysia, who was also the General Secretary of CCA.

2. Life and Action Program Committee. The primary concern of this program was with education in its broadest sense. The committee handled all the programs of study and preparation for service and minis-

try, as well as encouraging new ministries and programs. Within this unit came the concern for youth work and the cooperation of women and men in the life of the church and society. Its purpose according to the Constitution was "concerned with our life and action together as the movement of the people of God in the stream of Asia's history, i.e., the ministry, lay and ordained, theological training, witness, service and cooperation of men and women in Asia, study and promotion of the youth movement and frontier ministries, the whole concern of the lay training and academy work, and Christian education."¹⁰

In the course of this, a major concern was the rediscovery of the lay apostolate. Kyaw Than said that for the churches in that region, equipping the laity was a crucial and inescapable task because there would never be enough pastors to shepherd the flocks if they simply followed the pattern of paid ministers.

The coordinator of this program committee was Rev. Ron O'Grady of New Zealand, who was also the associate secretary of CCA.

3. Message and Communications Program Committee. This committee dealt with the variety of events which came under the headings such as faith and order, mission and evangelism, church unity, theological study, publications, and inter-faith dialogue.

Inter-faith dialogue has been expressed as a dialogue between the people of different faiths about convergences and differences in their faiths. EACC now became more and more interested in talking together, rather than talking about each other.

This program also co-sponsored the Joseph Cook Lectures with the United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. This co-sponsorship enabled theological lectures to be delivered in Asia by a black theologian, Dr.

G. Wilmore, and an Asian theologian, Dr. C. S. Song.

The coordinator of this unit had been Rev. Harry Daniel of India who was also the associate secretary of EACC from its origin until his resignation in 1980.

E. CCA after the Seventies

The fifth Assembly which met in Singapore in 1973 decided to change the name of the conference from EACC to CCA (Christian Conference of Asia). A new constitution and new rules were adopted. A presidium of four people was set up to replace the former chairperson and vice-chairman. The general committee was given the power to appoint full time secretaries except the General Secretary. There had been a clear trend toward centralization of the organization until the time of CCA. The programs of EACC were guided by core staff members, with the support of a host of part-time, honorary staff members and consultants. At one point in the history of EACC, there were about 28 people working for EACC from ten different countries. The old idea of having staff members working from their own home countries was abandoned when the organization became centralized.

Three cities were considered for the permanent office site of CCA, namely, Singapore, Bangkok and Hong Kong. In January, 1974, the officers agreed to centralize the CCA office in Singapore, although in doing so they noted that no one place offered the ideal solution. Questions of communication, financial and social stability, security, schooling, housing and office availability had all been considered. During 1974 the staff moved to Singapore,¹¹ except Mr. Oh Jae Shik who remained in Tokyo because of family reasons. He chaired the Urban Industrial

Mission office in Tokyo Japan.

Since its inauguration in 1959, the CCA has incorporated within its organization 18 national councils of churches and 79 member churches. Although it has remained a generally Protestant ecumenical organization, it has maintained a close working relationship with the Roman Catholic Church in Asian societies. The area of operation for CCA extends from Korea in the North to Pakistan in the West and New Zealand in the East. Two of its members came from outside geographical "Asia," (Australia and New Zealand). The rest were heavily concentrated in Southeast Asia. In terms of denomination, CCA has included every major church and some independent regional churches in the area (details are in Table 1). The criteria for membership are:

1. Churches joining the CCA must be churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the Scriptures, and therefore seek to fulfill their common calling to the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. National Councils or similar bodies joining the CCA must be councils or bodies which approve this basis.
2. The area of operation is that extending from Korea in the north to Pakistan in the west and to New Zealand in the east.
3. The Assembly will receive and decide on applications for membership. The General Committee may recommend to the Assembly that invitations to join the CCA be issued to churches, National Councils or similar bodies who are not already members.

The functions of CCA include:

1. The development of effective Christian responses to the challenges of the changing societies of Asia.
2. The exploration of opportunities and the promotion of joint action for the fulfillment of the mission of God in Asia and throughout the world.
3. The encouragement of Asian contributions toward Christian thought, worship and action throughout the world.

TABLE 1

MEMBER CHURCHES OF CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE OF ASIA

1. Australia	Church of England in Australia Churches of Christ in Australia The Salvation Army Presbyterian Church of Australia Methodist Church of Australia Congregational Union of Australia (the last three were amalgamated later on as the Uniting Church of Australia)
2. Bangladesh	Church of Bangladesh
3. Burma	Burma Baptist Convention Methodist Church, Upper Burma Methodist Church, Lower Burma Church of the Province of Burma
4. Hong Kōng	Anglican Church, Sheng Kung Hui Church of Christ in China United Methodist Church
5. India	Church of South India Church of North India United Evangelical Lutheran Church Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar Samavesam of Telugu Baptist Churches Methodist Church in Southern India Council of Baptist Churches in North East India
6. Indonesia	Gereja Kalimantan Evangelis Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah Gereja Kristen Wetan Huria Kristen Batak Protestan Gereja Kristen Jawa Gereja Protestan Maluku Gereja Protestan di Indonesia bagian Barat Huria Kristen Indonesia Gereja Batak Karo Protestan Gereja Masehi Injili Timor Gereja Kristen Pasundan Gereja Kristen Injili Itraian Jaya Gereja Masehi Injili Minahasa Gereja Isa Almasih Banua Nina Keriso Protestan Gereja Toraja Gereja Methodist Indonesia Gereja Masehi Injili Sangih Gereja Pungua Kristen Batak

(continued)

TABLE 1 (continued)

7. Japan	United Church of Christ in Japan Nippon Sei Ko Kai Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church Korean Christian Church in Japan
8. Korea	Presbyterian Church of Korea Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea Anglican Church of Korea, Diocese of Seoul Anglican Church of Korea, Diocese of Taejon Korean Methodist Church
9. Laos	Laos Evangelical Church
10. Malaysia	Anglican Church of Malaysia, Diocese of Sarawak Anglican Church of Malaysia, Diocese of Sabah Anglican Church of West Malaysia
11. New Zealand	Anglican Church of New Zealand Baptist Union of New Zealand Methodist Church of New Zealand Presbyterian Church of New Zealand Congregational Union of New Zealand Associated Churches of Christ in New Zealand The Salvation Army
12. Pakistan	Church of Pakistan
13. Philippines	United Church of Christ in the Philippines United Methodist Church in the Philippines Iglesia Filipina Independiente Philippine Episcopal Church, Diocese of Central Iglesia Evangelica Metodista en las Islas Filipinas
14. Singapore	Anglican Church Methodist Church, Malaysia-Singapore
15. Sri Lanka	Methodist Church of Sri Lanka Church of Sri Lanka, Colombo Church of Sri Lanka, Kurunegala
16. Taiwan	Presbyterian Church in Taiwan United Methodist Church Anglican Church of Taiwan
17. Thailand	United Church of Christ in Thailand
18. The Salvation Army	The Far East Region The Near East Region

4. The development of mutual awareness, fellowship and sharing among the churches in the region, and of relationships with other regional conferences and the World Council of Churches.
5. The promotion of common study and action in such fields as evangelism, service, social and human development and in international relations.
6. The stimulation of initiatives and experiments in dynamic Christian living and action.

One of the major priorities in this period was the processes and issues related to the concerns of education. An important achievement was the experiment known as "Theology in Action." This was a program which gathered people, working in theological colleges, frontier ministries and experimental groups together, to reflect on the theological meanings of their involvements in mission education and development. In 1974 two such national groups met in India and the Philippines and applied the insights to some national programs. Although these programs have not been continued, the model which they left has been taken up in almost every section of CCA gatherings. It called for live-in situations in which participants were exposed to life in such areas as "squatter" Kampongs, urban slums, fishing villages and tea or rubber estates. While living with the people, the Christian workers reflect on the implications of their work. This is then to be shared in discussions.

The CCA also gave considerable importance to the concern for development. It said, "We cannot think our way to humanity, we cannot talk our way to a just world. What we can do is to begin the struggle by the people to create the condition in which full human development will be more possible in the light of the Gospel." Since the Catholic groups were also concerned about this issue, the CCA and the Catholic

church worked jointly in study and training programs, i.e., the Workshop on Development (1970). They identified three priority areas for attention. They were: poverty (hunger), human rights (races and minorities), and theological reflections. These became the center for the CCA teachings in the seventies.

Though the CCA has discussed many social, economic and political issues facing the Asian people, it has only issued statements on the findings of their studies on the priority-concern areas. It has never issued statements on international affairs. Apart from the possibility of divisive effects among its members, if CCA made international statements, it is doubtful that CCA would have any positive influence on international events or on the peoples' reactions to the events.¹³

F. CCA and the World Churches

From the very beginning, CCA had very close ties with WCC. In fact, CCA (EACC) was born under the auspices of WCC. Without WCC's support, financially and morally, EACC could not have been constituted. Although there are overlapping programs between these two bodies, CCA insists on maintaining programs for their own Asian identity. Therefore, much of the work of the CCA is done in close cooperation with the World Council of Churches. At staff level, there are regular exchanges of correspondence and visits between WCC and CCA. Some CCA staff members serve on WCC commissions and sub-committees, and WCC staff members have attended many CCA conferences.

CCA also received a large sum of financial assistance from WCC in addition to contributions from Western churches. Without these assistances, CCA would be short of funds to carry out its ministries,

because the local Asian-member churches contribute only a token sum toward the support of CCA's work.¹⁴ For instance, the organizations, the Asian Committee for People, a special task-force established by Asian Catholic groups in 1971, and CCA's Unit of Service and Justice had budgets totalling \$76,431.99 (U.S.) in 1979. More than two thirds of the funds came from WCC (\$54,440.00).¹⁵ EACC started with the conviction that at least 25% of the operating budget should come from the region itself. But this goal has never been reached.

The question of regionalization has been raised many times in the last several years within WCC. Those who feel that the World Council of Churches operation has become too large to retain dynamic thrust have sought to break down its size by transferring some of the WCC programs to regional bodies such as the CCA. These proposals have been treated with a degree of caution by the CCA. One of the strengths of the CCA program has been its relatively small size, which gives more flexibility in operation. The fear is felt that if CCA begins to respond to the agendas of other groups outside Asia, it will lose some of its indigenous character and consequently its effectiveness.

Because of the traditional historic relationship of Asian churches with Western Europe and North America, the old colonial ties still hold considerable significance for CCA's programs. One of the attempts made by the CCA has been to send two of its staff members each year to talk with church leaders in Western countries about the hopes and frustrations of witnessing in Asia. At first, these visitations were seen by the West as fund-raising tours. Later it was correctly understood to be part of CCA's primary attempt to build up Asian

relationships and to interpret Asian thinking.

Another important international relationship of CCA was to the third world regional councils. This hardly seems to exist at present, but CCA has begun to see it as an important new step for the Asian churches. Regional councils in Africa, Caribbean Latin America, the Middle East and the Pacific have, like CCA developed a life of their own with a distinctive relationship to the WCC. Following the Nairobi Assembly of WCC, there were bilateral talks between the All-Africa Council of Churches and the CCA. Both groups recognized the value of strengthening the ties between the two councils. To increase mutual cooperation, the CCA has invited representatives from all the All-Africa Council of Churches to attend its Assembly. This connection with the third world, however, remains weak.

At an unofficial and program level, ties with the Roman Catholic Church are much closer. Many of the CCA conferences and consultations are attended by Roman Catholic participants and there is a close working arrangement in many of the CCA-related projects. The relationship between R.C. and CCA was substantially enhanced after 1973. One active participant is Fr. C. G. Arevalo of the Philippines.

III. Preview of Subsequent Chapters

Before discussing the social teachings of the Asian churches, an introduction to Asian society will help clarify the situations to which these teachings have pointed. Chapter two, therefore, will be a discussion on Asian society from religious, political and economic points of view.

The patterns of Asian life and the world-view of the Asian

people have been greatly influenced and determined by their religious beliefs. The belief in the Wheel of Rebirth and in Karma have resulted in the "other-worldly oriented" way of life. The Confucian esteem for the past and worship of ancestral spirits have also contributed in forming a "tradition as sacred" mentality. Partly because of these religious beliefs, the Asian people lived in a closed society for ages until the invasion of Western colonial powers, forcing the door open. Along with the colonial powers came the Western Christian missions, bringing a new way of thinking to the Asian people through education, medical and social services. These new experiences indirectly contributed to developing and forming the changes in Asian nationalistic thought.

The church, under the patronage of the colonial powers, had at first sided with the colonial regimes. But new awareness aroused and challenged the church to shift its stand to the support of the nationalist movement. This was particularly obvious after 1940. After political independence reached the Asian nations, they expected a prosperous society; however, this did not come about. Everywhere and for everyone in many countries, the authority to rule the nation came into the hands of persons who kept power and privilege for only a few. In other words, in many areas the colonization was not ended, but internalized with a different dress: the essence remained unchanged. Oppression and exploitation was not eased and many people still lived in dire poverty and bore deep injustices.

This chapter will ask the question: What kind of society is in Asia? What was the role of the churches in recent situations and in the struggle for a better future?

Chapter three will discuss the first stages of the development in the social teachings of the Asian churches, from 1946 to 1964.

In the forties and fifties, the Asian struggle for national independence had come to, or was coming to a successful conclusion. The wave of national independence against western colonial domination had determined the main axis of Asian history as well as the social teachings of the churches. The main concerns of the CCA were to be participants in nation-building, and to be instruments of national unity, personal freedom and social justice. The statement of the ecumenical church conference was that the churches should become educators to enlighten the people to the meanings of the new era and become participants, working in collaboration with the ruling powers for the unity of the nation and for the building of a new society.

During this period, the spirit of nationalism dominated the "minds" of the churches. The three different notions of nationalism prevailing among the church leaders were: nationalism as the instrument for developing a distinctive national selfhood, nationalism as the instrument of technological development in Asia, and nationalism as the instrument of western democratic humanism.

The goal of the teachings during this period was to create a new responsible society through nation-building; in other words, to create a new society in which citizenship rights would be respected and exercised. It was remarkable that the church, which had just recently been granted an autonomous status from colonial patronage, would give such teachings. The church leaders behind these teachings were M. M. Thomas, N. T. Niles, Masao Takenaka and Sho-ki Coe.

Chapter four will be a discussion of the second stage of the

development of the social teachings of the Asian churches, from 1965 to 1968. During this period the church began to see the complication of social issues, and that justice did not automatically come along with national political independence from colonial occupation. The situational differences of the west were also recognized. A sudden imitation of Western industrialization was deemed to be inapplicable. Foreign aid was recognized to be needed, yet the church asked that aid should be given with respect, so that the Asian recipients could receive it with dignity.

Economic aid, however, could become "the opium of the masses," Garrett Hardin of the University of California at Santa Barbara warned. If the aid were to be given with no effort to teach the recipients how to stand on their own feet, the aid would not serve its basic purpose: "Give me a fish today, I have a meal today; teach me how to fish, and I will have a meal to eat every day." Thus, the Asian people should have at least two goals to pursue, namely, to catch up and to stand up.

The CCA also had developed a new attitude toward nation-building. It warned that the churches should participate with discernment, as the churches realized that a new ethos was needed; because the new rulers were gradually destroying the aspirations of the people for a new society.

Asia was facing not only political revolution, but social and industrial revolutions as well, all simultaneously. It had taken centuries for the Western industrialized nations to go through all these processes—Asia was encountering them all at the same time with little or no preparation. The CCA seemed to have realized this complication of modernization and yet could not give the proper guidance to their

people. They still treated the whole of Asia as "one," despite its many cultural and economic differences. At the first stage of the teaching, the sole aim was to gain political independence from colonial occupation. Thus, treating the whole of Asia as one unit was comprehensible because there was at that time a common goal. But in the struggle for nation-building, especially in the drive to industrialize the economy, the churches could no longer treat the whole of Asia as one. The readiness for economic development in each separate nation was different. One example: Taiwan under Japanese systematic development was much more advanced than The Philippines or Indonesia, technically speaking, and therefore in a better condition for further development. Asia is not one but many. Accordingly, the social teachings of the churches could not be an "all purpose remedy" to Asia's problems.

The CCA also advocated that in order to answer the social problem facing Asia appropriately, theology should be Asianized, to fit the needs of the Asian people. This had been a very debatable proposal before a conclusion could be given. There was no question at all about the motivation of this endeavor. The question was, "How are they going to do it and what do they expect to achieve?" The main concern here was that every Asian nation had tried very hard to modernize its industries, which, spontaneously has affected the whole social structure of Asia. Some Asian scholars, like Hu-shi of China, advocated the need to fully modernize Asia and to disregard their past traditions.

Besides this theological debate, a political trend has developed in Asia at this time which the churches could not ignore. This is the tightening of the peoples' freedoms by the authoritative regimes. Facing this reality, the CCA launched a plan called Urban Industrial

Mission to effect its education program.

The fifth chapter will discuss the third stage of the development of the social teachings of the Asian churches. This period ranges from 1970 to the present.

The CCA at this stage first endorsed a civil disobedience against political structure which were deemed to be acting illegally and immorally. It forewarned the possible use of violence when all non-violent measures had been tried in vain. It also demanded a change in power structure and a promotion for participation of all the people, including minority groups, in decision-making processes. It stated that poverty was the result of unjust exploitation, and asked for adequate protection and a just distribution of economic goods and services. It also said "No" to material development if it meant the enslavement of the people.

The church has shown its maturity in reminding the oppressed Asians not to impose further oppression upon the other more-oppressed people, the minority ethnic groups residing in Asia. There are such people, mainly the aborigines, in almost every country, who live in very backward conditions.

The indigenous movement also brought up a new way of thinking of the indigenous approach called contextualization, from which evolved a so-called Asian concept of development. The CCA thus argued "development itself is not the answer to the problems of man and his society." It emphasized a spiritual meaning embodied in concrete acts of love, freedom and justice. This thesis will inquire what is this spiritually-embodied development? And how effectively can it be applied to the human suffering in Asia?

The CCA discussed civil disobedience, violence and non-violence for the first time. The CCA stated that it is always in favor of a non-violent approach, but it would consider the use of violence if necessary. How did this teaching come into being? And what did it mean to use violent measures?

Chapter six will compare CCA's teachings to WCC's as there are considerable similarities between these bodies.

The social teachings of the WCC can be divided into three periods: namely, the period of the responsible society (1948-1965), the period of the birth of a radical stance (1966-1968) and the period of liberation theology (1969-1980).

The first period stressed that Christians should live responsibly by taking part in the creation of a new society. The second period focused its attention on the complication of the problems facing the newly independent nations by expressing its disappointment over the existing constitutions, systems and powers that kept people from moving forward. The third period affirmed humanization as the main concern of the church. A program to combat racism was launched. WCC stressed that the churches should side with the poor and the oppressed.

The social teachings of CCA reflected largely the same themes. From the very beginning when the first Asian church leaders met, IMC and WCC played a major role in fostering an Asian ecumenical body. Even into the 1980's this Asian body still largely reflects the concerns of its mother organization.

In the seventies, CCA had also been attracted by the emerging theme of liberation. They even used the term, "Peoples' Liberation", as the goal in the third period.

Liberation theology, which was given semi-official ecclesiastic endorsement at the Medellín Conference in 1968 of the second General Conference of Roman Catholic Latin American Bishops, stressed theology as a critical reflection on historical praxis. It is a theology which is open in the protest against trampled human dignity, in the struggle against the plunder of the vast majority of people, in liberating love and in the building of a new, just and fraternal society.

Asian churches adopted this theological trend in calling for a second liberation for the people.

The conclusion will raise two questions: first, how to explain the changes in the social teachings of the CCA from 1949 to the present, and second, what kind of role has the CCA played?

There are at least four explanations of the changes in social teachings:

1. CCA, throughout its history, was simply responding to changes in the theological fads of the larger WCC.
2. The CCA had gained insight and had become more realistic and less mystical.
3. The changes in the teachings reflect changes in the kinds of social problems that have become paramount within Asian society.
4. The changes reflect the inevitable shifts according to the historical development of Asian society.

With regard to the role of CCA, we find it first has helped foster a sense of unity and community among the Asian churches in spite of national and denominational differences. Second, it has helped member churches and Christians in Asia to strike a balance between over-identifying with the Western Christian traditions and over-identifying the values of their respective nations.

CCA has been realistic in naming the problems facing the Asian

churches, yet idealistic in stating their visions about the kind of world they would like to help bring into being.

Notes

¹Ernest Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, trans. Olive Wyon, with an Introduction by H. Richard Niebuhr, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), vol. 1, p. 23.

²Delegates of the following nations attended the Conference: Australia, Burma, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaya, New Zealand, The Philippines and Thailand.

³Though IMC and WCC had two other meetings concerning the ministry in East Asia (first February 4-5, 1948 in Manila, Philippines and second September 11, 1948, in Oegstgeest, The Netherlands), this meeting in Bangkok was the first one to which most East Asian churches were invited and delegates sent, and was the first gathering of the Asian-wide church leaders. International Missionary Council was organized in 1921 at Lake Mohonk, N.Y. As an early expression of ecumenism, it united with the World Council of Churches in 1961 and became the Division of World Mission and Evangelism. The idea of an international council first developed during the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910, but implementation of the plan was delayed by World War I. The IMC did not concern itself with doctrinal or ecclesiastical questions but concentrated its efforts on spreading the gospel to non-Christians.

⁴Norman Goodall, A Decisive Hour for the Christian Mission (London: SCM Press, 1960), p. 12

⁵Papers and Minutes of the EACC, Prapat, 1957 (Rangoon: EACC, 1957), p. 3.

⁶East Asian Christian Conference, Papers of the 1959 EACC Inauguration Conference, unpublished material; also cf. Park Sang Jung, "A Short Sketch of the First 25 Years of Christian Conference of Asia," The Southeast Asia Journal of Theology 23:2 (1982):184.

⁷The Association of Theological Schools in South East Asia which was formed in 1956 was composed of the Theological Colleges in Australia, Burma, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand and Vietnam, total of 42 schools. Though it was organized through the help of EACC, the Association was to be autonomous in administration and policy. Its purpose was to encourage Asian Biblical scholarship and theological thinking, to relate the gospel to the cultural, historical and religious situations in Asia. From 1959 onward, it has published its Journal of Theology. The first editor was Dr. John Fleming of England. Another Association covering northeast Asia was also formed, composed of Taiwan, Korea and Japan, with a total of 34 schools. Their Journals of Theology were amalgamated in 1983.

⁸Park Sang Jung, op. cit., p. 186.

⁹Christian Conference of Asia, Christian Conference of Asia Directory 1976 (Singapore: CCA, 1976), p. 3.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Unfortunately, the CCA did not have the personnel who had the time and skill to sort through and preserve the many historical papers and documents that had accrued during the moves from the several centers to Singapore. An Archive was not in existence until the eighties, and some historical documents have been difficult to trace or have been lost.

¹²Christian Conference of Asia, op. cit., p. 2.

¹³Ron O'Grady, ed., Singapore to Penang (Singapore: CCA, 1977), p. 51.

¹⁴Christian Conference of Asia, CCA Financial Report, 1978 (Singapore: CCA, 1979), pp. 79 ff.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 76.

CHAPTER TWO

ASIAN SOCIETIES AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES:

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

I. Introduction

In this chapter I will present a historical overview of the development of Christian churches within Asian societies, from the sixteenth century to the present. By and large Asian societies were influenced by several pervasive religious cultures, including especially Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam and Taoism, as well as by numerous folk religions. These religious traditions all in varying ways sanctified the traditions of their people. When the Christian missionaries arrived, along with the colonizing and imperializing powers of the European nations, they presented a different world view. All of these emphasized the capacity and right of persons to shape and control their own destinies. Christian missionaries attempted in various ways to provide educational, medical and social services to the people of Asian nations. While they often attempted to understand and appreciate the traditional cultures of these people, they rarely attempted to indigenize their religious message. They largely defended the authority of the colonizing powers. Still, as the nationalistic movements gained momentum during the twentieth century, Christian churches and leaders have largely supported these movements for independence. As the

churches have been freed from their explicit connections with the western governments, they have since World War II, faced the task of re-defining their missions within Asian societies no longer explicitly colonized. In this period, three realities have been especially apparent: (1) European and North American governments and corporations continue to exert enormous economic influence; (2) Nationalist governments, although initially defending democratic forms of government, have increasingly assumed autocratic form; (3) Dramatic inequities continue to exist.

II. Colonialism, Missions and Christian Churches

All the Christian churches in Asia, except the South Indian Syrian Christian community, came into being as a result of missionary efforts since the 15th century. The period of missions in Asia coincided with the period of increasing Western influence and domination. But it was more than a coincidence. Colonial powers and Western missions complemented each other or even collaborated in promoting and maintaining western domination over Asian peoples for more than four centuries. When Vasco da Gama, the pioneer Western navigator and explorer anchored his fleet off Calicut in 1498, there were 20 canons on the deck and a flag above, flying a painted cross. In a treaty signed between China and France, the Chinese Ching Dynasty was forced to give foreign missionaries special status and to protect their free evangelism in the land of China.¹ Mao-tse-Tung replying to the American Secretary of State in August 1949 stated:

The United States was one of the first countries to force China to cede extra territoriality—witness the treaty of Wanghai of 1844. . . . In this very treaty the United States compelled China to accept American missionary activities in

addition to imposing such terms as the opening of five ports for trade.²

These historical facts depicting the relationship between Western military powers and Christian missions symbolized both the reality and the dominant image of the colonial period in Asia. In On the Use of Christianity by Imperialism published in February of 1958, the author stated, "In the modern history of China, Christianity has been used by the imperialists as a tool of invasion. The western nations' missionary enterprises in China can never be separated from their expansion of colonialism. Missionaries have often served as the imperialists' pioneers and accomplices in their invasions and the imperialist powers have in turn opened the doors and obtained many special privileges for the missionaries."³

However, the nature and intensity of this unholy alliance between colonialism and the west's missionary enterprises varied from time to time, and from century to century. Despite the nature of the aggressions of western colonialism, western missionaries performed many valuable services to the Asian people and thus indirectly contributed to the enlightenment of the Asian nationalistic mentality.

Christian missions in Asia, as elsewhere, had from their very beginning a manifest concern for the poor. In the early stages of the Roman Catholic missions, their concern was mainly for new converts from the poor sectors of society. For example, Francis Xavier, the pioneer in Catholic missionary work in Asia, converted a large section of poor fishermen along the coastal regions of Ceylon and India. When he went to Japan for missionary work, the first contact he made with the Japanese people was with poor farmers and low-income merchants. Soon

the need was felt to provide such assistance as education and material help for the social and economic uplift of the people. Therefore, schools were started to provide education, including religious instruction. Similar efforts were initiated in all other places where Catholic missions spread.

The Protestant missions often followed a different path. Most of them initiated charitable work more as a form of service to the people who were mostly non-Christians. However, much of their efforts were meant as a preparation for preaching the Gospel. In later years, both the Roman Catholic churches and the Protestant churches developed their service programs with all three objectives in view: service to the people, service to Christian communities and a means of witness and evangelism. These services to the people effectively resulted in enlightening Asians to be aware of the situations they were in politically, economically and socially. They indirectly helped in the formation of the nationalistic ferment among the people. Their services to the people were effective in four fields:

A. Education

The sphere of service in which most of the missions and churches have given the greatest attention is in education. In the Philippines, where Christians were a majority, almost all the educational institutions and efforts were either controlled or influenced by churches. In other countries of Asia, where Christians remained a small minority, the Christian involvement in education was large and impressive. The objective was to help the poor move out of their world of ignorance and isolation into a more meaningful life in society, with a better standard

of living. In India, the missions introduced the modern school system right from the beginning of their work in the early part of the seventeenth century. However, only after the arrival of the Protestant missions and expansions of Roman Catholic efforts during the nineteenth century did the educational efforts become a nation-wide program, including university education.

China had its own educational system centuries before the missionaries arrived. But it basically stressed only the memorization of the Confucius' Four books and Five Classics, and on the improvement of Chinese calligraphy. In 1818, missionaries founded the first school in China (the Anglo-Chinese College) offering western style education. It was the first school which taught western scientific knowledge. Many higher educational institutes were then established, one after the other. These mission schools, besides introducing a new world-view and new scientific knowledge to the younger generation of the "middle kingdom", directly and indirectly influenced Sun Yet-San's ambition to overthrow the Manchurian Ching Dynasty.

The Spanish missionaries in Taiwan established the Catechist School in Kao-Hsiung in 1873. Unfortunately it had to be closed after two years because of a lack of applicants. The Presbyterian missionaries, though, succeeded in establishing the first university in Taiwan "Tai-hak" in 1876 and it is still in existence today. The Presbyterian missionaries also initiated general education. At first, primary schools were established at the local churches. Then secondary schools were introduced: first, a girls' school at Tamsui in 1884 and after a year, a boys' school at Tainan. The school for the mute was also founded by the Presbyterian missionary, William Campbell of Britain in

1891.

The popular spoken language in Taiwan is Amoy-Taiwanese, which has a different grammar and syntax than the Chinese national language and can not be expressed exactly by the Chinese characters. In 1851 the American missionary John V. N. Talmage and his Amoy colleague invented a Romanized phonetic system for the language which was effective for communication and was much easier to learn than Chinese or Japanese, which were also used in Taiwan. Christian missions pioneered in introducing modern school systems in almost every Asian country. In a number of countries, university level education was also initiated by the Christian churches. Their involvement in education is far more than the proportionate strength of the Christian population in the Asian nations. In Indonesia, for instance, the Protestant churches have about 3,700 schools, 12 institutions of higher education and 5 universities.⁴ In Korea there are 11 Protestant colleges and universities, 81 high schools and innumerable middle and primary schools.⁵

B. Medical Work

Another field in which missions rendered pioneer service is medical work or health service. In fact, the modern system of medical services, based on western medicine and dispensed through clinics, hospitals, sanitoriums and so on, was introduced into Asian countries through Christian Missions. By establishing Christian hospitals and providing medical and missionary training institutions, this form of missionary activity became prominent in most Asian countries. The first Protestant missionary to Korea was a medical doctor, Dr. Horace N. Allen. The first missionary to Taiwan was also a medical doctor, Dr.

James L. Maxwell, who introduced western medicine to and established the first medical hospital in Taiwan. These medical contributions were reinforced by another missionary from Canada, Dr. Mackay's dental service. The traditional Han doctors at first interfered with the service provided by the missionaries. But soon, people realized that most of the treatments, especially the surgery of the "red-haired barbarians" were more effective than their own herb medicines, of several thousand years' use. Today, one of the largest and most prominent hospitals in Taipei is the same one that was founded in 1868 by a Canadian missionary.

By the turn of the century in most countries in Asia, the governments and non-Christian private agencies had expanded their programs of health care. Thus, the high place of Christian medical institutions had become proportionately lower than state-run institutions. But in the nursing profession and in the training of nurses, Christians have continued to exercise a major role. In 1931, in China, 90% of the nurses were Christians.⁶ In India in 1940, it was estimated that a similar percentage of all nurses were Christians, and that 80% of these had been trained in Christian institutions.⁷ In Taiwan today, the best nurse-training institute is the one which was established by and is operated by the Presbyterian church.

The most significant aspect of Christian medical work was, and to a great extent continues to be, that health care be made available to every one, regardless of sex, religious background or social class. This aspect has given the people a total new understanding that sickness can be prevented and cured, rather than being considered as the punishment for wrong-doing or Karma.

C. Social Services

The social work of Christian missions has been extended to other fields such as orphanages, schools for the blind, deaf and mute, mental hospitals and homes for widows and unwed mothers. In most of these, missionaries were pioneers. In times of famine, which hit countries such as China and India often, the missions and churches rendered great service. For example, during the years between 1877 and 1900, when there was a severe famine in East Asia, Christian churches organized major relief programs. Even after World War II, the Christian churches in Asia were still the leading bodies in organizing social service programs in most of the Asian countries. For example: in Taiwan it was the missionaries who first extended their hands to help and care for the leprous and tubercular, to the aborigines and to the blind and deaf. The Mustard Seed operation was formed by Lillian Dickson in 1927 to help the social outcasts. She later was described as "friend to the leprous and tubercular, mother to the orphaned and distressed, teacher of the aborigines, counsellor to native children in prison, helping hand to the blind and deaf, Angel of Mercy to those in her bamboo clinics. . . ."⁸ As the result of such projects, many people, mostly the beneficiaries of relief work, became Christian. This reveals the active involvement of churches in caring for the poor and the destitute and the impact it made on the local population.

D. Economic Development

By and large, economic development is an area which the missions entered quite late, and even with little resources and imagination.

Only at the beginning of this century was any significant effort made in this field. When large sections of the poorest population joined the churches, the missionaries and church leaders were confronted with the necessity of improving the standard of living of these people. Churches then initiated programs such as handicrafts, leather work, brick and tile making and similar small-scale employment schemes. In some of the rural areas with majority Christian populations, efforts were made to improve agricultural production and to organize cooperatives and credit unions. In a few countries, such as the Philippines, Korea and India, agricultural training institutions were also established. However, as indicated above, the involvement of the churches in this field continued to be very small, when compared to their involvement in social service activities: education, health services and other welfare programs.

III. Alliances Between Missions and Colonialism

Christian churches in Asia during the colonial period had been regarded as tools of the imperial aggression and as a part of the colonial heritage.⁹ Its existence depended mostly on colonial patronage. The missionaries most often came from the very countries that were imperial overlords and supported their parent nations in efforts toward colonial domination. According to the Papal bull promulgated in the 15th century, Portugal and Spain were given the rights to sail the seas, conquer new lands, acquire riches, and they were assigned the duty to "Christianize" the people of the conquered lands and to be financially responsible for the welfare of their churches and religious institutions.¹⁰ In the case of the British, the Anglican church sent chaplains to accompany soldiers who went to protect British interests, but who

actually became involved in colonial expansion. Similarly, the Dutch Reformed Church sent chaplains along with their army in their conquests of Ceylon and Indonesia.

In the Philippines, the Roman Catholic priests evidently collaborated in colonial exploitation. They participated in extorting grain and service from the people without paying them and charged them exorbitant fees for their ministries.¹¹ The special relationship between the church and the state in Spain facilitated the "close" collaboration between the churches and colonial governments. A similar pattern of church-state relationship existed in Portugal, in the collaboration between the churches and the colonial administrations. This collaboration was close in the Portuguese territories in Asia, such as Goa, Macao and others. During the early period in Macao for instance, the Christian population, both foreign and indigenous, was allowed more rights and privileges than the non-Christians. Though elsewhere in Asia neither the churches nor the Christians gained as much material benefit from the colonial governments as those under Spanish and Portuguese rule. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that they gained nothing. For example, certain lands and real estate that churches possessed were donated by the governments or the ruling classes or were bought cheaply with government help. It is also a well-known fact that Christians in the Philippines were a preferred section of the society for government jobs and other lucrative positions.

IV. The Development of Nationalism in Asia

The Western countries began the all-out colonialization of Asia in the 16th century. The Portuguese and the Spanish were the first ones

to arrive. Then the Dutch, who were later joined by the English and the French and finally by the Americans. Britain colonized Burma, Malaya, Singapore and Hong Kong. The Dutch controlled Indonesia, and Formosa for a short period of time. The French governed Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Spain, and later the United States, governed the Philippines.

As for the objectives of the colonial powers, the Dutch were mainly interested in economical control, while the Spanish also sought to convert the heathen. Spain indeed, succeeded in converting the Filipinos of whom more than 92 percent are Catholic Christians today. This contrasts vividly with the continued Buddhist orientation of the Burmese, Thais, Cambodians and Laotians and the predominance of Islam in Indonesia and Malaya. A majority of the Vietnamese, Korean and Formosan people retained their traditional Chinese-derived spiritual mixture of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and ancestor worship.

The British, like the Dutch, were economically motivated, but unlike any of the other European metropolitan states they recognized comparatively early the inevitability of self-government, if not independence. The United States, which spilled over into the Western Pacific in the enthusiasm of its initial years as a world power, sought to prepare the Philippines for ultimate political emancipation.

Generally, the main objectives of colonialism were the profits from the operation of the overseas possessions, plus political power and prestige. This mentality inevitably led to the exploitation of the colonized.

The western colonizers faced little resistance before the twentieth century. Anti-colonial movements only began to assume importance in about 1920. The education system which colonializers, especially the

missionaries from colonial countries, brought to Asia gave the Asian people a new understanding of their relationship to the world in which they lived. They asked: If God created all men equal, why should some of mankind serve as servants while others were masters? The colonial governments' effect on means of transportation and communication also drew the people of each Asian land closer together. The exploitation of the colonial power to export rice, tin, rubber and other products, fruits of the local peoples' labors, created anger within the newly-enlightened Asians.

On the eve of World War II, few of the Asian people expected that nationalistic movements in Asia would achieve their goals of political independence in the near future. Even though the nationalistic movements had increased their strengths steadily, the colonial powers remained strong. The only country with the expectation of early independence was the Philippines. The United States had promised their emancipation by 1944. World War II, however, changed everything. The old imperial regimes were toppled and the western colonial rulers were revealed as something less than invincible. But the first country to obtain its independence was the Philippines. India gained its freedom the following year after a hard struggle. The freedom of India effected the release of Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma from British control.

The independence achieved by the Philippines and by Burma was comparatively easy and unmarked by bloodshed. But this was not always the way Asia separated its colonial ties with the western colonizers. Indonesia fought a four-year anti-colonial war. Similarly in Indo-China, years of bitter fighting preceded the departure of the French forces in 1954 when the independence of Vietnam, Cambodia and Lao were

recognized. The last of the Asian nations to achieve independence was Malaya which became a part of the federation of Malaysia in 1963.

V. The Church and the Nationalistic Movement

What was the role of the Christians in the struggle for national independence in the twentieth century? The answer given usually is that they were pro-colonial and that they had done very little in terms of assistance in the Asian struggle for independence. This answer contains a measure of truth, but it is by no means the whole truth. Many Christians had been deeply and sacrificially involved in the national struggles. Especially between 1920 and 1930, the Christian support for the national movements in the colonial lands had substantially increased. A symposium written in 1952 by a representative group of Asian Christian leaders declared that the majority of such leaders had "strongly supported the movement for national independence."¹²

Missionaries who worked for many years in a country had also gradually identified themselves with the viewpoints of their adopted land. Some missionaries became devoted to the land of their work and stood for its point of view even above that of their homelands.¹³ The Asian Christians also had their parts in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Before passing judgement one way or another, we should examine what Christians have actually done in some of the principal new nations. It may be that when we consider the very small number of Asians who are Christians, we will feel that they have carried at least their proportionate share of the burden of establishing new nations. A few examples are given below.

A. India

In India, the growing consciousness against British rule found expression in the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. At that time, the leadership was in the hands of the educated middle classes who were liberals in their political orientation. Their demand was a greater political participation in the government together with social and economic improvement. Many Christians supported the Congress. "At the Madras meeting of the Congress in 1887, out of 607 delegates, 35 were Christians. The Indian Christian community was also represented at the next four sessions of the Congress. The proportion of the Indian Christian delegates to that sessions was much higher than their proportion in the population.¹⁴

During 1920-1923, at the time Mahatma Gandhi took the leadership of the Indian Congress, Christian leaders like K. T. Paul, S. K. Dutta and V. S. Azariah challenged the Christian community to recognize the legitimacy of the national movement and to support the cause of Indian independence. According to K. T. Paul, the secretary of the Y.M.C.A. council, Christian participation in the national struggle for independence was a God-given opportunity and a Christian duty. Late in the 1930's, many Christians were convinced that the secular socialist policies advocated by Jawaharlal Nehru offered the best hope for the Indian community and the nation. Some of them, for instance R. A. Kaur, who later became the Health Minister for independent India, took leading roles in the 1940's, during the last stages of the independence movement.

B. China

In China, the nationalist struggle during the 19th century was against both the Manchu dynasty which ruled the country and the various foreign powers who were competing with one another for territorial gains, economic exploitation and cultural influence. The first popular revolt occurred in 1840. This was known as the T'ai P'ing Rebellion.¹⁵ A "hakka" by the name of Hung H'siu-Ch'uan, on the basis of certain Protestant tracts, felt called to establish a heavenly kingdom. He mobilized the masses to revolt against the king and the foreigners. It was put down by the combined forces of the emperor and the foreign powers. The second rebellion happened in 1899, known as the Boxer Revolution. It was specifically an anti-foreign upheaval, aimed at driving out the hated foreigners from the land and doing away with their political, economic and cultural invasion. It was the missionaries who bore the brunt of the attack. In all, over 200 foreign missionaries were slaughtered. About 2,000 Chinese Protestants and about 30,000 Chinese Roman Catholics lost their lives.¹⁶

By the turn of the century, an organized political movement began to take shape. The Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, was formed under the leadership of Sun Yat-Sen, a Protestant. There were other Christian leaders also in the movement. However, when the Communist Party took the upper hand in the freedom movement, the Nationalist Party opposed it and the power struggle began. Most of the Christians gave their backing to the nationalists, led by another Christian, Chiang Kai-shek.

C. Korea

The Korean nationalist movement began with the formation of a restoration movement called "The Independence Association." It was founded by a Christian liberal and progressive minister, Dr. Chae Pil Soh. Several other Christian liberals were members of the organization. The Independence Association broke up in 1890 when the concern of the nationalist movement became more concentrated toward social rather than political reform. At that time the church opened its doors to society. "She promoted a progressive attitude toward the nationalist movement through lectures, debates, training classes, night schools, performances and the like."¹⁷ Since the church took up social reform, it became a center for the national independence movement and a new political climate was created. However, their concern was not so much for political as for social reform and character formation.

The independence uprising of 1 March 1919 was a significant event. Stimulated by students, leaders within the country organized a nationwide independence uprising. Among the 33 leaders who signed the "Declaration of Independence" were 16 Christians. Only 3 percent of the country's population were Christians.¹⁸ A report issued by the Educational Affairs Bureau ~~quoted~~ a statement: "The mobs each time collected at the churches and started from there."¹⁹ Nearly all of the pastors of Seoul, along with masses of Christians throughout the country were arrested. Church buildings were destroyed and Christians were often indiscriminately attacked. "O God, save my country and my soul," was the first prayer uttered in prison by Syngman Rhee, who became the first president of Korea after its independence.²⁰ The final victory, how-

ever, always belongs to the people. The Korean nationalists and the church celebrated their independence in 1945.

D. The Philippines

No other society in Asia suffered as much from collusion of the church with the colonial powers as did the people of the Philippine Islands. At the same time, it is true that no other church in Asia played such a leading role in fighting against the same colonial powers. It was from within the same Catholic Church that the first voices of protest against colonialism were raised. It was as much against ecclesiastical colonialism as against political colonialism. Toward the end of the 19th century, under the leadership of a number of devout Catholic laymen and priests, a national movement for independence emerged. At the same time, a Catholic layman, Isabelo de los Reyes, took the lead in organizing workers. The labor movement joined forces with others in the fight for freedom.

Both the colonial powers and the Spanish hierarchy were badly shaken by the widespread unrest among the people and the growing demand for national independence. The ecclesiastical hierarchy and the political authorities tried their best to suppress the struggle and forbid Catholic priests and laymen from joining the movement. Such efforts produced two contrary results. On the political level, the United States of America made use of the occasion to overthrow the Spanish government and establish itself as the new colonial power. On the ecclesiastical level, a new Independent Church of the Philippines came into being in 1902. Friar Aglipay, who served as a priest with the freedom fighters, was consecrated to be the bishop of the new church.²¹

About one half million people belonging to the working classes left the Spanish-dominated Roman Catholic church and joined the new independent church. The new church also took into its fold most of the nationalist laymen and priests of the time.

E. Other Countries

Christian individuals and communities played a significant role in the struggle for independence in several other countries of Asia. A special mention must be made of Indonesia in this connection. Though the Christian population in Indonesia is not more than 5% of the total, a larger proportion of Christians are in leading positions in national life. One of the reasons for this is the role that Christians played in the national struggle for independence. (It should be mentioned, however, that many Christians in East Indonesia did not support the independence movement.) Throughout the history of the nationalist movement, many Christians occupied positions of leadership. General Simatupang was a leader of the army which fought the Dutch. Dr. J. Leimina and Dr. A. M. Tambunan were the leading figures in the political wing of the nationalist movement.

VI. Heritage of the Past--The Situation After Independence

Though colonialism in its overt form has ended in Asia, its roots are deep. Imperialism and neo-colonialism continue to operate in disguised forms. Neo-colonialism here refers to the covert forms of dominance exercised by the ex-colonial and imperialist powers. In other words, the "dependency relationship" between former colonial powers and

the newly independent nations still exists. It is an indirect version of colonialism wherein "the metropolitan power exercises control within the context of the nominal independence of the people affected, rather than by an outright colonial administration imposed on them."²²

The fall of colonialism and the rise of neo-colonialism in Asia have to be studied in terms of the specific features of each region or country. The transformation of the Malayan states into a number of British colonies during the second half of the 19th century and the independence granted to the Malaysian government on the basis of an acceptance of the traditional economic relationship with the United Kingdom form a familiar pattern. Even in countries where the revolutionary class participated actively in the national movement for independence, the colonial government took great care to ensure that power was transferred only to a combination of dominant classes on whom they could rely, at least partially, in the post-independence period. No wonder that in 1969, foreign private companies were controlling 62.1% of the total share capital in companies in Malaysia.²³

In the Philippines, where the national movement succeeded in destroying Spanish control over Luzon, the United States of America established its absolute control through occupation, following the Spanish-American War and during the presidency of William McKinley. Though formal power was later transferred to the local people, the American businessmen had reached a deal with the U.S. government to help establish favorable relationships. The Bell Trade Act and the Philippine Rehabilitation Act, passed by Congress, were the products of the private monopoly lobbies in the U.S.A. By 1970 the Philippines had a total foreign debt of 1.96 billion U.S. dollars to be repaid to about 25

governments and international institutions.²⁴

Taiwan and Korea were both Japan's colonies prior to 1945. Since World War II the United States of America has in fact replaced Japanese influence in both countries. The massive U.S. aid in the fifties and sixties gave the industries a boost. The growth of their light manufacturing, however, was not without a price. By 1973, the U.S. alone financed and controlled more than 38% of the total industries in Taiwan, and the rest of the capital in Taiwan came partly from Japan and some European nations.

The dependence of some of the Asian countries for so-called development assistance still poses a serious threat to their economic independence and self-reliance. In the case of Indonesia, for example, 40.3% of the official international assistance in 1970 was from the U.S.A. The Philippines relied on the U.S.A. for 34.9% of their total external assistance. Sri Lanka and Singapore depended upon the United Kingdom for 21.4% and 39.4% respectively. The assistance received by Sri Lanka from the U.S.A. in the same year was 20.7% of the total assistance they received from official sources abroad.²⁵

Export of capital has been one of the powerful means by which imperialist countries have exploited the people of Asia. Multi-national corporations with an annual sales turnover higher than the national income of some countries in Asia, threaten the economic and political independence of these countries. Foreign companies, particularly multi-nationals, still continue to have substantial control over the foreign trade of most of the Asian countries, both in imports and in exports. Despite various appeals by world bodies to the developed capitalist countries to soften the terms and conditions of loans advanced by them

to the underdeveloped countries, no tangible results have been forthcoming.²⁶

VII. The Present Reality in Asia

A. Political Trends

In their endeavors to build new nations, the people in Asia opted for the democratic forms of government. Different kinds of democracies evolved. Little thought, however, was given to the question whether or not the forms of democracy developed in the West would be suitable to Asian conditions. What was most attractive in democracy for the nation-builders was that it provided a political structure where the masses could participate in the decision-making processes. But political developments in the recent past in Asia clearly indicate that the masses are nowhere near the centers of power in our political process. Powerful elite groups have come to dominate the political scene. They have constantly kept the masses away from the decision-making and have never solved the basic problems of mass poverty, grieving inequalities, growing unemployment and rising prices. When organized effort by the masses to redress their grievances arise, they are usually brutally suppressed. Assuming more and more executive powers and enacting laws that curtail basic freedoms, many elite-controlled governments have become authoritarian. Thus the state which was meant to be the instrument of justice and freedom, has itself become the major source of violence and terror. Under the plea of stability, many governments have set aside all the legitimate rights of the people. Political developments in many of the countries of Asia follow one pattern: A democratic

process which might ensure progress and freedom has soon become elitist. When the wielders of power were confronted by a mass upsurge, the governments have turned authoritarian and repressive. Within the past several decades the number of military and authoritarian regimes that have come to stay is steadily growing: South Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Pakistan, Taiwan, Malaysia and to some extent, India.

South Korea had a military coup d'etat in 1962 and another in 1979. President Sukarno of Indonesia was overthrown in 1965 in a military operation which was accompanied by the massacre of thousands of revolutionaries and democrats. After the demise of democracy in Pakistan and the period of instability intermixed with successive military regimes, and after the butchery of the people of Bangladesh who had been fighting for liberation, the present civil governments there have relapsed into tyrannical ones. A military regime was established in Thailand in 1972. Though this military regime was toppled by the coalition of students-workers-citizens in 1973, another military coup was staged on October 6, 1976. Taiwan had the misfortune of a superimposed, harsh, military and police regime for nearly thirty years. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, using the power monopoly of his Peoples' Action Party, imposed exceptional laws in violation of all norms of freedom and democracy. In 1973, we witnessed a sliding back from whatever modicum of democracy that had existed in Malaysia and Bangladesh.

The people of Asia rejoiced when the military puppet government in Indochina were ousted from their last hideouts in 1975. But the humiliation of the U.S.A. did not mark the end of the dark forces of domestic repression. In fact, after the fall of the puppet regime in Indochina, the dominant power cliques in South Korea, the Philippines,

and Malaysia have unleashed harsher repressive measures in a desperate move to secure their controls. C. S. Song described it: "In the name of national security, political opposition is condemned and brutally suppressed. No one can offend this 'god' and get away free . . . Martial law court trials are ritual murders committed on the altar of national security, the supreme god."²⁷

The authoritarian political rule of President Marcos in the Philippines is virtually the result of a coup, "a seizure of power (by using the armed forces to eliminate the mass media, the Supreme Court, and the Congress from the national decision-making) sufficiently drastic to warrant the use of the term 'coup' to describe the event."²⁸ This came about against the backdrop of increasing penetration of the Philippine economy by American private investments (50 of the 750 American corporations working in the Philippines in 1969 had billions of U.S. dollars in investments, accounting for 42% of the total equity of 1,000 top companies.) The Marcos government used its policy of terror against the Muslim population of Mindanao to make room for the expanding logging industry and other plantation interests, even though the rising tide of popular discontent was against such policies.

In these countries, freedom of the press, freedom of expression, and freedom to organize have been curbed in varying degrees. It is reported that thousands of political leaders are detained without trial. There are several instances of those under detention having been subject to torture. These include not only political activists, but are also artists, poets, clergymen and others who are known or suspected of holding views contrary to the official line.

B. Economic Factors

Countries in Asia, when they became independent, were faced with a common problem: how to eradicate poverty? Political freedom remained an empty ideal when the masses were lacking the basic necessities of life. In order to achieve economic freedom, most of the countries very readily adopted a pattern of development which could be characterized as "western." Industrialization and urbanization based on the use of technology were the principal components of this plan. Emphasis was placed on economic growth and improved individual consumption. The consequences of this process for Asia has been described by Kothari of India as ignoring all the facts: that Asia is a highly populous society with a vast majority of its people underemployed, that colonialism has destroyed the indigenous industrial structure which was village-based and was a source of considerable employment, and that the major resource of Asian society was its people. He said:

Instead of thinking about our problems for ourselves, using the resources of this bountiful land and developing them and building our plans on that basis; instead of producing an economic structure which would attend to the needs of the mass of our people, we went for a model of development wholly borrowed from foreign lands. Instead of developing our agriculture which was the source of livelihood for 70% of our population, strengthening our handicrafts and indigenous skills which could provide livelihood to another 10 to 15%, and at the same time creating new opportunities in a decentralized pattern of industrial growth which could provide livelihood to yet another 10 to 15%—instead of doing all this which was called for by our situation and our traditions, we went about adopting a model which conferred benefits on a mere 10 to 15% of the population who were already well-off, and on another 5 to 6% proletariat in the organized sector. Aside from these, the only other class that has benefitted from that model is the unproductive but nonetheless fast growing bureaucracy.²⁹

Thus, the most disturbing aspect of this process is that the poor have become poorer even after considerable developmental activi-

ties. Economic power has concentrated in the hands of a few.

C. International Dimension

Another serious consequence of this economic system is the increasing dependence of developing countries on foreign capital. Without the help of external resources such an alien system cannot work. It is estimated that in 1969, within 20 years after independence, foreign private companies were controlling 62.1% of the total share capital in companies in Malaysia. By 1970, the Philippines had a total foreign debt of 1.96 billion U.S. dollars to be repaid to about 25 governments and international institutions. Private foreign capital in India has grown from Rs.256 crores in 1948 to over Rs.1400 crores by 1976. Statistics of this kind can be multiplied. The fact remains that the countries in Asia have become totally dependent on external sources. This has paved the way for a new version of colonialism. A careful study of the system of foreign aid will reveal that it has not really helped in the development of an aid-receiving country and has not significantly helped on the road to self-reliance, either.

Have the aspirations of the people for a free, just and prosperous new society been realized by political independence? Has the burden and yoke of political pressure been eased? The answers are negative. What did the church which advocated independence and nation-building say about all these predicaments of the Asian people? That is the concern of the next chapters.

Summary

All the great world religions, including Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Taoism, Islam and Christianity were originated in Asia. Among these, only Christianity moved westward, and subsequently exerted but little influence on the Asian people. The rest of these religions, especially Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism and Taoism have substantially influenced Asian lives and ways.

Both Buddhism and Hinduism regard that the chief goal of life is to achieve Nirvana, the extinction of selfish desire and a painless peace that rewards the mortal annihilation of self. This "next-worldly" oriented belief consequently leads the followers to a way of passive living. Karma is the determining factor of a person's life. Any attempt to change it on this earthly plane is futile.

Confucianism, differing from Hinduism and Buddhism, is very much "this-worldly" oriented. It does not believe in the Wheel of Rebirth or the Law of Karma. Its chief goal of life is to adjust to the external world through rectification, claims to be in harmony with Tao, and the immutable order of the universe and human society.

Human relationship is the chief concern of Confucianism. This includes the relationship to the living as well as the dead. Because of its emphasis on filial piety, which is expressed through ancestral worship to the dead and reverent attention to the living, traditional values are sanctified.

Taoism, originally a pure philosophical school founded by Lao-Tze, developed into a magically-oriented folk religion. For maintaining harmony with nature, everything has to be continually reversed to its original phase. Any external imposition upon nature is deemed to be

evil. Thus the practice of harmonizing Yin and Yang through burning charms and talismans is necessary. This practice developed into a means of searching for long life.

By the influence of these religions, the Asian people became very much traditionally-oriented. For instance, the caste system of India. Not until the arrival of Christianity did the people of Asia have a chance to feel a different view of life.

Christianity came to Asia along with the western expansionism. Missionaries introduced western medicine, education systems, knowledge of sciences and performed social services to Asia. They also initiated programs such as brick and tile making to stimulate economic development.

During the colonial period, missionaries had usually sided with and been protected by the colonial power. But as the nationalistic movement gained momentum during the twentieth century, Christian churches and local Christian leaders largely supported the independence movement and became actively involved in nation-building after the independence. The church had dreamed of a new free society for the Asian people who for centuries had lived under the bondage of feudalism and foreign domination.

Yet the promise of political independence was not the dawn of prosperity and freedom. The newly-risen elites who took over the power betrayed the people. The political reality in Asia today is no different from the old days, except that the oppressors are no longer foreigners. Economically, the people still live in poverty and the drive for modernization has shattered the tradition of a quiet village life. This indirectly has created disharmony among the people.

TABLE 2

COLONIAL BACKGROUND OF ASIAN COUNTRIES

No Colonial Rule		
Afghanistan		
Nepal		
Thailand		
	<u>Year of Independence</u>	
British Rule		
Bangladesh	1947	- separated from Pakistan in 1971
Burma	1948	
Ceylon (Sri Lanka)	1948	
India	1947	
Malaysia	1957	- Federation of Malaya. Malaysia was created in 1963 including Singapore, Sarawak, Sabah and Malaya.
Pakistan	1947	
Singapore	1963	- Became independent of Britain in 1963 and separated from Malaysia in 1965.
French Rule		
Cambodia	1949	- left French Union in 1955
Laos	1949	- left French Union in 1956
Viet Nam, North	1949	
Viet Nam, South	1949	- the de facto division was recognized in 1954 Geneva Accord
Netherlands Rule		
Indonesia	1949	
Japanese Rule		
Taiwan	1945	- occupied by Chinese after the War II
Korea	1948	
Spanish-American Rule		
Philippines	1946	

TABLE 3

TYPES OF POLITICAL REGIMES IN ASIA

Constitutional/Competitive Democracy

Sri Lanka
India (emergency at one time)
Malaysia
Singapore (one party rule)

Military Dominance

Afghanistan
Burma
Indonesia
Thailand

Traditional Monarchy

Bhutan
Nepal

Revolutionary Rule

Cambodia
China
Korea, North
Viet Nam

Emergency Regime

Bangladesh
Korea
Laos
Pakistan
Philippines
Taiwan

Notes

- ¹Cf. C. P. Lin, ed., Chi-tu-chiau Ji Hua (Taipei: Christian Tribune Press, 1978), pp. 204ff.
- ²Mao tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol. 4: Friendship or Aggression. Translated by Reale's publisher (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1966), pp. 447-48.
- ³U. S. Joint Publication Research Service, Christian Activity in Communist China (Washington: Author, Feb. 1959).
- ⁴Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research 1:4 (October 1977): 22.
- ⁵Harold S. Hong, Korea Struggle for Christ (Korea: Soeul, 1966), p. 22.
- ⁶William H. Clark, The Church in China (New York: Friendship Press, 1969), p. 85.
- ⁷H. I. Permalil, ed., Christianity in India (South India: Allepy, 1972), p. 276.
- ⁸Lillian Dickson, These My People, with a Foreword by Dr. Bob Pierce (Toronto: Evangelical Publication, 1958).
- ⁹Robert N. Bellah, ed., Religion and Progress in Modern Asia (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 203ff.
- ¹⁰Julio de Santa Ana, ed., Separation Without Hope (Geneva: WCC, 1978), p. 138.
- ¹¹Cf. H. De La Costa, Reading in Philippine History (Philippines: Manila, 1965), pp. 79-80.
- ¹²R. B. Manikan, ed., Christianity and Asian Revolution (New York: Friendship Press, 1955), p. 86.
- ¹³W. Forman, Nation and Kingdom (New York: Friendship Press, 1964), p. 34.
- ¹⁴Permalil, Christianity in India, p. 278.
- ¹⁵Clark, The Church in China, p. 38.
- ¹⁶Ibid., pp. 42-43.
- ¹⁷Hong, Korea Struggle for Christ, p. 40.
- ¹⁸The Christian Literature Society of Korea, The Korea Way (Korea, Seoul: CLCK, 1977), p. 74.

¹⁹Nakarai Koyoshi, Relations Between the Government and Christianity in Cho-sen (Korea: Government General of Cho-sen, Educational Affairs Bureau, 1921), p. 31.

²⁰cf. Forman, Nation and Kingdom, p. 63; also cf. A. Roy, On Asia's Rim (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), p. 16 ff.

²¹Kenneth S. Latourette, A History of Christianity (London: 1954), p. 1322.

²²D. Boone Schirmer, "The Philippine Conception and Gestation of a Neo-Colony," The Journal of Contemporary Asia (1975):53.

²³M. R. Stenson, Industrial Conflict in Malaysia (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 148-180.

²⁴"Banking Supplement", Manila Times, October 29, 1971.

²⁵cf. Virginia Fabella, ed., Asia's Struggle for Full Humanity (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1980), p. 64.

²⁶At one of the conferences initiated by the U.N., a resolution (Resolution 60-III) invited the developed countries to take into consideration the views expressed that "(a) on average, interest rates on official development loans should not exceed 2 percent per annum, (b) maturity period of such loans should be at least 25 to 40 years and grace periods should be not less than 7 to 10 years; (c) the proportion to grants in total assistance of each developed country should be progressively increased, and countries contributing less than the 1970 Development Assistance committee average of 63 percent of their total assistance in the form of grants should reach that level not later than 1975." See, The Second United Nations Development Decade: Trends and Policies in the First Two Years (New York: United Nations, 1974), p. 24.

²⁷C. S. Song, speech at 1981 CCA Assembly.

²⁸R. B. Stauffer, "The Marcos Coup in the Philippines," Monthly Review (April 1973):19.

²⁹Rajani Kothair, Democratic Policy and Social Change (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1976), p. 57.

CHAPTER THREE

FIRST STAGE OF THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE ASIAN CHURCHES

I. Introduction

The Christian Conference of Asia and its former organization, the East Asia Christian Conference, have periodically published statements in response to the social/political issues in Asia. These statements have represented the stand of the church toward the social issues facing them, and have also served as the guideline for the teachings of the local churches.

These statements, however, shifted their themes and emphases from one area of concern to another in accordance with the new needs of society, as deemed by the churches. These shifts in themes and emphases revealed: (1) the social change in Asia had evolved to a new stage, and (2) the churches had acquired new understanding and awareness in the situations confronting them. For instance, in the 1940's and 1950's, the Asian struggle for national independence had come to, or was coming to, a successful conclusion. The wave of national independence from western colonial domination had thus determined the main axis of the social teachings of the churches. The main concerns of the churches were to participate in nation-building and to become an instrument of national unity. The churches and the people expected that the new

political independence would mean the dawn of a free and just nationhood. But this aspiration has only partially materialized because of the internalization of the colonial structures of domination and the inherited traditional structures of authority, privilege and power. The gap between the rich and the poor has not been shortened. The endeavor to modernize has created more problems than progress, and the ruling powers have not been prepared or have been ill-prepared to cope with the new problems. Vis-a-vis this situation, the churches shifted its teaching from participation in building for national unity to calling for a total transformation of Asian society. The social teachings of the churches had developed from the focus on nation-building in the forties and fifties, to the peoples' liberation in the seventies. There were at least three stages of development.

A. The First Stage: The Period of Nation-Building

This period ranges from the first conference of the church leaders from 1949 until 1964. The social teachings of the churches were centered around nation-building and economic growth. The statements of the EACC advocated that the churches should become educators to teach people the meaning of the new era, and to encourage them to become participants working in collaboration with the ruling power for the unity of the nation and for a new society.

B. The Second Stage: The Period of Enlightenment

This period ranges from 1966 until 1968. The churches realized that in the complication of social issues, national political indepen-

dence from Colonial occupation did not mean the dawn of justice. The churches began to talk about the dehumanizing factors inherent in the process of modernization and secularization. It affirmed the necessity for revolutionary change in power structure as well as the necessity to create a new ethos of values, attitudes and personality structures. The naive expectation for a just nationhood to come along automatically with political independence began to fade and a new awareness began to emerge during this period.

C. The Third Stage: The Period of the Striving for a Second Liberation

This period ranges from 1969 and forward. Critical awareness had emerged. The churches had demanded a total liberation, a just share of power, a just distribution of wealth and an equal opportunity for everyone, regardless of race, sex, and ethnicity. The churches warned of the dangers in discontinuity from personal adjustment to an all-out modernization. They affirmed that modernization cannot be a transplantation from west to east but it should be a selective adaptation to be developed with Asian creativity.

II. The Exposition of the Social Teachings of Asian Churches--The Period of Nation-Building

A. 1949—The Asian Church in Political and Social Life

Thirty-five Christian leaders delegated by national councils in twelve nations of the Orient met at Bangkok, Thailand from December 3 to 11 on the campus of the Wattana Wittaya Academy. This first conference

of the churches in East Asia was held under the auspices of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council. The group met to plan closer cooperation between Protestant church bodies in the Orient and made an assessment of the place and function of the Christian churches in newly forming Asian societies. A statement of "The Asian Church in Political and Social Life" was published.

Many countries at this time were still engaging in the political struggle for independence and the situation in Asia had been unstable. The preamble of the statement described:

Many of our countries have in the recent past endured great suffering and distress. All have entered upon a period of far-reaching change and upheaval. Some have entered or are now entering with mingled hope and fear upon the tasks which follow a newly-won freedom. Others are in throes of internal revolution and continuing civil war. All are conscious of new and powerful forces in the life of Asia, which hold possibilities both of good and evil for the future.¹

The conference believed that doors were wide open to Asia, thus the church should become indigenous to the stream of nationalism and should welcome the revolutionary ferment. The churches, however, were also troubled by the ideological conflict occurring in the Far East, especially in China where Communists had just assumed power. This conference on one hand welcomed the political changes taking place in Asia but on the other hand was concerned about the ideological conflicts which brought unrest to the area.

How did this first conference of Asian church leaders respond to such a complicated situation?

First, it must be pointed out that this conference was originally planned to meet at Hang-Chow, China, but the uncertain political situation in China led to its change to Bangkok. Dr. S. C. Leung of China

was originally asked to serve as the executive secretary of this conference, but because of the political change in China, he was unable to attend. Dr. Manikam of India was appointed to replace him. Dr. John Mackay of the U.S.A., president of IMC, also played a major role. The conference, besides reviewing the backgrounds of the changing situations in Eastern Asia, also was measuring the strategy which the church should use in responding to the new situations.

The uprising of Communism in China and the various ideologies and nationalisms which guided the Asian revolution dominated this meeting. It expressed that it is not the challenge of any ideology, but the knowledge of the love of God in Christ for man which is the basis of the churches' social and political concern.

In East Asia, the majority of people, both in rural and urban areas, live in conditions of abject poverty and under oppressive systems. The conference stated, "It is the will of God that the church should witness to His redeeming love through an active concern for human freedom and justice."²

Regarding the new ideology, namely Communism, which guided the Chinese revolution and overthrew the Nationalist regime, the conference said it was not the task of the church to enter into an area of party politics or to pronounce judgement on the technical aspects of government and society. The conference did, however, express its disagreement with Communism.

The conference first stated that people should be in no fear of politics. "The watchman who sees danger must blow his trumpet in the name of the Lord to warn people."³ The Christian must distinguish between the social revolution which seeks justice and the totalitarian

ideology which interprets and perverts it. The conference affirmed that the Christian church must welcome the demand of the people for a fuller participation in the life of society at the level where power is exercised, because it is an expression of human dignity. The conference believed that moral law and the guidance of God should be the foundation of the search for a social revolution. Since Communism denies the supremacy of moral law but firmly sticks to its belief in power-politics, it thus defeats the purpose of social revolution in the long run. The Communist ideology in power-politics, the statement said, "turns a social revolution for justice into new oppression, arises out of the self-righteousness of its militant atheism and at this point the conflict between Christianity and Communism is fundamental."⁴

The conference, however, did not condemn the Communist revolution in China. On the contrary, it encouraged the church there to seek to provide a moral and religious foundation for the new sense of social freedom and economic justice among the people. What did this mean?

The conference based its argument against Communism on the basis of "morality". Morality, according to the statement, is when "the knowledge of the ultimate accountability of men and society to God and of the grace of God by which men, being forgiven, forgive one another, can be the foundation of personal responsibility and responsible society."⁵ This notion reflected the teaching of the World Council of Churches inaugural Assembly in 1948 which centered on the theme of the "responsible society".

With regard to the responsibilities of Christians in the face of a changing Asia, this conference stressed that the central task of the churches in Asia was the proclamation of the Word of God. The church

had to be truly a community of persons rooted in the Word of God, that is, as the statement said, "a worshipping congregation in which human worth and mutual responsibility are acknowledged and realized and from which love goes out in work of service to the neighborhood."⁶ Thus, the church should take the initiative in bridging the gap between the church and organized labor in the towns and villages. The church should address themselves through evangelists who identify themselves in a costly way with the day to day struggle of labor and peasant for justice."⁷

The important outcome of this conference was the request of the appointment of an East Asian secretary to help the churches in East Asia establish closer contact among Asian churches for mutual sharing of thought and experience. Dr. R. B. Manikam, an Indian Lutheran minister was chosen for this task. He was also to prepare the way for the formation of an Asian church ecumenical body.

B. 1957—The Common Evangelistic Work of the Church in East Asia

The first conference of the East Asia Christian Conference was held in Prapat, Indonesia on March 17 through 26, with the theme "The Common Evangelistic Task of the Church in East Asia." Since no Asian ecumenical church body had been yet formed, this conference was held under the joint auspices of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council.

The 44 delegates from 11 countries in East Asia wholeheartedly supported the proposal that the churches and National Christian Councils in the area should establish a continuing regional organ for fellowship, consultation, cooperation, and nurturing the sense of partnership and

solidarity. This body was named East Asia Christian Conference and was scheduled to be officially inaugurated two years later.

The site of conference "57" was ideal, as it revealed the actual situation in East Asia. At the time, Indonesia was a recently established new nation as were many other states in East Asia after the Second World War. It was undergoing a delicate stage in its nation-building program. Indonesia is made up of numerous islands; the largest are Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Irian. Because of the distances and conditions which separated the islands and their inhabitants, the nation-building program had caused tension between Sumatra and the central government. Some of the military commanders were objecting against the control from the central area and an "emergency" was declared on Sumatra. The area around Prapat was placed under military administration. Because of this emergency, the conference did not produce any statement.

The situation in Prapat represented the whole regional situation. The preparatory paper for the conference said:

It becomes clear that the problems which our churches in Asia face are very much the same: those concerning society as well as those concerning spiritual matters. The whole of Asia is shaking and changes are taking place rapidly. Many countries in East Asia have newly-obtained independence . . . now our countries are wrestling to find new ways for our life in the political, social and economic fields. We have not yet found those ways.

Because of these situations the churches came together at Prapat to consider their common Christian tasks in contemporary East Asia. The president of Indonesia, Ahmed Sukarno, personally addressed the conference. He expressed the conviction that the Asian churches would contribute to freedom, justice and the peace of man. This was exactly what

the churches in Asia felt they must do.

Though there was no statement issued, the main addresses given influenced the formation of the social teachings of the EACC. One of the speakers, M. M. Thomas, a rising star in Asian church circles, spoke of the temptation which the church often had in facing the revolutionary change in East Asian society. He distinguished two kinds of approaches: one was an attitude of pietistic withdrawal; and the other, the Utopian identification with revolution. The Christian task, he argued, should be to assist in developing a healthy nationalism in which indigenous and foreign values were held in creative relationship. The churches in East Asia very often were the only national organizations which had within themselves members of all languages, races, regions and ethnic groups. M. M. Thomas said, "She must show her capacity to overcome separatist tendencies. She has a responsibility to help in the development of a national outlook and a cultural synthesis of separate cultural streams in the nation."⁹ Thus, he advocated the church should actively take part in nation-building by helping in the development of new patterns for the communities and by educating the people toward the outlook of democracy.

D. T. Niles, the new general secretary succeeding Bishop Manikam, also spoke of the church as an instrument of evangelism. In this, he meant that the church should discover the means of bringing the crying needs of Asia and the resources from abroad together.

C. 1959—Witness Together

The inaugural assembly of the East Asia Christian Conference was held on May 14th at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. It was attended by 72

delegates from 48 church bodies coming from 14 countries in East Asia, including Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaya, Singapore, New Zealand, Okinawa, Pakistan, Philippines, Taiwan and Thailand.¹⁰ W. A. Vissert Hooft of WCC gave two important lectures at the assembly. M. M. Thomas of India, Masao Takenaka of Japan and D. T. Niles also spoke to the assembly on the changing situations of Asia and on the new selfhood which the Asian churches should pursue.

It is worthy of notice that following this assembly, M. M. Thomas joined the EACC staff on a part-time basis. His influence on the social teachings of EACC had gradually increased, especially in the areas of church and society, and on his feelings toward nationalism.

Since this was the official inauguration of EACC which would aim toward Asian partnership and solidarity, the question had been asked, "Will it be a kind of ecclesiastical Bandung—the self assertion of Asia against the western world?"¹¹ The statement of this conference revealed that it was not. Instead, it expressed the necessity of the church to emphasize social diakonia, that is, Christian action aimed at changing structures of economic and social life to establish a new image of selfhood. The statement, "Witness together," was:

Christian people must go into every part of the life of our people, into politics, into social and national service, into the world of art and culture, to work in real partnership with non-Christians and to be witnessed as Christians in all these realms.¹²

It stressed that Christians must go into the world to be full participants in the new life of Asia, and the church must endeavor to discern how Christ is at work in the revolution of contemporary Asia. The conference thoroughly advocated the creation of a responsible society in which Christians as well as non-Christians would perform their

duties. The conference affirmed that economic welfare is a necessary means of the good life, thus the church should get deeply involved in the whole process of economic development which was the aim of the Asian nations. The conference hoped that economic development would "bring about social justice, provide equal opportunity for free development of the individual person to raise the standard of living and to secure the general welfare"¹³ for the Asian people. Thus the statement stressed that the church should help the nation in educating people for the new era. The guidelines to the new diakonia of the church in Asia were spelled out as follows:

1. The emphasis of the church should be more on the witness and service of all individual Christians in secular institutions of national life and on the proper training of these Christians.
2. The church should work in collaboration with the state. (Its practical basis in this remains to be worked out.)
3. The need of the state and of agencies, namely, churches, to define the area where each can plan a positive part and mobile form of service.

In this conference, Dr. Masao Takenaka of Japan made the striking point that the Asian struggle had telescoped within a short period and simultaneously was carrying forward the European Renaissance and Reformation, the American War for Independence, the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, the Socialistic Revolution and other revolutions which covered many centuries in the West. Facing this situation, he spoke of the necessity of the church to emphasize social diakonia that is distinct and apart from traditional charitable diakonia. Its concern was to help people understand and adjust to the changing situations of economic of social life. The statement said:

The church should be more on the witness and service of individual Christians in secular institutions of national life than on the Christian institution of service. This calls for

the church to develop lay institutions for Christian secular professions, for example, doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers. It also calls for building up Christian fellowship of laymen working in the different professions. The laymen must be helped to understand their secular work and approach its problems in the light of the Christian community. They need a new form of theological education for this.¹⁴ Pastors must also be trained to support the ministry of laity.

The immediate aim of economic development in Asia had been identified as "economic growth." The church voiced that the wealth to be created by this development should be distributed equally and shared by all. In this connection, two concerns were raised. First, what should the church do to make this happen? Second, what form of government would be suitable for Asians that would bear the goodwill and trust of the people?

The assembly first reiterated its conviction that education should be provided. Christian participation in national, political and economic life required that the church "organize adequate political education for their members, youth and adult alike," and "offer educational services on responsible citizenship to the large community, including Christians and non-Christians."¹⁵

The assembly asked the churches in Asia to get deeply involved in the whole process of nation-building so that the "moral and spiritual values" of the church might become related to the technical and social realities of contemporary Asia.

In regard to the form of government, the assembly said that the parliamentary democracy, newly introduced to Asia, had shown itself subject to great strain due to the lack of emotional integration of people as a nation. This was because democracy and economic progress had been suspected to be of western cultural aggression at the time when

Asian nations were establishing a new national selfhood. The conference asked, "Is parliamentary government the best method in all circumstances for preserving those Christian values enshrined in the word 'democracy'?" and "Is not the development of a more authoritative system in certain circumstances a more effective means of safeguarding them?" The conference did not criticize the parliamentary democracy system, nor did it favor a more authoritative system, but said:

The challenge before the East Asia countries is to find an indigenous and dynamic form of democracy . . . but our form should provide strong government committed to national integration and national development and at the same time a government answerable to the people.¹⁶

One element which influenced the thinking and teaching of this conference was the address by W. A. Vissert Hooft. He forcefully advocated the notion of the "responsible society" of the 1948 WCC assembly. He challenged Asian churches respond to the social and political issues "responsibly." The teaching of this conference had centered around the theme of being responsible in a responsible society by participation in nation-building.

D. 1964—The Christian Community Within Human Community

The third Assembly of the East Asian Christian Conference was held from February 25 until March 5, at Bang Ping, Bangkok, Thailand. Fifty-three official delegates came, representing the 15 countries of the EACC, from West Pakistan to New Zealand. The theme of the conference, "The Christian Community within Human Community", reflected the fact that the Christian churches in Asia had realized their minority status and sensed the need for encounter with men of other beliefs.

In the statement published, it first brought out that though the Christian community in its early centuries was a small missionary group within a large pagan world, it had then become the community of the Roman Empire. Asian Christian churches, though small in number, had been placed in Asian history for a special purpose.

This conference reaffirmed the statement published in 1959. It first called for a responsible participation in state-life and advocated that nationalism must be recognized as a positive integration rather than a disruptive force, and then stated the necessity for laity training programs to prepare Christians for the task of nation-building and community development.

At the last assembly, a question was raised regarding the forms of government suitable to Asian situations. This conference, under the leadership of M. M. Thomas, had further examined the forms of political life developed in Asian nations. They were:

1. Parliamentary Democracy—where representatives of the people are elected by universal suffrage, e.g., India, Ceylon, Japan.
2. Guided Democracy—where the government has taken responsibility, sometimes in consultation with elected representatives of the people to ensure unity and effective development, e.g., Indonesia.
3. Basic Democracy—where, while there is an almost complete breakdown of parliamentary institutions, new institutions for the peoples' participation have become involved, e.g., Pakistan.
4. People's Democracy—where the government is under the leadership of the Communist party in the name of the people, e.g., China.

Though they do not equally represent the idea of democracy, they should not be rejected as undemocratic or as too drastically limited as a democracy, before they are examined to see whether they are capable of serving the social and economic needs of their people. Each nation

therefore should be allowed to develop the pattern of political life which suits its genuine needs and corresponds to its stage of political maturity.

The conference stated some of the basic elements of a responsible state, conceived to be criteria for evaluating the different emerging state structures:

1. The state must be based in some measure on the consent of the people. People should have increasing opportunities to share in the power and responsibilities of government.
2. The state must guarantee religious liberty and must recognize that man has ends and loyalties beyond the state.
3. The power of the state must never be absolute. The purpose of state structure must be oriented toward the preservation of order, justice and freedom in the best possible balance, as the pursuit of any one of them at the total expense of others would result ultimately in the denial of all.
4. The state has the responsibility of integrating traditional groups into a new composite national community and reordering the economic and social institutions which are a necessary means to affirm human dignity.

What should the churches do to help achieve these goals? The assembly believed that responsible citizenry is the key to the responsible society. Thus, the assembly gave a guideline that the church must organize adequate political education and offer such educational services of responsible citizenship to the community at large, including Christians and non-Christians. This is not only a proper service that the church can do for the nation, but also a good training for the church to fulfill its public responsibility.

The assembly spent a great deal of time in discussing how to translate this belief into action. The conclusion was that the church had to intensify the training program, so that the laity could relate their faith to secular life and change the reality of Asian society. A

lay consultation was approved to be held in 1965 and the assembly also urged all National Christian Councils within the bounds to make a responsible study of the industrial situations in their own areas and set up suitable programs.

In addition, the assembly appointed a committee on Inter-Church Aid to strengthen its service and mission. Though the program of Inter-Church Aid had been set up in the last Assembly, there was no full-time secretary—its main function had been limited to carrying out the aids of WCC to the refugees in Indo-China. M. M. Thomas had suggested that the format of EACC Inter-Church Aid should try to participate in the ongoing revolution by encouraging Christians to serve in secular institutions to expand the services of the church.¹⁸ A full-time secretary, Rev. Alan Brash of New Zealand, was then appointed to develop a strategy for its future service and ministry.

III. Analysis

In this section I will identify the underlying factors which shaped the contents of the teachings of Asian churches during these years. At this stage, three themes were especially dominant. They were the over-riding preoccupation with nation-building and nationalism, the reactions to Japanese influence, and the churches' own increased commitment to public involvement.

A. Nationalism and the Social Teachings of the Asian Churches

From the first East Asian Church meeting in 1949, nationalism had been a dominant theme in the discussion of Asian church leaders.

M. M. Thomas had pointed out that the Asian revolution could not be understood apart from the impact of the west on Asia and the Asian struggle for independence, and that nation-building could not be understood apart from Asian nationalism.¹⁹ Nationalism has been regarded by the Asian church leaders as "positive and integrating, rather than a disruptive force." But what is nationalism? Why did Asian church leaders perceive it as a positive and integrating and not as a disruptive force?

There are many theories about nationalism, but the major writers are not agreed on what its definition is. For example, in his excellent study, Nationalism and Social Communication, Karl W. Deutsch pointed out that we do not know enough about nationalism to be entirely sure what it is.²⁰ Boyd Shafer lists ten beliefs that seem to him to be commonly present in the feeling of nationalism but goes on to say that "no claim is laid for their infallibility or finality."²¹

Hans Kohn, perhaps the best-known scholar on nationalism, assumes that it is a state of mind which "recognizes the nation-state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality as the source of all creative cultural energy and of economic well-being."²² He argued that although common descent, language, territory, political entity, custom and tradition or religion could be the causes of nationalism, the most essential element, is the will of the people to organize a political entity most ideal to their own well-being. This is what he meant by state of mind.

To develop this active and corporate will, there must be a prerequisite, for instance, a clearly defined consciousness of being different from all other peoples: the Hebrews from the Gentiles, the

Greeks from the barbarians. Kohn believed that the bearer of group consciousness was with them, not king or priesthood, but the people as a whole, every Hebrew and every Greek. This spiritual and cultural character has endured and proven stronger than racial, political, or geographical continuity. The idea of the chosen people, the emphasis on a common stock of memory of the past and of hopes for the future led the Hebrew to a national Messianism. Thus Kohn assumed nationalism to be primarily a historical phenomenon.

The Asian people however lacked this spiritual discernment. Furthermore, the great majority of Asians were illiterates, living in dire poverty. Their life's first priority was merely to survive. A great number of the people have no sense of history, either. Therefore, the nationalism of the Asian people cannot be derived from a state of mind or a corporate will.

"In the struggle for freedom," said Lyman Sargent, "nationalism becomes a common word as it is commonly used with reference to the liberation movement of the new countries in Asia and Africa that are struggling for an identity out of the oppression of capitalism, imperialism and racism . . . to establish an image of their own."²³

"Nationalism," said Anthony D. Smith, "at the simple level is an expression against foreign oppression, i.e., colonialism."²⁴ He explains that domination and annexation of vast tracts of land and strange peoples, has been the practice of western states since the 16th century due to their early superiority in wealth and technology. Asian people have always lived in groups—family relationships. Group loyalty is a constant. The unknown outsiders were never appreciated. Thus nationalism is a natural response to foreign oppression. It is "a

collective grievance against foreigners. Its aim is not merely the rejection of the standard imposed by outsiders but also is the creation of a new type of political and social entity with an arrangement well-adapted to the local mores and environment."²⁵ In other words, nationalism is the struggle of a group of people to become masters of themselves.

Since the majority of the Asian people were illiterate, how did they acquire the notion of their being oppressed and exploited and of their need to be liberated from foreign domination?

Peter Worsley explained that capitalism was actually its own grave digger, because the result of colonial exploitation was the uprooting of traditional villages, the creation of a network of communications, the spread of literacy, the massive influx into towns and the creation of a new urban bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. In order to facilitate their exploitation, the colonizers had to create a skilled group to provide the labor force to reduce the illiteracy and dependency. Indirectly, this helped the colonized people to reach a new stage of awareness inaccessible to them without the impetus of colonizers. In Daniel Lerner's term, the colonizers gave "empathy" to the colonized through colonial domination. This empathy had a "high capacity for rearranging the self-system and the capacity to see one's self in the other fellow's situation."²⁶

Daniel Lerner assumed that mass-media was the supremely decisive feature for nationalism because it brought the "opinions of mankind" to the self-image of individuals and nations. Nationalism thus is a struggle against the western political domination, but in the meantime it is also an aspiration of western spirit and institution.

This understanding of nationalism coincides with the dominant ideas of nationalism prevailing in Asian churches and the social teachings of the churches which reflect the endeavor of the people to be their own masters and to build their own nations. The nationalistic thinking of some Asian church leaders, though anti-colonial in character, also expressed their appreciation to the enlightenment brought about by western domination.

There are three dominant ideas of nationalism that the Asian revolution has expressed. They are: (1) the nationalism which reflects the search for unique Asian selfhood and Asian identity, (2) the nationalism which is expressed as the instrument of technological development and of economic productivity in Asia, and (3) the nationalism which sees its mission as the instrument of western democratic humanism. The first notion is basically anti-colonialism which searches for a new Asian reality; the second is interested in nation-building and sees western technology as a way to facilitate Asian prosperity; the third was actually a historical inquiry regarding the root of nationalism which expressed its aspiration toward western democracy. It speaks of nationalism, not in terms of anti-colonialism, but in terms of the form of government. P. Worsley distinguished three processes of nationalism: namely, independence, de-colonization and development. The Asian nationalism has reflected these processes too. The search for a selfhood and new Asian identity is a process of independence and of de-colonization. The aspiration for western technology and democratic values is the process of development. Thus Asian nationalism desired not only political independence but also economic growth and political maturity. It called for the unity of Asian peoples to create new pros-

pering futures. The church responded to this situation by stating that nationalism was a positive and integrating force and that the church must welcome it.

1. Nationalism as a search for new selfhood expressed itself in two emphases: the first one before independence was anti-colonial and the second after independence was on the nation-building.

The nationalism of anti-colonialism in Asia, especially in the Far East, was first inspired by the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905. This demonstrated the possibility of the triumph of a "backward" people over a great European military power which, until then, had conquered more Asian territory than any other "white" empire. This unexpected victory awakened new hopes and stirred the people of Asia into a new self-consciousness that western colonial powers were not invincible, and that Asian people could attain an equal footing with the western nations and be their own masters. A number of the nationalist movements swept Asia after this. First was the Chinese revolution led by a Christian, Sun Yat-San (1866-1925) who formulated his "San Min Chu I, the Three Principles of the People," to guide in the building up of a Chinese nation. Then the Batak Christian Association in Sumatra of Indonesia was formed in 1917 and many of its leaders were imprisoned by the colonial Dutch. In 1931, this group led a strong independence drive in the churches. One of its leaders, T. B. Simatupang, who had been close to Sukarno and the inner circles of the nationalist movement, stepped forward to rally the Christians to fight for the nationalist cause.

In Burma, the most prominent Christian national leader in the

1930's was Ba Mau, a gifted but mercurial lawyer who was jailed by the British during the war for his oppositional activities. When the Japanese took over the country, he was freed. In order to win support from the Buddhist circles, he renounced his Christian belief in the early forties. In doing so, he showed his politically opportunistic character but the impact of his nationalistic influence cannot be denied.

India was the country which took the lead in revolt against European rule. Gandhi assumed the basic unity of all faiths and worshipped with all, and he captured the commitment of a considerable number of Indian Christians who served under him. Some of these were R. A. Kaur, the Kumarappa brothers, J. C. Bharatan of South India and E. W. Aryanaykam.

These Asian anti-colonial struggles aimed toward establishing new nations under Asian rule. After victories, these leaders for new selfhood hurried to put emphasis into nation-building. They saw nationalism as an instrument of developing a distinctive national selfhood by emphasizing national personality in history and a place of equality with other nations in the international world. D. T. Niles explained at the inauguration conference of EACC in 1959 that "the selfhood of a nation is witnessed to by the authenticity of it, its senses of self-conscious destiny and the freedom with which it is able to share in the concert of the nation."²⁷

National identity and equality with the rest of the world are important to Asian nationalists. Walter Fretag in his book, Spiritual Revolution in the East, speaks of the Javanese official who told him that it was impossible to understand the national movements of the East

if one did not realize they were all under the banner of one magic word—"égalité."²⁸ Nationalism, as the struggle for equality for the Asian people and nations, has arisen in protest against unequal treatment in Asia and outside, between Asians and Europeans. China has had her nationalism inflamed by unequal treaties and extra-territorial rights given to Europeans. At Versailles, the Allied Powers refused the principle of equality between the Asian and Western nations and this infuriated Japanese nationalists. Most Asian nations under western rule had special laws discriminating between Asians and Europeans. The struggle for a national individuality, recognized on equal terms by other nations, has been growing in Asia and remains a driving force in the Asian revolution. In 1967 the Asian church leaders attending the Church and Society Conference in Geneva requested that Asian dignity be recognized. This is a typical expression of the Asian question for international equality.

2. Nationalism for many Asians was the improvement of the technological development of the Asian societies. The emphasis here was on developing western technology in Asia. Among Asian nations Japanese nationalism emphasized this aspect the most. Under the Meiji Regime, Japan already sought to make itself powerful by absorbing western science, industrial and military technology into its traditional culture without transforming the basic framework of that culture. In China, Hu Shih had forcefully advocated that science and technology were absolutely required for a modern China.

Palme Dutt of India believed that western capitalism represented by western rule in Asia would destroy the fabric of the static, stagnant

and traditional village economy which for centuries had been the foundation of Asiatic despotism. Britain in giving India political unity, free press, establishment of private property in land and education in western science and communication provided the material basis of a social regeneration. P. Dutt also believed that the reconstruction of a new productive economy and a new society on these material conditions would be impossible within the framework of imperial rule. Thus the mission of nationalism was to throw off western rule and then build a new society using modern science, technology and working-class political control.

This opinion of nationalism which stressed on modernization as an impetus to economic development coincides with the description of K. Davis that "nationalism is a sine qua non of industrialization, because it provides people with an over-riding, easily acquired, secular motivation for making painful changes. National strength or prestige becomes the supreme goal, industrialization the chief means."²⁹

Another aspect of this notion came from Maoist interpretation. Mao Tse-tung said in 1939:

Since the character of present-day Chinese society is colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal, then what, after all, are our chief targets or enemies at this stage of the Chinese revolution? They are none other than imperialism and feudalism, namely, the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries and the landlord class at home. For these and none other are the principal agents that carry out oppression in Chinese society at the present stage and obstruct its advance. Those agents conspire to oppress the Chinese people and, since national oppression by imperialism is the heaviest oppression, imperialism has become the foremost and directest enemy of the Chinese people.³⁰

This Maoist interpretation of the Asian revolution is by no means confined to the Communist regime in China only. It has been shared in one form or another by many parties in Asia. Hence the appeal

of the Chinese-Indonesian call to Afro-Asian nations to give priority to fighting the remaining elements of neo-colonialism and imperialism and the semi-feudalism which ~~it props up~~, and to build a new industrial economy on socialist lines.

Whether we take the Japanese form or the Maoist form, nationalism and nation-building are interpreted as the agents of modernization of Asian society, through new technologies and new economic structures and the social relationships necessary for increased productivity. The key to the Asian revolution lies in Asia's struggle against traditional economic stagnation and the achievement of economic power and social progress through technology.

This thought of nationalism, however, risks the danger of the disintegration of traditional structures, because in traditional society the same unit fulfills many functions, role relationships are diffusive and face-to-face, status is largely ascriptive and communities are small and solitary. In technological society, there is a high degree of role and functional specialization. Men live in large, impersonal groups which are loosely bound together by a complex division of labor. Relationships are segmental and ephemeral. Only a part of the self is involved in any one relationship. Status is largely achieved and values are, theoretically at least, universal.

The result of this nationalism will undoubtedly mean the disintegration of the traditional structures. Thus there is a need of searching for a new common symbol in which various groups of the society could find some sense of personal and collective identity. The process of this re-integration is fulfilled by the first notion of nationalism, namely, the search for a new selfhood.

In order to fill the vacuum during the transitional period, education is deemed necessary. First, education is needed for the masses to acquire the meaning of the new era as well as the need of a nationalistic spirit. Nationalism is usually started by the educated elites. This was especially true in the case of Asia, where the majority of the people were illiterate. Nationalism then spread to the working class and peasants. Without education the uneducated masses cannot accept or adopt the changes brought about by the technological revolution. Second, education is also needed to learn the new skills for operating the new production methods.

Asian churches at this stage felt that their main role was "to take initiatives in bridging the gap," and "to organize adequate political education." The church usually is the only group besides political parties that is organized enough to be able to exert its influence upon its members, as the Prapat report of 1957 pointed out: "The church may be the only national organization which has within its members all languages, regions, races and ethnical groups in the nation."³¹

3. Nationalism in Asia was also associated with western democratic humanism, Western democratic humanism here refers to the western principles and values of liberal democracy and social justice.³²

This is a typical Indian point of view. First, there was Pherozeahah Mehta who assumed that there was a historical continuity between liberal imperialism and nationalism in India. Then there was Macaulay who said that the day Britain gave India independence would be the proudest day in English history for that day could be the fulfill-

ment of the imperial mission,³³ and M. M. Thomas who asserted that Asian nationalism owed a great deal to imperialism as it prepared the way for the Asian people to establish their democratic system.

All of these believed that the integral idea of imperialism included the preparation of the Asian people for taking responsibility toward the introduction of a democratic political institution, a democratic social change, and the emergence of a powerful national movement as a sort of oppression to the ruling power and the eventual transfer of power. Macaulay gave expression to this idea in his famous "Minutes of Education" which launched Indian education onto western lines. Though he, himself, thought the demand for national freedom would come only in the distant future, he saw that "having been instructed in European knowledge, they [the Indians] would in some future age demand European institutions." According to this view, there is historical and ideological continuity between liberal imperialism and Asian nationalism. This is because the idea of nationhood in every Asian country is the product of western education, which developed an elite committal to liberal values. The western languages, either English, French or Dutch, which the Asians learned from colonizers, also made communication possible among leaders from different regions, religions, races and ethnic groups. The passive sense of nationhood was thus formed.

A. P. Thornton was critical of this opinion in his book Imperial Idea and Its Enemy.³⁴ He spoke of Asian nationalism as one of the enemies of the "imperial idea." He referred to imperialism as being the western expansion, which considered the west as destined to rule the rest of the world forever. M. M. Thomas argued that this was not the

original intention of the western imperialists. Such imperialism was divorced from the values of western humanism.³⁵ But it lost its mission.

Imperialism then became the enemy of nationalism. Nationalism thus on its own, had to save the mission of the west in Asia. This was done by overthrowing western-rule and carrying forward the political unity of the nation, the propagation of western democratic humanism and the transformation of political and social institutions to embody the liberal idea. It is the claim of Asian nationalism therefore, that in overthrowing an imperialism which forgot its humanism roots and its humanizing mission in Asia, it fulfilled the historical purposes of the Western impact. And the process of nation-building going on in many Asian countries was a vast process of the translation of western humanism into institutions and structures of political and social living. Asian nationalism thus may be interpreted as being the agent of western humanism and nation-building as an attempt at transferring life in Asia in the light of its principles.

The holders of this view believed that westerners have a continued role to play in Asia, not as rulers, but as partners in a common mission of building a new state and society on the basis of democratic humanism. The part that leaders of Asian nationalism in India, Pakistan and Ceylon have played in turning an empire into a commonwealth, M. M. Thomas said, is an expression of this belief.³⁶

In one word, this understanding of nationalism embraces western democratic liberalism as an ideal political system which would be desirably implanted in Asian soil. But in the event that this should come to pass, western imperialism, which considered itself as ruler of the

world, must first be overthrown.

These three understandings of Asian nationalism are often seen in conflict. The first understanding asks for a self-identity, a recognition of Asian nationhood, but the second understanding strives only for a technological development through restructuring the static, stagnant, traditional village economy. The third understanding strives to implement western humanism in Asia. Though different in emphases, these three opinions have managed to struggle alongside each other toward the goal of nation-building in Asia. They have expressed the three dimensions of revolution needed in Asia. The first was a quest for political revolution, the second for industrial and social revolution and the third for cultural revolution in the form of adopting western democratic institutions. In other words, Asian nationalism demands a total revolution for Asian society. Besides independence, political reformation and a restoration of Asian pride, it also quests for industrial modernization.

The teachings of the Asian churches, as seen through its statements, have shared these three different interpretations of nationalism. In fact, none of these ideas of nationalism can stand alone. Asia is experiencing all kinds of revolution and therefore these three ideas are equally relevant throughout Asia. The EACC responded according to them: In 1949 it voiced that people should not be afraid of politics and changes, but should demand a "full participation in the life of society." The participation of people in power-structure and decision-making processes were identified as "the basic element in revolutionary ferment." In 1959, it confirmed that economic growth was the aim of the Asian nations and the church should help educate people

to facilitate this goal. This responded to the second opinion which saw nationalism as the instrument for technological development in Asia.

The conference of 1959 stressed the importance of a democratic form of government answerable to the people. This conviction was affirmed again in 1964. The EACC belief in western democratism corresponded to the third view of the Asian understanding of nationalism.

Although the EACC emphasized the positive side of nationalism as they observed it (for instance, self-rule, economic growth, participation of the people in decision-making processes, etc.) nationalism as they understood it still implied a disintegrating factor. Self-rule meant the overthrowing of the colonial regime. Economic growth through western technology implied a breakaway from the traditional means of production, and democratism comprised the termination of feudalism and aristocracy under which they had lived for centuries. Despite these negative factors, the churches believed that nationalism in Asia must be regarded as a positive and integrating rather than a disruptive force. There are at least two reasons for such statements:

First, the resistance of the feudal power: The group which was patronized under the ancient system was afraid that their status-quo would be demolished by the uprising of "new thought." The typical example of this was the Pau-Fang-Tang of the Hundred Days' Reform of China in 1889. The Pau-Fang-Tang, who fought vigorously against any reform, insisted that the preservation of the ancient feudal order was the key factor of stability. This force was more active in the early 19th century but it had faded away before the uprising of nationalistic thought.

Second, the notion of selfhood for the Asian people brought the

danger that a major cultural or ethnic group might identify itself with the nation, using the state for its self-interest. The demand for self-determination in a minority group could endanger national unity and lead to the disintegration of the nation-state. Nationalism, the EACC stated, must be regarded as an instrument of national unity, personal freedom and social justice. The Nasrapur Conference of India in 1960 declared that "Christians, if loyal to their faith, should be fully involved in the nation's concern to be truly a nation exercising its vocation as a nation among nations and safeguarding its integrity against disruptive forces from within and without."³⁷

EACC also made a statement in 1959 to remind the churches that nationalism should not effect the ecumenism of the churches in the region.

The church must endeavor to discern how Christ is at work in the revolution of contemporary Asia, releasing new creative forces, judging idolatry and false gods, leading people to a decision for or against Him, and gathering to Himself those who respond in faith to Him, in order to send them back into the world to be witnesses in His Kingship. The church must not only discern Christ in the changing life, but be there in it,³⁸ responding to Him and making His presence and Lordship known.

This is to say, Christians, while participating in nation-building, should not overlook the fact that Jesus Christ is still the Lord of all the universe. Based on this belief, the Christian churches in Asia called for the participation of Christian persons in the struggle for nation-building.

The Asian churches on one hand advocated the enthusiasm of nationalism, but on the other hand it reminded that the Lordship of Jesus Christ transcends all changes. EACC did not want their several churches to develop into being merely national churches. They supported

the nationalistic movement but they also advocated a trans-national character for the church, namely, the Lord Jesus Christ as the basis for Asian ecumenism.

Nationalism, they argued, must not be seen from its disintegration elements, but from its positive, integrating and solidarity contribution. Because of this emphasis, the Asian church focused its discussion onto western colonialism and neglected Japanese colonialism, in order to boost Asian solidarity and ecumenism.

B. Japanese Colonialism and Churches in Formosa and Korea

Japan had occupied the greater parts of Southeast Asia during World War II, and had colonized Formosa and Korea for nearly fifty years. Although Japanese colonial influence in Asia was not as great as that of the western colonial powers, her colonization was a historical fact. Japan invaded Taiwan in 1895 after the Shimonoseki Treaty was signed. A kominka movement (Japanization) was launched in 1937 to integrate Taiwan as an official part of Japan. Korea was forced to sign a treaty in 1905 making Korea a protectorate of Japan. The churches in both countries were also forced to dissolve and reorganize as part of the Nippon Kirisuto Kyodan (Japanese Christian Church).

1. The Taiwanese Churches Under the Japanese Colonial Rule (1895-1945)

Soon after the Shimonoseki Treaty, the Japanese invaded Taiwan. They confronted strong resistance in the north and suffered heavy casualties. The resistance force, led by Liu Yiong-ki, was soon conquered and many Taiwanese people were executed. In the south, in order to save

the people and the old capitol, representatives of the city of Tainan begged their two British missionaries, Barclay and Duncan Ferguson, to carry their letter of surrender to General Nogi Maresuke. Thus the Imperial Japanese army occupied the south without bloodshed.

The attitude of the Japanese toward the churches in the early years of occupation was inconsistent. Some churches were persecuted by the new rulers because the Japanese thought that the Christians had encouraged the people to resist. However, in most of the areas, there was a friendly relationship between the new rulers and the churches.

The year 1931 marked a turning point in the relationship between the churches and the Japanese colonial authorities. The Imperial Army was still committing atrocities in the north when the Presbyterians in the south organized the Southern Synod in March. Around this time, the English Mission Council in Taiwan reported the cruel killings to London as a matter of concern. In April, the Mission Council turned down the rulers' request that the students of the church schools worship at the Shinto shrines. Five months later, Japanese Imperialism began their invasion of Manchuria.

In 1933 the newspapers began to attack the church schools as being unpatriotic and of being an anachronistic form of education. As a consequence, the schools were forced to adopt the Japanese format as their educational medium. Two years later (1935) the church schools were reorganized—Japanese leaders were named as the schoolmasters. Tainan Theological College was forced to close down in 1940.

In 1932, in opposition to the rising Japanese nationalism, the Presbyterians started an island-wide youth movement, called the YMCA. Almost at the same time, the Catholics also launched their youth move-

ment. Going against the stream still further, the churches invited the Taiwanese-speaking evangelist, John Sung, from China for a large-scale evangelistic campaign in 1936. The next year, the Catholics, after nearly eighty years of slow missionary progress, significantly ordained the first Taiwanese priest. These actions eventually prevented the Japanese takeover of the whole church leadership. Three years afterward, in order to make a more vital witness in those tense times, the Presbyterians in the North proceeded to organize the Northern Synod against the social tide of "Japanization."

Soon, after the Sino-Japanese incident developed into a full-fledged war (1937), the rulers ordered the churches to organize the "Holy War" church service. In the next year, the Japanese began to force all churches to perform Shinto emperor worship before the churches' regular Sunday services. At the same time, the "Japanization" movement was launched; the colonial authority imposed Shintoism as the only Mountain-Taiwanese religion. The Japanese language was also forced upon the churches. In 1941, Thomas de la Hoz was forced to give up his Catholic hierarchic authority in favor of the Japanese leader, Father Jose Satowski.

In 1943 the Presbyterian church was forced to dissolve and reorganize into one unit, the Japanese Christian Kyodan, thus appropriating to the Kyodan the huge estate of the Presbyterian church.

2. Korean Christians under Japanese Colonial Rule

In 1905, when the first Japanese-Korean treaty was signed (under pressure), it declared Korea as a protectorate of Japan. The church then became the rallying point for national movements and public indig-

nation. It was said that the national anthem of Korea was composed by a Christian at that time, possibly by Yoon Tchi-ho who later became the chairman of the YMCA of Korea. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea by force and decided to root out Christian power there, completely. On the first occasion, more than six hundred Christian leaders were arrested, mainly from the district of Northern Korea which was the center of Christian power. In 1910, the Independent Movement was started. The Christian churches were at first reluctant to participate in this movement but eventually they did for two reasons: First, the church was at that time the only nationwide organization and the only effective mechanization through which people could voice their ideas and register their dissents. Second, the church was known for its commitment to freedom. It was the only place where that hope was retained. Unfortunately, the movement failed. The churches throughout the land suffered extreme persecution. Some church buildings were burned down with whole congregations inside. To further humiliate the church, the Japanese pressured upon the congregation members to do service at the Shinto shrines. In the 1940's, Japanese persecution of the churches became increasingly severe. Shintoism was used as a means of testing the loyalty of Korean subjects, especially the Christian subjects of the empire. Many Christians refused to attend the Shinto services and were arrested and sentenced to heavy punishments. Some 3,000 of them suffered imprisonment for their faith, and 50 of these were martyred.

A bold step was taken by a group of theologians. In 1940, Kim Chae-jun led some pastors to set up a theological seminary in Seoul to continue theological education—which was in serious danger of being suspended after the Pyung Yang Theological Seminary was closed, follow-

ing its refusal to participate in Shinto services. The Seoul Seminar had to undergo increasing hardships as the war frenzy mounted. But it survived the war and became the center of theological education in Korea.

The Korean churches were ordered to stop using their denominational names and were forced to use the name "Kyodan," the name used for the Japanese Christian Church. In 1943, the Holiness Church, the Seventh Day Adventist and the Baptist Churches were banned. On August 1, 1945 the Protestant churches were forced to organize the Chosen Division (朝鮮区) of the Japanese Christian Church. Ministers who did not favor this forced union were driven from their pulpits. Ministers and laity were placed under house-arrest, or imprisoned. A mass-execution of church leaders, including many lay-leaders, had been ordered for August 18, 1945. Japan surrendered on August 15.

3. Japanese Expansionism and Christians in Japan

a) Japan's Historical Reaction to Christians in Subjugated Korea

During the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, Japanese Christians supported the Imperial regime. Christian journals unanimously supported Japan's declaration of war, ostensibly to defend the independence of Korea and to secure the peace of Asia. After the war, Japan brought Korea under its control and finally declared war against Russia to protect its concerns in both Korea and in northeast China. During and after the war, Japan strengthened its political-military control over Korea and finally acquired Korea by right of conquest. Most of the Japanese Christian leaders welcomed the colonization of Korea. They

were of the view that through this, the Korean people would be under Japanese protection. They expected Japan to rule wisely over Korea and hoped that the Korean people would be assimilated as a part of the Japanese Empire. A few Japanese churches regarded the occupation as an opportunity for Korean missions. The churches adopted a plan for missions, obtaining financial support from the leading industrialists and securing political protection from the Japanese government. The purpose of their missions was to erase the national identity of the Korean people and assimilate them into the Japanese nation as a part of the great empire. They understood this to be an expression of the Christian spirit of universal brotherhood.

In order to justify its expansionism, the Japanese government advocated Shintoism as the state religion. Shintoism, which is based on ancestral worship and devotion to the goddess (patron deity of the community), could inculcate loyalty to the imperial regime. As Japan set out on the political/military invasion of Asian countries, Shintoism, with its emphasis on the indestructibility of the divine nation, gave religious justification to Japanese expansionism. It further fostered the military fighting spirit through the practice of deifying the soldiers who were killed in war. The Christian churches were naturally opposed to the national policy which projected Shintoism as the state religion, but the Christian attitude against it was not unanimous. In 1932 there was an incident in which some students of Sophia University, a Catholic School, refused to visit and worship at the Shino shrine. This raised troublesome issues for the government. The Ministry of Education declared officially that attendance at ceremonies conducted at the Shinto shrine was an expression of a patriotic spirit and an indis-

pensable aspect of national education. The Catholic Church at first opposed this, but later gave in, permitting students to participate in Shinto ceremonies as part of their duty to the country. They justified their stand on the grounds that such ceremonies were national, and not necessarily religious ceremonies. Most of the Protestant leaders used the same argument and allowed Christians to worship at Shinto shrines.

The Religious Body Law, which was adopted by the Japanese Diet in 1939 and took effect the following year, was aimed at exercising a closer official control over religious bodies. Protection under the law was limited to those bodies that were loyal to the Imperial regime. The Christian churches were urged to reorganize their structures. In 1941, more than thirty Protestant denominations were united to form the Nippon Kirisuto Kyodan. Later, the Kyodan declared that they would devote themselves to the service of promoting the Imperial aims in war. They commended the upsurge of the fighting spirit in the country. The Kyodan also appealed to Christian people in Asia to come to a right understanding of the Japanese role in Asia. On Easter Day in 1944, the Kyodan published the "Epistle of the Kyodan to Christians in the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," which denounced western Christianity as the common enemy of Asia. The epistle informed that western Christianity had brought about the racial discrimination and the imperialistic (western) domination of the Asian nations. It sang the praises of the Japanese Imperial regime and expounded the doctrine of the "Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" (東亞共榮圈) under the dictatorship of Japan. It finally maintained that the Kyodan had realized the ideal of Japanese Christianity, which had taken deep roots in the Japanese mind and challenged such Western concepts as individualism, naturalism, socialism and

communism. The epistle was clearly government propaganda in Christian disguise.

Japanese Christianity, however, was under pressure by the Imperial government. It involved considerable suffering on the parts of those who refused to cooperate with the government, for instance the leaders of the Holiness and nondenominational groups. They were arrested, imprisoned and accused of anti-government activities. Most Christians, however, participated willingly or unwillingly in national service, subscribing to the imperialistic goals.

b) Toyoshiko Kagawa and His Contribution to Social Thought and Action

One of the outstanding Christians who felt uneasy about Japanese Imperial policy was Toyoshiko Kagawa (1888-1960). He, however, was seen as a social reformer rather than a conscience-fighter against the regime. Kagawa viewed the cross as the center of the church and the world. He was convinced that the Christian should sacrifice himself to relieve the misery of the people, as Jesus had offered his life for the sins of others. Because of this conviction he moved into the slum area of Kobe in 1909 to be with suffering people and to proclaim the Christian Gospel. In the early stages, he established, with the help of other Christians, a Christian social settlement for evangelism and social relief. Although he and his wife continued to undertake social settlement work in Kobe and later in Tokyo, he recognized the limitations of welfare work, which tended to ignore the basic causes of social sickness. He became convinced that without a change in the economic and social systems, it would be impossible to eradicate the miseries of the slums. He then took part in the labor union movement which he believed

could liberate the working people from their misery and could contribute to create a new structure for industrial society. The laborer for him was a free individual and a creative worker. In this conviction he organized and directed the labor union movement. Standing constantly between the reactionary and the extremist wings, he inevitably was attacked by both. But failures never discouraged him. He belonged to the way of the cross. He continued to help organize the All Japan Peasant Union, opened peasant schools and more and more became convinced that the cooperative movement was the social structure most genuinely skin to God's purpose of love, and therefore most able to become the economic foundation for world peace.

On the way to the cross and from there to his costly involvement in the affairs of this world, Kagawa placed the Church. Yet his impression of the "church" was not like the Church of most missionaries and church leaders. It was not Kyodan or any denomination. He saw it as a movement rather than an institution, a leaven rather than a building, a brotherhood in everyday life rather than Christ's body in sacramental worship. To him, participating in the cross was participating in the Church of Christ. Kagawa had, therefore, no patience with denominational differences and the self-assertion of Kyodan.

Kagawa did not succeed in the removal of the Japanese internal security order, and he was forced to withdraw from the labor movement. But he never gave up his convictions and he raised the important questions of where and how the Christian might bear witness to the Gospel in an industrial and troublesome society.

C. "Participation in Nation-Building" as the Teaching of the Church

Nationalistic thought had dominated the thinking of the Asian church leaders at the first stage of EACC's social teaching. The main concern of the church, nevertheless, was nation-building.

In 1949 the church leaders who met in Bangkok agreed that the question of how to build the nation-state was the main task ahead of them. It identified the participation of the people in the decision-making process as the basic element of the new Asian society. In 1959, the conference asked the churches to get "deeply involved in the whole process of economic and community development" and to "think more concretely on the meaning of Christian participation and service in the revolutionary changes taking place" in Asia. The sole goal of the church was to help its members become responsible citizens through participation in nation-building.

What was this supposed to mean? Why such teaching? What is a responsible citizen and how is he to participate? Who were the influential figures behind this teaching?

The teaching of participation in nation-building was not only revolutionary in nature, but also unprecedented. The people in China, Japan, Korea and Taiwan believed that their emperor was in fact the representative of heaven to rule in God's behalf. In other words, "politics" was not their business and in a strict sense was a taboo. In Confucian tradition the "Mandate of Heaven" was regarded as the only authority for rule. The ruler who bore the image of heaven was therefore called "Son of Heaven." It was the Tien-Tzu's (heaven's) will that he be the ruler. The subjects thus had to obey his rule. Once a

Confucian disciple asked his master what a ruler was supposed to do in order to rule a state. The master answered, "What is necessary is to rectify names," which means, "Let the ruler be ruler, the minister minister, the father father, and son son."⁴⁰ Every title in social relationship implies certain responsibilities and duties; for instance the duty of a ruler is to bring welfare, peace and happiness to his people, the minister is to be loyal to his ruler, the father to love his son, and the son to be filial to his parents. Ruler, minister, father, son are all titles of social relationships and the individuals bearing these titles must fulfill their responsibilities and duties accordingly. Otherwise, if "names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things, or affairs cannot be carried on to success."⁴¹

Thus, subjects are to obey the ruling of the ruler. How could the church teach the ethics of the people's participation in nation-building?

Furthermore, the early missionaries who reached Asia were apolitical in nature. Therefore Asian Christians basically were apolitical as well. They believed that the New Testament taught that Christians should obey the governing authorities because they were appointed by God. There was no thought in the New Testament that the Christians should take any active political responsibility. Paul shows a remarkable optimism about the state when he says, "For rulers are not a terror to good conduct, but to bad. Would you have no fear of him who is in authority? Then do what is good and you will receive his approval, for he is God's servant for your good." He adds, "Therefore, one must be subject, not only to avoid God's wrath but also for the sake of conscience" (Romans 13:3-5). These words were written before there was any

organized persecution of Christians by the Roman authorities. But it was during a period of such persecution that the author of First Peter says much the same thing: "Be subject for the Lord's sake to every human institution, whether it be the emperor as supreme, or to governors as sent by him to punish those who do wrong and to praise those who do right" (I Peter 2:15). Under these directives, how could the Asian church teach the full participation of Christians in nation-building?

The answer is as follows: The leaders of the East Asian Christian Conference at this stage (M. M. Thomas of India, D. T. Niles of Ceylon, Masao Takenaka of Japan and Sho-ki Coe of Formosa) were all western-educated theologians. D. T. Niles had been the general secretary of EACC from its inauguration and then became the chairperson of CCA until his death in 1970. He, as an administrator and organizer, said the church should train "frontier men who are willing, as it were, to venture into unchartered territory, whether of thought or action or organization. . . . All we in the EACC have sought to do is to inject into situations ideas which we felt were right at this time, to get key individuals in every country committed to those ideas."⁴² In his book, Reading the Bible Today, he instructed that the Bible should be read and understood in light of our present situations, to see what it says to us here and now.⁴³ This was a fresh inspiration to the Asian Christians. These four men, through their experience in the western world, injected new thoughts and interpretations to the Asian church. Among them, M. M. Thomas was a believer in western humanism, favoring the political democratic system of the west in which every citizen is given the right to say yes or no. Sho-ki Coe, a theological educator, believed that God loves his creatures equally, whether ruler or subject, for they are all

God's children and none is nobler than the other. Accordingly, God's children in Asia should have the right to decide their own destinies by participating in the decision-making process. Masao Takenaka assumed that the church should help people cope with the drastic changes taking place in Asia. Through the efforts and influence of these men, the teaching of the church emphasized the opinion of people-participation in nation-building.

The book, The Christian as Citizen, by John Bennett, one of the books published by IMC, covering the range of the Christian faith in the modern world, was introduced at many training sessions. John Bennett was at the time a young thinker in the field of Christian ethics. To the Asian Christians he gave a new insight into the term "obedience":

Today in many countries the Pauline doctrine of obedience to the governing authorities needs to be translated not only into current language but also in terms of new concepts concerning the relationship between the state and the people. I suggest that the words "responsibility" and "participation" are more adequate in expressing this relationship than the word "obedience."⁴⁴

Obedience to the governing body should therefore be expressed through participation and responsibility, the EACC teaches.

Participation is an important word in this stage of teaching. But how to participate? Unfortunately, the EACC did not give further instructions. The general understanding of "how" is perceived as to vote when the opportunity is given, to run for office when the door is opened, and to take part in programs that are planned and organized by the churches. Teaching the meaning of a new era and the responsibility of a citizen becomes the main concern of the church in this nation-building stage. The church believed "understanding precedes action" at this point. Unless people know and are encouraged to exercise their

rights and responsibilities, they remain passive. The first thing the church can do therefore, is to organize educational programs and training classes to tackle the ignorance of the people and thus bring enlightenment. Why is this so?

Here we must point out the difference between the emergence of a sovereign nation-state in Europe and that in Asia. In Europe, the nations emerged from the breakup of a larger European unity, while in Asia nationalism is a process of moving out of a narrower loyalties into more inclusive loyalties. The inclusiveness of Asian nationalism seems to be essential to move the people of Asia out of their isolated communal segregations into an open community. Traditional communalism is often the real enemy of a large human community, if there was no new awareness on the part of the people. As a result, the first step of nation-building in Asia was educating the people to the meaning of a new self—that in a democratic new nation, people are the masters; and that all people, despite their differences in language, religion and ethnic background, will enjoy equal citizenship rights.⁴⁵

The Asian churches in fact had a very difficult task before them. Responsibility and participation might have been the right attitudes which should have motivated the people. But the high illiteracy rate in Asia, the suspicions of the non-Christians toward the Christians, and the diversity of traditional communities caused the church's education programs to be ineffective and difficult.⁴⁶

The difficulty for the church to extend its training programs to the public (due to the people's suspicions) revealed the fact that the churches could not yet break through Asia's minority circles. The churches had the desire to reach the masses; yet the image of the

churches' being "Western Religions" made it very difficult. (In the Second Stage, this issue has been looked into carefully and seriously.)

D. The Awareness and Leaders of the Churches at this Stage

At this stage the churches seemed to believe that successful nation-building and the establishment of a just and free nation-state depended upon the enlightenment of the people. The churches' awareness of the issue had fallen into "naive awareness," one of the two awarenesses which Paul Freire described in his book, A Pedagogy of the Oppressed. According to Freire, naive awareness did not deal with the problems, gave little value to the past and tended to accept mystical explanations. The churches at this stage had accepted two myths: first, belief that the new ruling power would implement a democratic government; second, the assumption that the people's participation in nation-building would guide and check the government to be just. The social scientists in Asia at this stage also believed that democracy and science would give Asia a new future.⁴⁷

Unfortunately, the reality of the situation was quite different from these expectations. Asia was neither democratized nor liberated. Why did the church not foresee the complications of Asian society? In fact, the Asian churches asked the question, "What is it that God is doing through it all" (the Asian revolution)? They believed that God was on their side and that God, in His providence, first was creating in Asia the basic conditions for greater human dignity, enhanced human activity and more mature human living. They believed that through Asian revolutions God was preparing the Asian people to face up to the chal-

lenges of deciding for or against Jesus Christ. They also believed that He was judging and calling the churches in Asia to repentance and renewal in a new way.

M. M. Thomas believed that history moved progressively toward fuller human existence and a new dimension in humanity. In other words, history evolved toward greater human dignity. As children grow to puberty and then adulthood, the Asian revolution were part of this growing process in God's providence to give Asians a greater human dignity and more maturity in human life. "The sense of national unity and vocation is a means of higher creativity . . . the vision of the Asian man of the new dimension of his humanity and fuller existence is a gift of God through Asian revolution."⁴⁸

The Asian revolutions gave the Asian people a chance to accept or reject the gospel of Jesus Christ as, in Thomas' words, "the impact of western culture and religion is destroying the old gods of traditional Asian religions and preparing the Asian people for the gospel." It was a matter of choice as it was becoming increasingly difficult to ignore Jesus Christ at the level of modern Asian quest for new identities which were motivated by western cultural influences. Facing this new reality, the Asian churches must develop their own confession to Christ in their own historical situations. In other words, the Asian churches should be in search of a new selfhood, corresponding to the new selfhood of the nation. This meant that the churches should first realize their minority status and the suspicious attitudes of the people toward them. The churches' teachings were in agreement with the nationalistic elites. But what about the people? If the churches did not identify with the people, or at least come to their level and then

attempt to create a new ethos for them, the churches would remain only as a minority group, isolated from the public masses.

The church's historical viewpoint seems to be subjective. M. M. Thomas had been occupied with the wave of political independence newly gained by the Asian nations. The senses of national unity and vocation to him seemed to be means of higher creativity. He assumed that through nation-building, the Asian people would have to choose between "following Christ" or "denying Jesus." Nation-building might help the people of Asia see the value of the Christian religion, but nation-building is in no way evangelism. Who is M. M. Thomas and the other leaders who shaped the teachings of the churches at this stage?

The most prominent leader was M. M. Thomas, but the contributions by D. T. Niles, Masao Takenaka and Sho-ki Coe cannot be denied.

1. M. M. Thomas

Madathiparampil M. Thomas was born in Travancore, India on May 16th, 1916, into a family of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar. Having studied chemistry in Trivandrum Science College and Madras University, M. M. Thomas graduated in 1935 and spent some years teaching in the Ashram Christian High School in Travancore. Later, he organized, on an inter-religious basis, a home for waifs and strays in the city of Trivandrum. Like so many young Christians from Kerala, M. M. Thomas could not be satisfied with mere curative social service, however urgent it was. Social service had to be complemented by social action, if need be, revolutionary action. Therefore, in 1941-1942 he stayed at the Social Workers Brotherhood in Bangalore in order to study the theology of society and Marxism. Later he continued these studies at Union

Theological Seminary in New York. As secretary of the Kerala Youth Christian Council of Action, with its center at Ashram in Manganam, M. M. Thomas was in a key position to engage in revolutionary Christian social actions. The Kerala Youth Council, with its strict rule of life insisting on Bible study, prayer, manual labor, a program of constructive work and sharing of fasting and intercession, worked like the Communist party through cells in colleges. It attacked social evil in Kerala society by imaginative service and revolutionary action. It dealt not only with the beggar-waifs-and-strays problem and famine relief work, but also with such controversial questions as the caste system within the church and the dowry system. This courageous Christian youth movement was fully drawn into the ecumenical movement by a World Student Christian Fellowship leaders' conference held at Alwaye in 1939. Having organized the Mar Thoma Youth League, M. M. Thomas became secretary of the WSCF (1947-1950). He continued in this world organization as vice-chairman and part-time secretary while becoming involved again in Indian social thinking. He was also secretary of the Committee for Literature on Social Concerns of the India National Council of Churches, and from 1954 onward of the Christian Institute for the Study of Society. He was thus indeed the man to become the Asian consultant for the WCC's Rapid Social Change Study and the successor in the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. His passionate concern is the theological interpretation of the Asian Revolution and its implications for the church's service and total life. He pleads for a shift of emphasis from Christian social service to the Christian's and the church's social actions in programs of State. He collaborates with men of other faiths through participation, study and criticism. In this

he firmly believes that God is actively present in India's socio-political history and that through judgement and redemption. He is present now in Asia's secular changes.

2. D. T. Niles

Daniel Thambiraja Niles' great-grandfather was the first person baptised in Jaffna, Ceylon by a Congregationalist missionary in 1821. D. T. Niles was born on May 4th, 1908, at Jaffna. He is mostly at home among non-Christians, telling them about Christ and answering with his quick mind and wit all their questions and objections. He actually served the Methodist Church in Ceylon as evangelist and itinerant preacher. In order always to be ready to give an answer, he continuously studied the Bible. He studied theology at Union Theological Seminary after having taught mathematics in Jaffna. He became a Methodist minister serving the circuit of Point Pedro in Ceylon from 1945 to 1949, and later, from 1949 to 1952 he directed the YMCA Bible School at Colombo. However, even a church rooted in the Biblical message and having evangelistic zeal cannot be truly an evangelizing church as long as it is divided. D. T. Niles became, therefore, the secretary of the Ceylonese National Council of Churches and the architect of the church union in Ceylon. He is rightly considered to be the father of the earlier-described churches union scheme for Sri Lanka. No wonder that this man with so many central concerns is claimed by several ecumenical organizations. He is claimed by the World Student Christian Fellowship whose chairman he became in 1953 after having been drawn into the ecumenical movement by his participation in Student Christian Movement work, especially through a decisive meeting with W. A. Visser't Hooft in 1933. He

is claimed, too, by the world's YMCA, whom he served from 1938 to 1940 as secretary; by Faith and Order, whose outspoken executive committee member he became in 1947 chairing together with Leslie Newbigin the first two Faith and Order consultations on church union negotiations in 1952 and 1954; by the IMC as speaker at Tambaram in 1938 and as leader and writer in the study project on "The Word of God and the Church's Missionary Obedience" (1960-61); by the WCC as chairman of the Youth Department from 1948 onward and secretary for evangelism from 1953 onward; and by the Asian EACC, a full time work which he accomplishes besides his Ceylonese full time assignment as principal of the Jaffna Central College. He is a true witness to Christ, using all his manifold gifts to understand and tell the Good News and to motivate the churches in Ceylon, Asia and everywhere, to obey God's call toward mission and unity. This is D. T. Niles.

3. Masao Takenaka

The church is called to witness and unity, but it is also called to service. The main lecture on this subject at the New Delhi Assembly in 1961 was entrusted to a young Japanese, Masao Takenaka. His life story illustrates modern Japanese history. Takenaka's father was head of the Peking Branch of the South Manchurian Railroad Company, and it was in Peking in September 1925 that Masao was born. His first nine years were spent in Dairen, Manchuria, before returning with his family to Japan. M. Takenaka's mother, who had a Buddhist background, was the first member of the family to become a Christian while she taught music in a Kobe mission college. She did everything possible to bring up her children in the Christian faith and even volunteered to be a Sunday

School teacher in order to accompany Masao to church and check that he indeed went to Sunday School and not to the basketball field. Having the ambition to become a businessman in Manchuria. Takenaka entered the Economic Department of Kyoto University in 1944. Soon afterward he was drafted into the army and sent to Hokkaido for military training. While living in the barracks and training with a team carrying heavy machine guns, the son of an intellectual middle-class family came to know and appreciate his fellows who came from poor fishing villages, coal mines and farms. This set him thinking about social reform and the possible foundation of a new Japan. Having completed his studies in economics in 1948, he read theology, first at Doshiba in Kyoto and then at Yale Divinity School, U.S.A. where he wrote his dissertation on the Relation of Protestantism toward Social Problems in Japan, 1900-1941. He was strongly influenced by H. Richard Niebuhr and the writings of European theologians. Returning to Japan in 1954 after having attended the Evanston Assembly as an observer, Masao first served as a lay pastor in an industrial church of the United Church of Japan. He was then called to Doshiba to teach ethics and the sociology of religion. In this function he became deeply involved in industrial evangelism and lay training in the Kansai area, serving for instance, in 1960-61 as chairman of the All-Doshiba Teachers and Employees Union. Since 1957 when M. Takenaka was discovered by ecumenical leaders and became a speaker and leader in important EACC events, he has brought new thought into the EACC, interpreting what he learned by experience in Japan as an industrial evangelist.

4. Sho-ki Coe

Sho-ki Coe was also known as C. H. Hwang or Ng Chiong-hui. Sho-ki is his Japanese name, C. H. his Chinese name and Chiong-hui, Formosan. These three different names have molded him into a liberation fighter as many speak of themselves from the painful experiences of having been born in colonized territory. Sho-ki was born in 1913 to a Presbyterian minister's family. His father was one of the first native Formosans who converted to Christianity and then he became a minister. At age 20, Sho-ki was sent to Japan for enrollment at the famous Tokyo Imperial University where he majored in philosophy. Upon graduation, he went to England to study theology at Westminster College. He was delayed returning home because of the war. When he returned, he had a great vision that Formosa would then be a liberated nation, but he was disappointed and said, "The hope of liberation from Japanese colonialism after the war was betrayed by the Nationalist Chinese from the mainland when they came not as liberators but as conquerors, and we once again suffered the humiliation of being regarded as second-class citizens." Though being disappointed to find his homeland enslaved again by the outsiders, he accepted the appointment as principal of the Tainan Theological College in 1948 and developed it into the largest seminary in southeast Asia. He was twice elected moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and was active in EACC as chairman of the Theological Education Committee. In 1964 he was invited to be the speaker of the EACC assembly. In 1965 he was appointed as the director of the Theological Education Fund of WCC. Though he was exiled from Taiwan, he was still a frequent speaker at the EACC and CCA meetings. He is regarded as the pioneer of the contextualization of Asian theology.

V. Summary

A. What Are the Teachings of the Asian Churches?

The social teachings of the Asian churches at this stage were focused on participation in nation-building; namely, the churches should become instruments in nation-building, personal freedom and social justice. Churches should take an initiative role in bridging the gap between the churches and the working people; churches should teach the new meaning of the new era by reaching out of the church walls to touch and help the public.

These teachings may be general, but for the churches that had been under the patronage of missionaries for a long time, this was a large step forward. It has broken through the "going to heaven" mentality of Asian Christians.⁴⁹

The final goal of nation-building at this stage was "economic growth." In order to become instruments, churches initiated training and educational programs for ministers and laymen as well as for non-Christians. The task of nation-building was not an easy one for Asian nations, as people had lived for hundreds of years under feudal society and then under colonial rule, and many were reluctant to take any part in active political involvement; nor were they aware that the new opportunities were open to them. In light of this ignorance on the part of the people, the churches believed that the first thing they could and must do was to organize educational programs to facilitate and to encourage the participation of the people in the process of nation-building.

B. Why Did They Teach These Programs?

The most predominant factors behind these teachings were: (1) the spirit of nationalism, (2) the influence of church leaders who were western-educated, and (3) the church's understanding of history.

1. Nationalism was the fermentor and motivator of all changes taking place in Asia during this period. The churches welcomed these changes because they believed that nationalism was a positive and integrating force for Asian society. Three different opinions of nationalism prevailed in Asia: (1) nationalism as the search for unique national selfhood and identity, (2) nationalism as the instrument of technological development and economic productivity in Asia, and (3) nationalism as the instrument of western democratic humanism.

Although there are differences in emphases in these three notions, they shared a common final goal, i.e., political independence and nation-building. These different emphases in fact revealed the three different revolutions taking place simultaneously in Asia during this period. The first was a political revolution, the second was an industrial revolution and the third was a cultural revolution.

2. The four most influential church leaders during this stage had largely shaped the teachings of the churches. They were M. M. Thomas of India, D. T. Niles of Sri Lanka, Masao Takenaka of Japan and Sho-ki Coe of Taiwan. Thomas was an advocate of western democratic humanism who favored the right of citizenship and one-person-one-vote democracy. Niles stressed that the Bible should be studied and understood in light of the current Asian situation. Takenaka warned of the multiple revolutions taking place simultaneously in Asia. Coe, as an

educator, promoted the role of education in church ministry. All of them spent a number of years in the West. Their theological thinking and life experiences had been influenced largely by western thought and western church trends.

3. Understanding of history (as interpreted by Asian theologians), e.g., M. M. Thomas believed that God was beyond all changes taking place in Asia and that God was giving Asians an opportunity to accept or reject the gospel of Jesus Christ. He believed that revolution in Asia was in God's will, and would pave the way to a Christianized Asia. Christians therefore should welcome and participate in what was taking place, whether they be of political, economic or cultural opinions or differences.

Notes

¹The Church in East Asia. Report of the East Asian Christian Conference, Bangkok, Thailand, December 3-11, 1949 (New York: International Missionary Council and World Council of Churches, 1949), p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Ibid., p. 6.

⁴Ibid., p. 7.

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 7.

⁸The Common Evangelistic Task of the Churches in East Asia. Papers and Minutes of the East Asia Christian Conference, Prapat, Indonesia, 1957, [Prapat Report], pp. 7-8.

⁹Ibid., p. 82.

¹⁰The 72 delegates at the Kuala Lumpur Assembly came from Australia (4), Burma (5), Ceylon (3), Hong Kong (1), India (13), Indonesia (16), Japan (2), Korea (6), Malaya and Singapore (5), New Zealand (2), Okinawa (1), Pakistan (3), Philippines (8), Taiwan (1), Thailand (2). The total number of participants was about 170, among them a relatively large number of lay people. The largest delegations were from India and Indonesia.

¹¹Bandung was also the site of Conference of Afro-Asian nations in 1959 which aimed at forming a power block against western influence.

¹²Report of the 1959 Conference, unpublished material.

¹³Report of Commission I, 1959, unpublished material, p. 6.

¹⁴Report of the 1959 Conference, p. 14.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 4. Also see Toward a Theology of People I (Singapore: CCA, 1977), p. 5 ff.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁷See Christian Community Within Human Community, Minutes of 1964's EACC Assembly, pp. 22-24. Also see M. M. Thomas, The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution (London: SCM Press, 1966), p. 64.

¹⁸cf. M. M. Thomas' address at the First Asian Consultation on Inter-Church Aid, Hong Kong, October 1963. The committee merely carried out the Project list of WCC. The committee felt that Asian churches should be encouraged to seek to support some of the projects so that there could be a truly mutual giving and receiving. The report however also pointed out that the size and amount of money involved in Inter-Church aid from WCC had sometimes discouraged the financially weak churches from regarding a gift they could make as significant. It was pointed out that the average request of 71 projects in 1964 was \$11,000.

¹⁹cf. M. M. Thomas, The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution, p. 9 ff.

²⁰Karl W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966), pp. 187-189.

²¹Boyd C. Shafer, Nationalism, Myth and Reality (New York: Harcourt, 1955), p. 7.

²²Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism (New York: Collier, 1944), p. 16.

²³cf. Lyman T. Sargent, Contemporary Political Ideology (Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1969).

²⁴Antony Smith, Theories of Nationalism (London: Duckworth, 1971), p. 65.

²⁵Ibid., p. 65.

²⁶Ibid., p. 92.

²⁷D. T. Niles, A Decision Hour for the Christian Mission: The EACC Conference, 1959 (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1960), p. 75.

²⁸Walter Freitag, Spiritual Revolution in the East. London: Edinburgh House Press, 1949), p. 176.

²⁹K. Davis, "Social and Demographic Aspect of Economic Development in India," in Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, ed. J. J. Spengler (Duke University Press, 1955), cited by A. J. Smelser, Toward a Theory of Modernization (1968), p. 134.

³⁰The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1954), p. 28.

³¹Prapat Report, p. 82.

³²Thomas, The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution, p. 11.

³³Ibid., p. 11 f.

³⁴ A. P. Thornton, Imperial Idea and Its Enemy (London: MacMillan, 1959).

³⁵ M. M. Thomas believed that the original intention of western humanism was to introduce the principles and values of western liberal democracy and social justice to Asia to transform the state and the traditional Asian society. cf. M. M. Thomas, The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution, p. 10 f.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁷ M. M. Thomas, Christian Participation in Nation-Building (Bangalore: NCC of India, 1960).

³⁸ Christian Community within Human Community, Report of 1959 EACC Conference, p. 17 f.

³⁹ Since this is not the concern of this thesis, I will not discuss it further. But this tendency was very clear in the early years of EACC. In order to foster a common ground for ecumenical cooperation, any criticism against a member-church was intentionally avoided, including the criticism against Communist China. But in the late seventies, some Japanese Christians had started criticising their national policy and warned against the possible revival of the militarism in Japan. One of the criticisms was the opposition by the Christian church against the deification of those who died during the war by placing their "souls" in the National Shinto Shrine, as heroes of the nation.

⁴⁰ Confucious Analects XII:11.

⁴¹ Ibid., XIII:3.

⁴² cf. "Introduction," Christian Action in the Asian Struggle (Singapore: CCA, 1973).

⁴³ cf. D. T. Niles, Reading the Bible Today (London: World Christian Books, 1960).

⁴⁴ J. C. Bennett, The Christian as Citizen (London: Lutterworth Press, 1956), p. 54.

⁴⁵ What are citizenship rights? In the nation-state, each citizen stands in a direct relationship with the sovereign authority of the country (in contrast with medieval policy in which such a direct relationship was enjoyed only by the great men of the realm.) Therefore, a core element of nation-building is the codification of the rights and duties of the people who are classified as citizens.

"Citizen" is a strictly western concept. All the countries in East Asia were monarchies before colonialism arrived. The words of the king, emperor or sultan were in fact the laws, and the people were their subjects. Though there were different degrees of participation in the governing body of the elites, the people had no access to the decision-making body.

Aristotle wrote, "He who has the power to take part in the delibera-

tion or judicial administration of any state, is said by us to be a citizen of that state. And speaking generally, a state is a body of citizens sufficing for the purpose of life" [Michael B. Foster, Masters of Political Thought, vol. 1: Plato to Machiavelli (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941), p. 142].

In the past before the formation of modern nation-state, this right of participation was usually restricted only to the aristocrats, which Reinhard Bendix classed as "functional representatives," such as, for instance, the elder or grand master of a guild represented in a municipal assembly. R. Bendix used another word, "Plebiscite", to describe the modern meaning of the word, "citizen." The term, "plebiscite" refers to the direct vote on an important public issue by all qualified electors of a community. The broader the community, the more minimal are the qualifications stipulated for the voters and thus the larger the number of persons standing in direct relationship to the public authority. This direct relationship implies the recognition of the individual by the state. This recognition means that an individual possesses the right to act as an independent unit. His rights should include civil rights, political rights and social rights.

Civil right includes liberty of person: freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts and the right to justice. Political right is the franchise and the right of access to public office. Social right ranges from "the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standard prevailing in the society" [R. Bendix, National Building and Citizenship (New York: Anchor Books, 1969), p. 91].

In order to guarantee the free exercise of these rights, the courts, the representative bodies and the social services are deemed necessary. The court is for the safeguarding of civil rights, especially for the protection of the less articulate members of the national community. Representative bodies in local and national levels provide avenues of access to people that they might participate in public decision-making. Social Service ensures protection against poverty, sickness and other misfortunes and provides schools for people to receive at least basic education.

⁴⁶The diverse traditional community in Asia can be seen through the religious pluralism in India, the language problems in Indonesia, the regional exclusiveness in Burma, etc.

⁴⁷The typical social scientist of this school in Asia is Dr. Hu Shih of China. Dr. Hu believed Der Sheng Seng (democracy) and Sai Sheng Seng (science) would build up a modern prosperous and militarily strong China. [cf. Chung Kuo Su Siang Su [The History of Chinese Philosophy] (Taipei: Chung Cheng Press, 1961).

⁴⁸Thomas, The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁹cf. T. K. Thomas, ed., Christianity in Asia (Singapore: CCA, 1979), p. 99 ff.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE ASIAN CHURCHES—THE PERIOD OF ENLIGHTENMENT

I. Introduction

This stage ranges from 1966 to 1968. Though this period was relatively short, it prepared the way for the Asian churches to enter into a new phase of struggle in the 1970's. On one hand, this stage of the teachings of the Asian churches was a continuation of the first stage, and on the other hand it was a stimulant to the churches to look into the complications of Asian society, the intricacy of the political reality and the tremendous impact of industrialization on the traditional Asian villages.

II. Exposition of the Social Teachings of the Asian Churches

A. 1966—Confessing the Faith in Asia Today

In 1966 the EACC Faith and Order Conference, which took the theme, "Confessing the Faith in Asia Today," was held in Hong Kong from October 26 through November 3. Delegates came from 17 Asian countries. This conference initiated the long-lasting endeavor of the Asian churches in their attempt to seek a confession of faith responding to

the Asian situation.

The original title for the conference, "The Confession of Faith in Asia Today," was changed to the verbal form "Confessing the Faith in Asia Today," to make it clear that Asian churches were concerned with the total form of confession—the confession, not just a written dogmatic confession. The intention was to emphasize the fact that the churches in Asia today live in the midst of a welter of changing values, religions, ideologies and faiths, old and new; that if the Christian faith is to be confessed in Asia, it must be done by churches that are confessing churches, that is, committed for the totality of their lives to the Christian faith in God through Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit. This meant that the Asian churches must translate the gospel into contemporary Asian terms in light of the present-day Asian scene.

Dr. Shoki Coe of Taiwan touched off the question of indigenization in the opening speech he gave. He said, "A pure polished rice would not grow in any soil; only as a grain, without its husk removed, can it be sown into soil and grow." Thus, pointing to the urgent problem for confessing the faith in Asia, he asked, "How can the gospel seed, with its indissoluble husk, fall into the soil of Asia and bear abundant fruit which will become more seed?"¹

A layman, Mr. T. B. Simatupang, was also invited to speak on the subject of confessing faith in contemporary Asia. This indicated that EACC was willing to listen to and to get non-theologically trained laypeople involved in its policy-making. Mr. Simatupang has been active in the National Council of Churches of Indonesia and has served as its vice-chairman. He said that he accepted the invitation to speak because the confessing church implies confessing laymen, and that laymen, like

him, are usually caught up in the bewildering changes in society. He wanted to share what a lay-person thinks in the confessing church. First, he argued that the problems faced by the churches in Asia vary from country to country, but he believed that there is a basic problem faced by all the churches in contemporary Asia, namely, tradition versus modernization. He said he understands revolution not so much as the violent political change, but rather as the awareness that fundamental changes are needed for a better future. He argued, thus, that a confessing church must be aware that the church is a dynamic concept living from hope, and infusing hope into the world surrounding it.

It must be pointed out that at this meeting a number of Roman Catholic observers had been invited, and one of them, the Rev. Dr. Joseph J. Spae, director of the Orient Institute for Religious Research in Tokyo and consultant of the Secretariat for Non-Christians, Rome, shared his Catholic experience in the Asian scene. His speech focused on Catholic experience in a non-Christian world. He said he understands the Confessing church as "the contract between those confessing and those to whom it is confessed." He encouraged the EACC to start a "Dialogue of the Heart," with the non-Christians. This meant to dialogue with an attitude of openness to the Asian historical condition in which the churches found themselves.

Another important speech at the conference was delivered by W. A. Vissert-Hooft, the retiring general secretary of the World Council of Churches. He challenged seriously the Asian churches to think very carefully upon the notion of indigenization. He said indigenization has an emotional component in our modern world. The Christian message has been often over-indigenized or under-indigenized to the national cul-

ture, and that its true distinctiveness had become lost in the process. He cited the Tai-Ping Rebellion of China of 1850 as an example, by saying if the Tai-Ping Rebellion (which in fact was the only Christian revolutionary movement in Asia) had succeeded, China would possibly not have come to know authentic Christianity. He agreed that no one can present the gospel without consciously or unconsciously seeking to express it in terms which are intelligible to his hearers and which are therefore not simply identical with the form in which the gospel was first formulated. But he warned that the process of rapid cultural change penetrated into every corner of the world and uprooted every tradition and forced every culture to face new and unprecedented issues. Thus he said that what is needed is interaction between the old and the new, the traditional and the modern.

This conference was an unusual one as the talk of confessing the faith in Asia became the search for faith which would respond to the Asian situation. The conference from the very beginning to the end, emphasized that Christian theology will fulfill its task in Asia only as the Asian churches, as the servant of God's word in the revelation in Jesus Christ, speak out toward the Asian situation, and from involvement and participation in it.

The statement published by the conference went further to explain that because God works not only in the church but also in the world, the church should extend its concerns beyond the wall of the Christian church and should listen to those outside the church as they speak about life, its meaning and its possibility. Out of such listening and concern may come a greater understanding of faith itself.

Concerning the nation-building which the Asian churches strongly

advocated in the previous meetings, this conference concluded that through all the happenings after the wars, it was clear that Jesus Christ is present in the struggle of the Asian people to recover their humanity; however, the statement pointed out that confessing Christ as Lord should involve courageous action "to resist every form of belief and ideology which denies people their essential dignity, every form of social structure in which a person lives at the expense of fellow people."

This stand of the EACC was a big step forward from their previous stand. The church leaders had witnessed that the social issues facing Asia were not as simple and predictable as they had thought. Meeting in Hong Kong, the delegates witnessed how millions of people have come here to live and to shape their destinies in a bustling city. It was not just food for the body that they needed. Being uprooted from their village-life, their needs have gone beyond the material dimension. The conference reminded itself that in attempting to be relevant, the church should remain spiritual and be ready to give spiritual guidance in addition to social concern. The statement, responding to this experience said, "throughout Asia, young people are migrating to the cities. Once they are uprooted from their home life in the country area, they must find a new home in a complex urban society. It is here that the churches can help these young people to find new meaning and purpose of life."²

In short, the main concern of this conference was to confess Christian faith in a relevant way, namely, by an indigenous approach in order to extend its concerns and cares to the uprooted people who were in this condition³ because of urbanization.

B. 1966—The World Conference on Church and Society

In this same year, 1966, the World Conference on Church and Society was held in Geneva, Switzerland from July 12 to 26. An Asian delegation of 39 members, consisting mostly of the Far East countries attended the conference. The spokesmen for this particular Asian group were: M. M. Thomas of India, A. C. Espiritus of the Philippines, and Masao Takenaka of Japan, who spoke to the conference on the Asian experience and expectation.

First, they spoke of the need of the Asian nations to develop their new political ethos applicable to their own particular situation, because the dynamics of their situations were in many ways very different from those of the West. They discussed the following:

1. The revolutionary changes that came to the West one after another over a long period are coming to Asia simultaneously and within a much shorter time. These changes demand increasing agricultural and industrial productivity, the participation of all people in government, more equal distribution of the wealth of the country and public responsibility for health, education, social welfare and security. All press together at the same time, not primarily on ideological but on sheer pragmatic grounds.

2. Industrialism, socialism and community development in relation to the traditional religious and cultural backgrounds pose many problems. If they have to attain stability, these new techniques and ideas must have indigenous cultural roots and a certain continuity with indigenous humanism through reform in transitional religions and cul-

tures. In this process, it is necessary and legitimate to reinterpret, as far as possible, the techniques and ideas themselves in indigenous forms. This means the development Asians pursue should have indigenous and cultural relevance. In A. C. Espiritus' words, "The countries of Southeast Asia will achieve the modernization of their economies to which they aspire."³

3. In many of the Asian countries the people have experienced long colonial control by western powers during and before the Second World War. The impact of western domination cannot be easily forgotten and removed. Having gained political independence, Asian nations still live in interdependence which has been accelerated by the impact of commercial and technological development. The end of colonialism does not mean the isolation of the Asian countries from the rest of the world. The Asian nations desperately need financial aid from their former colonial powers in their striving for modernization. But since it is nearly impossible for any country to give aid without increasing its influence over the recipients, these Asian theologians who attended the conference felt that "aid programs should be developed on lines that would preclude a further relationship of dependence and influence."⁴ The Southeast Asian people are striving to modernize their societies in the full exercise of nationhood, freed as much as possible from the constraints and limitations of dependent relations with the former colonial powers. Western responsibility must see them not as objects of exploitation but as a people for whom the strong bear some burdens. This should be not only because every man's suffering is a concern from which there is no escape, but because those people have suffered for centuries from the injustices of colonial relations. The whole question

of mutual economic responsibility should take place within the context of the moral requirement of the rich to aid the poor,"⁵ said Prof. S. Rouner of Bangalore and M. M. Thomas.

Asian delegates, in conclusion expressed their concern and shared their Asian viewpoints on the Asian situation as follows:

1. The newly independent nations released from colonial rule must develop a new political ethos applicable to their own political situations. Nation-building needs the participation of all people with equal distribution of the national wealth.
2. Development must have indigenous cultural relevance.
3. It should be a moral requirement of the "have" nations to aid the "have-not" nations with respect, the "aiding" with respect and the "receiving" with dignity.

What then, is the response of the conference to these Asian observations? As a whole, the conference recommended that the church should express its concern for international economic justice. The churches in affluent societies should quicken the consciences of their nations to increase their efforts for international aid. The conference also urged the Asian churches as well as the world churches, to take the initiative in gathering men and women from the whole community to clarify issues of social responsibility of concern to them. The church should encourage the training of its people toward responsible participation as citizens.⁶ In summary, the church must educate people, in order to develop a new political ethos applicable to their situations.

1967—The Asian Conference on Church and Society

In 1967, the Asian conference on Church and Society was held in Seoul, Korea from October 10 to 16. M. M. Thomas of India and George L. Park of Korea were co-chairmen of the conference. This conference, on

one hand, was a continuation of the World Conference on Church and Society held in Geneva and, on the other hand, an Asian deliberation on the meaning of modernization and the EACC's stand toward it.

The theme which occupied the minds of all Asian church leaders at this time was modernization, as it spells promise to Asia in terms of release from cyclical fate, grinding poverty and inhibiting social structures. Being aware that modernization may carry the potential for new forms of bondage and dehumanization, Asian nations nevertheless claim its promise with determination to meet its problems as they arise. A major concern arose: How can the Christian faith illuminate human creativity and responsibility for the shaping of the ways and pace by which modernization proceeds? In other words, how will the church witness in the midst of the process of modernization? How can the church interpret modernization theologically and how extend its help when need arises?

First, the Asian church leaders agreed that the modernization which they pursue should be different from westernization. Modernization to them should be a demand in use of technological and social planning to transform their societies for the enhancement of the life of their people.⁷ Such modernization in Asia, though borrowing from the west, should not be seen as identical with westernization, but as a means to further awaken Asian natural and cultural selfhood.⁸ Thus, modernization is the bearer of promise to Asians, a promise of liberation from grinding poverty, promise of emancipation from static, outworn or inhibiting social structures.

These promises, however, are not without dangers. They may undermine the traditional fabric of social life and they may reshape

values and ways of thought in unknown and uncontrollable ways. What is the EACC's teachings in the light of these promises and dangers? The conference concluded that Christians existing in a time of modernization must be prepared:

1. to help release Asia for its future.
2. to be participants in this movement of change, to share its suffering, to commit its resources and to re-shape its life and institution for service in a new age.
3. to seek in all national goals and aspirations of the humanization of men and the building of a human society.

With regard as to how the churches interpret the pursuit of modernization theologically, M. M. Thomas advocated that Asian churches should develop a theology of history which would view modernization as occurring within the revelation of God's purpose for man in Christ. This theology should become, he argued, the framework for Christian participation in the work of using modernization for enhancing human dignity. He believed that the church should be served as the prototype of a transformed community which has played a part in the spiritual and social ferment leading to contemporary change and which is able to keep the forces of modernization human. This view states that the primary task of theology is to set forth a theology of history which views modernization as occurring within the revelation of God's purpose.

This view, evidently is a continuation of the assumption that God is working through Asian revolutions to Christianize Asia. It was opposed by others in the conference. Like Shoki Coe, who viewed history as the sphere in which both God and man are engaged as co-workers. God has created man to be freely responsible; he has placed man in the world and bade him to subdue it and shape it, participating in its creation.

Modernization, he argued, cannot be understood exclusively in terms of God's act or purpose, any more than feudalism, guided democracy or the emergence of a free-market economy. The conference concluded that more study and deliberation were needed and gave this guidance: "The Christian community in Asia has a duty to help its members understand their responsibilities in and for the process of modernization. For this purpose the churches need to widen and deepen their own discussion of both the opportunities and dilemmas of modernization and their own substantial involvement in it."⁹

D. 1968—Modernization of Asian Society

In 1968, the fourth Assembly of the East Asia Christian Conference with the theme, "In Christ All Things Hold Together," was held in Bangkok, Thailand from January 30 to February 6. The delegates attending this conference came from 16 countries including non-Asian New Zealand and Australia, plus a good number of observers and consultants from Europe and North America. Philip Potter and C. I. Itty of WCC and Shoki Coe, who became the director of Theological Education Fund, were among the consultants. D. T. Niles, the general secretary of EACC retired from his post at this conference and U Kyaw Than, the associate secretary, was named to assume the new leadership of the EACC.

As the theme "In Christ All Things Hold Together" reveals, the Asian churches had seen the loose parts in the changing Asian society and called for the churches to work closely together in the face of rapid social changes in Asia. The conference re-stated the need of Christian presence in the process of modernization. It affirmed that the church must not only respond to the need of society, but it must

also take the initiative wherever possible to eliminate the dehumanizing factors inherent in the process of modernization. The conference re-committed itself to be an educator through Christian education and lay-training, to facilitate the goal of a just society. In order to achieve this goal, the conference made a significant decision to officially establish the Urban Industrial Mission within the framework of EACC.

Along with modernization, the conference discussed the secularization which was taking place in Asia. Secularization was understood as "a negation and rejection of all oppression authority structures, paternalistic or otherwise, which stands in the way of freedom." The conference had welcomed this process of secularization because it deemed it the source of the general motivation for the modernizing effort and felt it would become a source of liberating Asian people from the vicious circle of fatalism. With this view in mind, the 1968 assembly went back to consider afresh the nature of Christian action in the Asian struggle.

In its report on a Divided Church in a Broken World, it spoke of the need for dynamic Christian presence in Asia. This was especially necessary in resisting the dehumanizing forces of traditionalism which seemed to be a set of forces requiring individuals to conform to a rigid and hierarchically stratified social order. The conference thus affirmed first, the necessity of "revolutionary change in power structures" as an "inescapable requirement" at every stage of the modernization process and, second, the necessity to create a new ethos of values, attitudes and personality structures to motivate the change of social and political structures and to realize the human ends of change. The assembly called Christians and churches to participate in, and where necessary to initiate "a revolution in thinking as well as action among

the inarticulate masses in the rural sectors—the peasantry, the artisans and the landless laborers" as well as among working sections of the urban communities, for

the organization of the masses on the basis of their demands and rights and the involvement of these people in mass struggle are necessary to secure a just share of power for them. Revolutionary movements, therefore, are an inherent part of the modernization process, at least in the traditional societies.¹⁰

The implication is that without these people's movement at the bottom, democratic institutions only serve the vested interests and strengthen the exploitive powers and revolutions by elite minorities from the top, in the name of the poor, which turns only to new oppressive systems. In the context, the report asked the churches to stand ready "on occasion to endorse the responsible use of civil disobedience in cases where the law and the distribution of power are manifestly unjust."¹¹

One of the striking things the 1968 assembly did was radically to question nationalism as an ethos for a genuinely human process of modernization. The problem was that positive nationalism has been confined so far to the elite sections. Their desire for ostentatious living has often been the source of "nationalism" in the field of economics. Any "modernization" has been consumed in this manner. A positive nationalism should motivate the people to bear sacrifice and to work for the development of the country. But this type of nationalism can grow only from the sense of equality and oneness created by an equal sharing of power by the people.

There was a great deal of emphasis on the church's role in Christian education and training of the lay people in this assembly. Christian education and lay training, the conference said, go beyond the traditional understanding of the educational mission of the church. It

should provide persons with opportunities and resources for reflection on their immediate life situations so that they can acquire new understanding, attitude and action patterns to be fully involved in the secular world. The assembly recommended the churches to foster lay training centers throughout Asia and to urge theological colleges and institutes to launch the programs of lay training for missions and services in their professions. To facilitate this recommendation, the assembly approved the appointment of a full-time staff both to supervise the planning of this educational program, to plan for a visitation program to acquire the first hand understanding of the real situations and problems existing in Asia, and to evaluate the progress of the training program.

III. Analysis

Why did the Asian churches at this stage pinpoint the need of the churches "to listen to those outside the church speak about life"? Why did the Asian churches suddenly question the virtues of the Asian nationalism which it had earlier supported, and why did the churches call for a new political ethos applicable to the Asian situation? What actions did the EACC undertake to catalyze the goal of justice which it pursued? Three factors were important. First, the churches witnessed the fact that traditional Asian village life was changing as a result of nation-building. Second, the churches had seen that Asia was facing multi-revolutionary changes and the churches could only serve and speak to the people as Asian churches. Third, the churches had found out that in order to be effective in the teachings and services, a special task force, e.g., the Urban Industrial Mission, should be created to carry

out the real struggle and to enlighten the people. —

In this section, I will try to analyze the three key factors which determined the teachings of the Asian churches at this stage.

A. Urbanization in Asia

The delegates attending the 1966 EACC conference in Hong Kong witnessed with their very own eyes that thousands of people, especially youth, were migrating to cities looking for employment. This process of urbanization which took place not only in Hong Kong but all over Asia was a result of the nation-building for a viable economic development.

Industrialization is referred to as the economic change brought about by a technology based on inanimate sources of power. Modernization refers to all those social and political changes that have accompanied industrialization, among which are urbanization, changes in occupational structure, social mobility, development of education, change in styles of living, as well as political changes, from traditional feudalism to democratic electoral government. Development is used to describe the changes related to both of these spheres. Even though urbanization had taken place in the ancient Chinese society and in the Japanese Takugawa Shogunate, its impact upon Asian life has never been greater than in the twentieth century. Urbanization means not only the rise of a few scattered towns and cities but the phenomenon of a substantial portion of the population moving into urban centers. This phenomenon of urbanization in Asia can be attributed to two reasons, namely, population growth and industrialization.

1. Population Growth

Between 1950 and 1970, the population in southeast Asia rose by

55 percent, an increase of more than 350 million persons.¹² Annual rates of population growth in 1950-1960 and in 1960-1968 for selected countries are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4
POPULATION GROWTH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Country	1950-1960	1960-1968
Burma	1.9	2.1
Ceylon	2.5	2.4
India	1.9	2.5
Indonesia	2.1	2.4
Malaysia (West)	3.1	3.1
Pakistan	2.1	2.1
Philippines	3.1	3.5
Thailand	3.8	3.1
Developing EACC Countries	2.1	2.5

Comparison of the growth rates for the two periods indicate that for half the countries included in the table, and for the region as a whole, an increased rate of growth was recorded in the second of the two periods. The sharp increases in population were largely a product of a declining mortality rates as a result of the improved public health measures and the near eradication of certain diseases such as malaria. The population increases were described by Gunnar Myrdal as "the most important social and economic change that has taken place in the under-developed world in the post-war era."¹³

The rapid population growth has greatly reduced the cultivated lands which were turned into housing facility areas to accommodate the growing population. The demands for food and employment were also both increased, one forcing the government speed up its pace for industrialization, to create more jobs and two, to reducing the amount of exports. For instance, Burma's production of rice had reached pre-war levels by the late 1950's, but exports were off by one half because of increased consumption within the country. Some countries, on the contrary, had to import food, resulting in the development of the lighter industries in the countries in order to exchange for food. For instance, Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines and Indonesia have developed their processing industries so as to increase their hard currency for trading. This indirectly meant that more labor was needed in new factories. It brought the migration of people to urban centers.

2. Industrialization

No country in Asia except Japan and parts of China and India were really industrialized prior to 1940. There was practically no heavy industry in the area, and light industry was insufficiently developed to meet ordinary consumer needs. Most products were mainly agricultural, based on the use of hand tools and labor, either animal or manual. The percentage of the working population engaged in manufacturing pursuits or in related activities is currently highest in the Philippines, but even there it is less than 12 percent. In Malaysia it is about 7 percent, and in Burma less than 2 percent. The trading patterns of those countries also indicate at present how economically underdeveloped they are. Everywhere, food and mineral products are

exchanged for manufactured items ranging from heavy equipment to a wide variety of consumer goods.

With the effort of the government's policy to encourage economic development, machinery was brought in. Power-driven machines thus revolutionized the textile industry whereas much of the spinning and weaving was formerly done in the workers' homes.

The new machines were large and expensive. Individuals had neither the money nor the space to have these machines in their houses. Wealthy men began to build large factories. The weavers and hand-spinners had to leave their homes to work in these new mills. With the introduction of the new power, the methods of civilization on the farms were also changed. Machinery has replaced manpower; thus, there was an over-supply of laborers in many rural areas. As result, many people moved into villages and cities, looking for employment. The process of urbanization was unprecedented to Asians, who for centuries had lived a village life where the kinship tie was strong. Those migrating masses had never experienced a lifestyle lacking in family-intimacy. In other words, they had been totally uprooted from their traditional village life. Two cases have been selected here.

Shichow is a farming village located in the mid-west section of Taiwan. It had a population of approximately 5,000 in 1967. Historically, the livelihood of the people there has been agricultural. The industrialization efforts of the government, however, has changed the ways of life for its residents. The land formerly used for farming has been converted to houses, schools, markets or small-sized food processing factories to accommodate the growing population. These changes should have created more jobs for the people there. On the contrary, it

has forced young people out of jobs, due to the loss of land or because of their being unskilled. In order to survive, these unemployed villagers moved to bigger centers like Taichung or Taipei looking for jobs. The skilled ones, however, have also left the villages because they could earn much more money in larger centers. Consequently, farming land was reduced, the young people moved to cities and the elderly and children were left behind. These migrating people who used to enjoy close family ties at home have suddenly been cut off from family intimacy. Their meals are no longer ready when they come in from work. The friendly visits with family members and neighboring folk at leisure times no longer exists. Prostitution became a newly rising business which, along with the pressures of work and ill-prepared abilities to adjust to the new changes, has indirectly increased the suicidal and divorce rates in Shichow. The big centers kept growing in population and the new light factories in cities owned by the state have also attracted more and more people who have moved out of the villages. By the end of the sixties, the population in Taichung had almost doubled while Shichow's population remained about the same.

Pulan Ketam of Malaysia, with the population at 12,000, had been a fishing village for ages. The impact of modernization has forced some changes on the lives of its fishermen. International fishing boats with powerful engines have made frequent visits into nearby waters. This has definitely decreased the catches by the small fishing boats owned by the people of Pulan Ketam and has reduced the supply of sea life. The unchecked pollution and the danger of oil slicks also has contributed to the migration of hundreds of people to big cities. Many of their newly-found jobs are on new industrial estates in Malaysia. Because of the

low wages for industrial laborers, the people look for the cheapest housing available. Many eventually end up as "squatters" on state land, mining-leased land or private land. Sometimes, if they are lucky enough, they are given temporary occupational licenses which allow them to stay on these lands, though not permanently. Most of the migrating people work as factory hands, contract laborers and odd-job workers. In the evenings they have nothing to do and there is no family, and there are no friends close by to visit. Prostitution has risen as a prosperous business, not only bringing diseases but also causing the break-up of families.

Like the people in Shichow, the Malaysians in Pulan Ketam have been uprooted from their traditional life. They were forced by industrialization to settle in strange environments. These phenomena are universal in Asia, including: (1) migration of people from villages and farms to cities, (2) the rapid growth of population in the cities, (3) the housing shortage in cities, (4) the rise of prostitution, (5) the break-up of family, and (6) the suicidal rate increase.

What is the role of the church in these new social sufferings? The church cannot reverse the tide of history. The church is one of the advocates for building stronger national economics. The church thus says, "We must listen to those outside the church as they speak about life. . ." and, ". . . we should help migrating people find new meaning and purpose for life."

These two cases illustrate the universal effect of industrialization upon villagers in Asia. The societal structures, patterns of lives, kinship relations, and marketing habits, are all changed. The traditional sense of values has also lost its influential power over the

personal decision-making processes. The effects are most influential in two areas:

1. Family structure: The traditional Asian society had built its social cohesion on the basis of kinship relationships. The individual was less important than the family as a whole. Freedom was conceived in terms of the family rather than of the individual, family being the economic unit of production as well as the social unit of order. Success or failure, survival or death came not to the individual but to the family. The power of the father was unquestionable. He was the center and the decision-maker of the whole family. This had the painless grace of seeming natural, necessary and human. Thus, an intimacy of the family was enjoyed.

Industrialization, however, has disorganized this close relationship of the family as a unit. The agricultural mechanization has resulted in the oversupply of manpower in the rural and urban areas, because the increase of the manufacturing industry which demands labor has attracted the migration of the young people to the cities as the cases of Shichow and Pulan Ketam show. The consequence is the scattering of family members. The father, who used to be authoritative can no longer instruct his children. The family's affinity from living together is thus sharply reduced. Individualism begins to flourish. The family no longer serves as the basis of social cohesion. The father even loses the control of his children's marriages. Generation gaps widen because of the new differences in personal values, caused by new world views as derived from education and urban life experiences.

2. Custom of dating and courtship: In the traditional Asian society, marriage had little to do with love, since its purpose was to

bring healthy mates together for the rearing of abundant families. This could not be left to arbitrary passion. Hence the sexes were kept apart while the parents sought eligible mates for their children. Parents arranged the betrothals of their children soon after puberty, although sometimes even before birth. The father of the boy usually sent a substantial present to the father of the girl, but the girl in her turn was expected to bring a considerable dowry, chiefly in the form of goods, to her husband. The girl was kept in strict seclusion until the wedding. Her future mate could not see her except by stratagem, though that was not often managed. In many cases, he saw her for the first time when he removed her veil at the wedding ceremony. This custom was changed as children were no longer living with their parents because of work-related moves. The children seemed to enjoy more freedom than they had at home since the father was too far away to restrict their daily activities. Dating between boy and girl became a new form of selecting mates, and parents at home had no control at all. Health and background status of the mates became less important. Passion in turn began to predominate the courtship. Pre-marital sex also seemed inevitable. The quarrels and disharmonies between fathers and sons thus increased over the issue of "who was to be married."

These listed changes are only a few of many. Trying to help people adjust to inevitable social changes. Like these resulted in industrialization becoming the main concern of the churches in the sixties. Though the Asian churches have determined to help people find new meanings in a new society, the task remains difficult and the problems are beyond the churches' ability to solve. There are at least two reasons: first, Asian churches are minority institutions and second,

the language which the churches speaks is vague.

1. Asian churches remain minorities. Only about 5 percent of the total Asian population are Christians and in some areas Christians are numbered at less than one percent. Since Christians generally have better living conditions, they do not drift around like the rest. Those who migrated to the cities are mostly non-Christians and they have no connection nor interest in attending the church. Asian people basically are anti-Christian. Even though the church has been in existence in Asia for over one hundred years, to many people the church is foreign and they feel it to be detached from the Asian way of life.¹⁴

2. The language which the churches speak was often irrelevant to the pain of people who were uprooted. Although the EACC repeatedly stated that it could help these young people find meaning and purpose, there was only talk, but no program and no planning. The EACC seems to have meant that through the Gospel, the church should be able to provide spiritual satisfaction to the disoriented masses. Unfortunately, the EACC has neglected the fact that Asian people have a much richer civilization than Christianity in terms of its spiritual emphasis.¹⁵ Asian civilization has also been in existence longer than Christian civilization. The mental image that "the proclamation of the Gospel may enter the life of the people in a meaningful way"¹⁶ is not much different than to offer "opium" to the people to help them forget the concrete sufferings of this world.

B. The Attempt to be Relevant

Asian churches tried to exert their influence upon the changing society of Asia, but because of their minority status and the vagueness

of their language, their influence has been very limited. The Asian people were reluctant to listen to a western-patronized Christian church despite the fact that a modernization process was taking place in Asia. Facing this situation, the Asian church leaders concluded that their teachings as well as their theology must be Asian in nature. Since the change taking place in Asia has been multi-dimensional, and because of its tremendously rapid pace, as described by Sho Ki Coe at 1966's conference, the EACC felt that Asian churches must seek new approaches. At the 1966 conference, the theme occupying the minds of the Asian church leaders was that the church must be relevant to the Asian situation. Its statement said that Christian theology would "fulfill its task in Asia only as the Asian church. . . ." ¹⁷ Out of this concern the Asian churches encouraged more efforts aimed at indigenizing theology in order to be relevant and to speak to Asians as Asians.

This endeavor to create an Asian theology was motivated by at least three forces. First, the rapid social change has forced churches to search for a new way of relating and speaking effectively to the new Asian situation. Asian churches, fundamentally speaking, have been an extension of western churches. Their theology, liturgy, form of worship, even their style of the church buildings, are all western in character. To enhance its effectiveness in its teachings, the churches assume they have to be relevant and the only way to achieve this goal is through the indigenization of the Gospel.

Second, this movement for an indigenous theology has also partly been influenced by one of the understandings of nationalism described in a previous chapter, namely, a search for self-hood. Asian nations, after their independence, were searching for new political identity, and

the church, after having been given an autonomous status from western missionary control, felt that it should have a new identity as well.

Third, the revival of ancient Asian pride also contributed to this endeavor. This pride is best expressed in the 1967 World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva where Asian delegates affirmed that aid from the western nations was appreciated and welcome in Asia, but that it should be given to the Asian people with respect. In other words, Asia would not accept aid if given in sheer sympathy or contempt. Asians are proud of their long civilization and rich cultural heritage. The Chinese even have portrayed themselves as citizens of "the kingdom at the center of the world" and have regarded western people as uncivilized and barbarous. This feeling had spread through Korea, Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore. The Brahmanism of Hinduistic culture is another example of the pride of other Asian civilizations.

The above three factors have contributed to the enthusiasm of the Asian churches "to fulfill their task as Asian churches." But is this endeavor for an Asian theology feasible? What kind of an indigenous movement is it? Before we discuss these questions, we have to understand what this indigenous movement is.

The goal of indigenous theology, as stated by the EACC 1966 conference is "a living theology must speak to the actual questions. Men in Asia are asking in the midst of their dilemmas; their hopes, aspirations and achievements, their doubts, despair and suffering."¹⁸ But what is "living theology"? Bong Rin Ro of Korea interpreted it as "the capacity to respond meaningfully to the Gospel within the framework of one's own situation."¹⁹ E. P. Nacpil of the Philippines assumed it to "indicate our area of responsibility and concern, namely, the varie-

ties and dynamics of Asian realities."²⁰ C. S. Song said it is "to be relevant and viable" and "must become related to what is happening in Asia today."²¹ Kosuke Koyama interpreted it as that which "belongs to the blood and flesh of the people and came to them through their own proud history."²²

Thus, "living theology" of Asia in one word, is a theological attempt to be relevant to the Asian situation. But what is the "Asian situation"? Is it the suffering of people who experience rapid social changes or is it the "proud history" of Asia as Koyama indicated? Or is it understood in cultural context as one Asian theological student protested, "we national Christians lack a cultural identity . . . Christians tend to divorce themselves from their own culture."²³

"Living theology" in Asia is expressed in three different theological approaches: (1) syncretistic theology, (2) accommodating theology, and (3) situational theology, sometimes called contextual theology.

1. Syncretism

There are Christian theologians and other religious thinkers who have tried to syncretize Christianity with other national religions (Hinduism, Buddhism or Islam) in an attempt to indigenize theology into the national situation. The Commission of World Missions and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches has sponsored a number of religious dialogues with the leaders of other living religions. Many of these dialogues have resulted in a mutual acceptance of each other's beliefs. The scope of Hinduism and Buddhism is large enough to accommodate all other religions including Christianity. Sri Ramakrishna, founder of the

Ramakrishna Mission, meditated on Christ, recognized Christ's divinity as an avartar, like Krishna and Buddha, and encouraged his disciples to worship Christ.

Kehub Chunder Sen of the Bramo Samaj, an ardent Brahman and Hindu leader, highly regarded Christ and His influence. He said:

"You cannot deny that your hearts have been touched, conquered and subjugated by a superior power. That power need I tell you is Christ. It is Christ who rules British India, and not the British government . . . none but Jesus, none ever deserved this right, this precious diadem, India, and Jesus shall have it."²⁴

Father Klaus Klostermaier, a Roman Catholic from Germany, visited Vrindaban, one of the Hindu sacred places in India and had dialogue with Hindu theologians. After his spiritual experiences with Hindu scholars, he testified:

The more I learned of Hinduism, the more surprised I grew that our theology does not offer anything essentially new to the Hindu. . . . When we transpose the knowledge of Christ into the depth of Brahmavidya (knowledge of the Supreme and union with the Absolute) we begin to understand that, essentially, the stipulations set down by Indian theologians for the attainment of Bramavidya are a first step toward knowledge of Christ . . . Christ does not come to India as a stranger. He comes unto His own. Christ comes to India not from Europe, but directly from the Father.²⁵

Dr. M. M. Thomas, Director of the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society in Bangalore, India, interprets salvation in terms of humanization by which man finds his true humanness, which has been oppressed by social injustice, war and poverty. He is very much horizontally oriented in his contextualization of the doctrine of salvation at the expense of the vertical relationship to God. Dr. Thomas says:

I cannot see any difference between the accepted missionary goal of a Christian church expressing Christ in terms of the contemporary Hindu thought and life patterns and a Christ-centered Hindu church of Christ which transforms Hindu thought.

and life patterns within.²⁶

Another syncretistic Asian theology is illustrated in Professor Sung Lum Yun's theology, *Vestigium Trinitatis* (trace of the Trinity). A professor of theology at the Methodist Seminar in Seoul, Dr. Yun tried to relate the doctrine of the Trinity to the Korean mythology of creation. According to him, in the beginning there was a heavenly emperor, Hang-In, whose son was called Hang-Ung. The father gave his son three royal seals to rule the world. The son descended into the world near Teaback Mountain in the central part of Korea by a divine tree, and with his 3,000 tribesmen erected a divine city. He married a female bear who bore a son called Tang-Gun Wang-Kum. He built the first Korean dynasty, Tang-Gun Chosen. The supreme god, Hang-In, god's son, Hang-Ung, and the female bear, a terrestrial goddess, were thus united to produce a human being.

Professor Yun says:

This is my interpretation that the Tang-Gun mythology may be an indigenized form of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity which was spread to northeast Siberia through the Eastern Orthodox Church and finally reached Korean soil. . . .²⁷

Evidence of syncretism with Buddhism has been also observed in Asia. A Christian bishop in Hong Kong was quoted by the Buddhist Digest as saying, "I feel more and more that Sakyamuni is the nearest in character and effect to Him Who is the Way, the Truth and the Life."²⁸

2. Accommodation

This is another subtle form of indigenous theology. It considers prevailing customs and religious practices and accommodates good ideas from other religions. It also stresses that the Christian message must be expressed in national cultural patterns in the areas of liturgi-

cal setting, church music, dance, drama and building structures. Matteo Ricci, Roman Catholic Jesuit missionary to China in the 16th century, chose the words "Tien Chu" (天主 Heavenly Lord) for God, which was the popular Chinese concept of God. In the same way the Thailand Bible Society picked the word "Tamma" (law, duty, virtue, teaching, gospel) for the word "Logos" in John 1:1. The Japanese translation of God as "Kamisama" is also another example. Kosuke Koyama of Japan said, "every religion has good things as well as bad things; therefore, we must keep the good things of Buddhism in Thailand and talk about them. This will change our life style and I consider this evangelism."²⁹

According to Koyama, indigenization means theologically informed endeavor, to make the contents and expressions of Christian theology, ministry and life, adopted and rooted into a community of different cultural localities. For instance, a concrete indigenization of Christianity against the background of Thailand, means the total processes involved for the emergence of a Thai Christian community: speaking the Thai language, serving neighbors according to the Thai way of doing things, communicating with each other through Thai psychology and the Thai manner of inter-personal relationships. Doing all this in a Thai way, yet at the same time a Christian way, Koyama says, "this combination is Thai and Christian, but becoming Thai-Christian and Christian-Thai, in order to create an authentic Christian community in Thailand."³⁰

Another supporter of this approach is Chow Lian Hwa of Taiwan who forcefully advocates the practice of ancestral worship into Christian worship. Since ancestral worship is so important to the Chinese community, he maintains that the church must accommodate this practice

in order to become Chinese-Christian and Christian-Chinese.

"Indigenization means 'rooting,'" said Koyama. "The event and message of 'Jesus' Christian which was brought by the missionaries, must be rooted in India, Thailand, Korea, Hong Kong. . . . Accommodation takes place as a part of rooting³¹ We accommodate in order to root, we don't root to accommodate."

3. Contextualization

Another type of indigenous theology is called contextual theology or situational theology. It is an attempt to contextualize the Gospel in Asia. What does contextualization mean? S. K. Coe explains: "It means all that is implied in the familiar term, indigenization and yet seeks to press beyond. Contextualization has to do with how we assess the peculiarity of third world contexts. Indigenization tends to be used in the sense of responding to the Gospel in terms of a traditional culture. Contextualization, while just ignoring this, takes into account the processes of secularity, technology, and the struggle for human justice which characterizes the historical movement of nations in the third world."³²

This approach is first expressed by Kazo Kitamori in the "Pain of God" theology and is animated by Choan Seng Song in his "Third Eyes Theology."

Kitamori's Theology of the Pain of God was written in 1946, right after World War II when Japan went through a time of devastation and suffering. There, out of that context, he developed a Japanese indigenous theology. To him, the "pain of God" theology is central to the Christian Gospel. He started with Jeremiah 31:20: "Ephraim, my dear son. Is he a delightful child? Indeed, as often as I have spoken against him, I certainly still remember him," declares the Lord. Here,

the context of the passage is God suffering for Ephraim, His son. Another translation goes, "My bowels are troubled for him, saith the Lord." The key word in the phrase is the Hebrew verb, HAMA, which Kitamori interprets as "pain." He believes that God suffered for Ephraim and He suffers for His people. To him, the entire Christian theology is the theology of suffering.

There are four constituents in the pain of God. First, the fact of God's forgiving and loving those who should not be forgiven and loved, brings about pain within Him. God's love for the sinful person creates the pain of God. Kitamori says, "When the love of God bears and overcomes His wrath, nothing but the pain of God takes place."³³

The second constituent of the pain of God is simply the suffering: Kitamori brings out the thirst, hunger, exhaustion, fears and excruciating sensations of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Third, since Jesus Christ is God, historical suffering is, therefore, a part of God's plan. The Father suffered when He sent His beloved Son to suffer and die. Fourth, is the pain suffered by His creatures by virtue of His immanence. This is borne out by Jesus' last sermon (Matthew 25:31-46) in which He identified Himself with one of the least of those who thirst, hunger, and suffer poverty and imprisonment.

After explaining these four constituents in the pain of God, Kitamori goes into the relationships between God's pain and man's pain. Man's pain is the reality of the wrath of God against sin and is the result of man's estrangement from God. It also symbolizes God's pain; therefore, the linking bridge between God and man is pain. The phrase, "love rooted in the pain of God," appears more than thirty times throughout his book.³⁴

Two important factors in his "pain of God" theology are observable. First, Dr. Kitamori took the tragedies of World War II, suffering and pains of the Japanese people, very seriously and he contextualized the Gospel to the living situation in Japan at that crucial time. He thus created an indigenous situational theology. In fact, an astounding statement he made is that the Christian church through the centuries had failed to discover the centrality of the Gospel until the Japanese Christians discovered the truth through the pain of God theology.³⁵ Also, Dr. Kitamori was influenced by the dominant Buddhist concept of DUKKA (suffering) and its role in solving human suffering and pain in order to reach nirvana.

The key issue in the whole argument of contextual theology is whether the Biblical and historical doctrines of the Christian church can be preserved without compromise in the process of contextualization. It is comparable to the ark of the covenant in the Old Testament. In Old Testament times, the ark was sometimes carried by ox cart. Today in several Asian countries, it could be carried by rickshaw, horse, motorcycle or automobile. Yet the message of the ark must not be changed. Syncretistic theologians are trying to change the ark itself.

Choan Seng Song concurred with Kitamori that the "aching of heart" is the beginning of theology. He says:

The pain of heart, or what I call the aching of heart, is the beginning of man's yearning for liberation from the darkness of morality. It is ³⁶ this heart which searches for a reunion with the source of Being.

Therefore, the aching of heart and the suffering of the people are the first steps of a "doing" theology. Pain and suffering are not the end, but the beginning of a new birth, like the pain of a mother

giving birth. Song criticizes Katamori theology of the Pain of God as stopping at the cross. It cannot accommodate resurrection. Song stresses that Asian theology should go beyond pain. It should give hope, because resurrection is the overcoming of pain, both in God and in man. Pain is the anticipation of a life of joy and jubilation and therefore gives courage and fortitude to endure pain in hope. "Theology is not to be learned, but to be lived; it is not to be taught but to be experienced. It is not a systematization of the contents of faith but the acting out of that faith in real life-situations."³⁷ ~~Christians~~ thus can understand the meaning of history in terms of God's love-pain, only by involvement in the community, in the affairs of society, or by expressing agony and joy in human relationships. Thus Song's contextual theology is that people get involved in the struggle for hope through pain.

"Particularity" is the word Song used to describe the nature of this contextual theology.³⁸ He said that Jesus Christ was a particular person who lived and died in a particular historical time for a particular cause. It is this particularity of His that is related to Asian particularity. Accordingly, Asia must develop a particular theology to the particular time and place; the theology Asians need in the 20th century is a theology which suffers with Asians, hopes with Asians and struggles with Asians. This theology is best expressed by the Christians in Korea and Taiwan, says Dr. Song, in their struggle to take part in determining their national future. This theology surpasses the syncretism and accommodation theories, calling for participation of people in actual struggle wherever they may be or whatever the situation is. Thus, contextualization is not to suffer with people only, but to

struggle and to hope with people to rise above the situations they are in. This theology stresses the importance of responding to the concrete suffering of the people at the contemporary context.

These three approaches, though different in emphasis, have a common concern: the syncretism and accommodation theories strongly insinuate their desire to preserve or accommodate Asian cultural heritage in Asian Christianity. This undoubtedly will raise questions. Is the Asian indigenous movement of theology a nativistic movement? Asian nations are in the process of modernization which uproots every tradition. What, then, is the attempt to indigenize the faith to the old and seemingly vanishing culture?

According to Ralph Linton, the nativistic movement is "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of society members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture."³⁹ There are two approaches: one is magical and the other rational. The magical tries to revive the traditional culture through magical or supernatural means led by a charismatic leader. The rational tries to absorb usable elements of a foreign culture into its own cultural framework through rational means, for instance, innovation or adoption. This phenomenon is described by Anthony Wallace as revitalization. He said, "A revitalization movement is defined as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."⁴⁰ The persons involved must perceive their culture, or some major area of it, as a system. They must feel that their own cultural system is unsatisfactory.

The goal of the indigenization movement of the Asian church is not to revive Asian culture, but rather to preserve some of it. The

means is not through magical or supernatural methods, but through syncretism, accommodation or contextualization. Therefore, it is not a magical, nativistic movement. But is it a rational nativistic movement? To answer this question, we must explore this: Why does the Asian church feel the necessity of indigenization?

Christianity has challenged the Asian beliefs, and those who accept Christian teachings facing these cultural tensions are reluctant to give up their Asian cultural heritage. Their loyalty to Christ and to native cultures are frequently in conflict. The absolute uncompromising authority of Christ has created unharmonious relationships between Christians and non-Christians. For instance, ancestral worship is indispensable in Chinese understanding of filial piety. Yet Christianity teaches "thou shalt worship no other god or any image."⁴¹ Christ has become a threat to Asian culture. Another example is the understanding of salvation. In Hinduistic or Buddhistic traditions, salvation is understood as "Moksha" or "Nirvana," the liberation of the individual from rebirth and the union of an individual with God. To achieve this "salvation," one has to deny his desires and live ascetically. It is the sheer effort of man, himself. But Christianity believes that salvation is the grace of God. It can never be the effort of man, but the effort of God to become man and Christ's death for man. Confucianism has no concept of salvation; rather, its eschatological view is to have long life, to be wealthy and to have a good education and a multiplied posterity. Christian teachings are so strange to many Asian people that it had been regarded as a barbarian religion. The churches have wondered how they might relegate this hostile attitude of Asians toward Christianity? The answer found by Asian church leaders

TABLE 5
TENSIONS BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN CULTURES

	<u>East</u>	<u>West</u>
Traditional Religious Heritage:	Most religions originated in the East (Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Confucianism, Shintoism, Jainism). Mystical.	Traditional Western Theology (Judaism, Christianity, Islam).
Philosophy of History:	No concept of history, cyclical view of time (rise-process-fall).	Pessimistic view: O. Spengler (cyclical); A. Toynbee (cyclical-spiral); Optimistic view: Karl Mark (materialistic determinism); Pessimistic-Optimistic: Christian (creation-process consummation).
Theological Beliefs:	Creation: Emanation (Hinduism) God: Impersonal (Vedantism) Heaven: (Confucianism) Man: He is a part of God, and God part of man, therefore, man has no separate identity. Sin and Salvation: <u>Hinduism</u> : no concept of original sin; sin is ignorance of the oneness with Braham. <u>Confucianism</u> : human nature is basically good. Education and cultivation will improve it. No concept of salvation. The goals of life are long life, good reputation, wealth and good education. <u>Guatama</u> : human nature is good; no concept of forgiveness of sin. Truth: relative (Hindu-Buddhism) and all religions are true and false. Eschatology: reincarnation, nirvana; no heaven and hell (except in Mahayana Buddhism).	Creation: (Christian) Personal God Man is made in the image of God Sin is a direct transgression against God's commandments. Original sin. Absolute (Christian) Immortality, heaven and hell

was to bring Christianity into the Asian cultural frame through indigenization.

One of the goals of the nationalistic movement as described in the previous chapter, was to search for a new identity upon the impact of western technological and colonial occupation. The Asian people asked, "Is our culture inferior to western culture?" The retreat of western colonialism has proven that western nations were not invincible and western culture was not irresistible. The political independence of the Asian countries has regained Asian pride. Asians feel, after all, that they have survived the trial. The colonial experiences, however, gave them the determination to search for a new identity based on their traditional cultural heritage. The Asian church, in sharing this mentality, advocated that in order to show its Asian solidarity, Christianity must be Asianized and that its church buildings should be built in the Asian traditional style, and its hymns be written in Asian melody. In other words, indigenization is the formula for preserving Asian pride and for creating a new image of Asian identity.

The indigenization movement thus is not to revive Asian traditional culture, but is an expression of Asian pride. Its approach is not magical but rational and its effect psychological. Through interpreting Christian doctrine with Asian spirituality, the church assumes that Christianity becomes Asian. The movement itself has no intention to revive Asian culture but intends to preserve parts of it in the new faith the church has found in Christianity. Its approach may be rational but its effect is rather, psychological.

A second question has to be raised: Is this process of adaptation feasible? The Asian church considers it more of necessity than

feasibility in this attempt, on account of what had happened in the past to a foreign religion, namely Buddhism.

Both Hinduism and Confucianism, the two major dominant cultural systems in Asia, have been at times hostile to foreign religions. For instance, Buddhist monks were severely persecuted by Confucian scholars and Buddhism was banned in China three times before it was integrated into the Chinese cultural framework.⁴²

There is a very interesting work called Mou-tzu, after its author. It was probably written around A.D. 250. Mou-tzu was a Chinese scholar who knew the Confucian classics extremely well. He also studied Taoism and finally became a Buddhist. But Mou-tzu realized that Buddhism was not well-considered in China in his day by men of his world and scholars at the court. Mou-tzu felt that he, himself, was looked upon as a heretic. He listed the Chinese objections to Buddhism: It was a barbarian doctrine. Reincarnation, which Buddhism taught, was improbable. Filial piety required that one leave one's body intact and propagate posterity, but Buddhist monks shaved their heads and were at least supposed to be celibate. If Buddha was really the greatest teacher, why did not the sages, Yao, Shun and Confucius follow him? Mou-tzu parried these and many other objections with great skill, showing himself adept at quoting the Confucian classics for his purpose. He had not abandoned Confucius, he insisted, by becoming a Buddhist. He declared, "The Confucian classics are the flowers, but Buddhism is the fruits."⁴³

Mou-tzu took great effort to accommodate Buddhist teachings into Chinese philosophies. He used the term "Wu Wei," which is a Taoist expression meaning "non-action," to translate "Nirvana." He also used

other Taoist terms in his exposition of Buddhism. With this kind of adaptation, Buddhism was finally accepted by the Chinese and it eventually developed into a major religion in China.

This Buddhist experience in China reminds church leaders that only when Christianity is dressed in Asian form, can it be rooted in Asia.

This intention and endeavor is good, but again, is it feasible? Christianity has a very unique God, who demands total loyalty from His children. This God of jealousy as described by Edmond Jacob⁴⁴ will not tolerate any ancestral worship, such as some of the indigenous theologians advocate. The incarnation of Jesus Christ also poses a problem with Hindu tradition because if Jesus is born into a life-cycle, he cannot be God. The uses of Asian terminologies to dress Christian doctrine, though excellent in thought, does not change the nature of Christianity nor of Asian culture. Furthermore, is not indigenization an inverse to the modernization and development which Asian nations pursue? Using a Chinese expression, it is reversing the cart against the tide of history, because the indigenous movement advocates the reincarnation of old traditional clothes, architecture, form of worship, et cetera, which modernization tries to dispel.

Asia is not one but many. Asian societies are commonly composed of clusters of solidary communal groups that live in close proximity to each other but remain clearly demarcated by distinctive language, religion, race or sense of historical experience. Membership in the community is ascriptive. The individual is born into the group and membership in the group remains with him throughout his life. The notion of the "plural society" composed of diverse cultural groups as the typical

pattern in Asia was described by J. S. Furnivall:

Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the marketplace, in buying and selling. There is a plural society⁴⁵ with different sections of the community living side by side.

The deep cleavages of "cultural pluralism" create persistent and powerful lines of self-identification and solidarity within communal groups and differentiation from other groups, which may seriously threaten the cohesion of the larger society. Furnivall characterized plural societies as lacking "a common will except, possibly, in matters of supreme importance, such as resistance to aggressions from outside."⁴⁶

A variety of communal configurations can be identified. In Thailand, an overwhelming Thai-speaking, Buddhist majority exists, with very small ethnic and religious minorities at the periphery. Elsewhere, a large and dominant majority is confronted by several smaller minorities, as in Burma, where a dominant Burman ethnic majority exists along with considerably smaller Karen, Shan, Mon and other minorities. The Javanese confront the Sumatrans and other out-islanders in a roughly similar pattern in Indonesia. The predominantly Buddhist Sinhalese comprise 71 percent of the Ceylonese population, with largely Hindu Ceylon Tamil and Indian Tamil minorities, each forming approximately a tenth of the population, with a few smaller minorities. Malaysia is characterized by a very close balance between the Malays (about 47 percent of the population) and the Chinese (about 34 percent) with a smaller Indian community constituting 9 percent of the population. In the Philippines, a number of ethnic-linguistic groups of various sizes exist, no one of which is of dominating size. In religious terms, a

huge Christian majority (nearly 90 percent of the Philippine population) confronts a small Muslim minority, which is mostly on the southern island of Mindanao. In Taiwan, the majority is the so-called Taiwanese who immigrated from China hundreds of years ago. This group alone consists of eighty percent of the total population. The rest is divided by the native aborigines, about 5 percent, and the Chinese, 15 percent. Not only do they speak different languages, they also have different social habits and customs.

India contains extraordinarily complex patterns of religious and linguistic groupings. Following the creation of Pakistan as an independent state for Indian Muslims, the Indian population has been about 85 percent Hindu, with a Muslim minority of about 10 percent and with considerably smaller Christian, Sikh, Jain, Parsi, Buddhist and other religious minorities. In linguistic terms, India is strikingly diverse. The language spoken by the largest number of persons, Hindi, is the language of nearly 135 million people, but these constitute only about 30 percent of the total Indian population. Bengali, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu are each spoken by more than 30 million persons, between 7 and 9 percent of the Indian population. Each of 14 languages is spoken by 5 million or more persons, and 24 languages are spoken by at least a million people each.

Although the cultural diversity underlying the "plural society" is of venerable origin, the social and political changes of modern times have had a major impact on the character and significance of the communal cleavages. The spread of a market economy, growing urbanization, the appearance of new occupations and activities, and political reforms and reorganizations have tended to bring diverse communal groups into a

single relatively integrated political system and network of trade and commerce. The social and economic changes involved in the modernization process often proceeded unevenly, leaving some communal groups lagging behind others and generating communal grievances and tensions. Advancing social mobilization brought new aspirations and demands, which frequently exacerbated communal frictions. The twentieth century expansion of the activities of government increased considerably the benefits obtainable through political action. Following the removal of colonial rule and the socio-economic changes that widened concern with educational opportunities, non-agricultural employment and governmental services, political rivalries between communal groups intensified. New groups were brought into politics or became more active politically, increasing the reasons for conflict. New arenas for competition appeared with the creation of national legislative and executive organs and the proliferation of local authorities. A British colonial office commission, reporting on Sri Lanka shortly before its independence noted: "When political issues arise, the populace as a whole tends to divide, not according to a particular class, but on communal lines."⁴⁷ Divisions within the community, based on locality or socio-economic stratifications, were often reduced by the force of growing group self-consciousness and unity in political action, while cleavages between groups frequently were accentuated and widened.

With this diversity in cultural heritages and plural societies, indigenization movements will result in many different Asianized theologies. India will develop a theology applicable to its own caste society. China will end up with a different theology adaptable to Confucian-Taoist teaching. Thus the nature of Asian cultural pluralism poses

a great difficulty to the endeavor to indigenize Christianity.

C. S. Song in seeing these problems, says that Asian particularity could become the core of indigenization. He proposed a theological method called "doing theology with Asian spirituality." "Spirituality," says Song, "is the totality of being that expressed itself in ways of life, modes of thinking, patterns of behavior and conduct and attitudes toward the mystery that surrounds our immediate world and that beckons us on to the height beyond heights, to the depth below depths, and to the light beyond light."⁴⁸ To find this Asian spirituality, Song said that one must require a third eye in order to see the particularity of the situation in which one is placed. This emphasis on Asian particularity seems to have opened up a new guideline for the Asian church in its endeavor for indigenization in the late seventies. It, however, also has its limitation, as Asian spirituality, like Asian culture, is pluralistic. This method may only bear a territorial validity.

C. The Quest for Revolutionary Change in Power Structure

One of the striking things that the 1968 Assembly did was radically to question "nationalism as an ethos" for a genuine human process of modernization and the realization of a just society in Asia. The problem was that nationalistic movements had been largely confined to the elite section and the power had been in the hands of the few who initiated or took part in the nationalistic movement. Those in power had been concerned more about consolidating their power basis than in bringing justice to the whole people.

What kind of power-structure was it that the 1968 Assembly

described as "power in the hands of the few"?

1. The Nature of Government in Asia

The single most important factor in the political processes in Asia is the rule by individuals who were the leaders of the nationalistic movements or their successors. They assumed power after independence began, and they refused to open the power-structure for other people to participate. This is obvious in such cases as the dictatorships, presided over by Korea's Syngman Rhee, Indonesia's Sukarno, Burma's NeWin and Taiwan's Chiang Kai-Shek. But it extends further to leaders like Malaysia's Abdul Rahman and Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who played extremely important roles in their countries without being dictators or petty tyrants. In short, government by individuals was the typical phenomenon of Asian politics after the defeat of western-colonial powers.

Despite the fact that these nationalistic leaders had promised a just and democratic new nationhood, they consolidated their power-base immediately after power was gained. This rule by individuals, however, has its roots in ancient times, as well as in the period of European colonialism.

Before the west began to dominate the region, government was largely personal, as is revealed in the history and mythology of the various Asian lands. These are told in the accounts of such heroic but domineering figures as Burma's Bayinnaung, Indonesia's Gaga Mada, Vietnam's Gia-Cong, and Taiwan's Koxinga. During the colonial era the government was controlled by the Governor or the Governor-General. It is therefore not at all surprising that the experience of a strong

personal leadership for so many years should have had at least as great an impact upon the present political orientation as the limited example of parliamentary rule supplied by the restricted colonial legislations.

Though those nationalistic leaders had promised a democratic form of government, they rationalized their hanging onto power as a necessity for stability and progress. In many countries only symbolic elections were held as a show to dress their political system as democratic. Those elite leaders had already consolidated their power by the form of party politics, but in essence, the rule was still by individuals, as it had been in ancient times.

The two lands where personal rule is least important are those countries that lack a history as a single unit and where colonial rule was as impersonal as anywhere in Asia—the Philippines and Malaysia. The Philippine Islands were not a unified country before the coming of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. Western rule, Spanish and then American, lasted for several centuries, as contrasted with less than sixty-five years of British rule over Burma. The American governor of the Philippines never had the power of his British counterpart in Burma nor did he use the power he did have as vigorously. The ruling power, however, was handed over into the hands of the Nationalists and to two families, S. Osmena and M. Roxas after independence. Both their sons succeeded in power. The only democratic government was led by Magsaysay, another Nationalista when he was in power. But he was killed in an airplane accident. This ended the authentic democracy in the Philippines. C. Garcia had successfully won an election through skillful political manipulation. Money is very often the decisive factor, and lavish spending in buying victory is deemed necessary. The government

was in worse corruption until replaced by another Nationalista, Marcos, who imposed martial law and assumed sweeping power, claiming that the state was threatened by insurgency.

Under individual rule, people in Asia had never had the chance to take part in any decision-making processes. All the decisions were made by the ruler or the ruling party. Insurrections or armed uprisings were thus inevitable and have occurred during the past 30 years in Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaya (now Malaysia), Ceylon, Korea, and Pakistan, in addition to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. A multi-sided internal war has continued to smolder in Burma for a quarter of a century. In 1965, an attempted communist uprising in Indonesia was crushed with a heavy loss of lives. In 1968, communal riots produced nearly two years of emergency rule in Malaysia. The eruptions of political violence have reflected sharp ethnic and regional tensions, the erosion of deference and customary values by modernizing social and ideological trends. It has also produced fundamental disagreements over the character of political situations and the directions and purposes of public policies with frustration and despair as a result of the failures of opportunities and circumstances keeping pace with rising aspirations. Since independence, few countries in Asia have really experienced sustained peace and prosperity. The revolutionary visions and aspirations of the people for peace and justice did not come along with independence. The church, realizing the complications of the problems facing Asia reiterated in 1968 its demand for a just share of power for all the people, including peasantry and laborers. To implement its demand in actual terms, the church created the Urban-Industrial-Rural Mission in 1968. Its goal was to promote the peoples' power and thus

become a positive political entity.

2. The Urban-Industrial-Rural Mission Asian Churches in Action

Initially inspired by urban industrial mission work of the WCC in the west, and responding to the frustrating situations in Asia, the Urban-Industrial-Rural Mission of the Christian Conference of Asia was officially formed in 1968. What is the UIRM and what is it doing? How does it operate?

A book, Struggle to be Human, published by WCC stated:

UIRM is clearly a story-telling sign of the presence of God in this world, its cities and its industries, its rural lands and peoples' movements.

Motivated by the Biblical message and the earthly ministry of Jesus Christ, UIRM has this to say:

The event of Incarnation is the visible historical happening which fulfilled God's promise of Immanuel, God with us. Christ's earthly ministry was to bring justice and love to the poor and the oppressed; He identified Himself with the homeless, the hungry and the poor, and He proclaimed their salvation. The salvation He brought was comprehensive and extended to all people. But Christ has shown a particular concern for the nameless and the powerless people to the extent of saying that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of them, and in His life Christ fulfilled Mary's Song of Magnificat: "He has filled the hungry with good things and the rich He has sent empty away."⁵⁰

The goal of UIRM is to promote peoples' power, with people becoming positive political entities.

Christ gives power to the oppressed to change existing relationships as a concrete expression of His action in the historical process. Power is not a simple force. Under no circumstances is power neutral; it is either enslaving or liberating. It is inseparable from its wielder, for it involves moral, ideological and spiritual dimensions as well as organizational and physical ones. The nature of power is determined by who wields the power and how it is exercised; power can be either a promise to the people or a betrayal of them. To the Christian, power is that which God has commissioned to actualize liberation and justice in history and to restrict the forces of

destructive exploitation and demonic enslavement. When power is wielded by the people it is a concrete manifestation of their aspirations as they are organized into a movement for liberation. Peoples' power could become a liberating power. Power-building for the peoples' liberation can be seen as part of the redemptive process to which all Christians witness.

Even though UIRM of the Asian churches was not officially formed until 1968, Rev. Henry Jones, a missionary from the United States had called a meeting on Industrial Evangelism as early as 1958. Rev. Jones tried to stimulate and help Asian church leaders to develop an active engagement in this growing field of missions. A second meeting was called in 1966 to plan further development of the mission project. A proposal for support was presented to EACC's Third Assembly in 1968. By this time, Asian churches had witnessed the fact that independence has brought very little relief for the people, and they have become further alienated. They had then become seen as troublesome masses to be controlled or appeased. The people remain enmeshed in poverty, indignity and frustration.

The 1968 EACC assembly took the officially decisive step to approve and support the proposal made by Rev. Jones' consultation group. They established the Urban and Industrial Mission into the total structure and Rev. Harry Daniel of India was appointed to be the first secretary. Because the churches' involvement and witness among suffering people in many local struggles had increased to include rural areas, the name of the organization had been changed to Urban Industrial and Rural Mission.

UIRM's head office was located in Singapore but soon moved to Tokyo upon the appointment of Oh Jae Shik of Korea as its new secretary in 1970. Its programs included training, communication and research.

1. Training: Every year a training program was held for the selective representatives from EACC member churches. Upon the return of these representatives to their home countries, they were in turn to organize the training programs for the local people. Training conferences were also held several times a year to hear situational reports from various regions and to discuss the possible solutions.
2. Communication: The main function was to render services to related workers in each region through documentation and information as collected and disseminated. A newsletter was published of English material and was translated into other languages. The letter included a collection of people's stories, folktales, music, and cartoons.
3. Research: A watch was effected on the operation of gigantic corporations in Asia including research and surveys on agrobusinesses, textiles and electronic companies.

Three symbolic words for UIRM are: People, Land and Power. Because people are oppressed, their right to lands is derivative—but they are powerless. UIRM tries to organize people into formidable units to quest for the right to lands, the right to participate in decision-making processes and the right to be free from exploitation. Its first approach is by means of community organization. This approach indicates that rather than providing temporal relief to people who are in need, UIRM should help them go to the root of their problems and to organize themselves so that they may be able to participate in the solving processes. By a second, industrial approach, the UIRM seeks to respond to the highly specialized societies that are developing in Asia. Due to the development of technology, people become totally indifferent to responsible participation in the organizational interaction. Many people have been increasingly making their private lives of consumption a refuge from complex and conflicting organizational involvements. On the other hand, those who are committed to the process of elimination of injustice, becoming rigid and negative fighters, consequently causing

the repetition of the vicious circle of suppression, protest, hatred and conflict. This approach aims at helping every member of the industrial society to be aware of one another's responsibility as partners in the common building of social organizations.

The goals of UIRM are two: First, to enable people to understand their rights and responsibilities, and second, to inform the church of the realities of the peoples' lives so that the church is better able to understand and serve them. To fulfill these goals, the UIRM has emphasized:

1. Making the Urban Industrial Rural Mission the movement of the people.
2. Participating in the peoples' movements (that is, to organize the people for exodus and for deliverance from captivity—spiritual, material and political).
3. Teaching that God not only goes with people but He also calls His people to participate in His missions of deliverance.
4. Teaching that the renewal of the church is relevant to the Asian situation where Christianity exists as a minority group in a non-Christian environment.
5. Recognizing in the light of Biblical perspective that people are given the sense of hope to see the future.

To accomplish these goals and emphasize them, UIRM sent specially-trained community workers named "Action Groups" to the people in specific locales, first earning their trust and acceptance and then guiding and educating them to organize their own groups.

One of the typical examples which has been successful was the Rev. Hisashi Masutani of Japan who was sent to work in the slum area of Osaka, a community called Nishinari. He became a pastor of the church which was managing the Christian social service center in Nishinari immediately after he graduated from his seminary. Soon he noticed the

passive and dependent attitude of the people around the social service center, including even the children. They seemed to take for granted that the center was a sort of "Santa Claus."

It took several years for the Rev. Masutani to be accepted and trusted by the people and to be able to join in with the Organization for the Deliverance of Buraku people. Buraku people were segregated people who lived in the Nishinari area. They identified their housing problems in the area and went to the Osaka municipal offices to demand the implementation of new housing provisions. They were convinced that they also were citizens and taxpayers and had a right to benefits of the housing policies of city government.

The Center agreed to provide the land on which four stories of beautiful apartments were built with government money. To be sure, the moving of the people from ~~old slums~~ to new apartments did not mean that they had moved to the "ideal society." But it did mean that at least the people had learned a precious lesson: After all, they were people who had an irreducible value and they could participate in the processes of bringing in a community of justice and peace. They were no longer at the passive-receiving end. In the past, Christian churches had made contributions to meet the needs of people through charitable diakonia. In emergency situations this was still important, but the major attention the church should give was to awaken and to organize the people for active and effective participation in the problem-solving processes.

This was a relatively easy victory for people under the guidance of UIRM, partly because Japan is the most advanced country in Asia in terms of economic development and political democratization. UIRM was very proud of its success. The other stories, however, were not so

successful. For instance, Fred Rodrigues Kamath was sent to Mermazal village in Bangalore. The landlords of Mermazal, together with the Bantwal police, had extended their reign of terror and violence onto 13 tenants there and had ousted them from their holdings. Unfortunately, Mr. Kamath did not speak the local language and there was tension and fear in the hearts of everyone. People spoke only in whispers. Mr. Kamath described himself:

"I could see their eyes popping out of their sockets out of fear, for they didn't know what would be their fate if they talked to me. They knew the landlords, and the police would take more violent measures to drive them away from their land."⁵³

Mr. Kamath invited a member of the community to help him educate the illiterate tenants in the evenings, about the rights of the tenants. Under his guidance, a petition was made to the local authorities, who had previously refused to listen to their petitions. When the landlords learned about the petition, they came upon the tenants with greater repressive measures. Eleven families and six agricultural laborers were driven to the hills by the landlords, helped by the Bantwal police. These seventeen families spent three weeks in the jungle, hiding themselves from the wrath of the landlords and the violence of the police. They had no work or food and Mr. Kamath was blamed for this unsuccessful adventure. Even though Mr. Kamath was able to get help from the higher authorities afterward, six of these 17 families still had no place to go.

From the cases of Nichinari and Mermazal, we see that UIRM's strategies were to hold education classes for the suffering laborers and then to organize them into petitional groups. The UIRM experiences in Hong Kong followed the same pattern as well. Raymond Fung of Hong Kong,

when asked his achievements, answered:

This most important is labor education; evening courses for blue-collar workers between 20-30 years old. The idea is to help them reflect on their situation and on how they can unite to fight exploitation . . . we engage in theological work, studying the relationship between the Christian faith and labor . . . we organize Labor, Sunday and Seminars. . . .³⁴

This strategy is limited. Understanding situations, of course, is important, but how many blue-collar workers will take the courses after a long day of hard work? Also the illiteracy rate, especially among blue-collar workers, is high in Asia. Most people are easily intimidated by their landlords or employers and kept from participating in any activity initiated by UIRM, as in the case of Mermazal village. Besides, how can these people be interested in discussing the theological implications of their relationships with employers or landlords? UIRM centered its work in holding seminars, workshops and conferences and they produced a list of "musts." For instance:

- "We must go to the people." (1969)
- "We must let people organize themselves." (1970)
- "We must learn to avoid adventurist tactics." (1971)
- "New and creative means of protest must be developed." (1971)
- "We must work to build up stronger linkage between people." (1972)
- "We must educate people." (1973)

How much has UIRM changed Asian labor, really? How much has UIRM affected Landlordism? Of course, there was some success, as in the case of Nishinari. But eighty percent of Asia's workers and peasants still live in dire poverty, exploited by local capitalists and their international collaborators. Asian poverty manifests itself in ever-increasing landlessness, unemployment and starvation.

What is Landlordism? In simple language it means ample income for the landlord to develop himself and his family physically and intellectually. For example, he is able to send his children to the best

schools. The landless poor, on the other hand, cannot afford to give education to their children; they are either kept as full-time helpers on the farm or sent to the households of the landlords to work as servants and maids. But the problem does not end there. Because of their education and their social and cultural prominence, the landlords logically become the political leaders while the peasants remain destitute and ignorant, and count for nothing in the political life of the nation. Thus, because of the landlords' political powers, economic resources are further monopolized. It is like a wheel within a wheel, a vicious circle. The Buddhists simply accept the system as their "Karma."

Facing this reality, UIRM has had a very small role to play and its effect has been limited. A story was told:

"In the Philippines a peasant sits under a mango tree and stares blankly at the void before him . . . [wondering] . . . Why can he not own the land he tilled and his ancestors had tilled before him?"³⁵

This is not merely the plight of the peasants in the Philippines alone; it is the same in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Thailand.

There are three million workers on Thailand's largest industrial estate. Eighty percent of them were driven to Bangkok from Thailand's northeast rural area because of their poverty. Most have found work in textile factories. These factories are usually owned by Taiwan nationals but in most case the capital investment is controlled by westerners. Working conditions in these factories are deplorable. Poor ventilation due to ineffective exhaust shafts and the absence of cooling systems where steam machines are operated cause a high incidence of respiratory illnesses and lung infections among workers. Security against accidents

is almost nonexistent and the management takes advantage of the ignorance of the workers by neglecting to provide safe and better working conditions. There is a wide gap between working conditions for the office staff and those for the laborers. Wages are low and static while prices continue to rise. Wages are based on piece-work, and workers with little education, unable to calculate, are cheated by the management. The majority of the workers are young, as those beyond 30 years of age are usually fired due to poor health. The factory exploits them by employing them during their peak years of capability and capacity for production, but drops them when they can no longer perform well. Why is it that workers continue to labor in the factories in the face of so much exploitation? For them there is no choice; it is survival or death.

What is the root of all these problems? According to UIRM, it has been political, because the powerful elites have collaborated with the capitalists in exploiting the poor suffering masses. The aim of UIRM is to organize people as a power base to change the total structure and allow people to speak out their agony and plight. But UIRM's effect remains limited. Two reasons must be identified:

First: The missionary mentality of the UIRM staff. UIRM of the CCA was established under the guidance of western missionaries with the influence of WCC. Besides the Rev. Henry Jones, who initiated the whole UIRM structure, other western missionaries also assisted in bringing about the Urban Industrial Mission in Asia. Miss Margaret Kan of the United Kingdom was invited to Hong Kong in 1966 to start what in Britain was called the "Industrial Mission." She did not leave Hong Kong until all the basic structures of organization and the programs were set up.

The Rev. George Todd of the United Presbyterian Church from the U.S.A. was invited to Taiwan to train, plan and supervise the establishment of the Industrial Mission. He first investigated the social patterns and labor conditions in Taiwan but received very little cooperation from the local authorities. He then taught at the Tainan Theological College to train local workers. He did not leave until his successor completed his U.S. training and returned to Taiwan.

These missionaries while in Asia, lived a western-way-of-life with fancy offices and comfortable living accommodations. Their local successors also followed this life-style pattern. The most typical example is the main office of UIRM, which by the request of the secretary himself has been located in Shinjuku, Tokyo, -the most affluent and modernized section of that city. Even though the UIRM staff has a deep concern for the suffering workers, its own pattern of comfortable living has greatly reduced its effect on the people it desires to help.

Also, some seem to be more desirous of moving to higher positions than to fulfill the basic thrust of the program. Most of the staff members, after several years of service, have acquired higher-standing positions. For instance, the first secretary, the Rev. Daniel, after less than two years' service was promoted to a position in WCC. R. Fung of Hong Kong also became one of the secretaries of WCC and his residence was moved to Geneva. C. S. Chu of Taiwan became a professor at Theological College.

Second: UIRM seems to be more interested in meetings and issuing position papers than in actual struggle. Every year, several meetings, workshops and conferences were called to discuss UIRM's positions and to hear the reports from regional committees. The secretary alone

made 15 trips in 1976, two of which were outside of Asia, and this was only an average trip record. The other UIRM staff members were also engaged in many trips and meetings. Under these circumstances, how can they find time to be with the people and lead the people to fight for their rights?

Another reason for the limitation of UIRM's role is that the church is no rival to the political elites who control all the political power. Oh Jae Shik wrote:⁵⁶

Exploitation of the powerless by the powerful has not ceased with modernization and economic development. Rather, colonial structures of domination have been internalized in Asian nations, and Western capitalistic values have been assimilated. This has been reinforced by the economic domination of former colonies by their former colonial overlords. In these neo-colonial situations in Asia, the ruling political-economic powers are in alliance with the powerful nations of the world against their own people.

The primary element of history now is stories of the peoples' struggles for the transformation of their society. The people are the owners of the humanization process, the vindicators of justice, and the inheritors of peace on earth. This is the story of the emergence of a "second" liberation of the people of Asia, now beginning to unfold and continuing to be realized.

Although many resolutions at this stage have remained only at recommendation level, requiring more study and discussion, the EACC has ascertained that the struggle for a better society, required action.

Summary

The second stage of the social teachings of the Asian churches was relatively short. It, however, was significant in terms of the development of the church's theological thinking. In 1966, the main concern of the churches was to develop an Asianized theology responding to the Asian social problems. The church assumed that it could only

speak effectively to the Asian people and to Asian problems by becoming more Asian. It regarded a confessing church as a church which translated the gospel into contemporary Asian terms in light of the present-day Asian scene.

In 1967, the Asian church had concentrated its speculation on the impact of modernization on the Asian people and how the church was going to respond to it. The church had welcomed the process of modernization and believed that the Asian people would be relieved from the cyclical fatalism which had dominated them in the past. The church, however, was also concerned about the rapid changes, and advocated that it should help release Asia for its future.

1968 was most significant, as the church had observed that concern and goodwill were not enough to help shape Asian society. First, this conference questioned nationalism as an ethos for a genuinely human process of modernization. The elites, in the name of nation-building, had secured the power reins, but had shown that they were more interested in their personal gains than in creating a just society. The conference, in reaffirming its belief in the importance of educating people to acquire new understanding and attitudes toward the change brought by modernization, decided to set up the Urban Industrial Mission as the actual involvement of the Christian churches in the struggle for a better society. Programs and recommendations were passed to enforce the educational role of the churches.

Regarding the development of an Asianized theology, the Asian church had attempted three different approaches: (1) the syncretism approach, which tries to fuse Christianity with a national religion, e.g., Hinduism, Buddhism, or Islam in an attempt to contextualize theo-

logy into the national situation; (2) the accommodation approach, which considers prevailing customs and religious practices, and accommodates good ideas from other religions; (3) the situational approach, which speaks of the particularity of the Asian situation and tries to input Christian thinking into it.

Urbanization was the immediate result of modernization due to the peoples' moving to industrial centers for employment. The EACC had witnessed that thousands of people were uprooted from their lifestyles in their original villages. EACC concluded that the church should help them to fit into the new ways of life and to find new meanings in the changes. Urbanization, though it had occurred long ago in ancient China and in the Japanese Tokugawa Shogunate, left an unprecedented impact on the Asian people due to its resulting modernization. Two factors can be traced to this historical phenomenon. (1) The population growth: the decline in the mortality rate and the improvement of medical care as a result of the adoption of western medical techniques. (2) Industrialization: the migration of people to the industrial centers. This urbanization has not only changed the ways of life for the people, but has also disrupted traditional family intimacy and societal structure. The Asian church, facing these social changes, reaffirmed its role as educator, not only in terms of the traditional mission of evangelistic Christian education, but also in terms of social education, to teach people to understand the new waves of the tide and to acquire suitable attitudes.

¹C. H. Hwang [Shoki Coe], "Confessing the Faith in Asia Today," The Southeast Asia Journal of Theology 8 (June 1967):85-86.

²Douglas Elwood, ed., What Asian Christians are Thinking (Philippines: New Day Publisher, 1976), p. 12.

³H. Cox, ed., The Church Amid Revolution (New York: Association Press, 1967), p. 160.

⁴Ibid., p. 161.

⁵Ibid., p. 128.

⁶Official Reports: World Conference on Church and Society (Geneva: WCC, 1967), p. 208.

⁷Elwood, What Asian Christians are Thinking, p. 380.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., p. 386.

¹⁰Toward a Theology of People (Singapore: CCA, 1977), p. 9.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²cf. Calculation from U.N. Statistical Office, Demographic Year Book 1970 (New York: United Nations, 1971), pp. 129-130.

¹³Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. 35.

¹⁴The May Fourth Movement is a typical example which reflects the mentality of Chinese people. cf. Chi-tu-chiau ji hoa pai-chhi-surnnian chi-lian-chi [The retrospection to the anti-Christianity movement in modern China] (Taipei: Sunday School Press, 1977), pp. 277 ff.

¹⁵Dr. Donald Wade of University of Toronto made this observation at his lecture on Asian Humanity at the Ministerial Conference in Saskatoon, April 1982. Dr. Wade had made many visits and had lectured in Asia.

¹⁶1966's Statement of CCA Conference, EACC, Singapore.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Elwood, What Asian Christians are Thinking, p. 44.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 48.

- ²⁰Ibid., p. 5.
- ²¹C. S. Song, Christian Mission in Reconstruction (India: CLS, 1975), p. 10.
- ²²Kosuke Koyama, Waterbuffalo Theology (Mary Knoll: Orbis, 1974), p. 45.
- ²³Reginald Ebenezer, "A Study of Church Mission Tensions and a Proposal for a Better Relationship," a research paper by a Ceylonese student at Wheaton College Graduate School, May, 1975, p. 9.
- ²⁴Stephen Neill, The Story of the Church in India and Pakistan (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1970), p. 121.
- ²⁵Klaus Klostermaier, Hindu and Christian in Urindaban (London: SCM Press, 1969), pp. 109, 110, 112.
- ²⁶M. M. Thomas, Salvation and Humanization (Madras, India: CLS, 1971), p. 40.
- ²⁷Sung Bum Yun, "Mythology in Vestigium Trinitatis," Christian Thought (October 1963):16.
- ²⁸"Buddha is On the Way," Buddhist Digest (Singapore: Buddhist Society) (October 6, 1972):8.
- ²⁹Dr. Koyama's lecture at Discipleship Training Center, Singapore, 1974.
- ³⁰Ibid., p. 67.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 68.
- ³²Shoki Coe, Ministry in Context: The Third Mandate Programme of the Theological Education Fund (Bromley, England: TEF, 1972), pp. 19-20.
- ³³Kazo Kitamori, Theology of the Pain of God (London: SCM Press, 1966), p. 109, translated from Kami no itami no shingaku (Tokyo: Shinko Press, 1946).
- ³⁴Ibid., pp. 21, 27, 33.
- ³⁵Ibid., pp. 134-135.
- ³⁶C. S. Song, Doing Theology Today (Madras: CLS, 1976), p. 51.
- ³⁷Ibid., p. 65.
- ³⁸cf. C. S. Song, Third Eye Theology (New York: Orbis, 1979), pp. 159 ff.

³⁹Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," American Anthropological 45 (1943):230.

⁴⁰Anthony Wallace, "Revitalization Movements: Some Theoretical Considerations for Their Comparative Study," American Anthropological 58 (1956):265.

⁴¹cf. Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper & Row, 1950).

⁴²cf. Max Weber, The Religion of China (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

⁴³cf. H. G. Creel, Chinese Thoughts (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 192.

⁴⁴cf. Edmond Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, Chinese edition, trans. C. S. Song (1964), p. 35.

⁴⁵J. S. Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice (Cambridge University Press, 1948), p. 304.

⁴⁶J. S. Furnivall, Netherland India (Cambridge University Press, 1944), p. 447.

⁴⁷cf. Robert Kearney, ed., Politics and Modernization in South and Southeast Asia (New York: Helsten Press, 1975), p. 23.

⁴⁸Song, Third Eye Theology, p. 10.

⁴⁹B. W. Hargleroad, ed., Struggle to be Human (Geneva: WCC, n.d.), p. 50.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 50-52.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 52.

⁵²cf. Toward a Theology of People, pp. 57-61.

⁵³Ibid., p. 63.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 43.

⁵⁵T. K. Thomas, ed., Testimony Amid Asian Suffering (Singapore: CCA, 1977), p. 10.

⁵⁶Toward a Theology of People, pp. 51-52.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE THIRD STAGE OF THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF ASIAN CHURCHES—THE PERIOD OF THE STRIVING FOR A SECOND LIBERATION

I. Introduction

This stage, ranging from 1970 and on, has been called the People's Second Liberation. The Asian churches, after years of discussing, studying and demanding changes in power structures, found themselves still dealing with the same problems. The CCA reiterated its conviction that the power structures must be transformed to allow the actual participation of the people in decision-making. The fact that the economic poverty of the people had not been relieved through nation-building had forced the churches to state that a violent struggle was justifiable when necessary in promoting justice.

The economic development which the Asian nations pursued and on which the churches and people lay their expectations, had not brought prosperity. On the contrary, it had created new problems, some of which were unexpected. One of these was the relationship between nature and development. Seeing this tension, the churches stated that development should reflect Asian creativity in order to maintain the balance of nature and progress.

The church itself, made up of minority groups in Asia, had

stressed that attention and care should be extended to the existing minority ethnic groups in the region. Racial discrimination, ethnocentricity and the exploitation of women had caught the concerns of the churches at this stage.

What were the teachings of the churches regarding these issues? Why was this stage called "The People's Second Liberation"? In the first part of this chapter, we will see the contents of the churches' teachings and in the second part, we will examine why such teachings were given and how they were formulated.

II. The Exposition of the Social Teachings of Asian Church--The Stage of the People's Second Liberation

A. 1970—The Asian Ecumenical Conference for Development

The central committee of 1968's EACC conference had recommended that the theme of "Modernization in Asia" should be the study-emphasis of the EACC for the ensuing four years, 1968-1972. This 1970 conference, which was held in Tokyo, Japan from July 14 to 22, was one of the EACC series of situational conferences. Even though this conference was not very constructive in terms of answering the existing issues of Asia, it, however, had moved the social teachings of the Asian churches a step forward. It had become more action-oriented.

It was called ecumenical because the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace was invited to co-sponsor the meeting along with EACC and the WCC joint committee on Society, Development and Peace. Though this was not the first time that a Roman Catholic priest had participated in the EACC discussions, the contribution made by the Catholic

priest at this conference was significant. Fr. C. G. Arevalo, a Jesuit priest, presented the paper, "Notes on a Theology of Development," which challenged the EACC to be more action-oriented and also provoked the discussion on poverty.

Another significant thing about this conference was that there were many new faces. Even the discussion leaders were relatively new and young; for instance: the Rev. Matthew S. Ogawa of Japan was the new associate secretary of EACC. Dr. Won Young Kang, the director of the Korea Christian Academy, Seoul, Korea, was the new vice chairman of EACC. Dr. Emerito Nacpil, a young theologian from the Philippines had become the chairman of the Message and Communication Program of EACC. Fr. Paul Verghese, a professor at Orthodox Seminary of the Syrian Orthodox Church of India helped draft the statement.

This conference had published a statement on "Liberation, Justice and Development," which was drafted by Emerito Nacpil and Fr. Paul Verghese. The statement expressed that Christians should actively participate in human development and should avoid the danger of polarization. The aims of Christian participation in development were specified: (1) to struggle against poverty, (2) to work toward overcoming the structure of evil, injustice and oppression, and (3) to appeal for an adequate production and just distribution of economic goods, and for service to everyone.¹

One puzzling thing in the statement was, Why did the conference state that Christians should avoid the danger of polarization? Emerito Nacpil explained: there were some evangelical Christians in Asia who insisted that the mission of the church consisted mainly in the meditating on the word of God, the celebrating of the sacraments and the

nurturing of man's relationship to God in prayer, worship and personal ethics. They were not convinced that concern for development was integral to the gospel. On the other hand, there were those who were so caught up in the people's struggle for freedom, justice, peace and human dignity that they virtually identified their missions with these developments. The conference warned the Asian churches to avoid this polarization and to recognize the necessity for a theology to the ardent desire of mankind for the justice which Jesus promised to bring about.² The statement defined the role of the church as "the servant whose service assists the whole of humanity to achieve peace, justice and unity," the means to achieve these, being through "adequate production and a just distribution of economic goods and service."³

Fr. C. G. Arevalo identified poverty as the fundamental problem in Asia in his speech and much of the conference time was spent in discussing this topic. Poverty had been understood as the deprivation of certain basic necessities of life, chiefly food, shelter, clothing, health, education, transportation and recreation. It had to do with a certain minimum level of economic security, the reasonable assurance that the basic necessities of life would continue to be available in the foreseeable future and that death or disability of the bread winner would not render the family destitute. Since there was no guarantee of any sort of such availability of life's necessities in any of the Asian nations, and since the majority of the people still lived under dire poverty regardless of political independence, Fr. Arevalo indicated that it was the system which deprived the welfare of the people and the churches must side with the poor.

The statement of the conference had pointed out that economic

poverty of the Asian people had its historical root in the colonial era, evidenced both by the neglect of the economic development and the unfair exploitation of the Asian economies in the interests of colonial powers. This statement tended to simplify the issue of poverty in Asia but the conference had another concern, namely, the so-called spiritual poverty. (The issue of poverty was examined again in 1973, fifth assembly of EACC.) What is spiritual poverty? The statement said, "Personal and group egoism, lack of concern for the poor, failure to struggle for justice and for the freedom and dignity of all men—all these are manifestations of spiritual poverty and human underdevelopment."⁴ The struggle against poverty must therefore wage on both fronts simultaneously: the demand for equal opportunity, right to employment, fair distribution of goods and services and the struggle at the spiritual level, meaning that the Christian churches must have a special role in questioning the false values of the consumer society which confused "having" with "being", and in conscientizing the minds of the "haves"; because the poor need not only charity but they also need dignity. How to achieve this goal? The conference gave a vague answer saying, "The powerless should acquire power in order to participate with dignity in the decisions affecting their lives."⁵ When necessary, violent struggle was deemed justifiable.⁶

The guidelines suggested by the conference for possible actions included:

1. The church has the prophetic task of awakening the conscience of the public, especially of those who are the decision-makers in the light of God's demand for justice.

2. The church should join with other men of good will, including men of other faiths, in exposing the inefficiency, corruption, indiscipline, disorganization, personal and group egoism, anti-social and irresponsible behavior, despotism, red-tape and bribery, exploitation and oppression, wherever they exist in our own societies.
3. The church should help people critically to evaluate the values of a consumer society, and Christians should bear witness to these criticisms by the way of total availability and in service to the poor and to the oppressed.
4. The church should help people to see that the necessary transformation of the structures of economic and political power in society might demand revolutionary changes, and that law and order can often become instruments in the hands of the rich and the powerful for pursuing their own selfish ends.
5. The church should seek to achieve justice. Where non-violence is an effective means, it is certainly to be preferred.
6. The church should help people to identify their own concrete problems and to organize themselves.
7. Christians should take the initiative in meeting public pressure all over the world for the creation of basic international economic and political structures which could lead to the development of an adequate world state on a federal basis.

It was obvious at this time that a number of third world countries began calling for what they referred to as a "New International Economic Order." This demand for a NIEO became clearer and more articulate later in the 1970's.

B. 1972—The Conference of the Association of Theological Schools in Southeast Asia

This conference was held in Singapore from July 19 to August 15. Nineteen representatives from theological schools located in eight countries in the region attended. Among the participants were Shoki Coe of the Theological Education Fund, Kosuke Koyama, executive secretary of the association, Emerito Nacpil of the Philippines, and Ching Fen Hsiao of Taiwan.

This conference took the theme, "Theology of Power for Social Justice and Liberation in Southeast Asia," in response to the call of the 1968 assembly of EACC that Asian churches should formulate a theological interpretation of the use of power to help people understand when to cooperate with and when to oppose in the search for freedom and justice.

What is power? The conference did not define it but said that there were many kinds of power and that all of the powers should be used to enhance the relationship between God and man, because the ultimate power belongs to God. It examined three different powers, namely, political, economic and revolutionary powers.

Political power was the authority to govern, said the conference. It should be responsible to the people and God. Christians serving in this world should be patient, and should be active and be transforming into the role of cooperation with government to better serve the end of social justice. But when the government violated its relationship, in which it was bound to the people, it was the right of the people as well as of Christians, to be in opposition to the government because Christians must obey God rather than man.

Regarding the economic power which the Asian nations were pursuing, the conference commented: "The church says YES to the search for material development. The church must say NO to material development when the search for such development threatens to enslave Asian man or to promote inequality."⁷

Facing the rising expectation of revolution, the conference said, "The gospel favors the poor. Justice and freedom are among the promises of God." Thus, the Christians bear a natural sympathy for the

revolutionary. Nevertheless, neither revolution nor anti-revolution can be absolute for Christian living because "God may call Christians to participate in a revolutionary struggle but at the same time He calls us to oppose those forces in revolution which do not bring liberation or justice."⁸

This conference gave these three powers both green and red lights. On one hand, it said that Christians should be in cooperation with government and on the other hand it said it was the right of the people to change the government. It said yes to development, but it also said "no". It indicated that the church was basically revolutionary but on the other hand it also said that the church could not absolutize the revolution. What was the criteria, if any, for this difference? The conference said that the magic word was whether or not it promoted equality, justice and freedom. If YES, the church would support, if NO, oppose.

C. 1973—The Fifth Assembly of the CCA

This assembly, which was held in Singapore from June 6 to 12, was an important milestone in the history of EACC. First, the name of this Asian ecumenical body was changed to the Christian Conference of Asia on the second day of the Assembly. Second, it was the first time that an EACC meeting provided facilities of translation for those who did not speak English, the language used by the assembly. Third, the average age of the delegates for member churches was the youngest it had been in years. Fourth, this was the Assembly which asked more questions regarding the effect of the social teachings of the EACC. Fifth, there were different experts speaking on various issues concerned by the

Assembly. M. M. Thomas gave an overall review of the teachings of the Asian Christian churches. Won Yong Kang spoke on development and Asian culture. Goh Keng-Swee, a lay economist from Singapore, examined the issue of poverty. Emerito Nacpil expounded upon Christian action, and Emilio Castro shared his Latin American experience.

The Assembly took the theme, "Christian Action in the Asian Struggle," because the representatives were wondering how much the EACC had accomplished in its social teachings in the last two decades. The fact that Asian situations had not improved much since the fifties bothered many people. The gap between the rich and the poor was still widening. The international economic and technological expansionism which tends to be in the interests of the ruling class was accelerating the exploitation of the majority, often under the guise of contributing to nation-building and national development. Asian countries were increasingly suppressing the basic freedoms of expression and the people's participation in nation-building in the name of law and order. The Asian Christian church in the midst of these struggles often found itself too small and too weak. It seemed to be pitted against social issues that were far too large for its significant response. It was worried that the churches were often associated with the establishment, rather than with those who were the voiceless and the powerless, as the church had intended them to be. The Assembly, facing these difficulties, indicated that the Asian people needed a second liberation. The report said:

The first liberation of Asian people was from the colonial powers which resulted in the growth of nations. But for the masses this meant little more than a change of ruling power. The masses still had no share in the decision-making processes. The second liberation is the gaining by the people of power to determine what happens in their societies.

At the 1970 conference, Emerito Nacpil attributed Asian poverty to the neglect of economic development during the colonial era and the unfair exploitation of Asian economies by the colonial powers. This was re-examined by the assembly. Dr. Goh Keng Swee gave further analysis on the causes of Asian poverty and he argued that poverty results from the following:

1. Concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few.
2. Rapid population growth, so that today many of the agricultural regions are densely populated. This has resulted in small farms and in small output.
3. Many peasants did not own the land they tilled and had to surrender a good portion of their crops to landlords who were often persons living in major cities.
4. The water supply was not sufficient. A modern irrigation system was not developed. Drought or flood often ruined the crops.
5. Since the peasants were poor, they were unable to buy fertilizer, and in any event, if the fields were not irrigated, fertilizers were useless.

How could these urgent problems of poverty facing the Asian people be solved? Dr. Goh indicated that there were no easy answers: First, the Asian population was divided into linguistic, religious and even ethnic sub-groups. It was difficult to unite them. Second, corruption and graft took place in high levels of administration. Third, the people received only lip service, which demoralized them. The situations required drastic and radical changes, said Dr. Goh.

Obviously, action was needed. The theme of the Assembly, "Christians Action in the Asian Struggle," revealed that CCA was aware of this need. But how did CCA perceive action? Emerito Nacpil spoke out on this issue. E. Nacpil first pinpointed it, that the Asian churches still asked the same questions they had asked decades ago.

"The difference," he said, "is evident in the emphasis on action, Christian action, in the Asian struggle . . . 'Being' is an act. We are not the church unless we act as the church. Action is at the heart of being. . . . Action therefore is the essence of structures."¹⁰ He thus advocated that the Asian church must act in its struggle for justice. Nacpil continued to say that action must have a goal. The goal of the Asian people was "the achievement of social justice that the poor and oppressed may become full participants in the total life of society." Action also needs to have an agent. "Man is not only a project, he is not only an object. He is a subject, the center of willing and deciding. What this amounts to is the simple dictum that man makes his own history. He wills and decides his own history." Besides goal and agent, effort was also needed to realize the goal by creative action. This effort or means, was interpreted as "transforming" the existing power-structures so as to enable the poor and the oppressed to "participate" in the exercise of power and in the processes of decision-making.

Nacpil's conceptual analysis of action was explicit, but he did not give further discussion regarding to the practical questions of how to further these actions.

Won Yong Kang had a different concern. He, too, agreed that the Asian churches needed action, but he asked, "We Christians are a minority in the whole population. Among this minority, those Christians with social concern are a minority within a minority. What therefore can Asian churches accomplish in concrete action within the authoritarian and dictatorial structures?"¹¹ He invited the Asian church leaders to think of another urgent issue facing Asians—"Our culture is being destroyed." He asked how the churches in Asia could conscientize the

people in Asia with regard to the environmental deteriorating which resulted from technological revolution.

M. M. Thomas responded that in addition to developing an Asianized theological concept of development, the churches in Asia should enter the level of spirituality. He said that the Asian struggle involves transformation of all spheres of Asian life: forms of state and politics, structures of economic and social living and of cultural and spiritual values. Thus we should emphasize the necessity to enter the struggle at the level of spirituality—that was the structure of ultimate meaning and sacredness within which man lived and entered into relationship with nature and with fellow people in politics, economics, societies and cultures. Although he did not explain the practical meaning of this level of spirituality, it was understood that Asian churches, besides aiming for the liberation of the poor from their poverty, the oppressed, including the minority, from their oppression, should also spiritually and theologically educate and train people to respond to the Asian struggle within their secular vocation and through their associations. The Assembly at the end stated, "CCA must give priority to programs aimed at the liberation of the poor from their poverty, through the provision of opportunities of self-development, to gain their rights to bread, health and basic education, as well as to work, land and housing. . . . The thrust must be toward justice rather than development."¹² A meeting on the minority issue in Asia was also scheduled for the following year, to be sponsored by the action group of CCA, Urban Industrial and Rural Mission.

D. 1974—Race and Minority Issues

One consultation was the CCA consultation on human rights which took up the issue of racism and minorities, and the other was the conference on Race and Minority. The former was held in Kyoto, Japan and the latter in Hong Kong. Both of these meetings were sponsored by the CCA Urban Industrial Mission in response to the concern of CCA's fifth assembly that "political structure prevents minority ethnic groups from decision-making and keeps them poor."

The two meetings were both chaired and led by the secretary of the Rural Industrial Mission, Oh Jae Shik, a Korean living in Japan. Experiencing life there as a minority member, he cried, "Living segregated and being deprived of opportunities for participating in social life is more than a question of identity or an identity crisis."

Fifteen Asian countries sent eighty representatives to attend the Kyoto consultation. Australia and New Zealand also sent their delegates to the Hong Kong conference. When these two meetings examined the minority situation and tried to find a solution, they were struck by the diversity of groups and recognized that there was no easy way to generalize about them. There were ruling minorities which dominated the majorities, such as in the case of colonial rule, dictatorial policy and monopolistic control. The major concern of these meetings was not the problem of the ruling minority, but rather the life and destiny of the oppressed minority whose human rights were not fully recognized because of their ethnic and social background. The Kyoto consultation stated:

The denial of humanity and self-respect to large masses of the world is an injustice which can no longer be tolerated. It breeds separation of person from person in a world which cannot hope for justice or peace within such a system. In an age of

technological uniformity, we need to appreciate and foster the unique cultural identity of the minority group and to encourage the growth of its selfhood and participation.³⁵

The meetings regarded racial discrimination as a deprivation of human rights that distorted human relationships. The worst thing was that this racial discrimination had been institutionalized, perpetuating injustice and endangering peace between peoples. While racial, ethnic and caste tensions in Asia existed in many forms, they could be generally placed in two categories: First, there were those identified with white racism. The example of this type was in the case of India, where the caste system and rich-poor distinctions were further accentuated by the neo-colonialism of the white western world. There were also white majority regimes in countries like Australia and New Zealand where native people were oppressed and dehumanized through institutionalized and structural domination. This group had manifested its racism in its control or dominating influences in economic, political and military affairs. Second, there were those representing conflicts between Asians of different ethnic backgrounds, different national heritages and different races. This conflict between Asians themselves could be seen in overseas Chinese in various countries, Korean residents in Japan, the lower caste in India, etc.

Beyond these two categories, the meetings also pointed out that a neocolonial oppression also existed, particularly in the form of economic exploitation. Some countries like Japan, collaborated directly in the global structures of neo-colonialism. In other cases, it was a small ruling power clique that collaborated with and profited from global economic expansionism.

In considering the sub-regions of Asia, the conference suggested the following as priority concerns of the churches:

- Northeast Asia: Empowerment of the Korean minority in Japan in its struggle for basic human rights.
- Southeast Asia: National integration with justice for all races.
- South Asia: Support for research-action programs dealing with caste, class, tribal and regional conflicts.

The conference called for the "transformation of the existing structure of the whole society, so that the oppressed might become full participants in the vital life of the society." The main concern was that the people should be given the right of participation in the making of decisions which could affect their lives.

The conference pledged its support to Australian blacks, New Zealand Maori, Pacific Islanders, Korean residents in Japan, Muslim groups in the Philippines and other minority groups in their struggles for their legitimate social, legal, economic and cultural rights. Some special programs, including training, theological interpretation and supports for links of international solidarity were also recommended for further discussion.

E. 1975—Consultation on Mission in Asia Today

When this consultation was held in Hong Kong on October 13 to 18, a severe typhoon was sweeping through. The radio announced: "There will be typhoon. Please close windows and doors and do not go out." This situation, the meeting reported, portrayed the condition of the churches in Asia. They were living in the midst of storm, as they were faced by many crucial issues. The consultation had invited two groups

of people to reflect the issues, trying to identify their cores. The two groups were first, representatives from national church organizations, and second, theological educators. Dr. Emeritos Nacpil of the Philippines conducted a series of Bible studies during the meeting and led the discussions. Though there were only 18 official delegates from 7 member-countries (Australia, Bangladesh, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan, Thailand) plus a visitor, Dr. Thomas Weiser of WCC, this consultation tackled the urgent issues facing Asia and identified them.

1. Race and racism: The concern over this issue had been increasing within the CCA over the years. This consultation, however, identified that the Asian problem of racial relationship was not as much racism as ethnocentricity. This meant that in some countries one particular group of people had held economic power and this had led to antagonism from other groups. When there had been an effort to balance the economic power, it had caused further antagonism, especially from the group that had held power previously, and those who were holding economic power at the time. One of the examples was the Chinese in Indonesia and Malaysia. The economic power enjoyed by the Chinese had caused tension, hatred and conflict between the Chinese foreigners and the local people. When the restriction was imposed on the Chinese, they became antagonized, and the situation deteriorated. The other example was the increasing migration of Pacific Islanders to New Zealand. The more this migration took place, the more the New Zealanders wanted to keep "New Zealand for New Zealanders."

2. Christian public responsibility: Christians and churches had the responsibility of bettering their society. One important part

of God's mission on earth, said the consultation, was concerned with justice for the poor, the captives and those in chains. Therefore, Christians and the churches should not overlook their social responsibilities. On the question of relationship with various kinds of economic and political systems, the consultation concluded that Christians and churches must be always alert and critical because there could be no perfect system. In their alertness and critical attitudes, they should always strive to persuade and conscientize the people in power, in order that they might use the power and the system to promote the dignity of mankind, especially those who were oppressed. When there was tension between national citizenship and God's discipleship, the consultation affirmed that the former should be always subject to the latter.

What could the church do to promote the dignity of mankind? The consultation repeated the unswerving approach of the CCA—that the church should organize a series of studies to direct Christians to the socio-political message of the gospel.

3. On civil liberty: Many Asian countries had restricted civil liberty. The governments of these countries believed that such measures which they called "the exercise of national discipline and security" were needed for the time in order to prepare the society for a mature and responsible democratic government. In spite of this precarious justification, the consultation said that the churches should seek to establish new channels of communication with the powerless people in order to be true to the gospel message of salvation to the poor and the oppressed. The Christians and the churches should try to convey the voice of the people who were suppressed by the authorities. Practically, this meant that the churches should help to educate people on their

rights and duties to themselves and to their society toward growing self-reliance and national participation.

4. On the churches' minority status: "The church should not let its minority status unduly worry it because this is how the church appears in both the Bible and the most of world church history. It should not let its minority become afraid for themselves and hence inward-looking and concerned for self-preservation."¹⁴ It was a great strength that Christian churches in Asia were the only systematically organized minority group meeting regularly for worship, fellowship and participating in the programs of sound education sponsored by churches. The consultation said that in countries where there was freedom of speech, the minority church may need to speak out clearly on national, social and religious issues. In countries where there was no freedom of speech, the minority church would need to develop creative action to work indirectly to prepare for the situation in which the good news could happen. The minority status of the church should not isolate the church from society, the consultation concluded. Rather, it should teach in such a way that it would help people and relate their faith to the social, political and cultural forces of society.

F. 1977—The Sixth Assembly of the CCA

This meeting was held in Penang, Malaysia from May 31 to June 9. More than 150 official delegates representing 15 member-churches attended this assembly which took the theme, "Jesus Christ in Asian Suffering and Hope." Philip Potter brought greetings from WCC and spoke on "The Global Perspectives on Suffering and Hope."

The significant event of this assembly was that the Niles Memorial Lectures were given by three women on "The Suffering and Hope

of Asian Women." Ethnic minority had been the main concern of CCA in previous meetings. This year, the attention was shifted to women.

Dr. Won Yong Kang, as a member of the Presidium, preached the opening service. He used the text of Mark 5:1-20. "The Man Who Lived Among the Tombs" was his sermon title, and he related it symbolically to suffering in Asia today. He said that the Asian people lived among the tombs. When they escaped from one tomb, another appeared in front of them and when they moved from there, they still found themselves in yet another tomb. There was first a tomb of feudal monarchy, then western imperialism, then Japanese imperialism, then the tomb of neo-colonialism and presently the tomb of dictatorship and communism. He attributed Asian suffering and poverty to at least two main causes: the exploitation under the capitalistic system with multinational corporations, and the oppression of human rights. He, as a person who valued the traditional view of nature, argued that Asian people were also suffering from the dehumanizing unclean spirits of western civilization and technology which had muddied the waters and darkened the skies of Asia. The problem was how to drive out the unclean spirits which burdened and enslaved the Asian people. The removal of Asian suffering, he said, was not so simple. But he was not pessimistic. "Jesus cast out the evil spirits from the man living among the tombs and let him return to his home and family and lead a normal life." What was destroyed was the unclean spirits and not the house and the person. Therefore, he argued that the Asian people must not destroy Asian culture. What was needed was for the people to be liberated from the sufferings that the unclean spirit had imposed upon them.

Dr. Kang's optimism was shared by another speaker, Bishop Julio

Xavier Labayen of the Philippines and of the Federation of the Asian Bishop's Conference. It was significant that the Roman Catholic Church had continuously been invited to take part in CCA's discussion of Asian problems. Bishop Labayen first expressed his delight in the growing spirit of ecumenism among the churches in Asia and he pointed out that the "Signs of Hope Theology" of the Roman Catholic Church since Vatican II shared the same concerns with CCA.

Bishop Labayen said that more Asians were hungry, homeless, unemployed and illiterate than were the people in all the rest of the world put together. More men and women were despised, humiliated, cheated, more suffered the tyranny of government and oppressive elites and the fear and shame that tyranny brought them in all the rest of the world. He believed that Asian suffering was caused by men and could be prevented and remedied. He argued that the signs of hope were everywhere in Asia. First, people were hungry and thirsty for justice. Those who thought about such things had decided to do what was right and good in spite of the oppression of the powerful, especially the poor of the slum who struggled for a decent life. These people were the basis of hope, he said. Second, the people's movement, the dedication of the young and the bankruptcy of the rulers were signs of hope. The power of people during the Chinese revolution and the Vietnamese wars were good examples that people could be invincible. Third, and the biggest sign of hope, was the new theology—call it liberation theology or political theology or the theology of hope—or whatever. This new theology, he said,

has grown out of the peoples' movements, ideological challenges and oppressions. This theology shows us how far we swerve from a faithful following of the Gospel if we separate religion and political action; if we propose a superficial

apparent unity in the flock of Christ as an ideal and overlook the oppression of some members of others; if we do not opt for the poor and forsaken as Jesus did, if we confuse culture and gospel or the kingdom and the church, or if we limit God's action to the churches, if we back out of difficult political choices because of inadequate ecclesiology, if we forget that faith without ideology is dead, if we forget that Jesus died charged with being a blasphemer by the Jews and a rebel by the Romans and that His followers must therefore clash with the religious distortion and oppressive governments of our own day; if we do not realize, finally, that our liberating work here is taken up into the coming kingdom. . . .¹⁵

Philip Potter also expressed positive optimism. He encouraged the suffering masses to take their destinies in their own hands. The Asian experience of Mahatma Gandhi and his unique struggle against oppression, he said, became a symbol of hope for us all.

With this optimism, the search for full humanity became the aim of CCA. The preamble of the Life and Action Unity said that a majority of people in Asia still lived under dire poverty despite the economic development. Though development had brought an increased material standard to some, this progress did not automatically lead to happiness. A search for full humanity must be stressed. This meant that Christians were obliged to work for an environment in which people could discover their freedom and human dignity, and "to ensure that every person has the basic requirements of food, shelter and clothing; it means the guarantee of work for every person as a right; it means giving all people the right to self-determination to participate in the shaping of their own destinies."¹⁶

In order to realize this full humanity, the major thrust of the CCA in the next few years had been set for "building up power for the powerless so that they can remedy the imbalance of power, and work for a more just and human society." The following areas were seen as being

priorities.

1. Rural mission: The majority of the Asian people lived in rural areas and were poor. They had the potential to change their plight but were unorganized, said Oh Jae Shik. The priority in this area was to work consistently with the rural sector, helping and enabling them to raise questions of social justice and demand their rights.

2. Urban concern: The urban centers were still where power was concentrated. The glaring disparities between the rich and the poor were seen in the cities. Slums were growing faster than ever and dehumanizing processes went on without any sign of termination. The CCA stated, "The urban poor have greater potential for organizing and making an impact on the system." Thus, organizing the urban poor was a top priority.

3. Economic justice: Although Asia was by and large free from foreign political colonization, the economic colonization was still going on in the developing countries in the forms of multinational and national corporations. Economic exploitation was very real in the lives of the poor and the process of this exploitation increased the alienation between the rich and the poor.

Though the economic development helped production, it did not guarantee a higher share for the people in terms of goods and service. The benefits were held in the hands of the few. The churches in Asia, the Assembly said, must act as a catalyst to bring awareness to the people.

4. Race and minority: This had become an important concern of the CCA. The emphasis was not only on race but also extended to sex.

The three women, namely, Aiko Carter of Japan, Henriette Marianne Katoppo of Indonesia and Nimalka Fernando of Sri Lanka, who spoke on the suffering and hope of Asian women, all pointed out that discrimination against women in Asian society was rooted in history. The process of modernization, however, made it worse because women existed as tools of cheap labor and victims of the flourishing tourism trade—being treated as the sex objects of men. The CCA recommended that the churches in Asia should pay particular attention to the plight of women in rural and urban communities.

In order to assist people to meet these challenges, the assembly recommended the continuation of the training program to educate people toward justice, development, freedom, human rights and dignity and the publication of a set of guidelines for teachers, parents and clergymen. The Assembly also reaffirmed that:

1. The church was an integral part of the community. The church should participate within local communities, working with other agencies which might have already begun projects to better human society.
2. The CCA should further promote theological understanding and reflection on the theme "Jesus Christ in Asian Suffering and Hope."
3. The CCA should support the concerns of member churches to fight against any customs or attitudes relating to marriage, family welfare and child nurture which might work against the full human development of women.
4. The churches have a responsibility to speak to each other in love about their perceptions of human rights-violations in their own countries and working together in the region, toward solutions.

Most of these priorities and concerns in fact had been stated before. The assembly said that leadership training should be the emphasis now, so that the people could be motivated, enabled and coordinated to move toward a full humanity. Issaku Tomura of Japan and Fung Lai

Fong of Hong Kong also urged that churches in Asia should not stop organizing the people and should be ready to confront and resist the evil spirits in the struggle for full humanity.

G. 1979—The Asian Theological Conference

This conference, entitled "Asia's Struggle for Full Humanity," was held in Wennappuwa in Sri Lanka. It was co-sponsored and supported by the Christian Conference of Asia, the Office of Human Development of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conference, and the Asian Theological Conference.

The participants came from 10 Asian countries as well as from Africa, Latin America, represented by Sergio Torres of Chile, the Pacific Islands, the Caribbean and the United States, represented by James Cone, a black theologian. There were 62 men and 18 women, most of the women being Catholic. The main theme of the conference was "To be significant to the contemporary Asian, theology must be based on the concrete experience of the people and the concrete realities of their continent. The articulation of the faith response must spring from the peoples' lives and struggles, their joys, pains, hopes and frustrations within their given context."¹⁷ The question which the conference deliberated was, "For whom is this theology?" The answer given by the Filipino delegate was, "Theology is the work of the Asian poor with liberated conscienteness."¹⁸

The statement published by the conference was that the issues currently confronting Asian countries were:

1. There is still a lack of proper educational facilities and decreasing employment opportunities in the rural areas, leading to the irreversible process of migration to urban centers.
2. Women are the victims of the male-dominated Asian society.
3. Ethnic minorities are the most deprived sectors at all levels, including economic, political and cultural aspects.
4. Mass media, including the printed word, films and T.V., are controlled by the ruling elites to propagate their dominant value systems and myths.
5. Environmental pollution surfaces in most Asian countries, causing ecological imbalance with the transfer of the platforms of production and mechanization from industrial countries. This problem is most obvious in Japan, Taiwan and Korea.¹⁹

The statement suggested, in the face of these issues, that Asian theology must be the act of commitment to the challenge of the poor in their struggle for full humanity. Therefore, theology must arise from the Asian poor with a liberated consciousness. The first step the church should take would be to help the poor understand the social, political, economic and cultural structures that enslave them. The future tasks of the Asian churches would be to continue to deepen the understanding of the Asian reality through active involvement in the peoples' struggle for full humanity, and to build a strong network of alliances by linking groups who are struggling for full humanity nationally and internationally.²⁰

H. 1980—A Consultation on "Christian Response to Race and Minority Issues in Asia"

This consultation was held in New Dehli, India. The participants who came from Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Taiwan were church leaders and people who were directly involved in movements that work for the rights of

minorities and of people subjected to racial discrimination. They discussed the issues of land rights, the questions of civil rights and the problems of cultural identities.

The consultation was an expression of CCA's support to combat racism and to fight for minority rights and against racial discrimination. In a statement issued at the close of the consultation, delegates agreed on the description of a minority as "a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination."²¹ The consultation affirmed:

. . . that land is a gift of God for all, and that every minority group therefore has the right to own, use and enjoy the land. Therefore we affirm the need for constitutional recognition of the rights of ethnic minorities to their traditional homelands, including the rights to the minerals, fishing grounds, forest and water related to them.

. . . the need, on the one hand, to enable minority sections of our population to grow in awareness of their human and constitutional rights, and on the other hand, to struggle with them for the recognition of their full rights, along with movements and agencies already engaged in similar work.

. . . the right of minorities to preserve and promote their cultural identity. We are strongly opposed to the undermining of such identity through educational systems formulated by the dominant majority, and to the misuse of it for promoting the commercial interests of the dominant majority.²²

The consultation therefore recommended that the churches and national councils in the region should become actively involved in a process of education and publicity, both within the churches and in the large society. It further recommended that each national church should draw up relevant programs of action in specific situations of discrimination.

III. Analysis

The predominating themes of the teachings of the Asian churches at this stage were: poverty and the means to tackle it, the shaping of a culturally relevant concept of development and the minority issues, such as race and women. In this section I will analyze these three major issues, examining their causes and the formation of the teachings of the churches.

The first issue, poverty, has been regarded as the result of excessive exploitation and injustice imposed upon people by the colonial powers and their successors, namely, the Asian elites who took over the power after independence. The Asian churches at this stage have been adamant in calling for a possible violent struggle against this exploitation and injustice. The tone of the church has been unprecedentedly forceful. What had caused the church to be bold? What kind of struggle did the church imply? Was there any debate within the churches regarding the means of eradicating the root of poverty?

The second issue, a culturally relevant concept of development, is in fact a continuation of the attempt of the Asian churches to develop an indigenous theology. At the first stage, Asian churches had loudly advocated the need of an all-out modernization, but at this stage, they had some reservations about a western-styled development aimed at material well-being. The church insisted that development should bear spiritual meaning. What is the development which is spiritually or culturally relevant? How did they understand development? Did economic development conflict with the interest of the Asian people?

The third issue, the minority problem, includes discrimination

against the native people and of women in Asia. Why did the church suddenly extend its concern to these people? What are their situations and what kind of assistance has the church extended to them?

I will attempt to discuss and answer these questions in this section.

A. Poverty

Poverty is one of the most acute and devastating problems of Asian society. The majority of the people in Asia live in dire poverty. For instance, the Philippines, which is considered to be one of the better-developed countries in Asia, is in a situation where 70% of its population is malnourished, 85% of its school children suffer from protein-calorie malnutrition and 70% of the residents of Manila today are poor and 40% are very poor.²³ This is only one example of Asian poverty. The other parts of Asia could furnish data that is equally or more devastating.

Speaking of poverty, one must ask what is the criteria of poverty. What is poverty and what is not? The standards of poverty are not always static. They vary from society to society and are subject to change in the course of time. Asian churches had given this definition: "Poverty, economically understood, is the deprivation of certain basic necessities of life—chiefly food, shelter, clothing, health, education, transportation and recreation."²⁴ It has also to do with a certain minimum level of economic security—the reasonable assurance that the basic necessities of life will continue to be available in the foreseeable future. If death or disability of the breadwinner would render the family destitute, there would be no security, and poverty would exist.

In other words, as long as food, clothing, shelter and transportation are not guaranteed, and as long as the family has no savings to assure the continuous support of the basic needs of life, the family is poor. The criteria of being poor or rich in Asia is not determined by the capital income, because many people have no income at all. Their livelihood depends on the exchange of services and food.

Economic poverty is more and more acutely sensed recently by the poor as the tide of expectation arises and as progress in technology makes the elimination of poverty more and more within the power of man. The spread of education makes the poor of Asia increasingly aware that reasonable access to the basic necessities of life belong to the fundamental rights of man.

One of the expectations of the people as well as the churches, after having been relieved from the yoke of colonialism, was that the poverty status would disappear as the external exploiters were expelled. The church had enthusiastically plunged into the nation-building endeavor. But several decades after independence, the problem of poverty was not only not eradicated, but the situation became worse. A case study at Erranyapallya, South India, reveals their situation.²⁵

{ Erranyapallya is an agrarian village located east of Bangalore, the capitol of the state of Karnataka in South India. The soil around the village is rich and the climate is beneficent. Potatoes are grown in rotation with corn and other vegetables and grain. These crops, destined for the markets of Bangalore, are always in great demand. Despite the fact that the farmers there reap good harvests, the farmers remain poor. They continue to be poor though they labor and sweat year after year. They produce food, yet remain themselves hungry. There is

little they can call their own, even after generations of constant hard work.

Most of the 250 acres of land around the village is owned by three families which, until a generation ago, was a single family. Except for these landlords and their relatives, no villager possesses any document to show that he had ever owned land. Neither do the tenants have any documented evidence to prove their tenancy.

The plight of the tenant farmers is pathetic, as they have been grossly exploited. They paid for the seed, the pesticides, the water and the electricity, in addition to furnishing the labor throughout the season. The tenants were advanced money by the landlords, the accounts of which were kept not by the tenants but by the landlords. The accounts were often inflated in favor of the landlords. A bag of potato seeds, bought by the landlord for the tenant and costing Rs 40 was noted in the accounts as Rs 60 or more. For a two-horse powered pump-set, a family has been paying Rs 100 each month for the last 40 years, in addition to the maintenance costs that were billed to them. The farmer has paid to date about Rs.50,000 for a pump-set costing no more than Rs.5,000. Also the tenant usually found himself in debt at the end of each harvest when he was called upon to pay his bills from his 50% share of that year's crop. Growing debts made loans necessary. Two other factors further increased the debts: the interest rate of 120% and the fact that the tenant was never paid in full, either the loan demanded or the money equivalent to his share of the harvest.²⁶

Why such an exploitation? The people, most of them illiterate, lost track of the loans taken and of the interest paid. Moreover, their earnings were in the custody of the landlords. The arrangement proved

convenient to the landlords as it helped them to build their capital.

One may ask why had not the farmers looked for another job or moved to the city for better employment. The answer is that although wages are higher in the city, the people realized that they could not accept employment outside the village as they would be thrown out of the farm houses immediately.

What about the government? Has it not promised a better life for everyone? The reality is that the law is in favor of the landlords, rather than the actual cultivators. The landlords of Erranyapallya are too shrewd to take any chance or to make any slip. Anything that would compromise their total claim to the land is carefully checked and reversed through bribery. There is mutual benefit between the landlords and the local officials. Together they make the lives of the farmers miserable.

What about the other places in Asia? The situations are not much different. The Asian Theological Conference has sponsored a Live-In Plan which began in 1976. They sent people to visit and live in the slums for several days to find out the actual situations of the poor in Asia. One team which was sent to live on a coconut plantation village in Sri Lanka has the following report:

"We talked with some of the contract workers and visited their homes. Although they may come from different places, their ancestors had also been workers in plantations or mills. Many of them live in small huts on the plantation without electricity or hygienic facilities; there is no furniture, no beds, so they sleep on muddy or sandy floors. Whenever it rains the floor becomes wet and they cannot sleep. They also suffer from insect bites. . . . The workers in the mills ranged from 11-year-old children to 59-year-old women. Since they are paid only on a piecework basis, they have no job security. Many do not even have work every day . . . workers earn from four rupees a day to twenty five rupees a day. They cannot afford to send their children to school. . . . The hygienic conditions and the pollution in the mills are quite bad. We observed that quite a

number of the workers coughed as if they had lung diseases. Since they have very unnutritious food, many of them are in poor health. A woman explained that when their children are sick, they have no means of sending them to doctors. . . . They are basically unorganized and are not aware of the legal rights they should enjoy. In one mill, the workers have asked the owners to cement the floors of their huts. Although the owners had promised it for years, this has not yet been done."²⁷

This team also visited the upper sector in the same area and the finding was:

"They live in luxurious mansions with nice gardens. They have house servants and new private cars. Most of them are well-educated. Many of them hold responsible positions in many organizations. . . . When we asked why their workers were living in very miserable conditions, they explained that the workers were uneducated. Besides, they did not know how to save and they spent whatever money they had on alcoholic drinks, so they were always in debt. If the workers cannot afford to pay back their loans and interest, they escape and shift to other mills. Since workers have never complained about their working conditions, the patrons conclude that they really have treated their workers fairly."²⁸

From these two cases, we can summarize the key problems of the poverty in Asia:

1. The abject poverty of the majority is a consequence of the large accumulation of wealth by a few.
2. The poor suffer from inadequate income, malnutrition, sub-human living conditions, harsh labor and exploitation of child-labor and of old-women-labor because:
 - a. ownership of the means of production is concentrated in the hands of a few and carried through the family relationship.
 - b. control of local and international markets is not in the hands of the working people, but in the hands of the rich who often have access to the decision-making body of the government.
 - c. the poor are too oppressed to realize their potential and capacity for changing the set-up, thus, they accept fatalism.
 - d. the profit-making motive dominates the minds of the rich, who regard laborers as tools rather than persons.

C. S. Song said, "Poverty is economic injustice imposed on the

poor by the rich."²⁹ This injustice he explained as "the desire to take advantage of other people's weakness for one's own profit."³⁰ This is what has happened in Asia. Thus, the chief cause of poverty in Asia is injustice.

This economic injustice, although it has its root in colonialism,³¹ has been further aggravated by the new political powers after independence. For instance, the price of tea has gone up by 150% in the last decade in tea-producing countries like Sri Lanka, but the tea plantation workers got a salary increase of only 5 cents per person.³² In Taiwan, the cultivation of the mountain areas was encouraged in the early 1960's. Many poor mountain tribespeople took advantage of this by moving to high mountain areas and by undergoing hard labour as pioneers. The government recently issued a decree that all mountain lands belong to the government and cultivators must pay rent and taxes or buy the land from the government. These people, after years of hard labor and after assuming a "homestead type" ownership, ended up by losing everything.

The cry of the poor in Asia is for justice and not for charity, from the perspective of CCA. Relief or good-will can never solve their problems. The church leaders in seeing this situation declared that the answer is to gain justice for these people.

Besides economic poverty, there is also another kind of poverty prevailing in Asia on the part of the rich and the privileged. "Personal and group egoism, lack of concern for the poor, failure to struggle for justice and for the freedom and dignity of all men" is called spiritual poverty.³³

The source of this spiritual poverty is twofold: First, the

internal oppressors within Asia, themselves. Second, the former colonial powers in cooperating with the new Asian regimes. The struggle against poverty has thus to be waged on both fronts simultaneously. On the spiritual level, the Asian churches have determined to join with other men of good will, including men of other faiths, in exposing the inefficiency, corruption, indiscipline, disorganization, personal and group egoism, antisocial and irresponsible behavior, despotism, red-tape and bribery, exploitation and oppression, wherever they exist in Asian societies.

On the economic level, church leaders advocated that all mankind must unite to assure a minimum standard of living to all men everywhere. Then all can meaningfully and with dignity participate in the production and distribution of goods and services and all are assured of the necessities of life.

As within Asia itself, the church believed the goal was to realize justice rather than to extend relief, to strive for and achieve the full dignity and rights of people rather than for some to extend spiritual sympathy and charitable help to others. The statement was, "It is essential that the powerless should acquire power in order to participate with dignity in the decisions affecting their lives."³⁴ But how? The teachings of the church did not specifically state the ways and means of solving the problems of poverty. But it implicitly expressed the justifiability of using violent means to achieve justice, though non-violence was preferable.

The key issue is not the use of violent or non-violent methods, but rather of imaginatively developing methods which are both effective to achieve their ends and at the same time, morally justifiable in the actual situation in which we have to struggle for justice.³⁵

The question of what is the morally justifiable method is not answered. The CCA did not further discuss this issue because it did not want to confuse the issue and lead to inaction. However, there were different opinions presented. First, some theologians have stressed the spiritual meaning of liberation and the others strongly advocate that the church must side with the poor regardless of consequences. In order to accommodate and compromise both opinions, CCA taught that "when nonviolence is an effective means, it is certainly to be preferred," implying that both violence and non-violence are endorsable, depending upon the situation.

Asia has had its non-violent tradition in terms of struggling for justice, as, for instance, in Gandhi's Satyagraha. But the main influence of the CCA came from C. S. Song, who believed that non-violence was the only way to meet injustice and hate. To him, it is not a passive attitude toward injustice, oppression and enslavement, but rather a positive spirituality filled with the power of love that will bring change in man and society.³⁶ Song, in his book, Third-Eye Theology, called the spiritual victory of non-violent struggle against injustice as the "transposition of power." He said that a sword was no option for the Kingdom of God; the politics of God are not the politics of the sword but the politics of the cross and of suffering.³⁷ To him, the transposition of power had taken place on the stage, at Pilate's trial of Jesus. In his words:

What actually happened in this intense hour of trial is what we have described as a transposition of power. The power to question and to judge was dramatically transposed from Pilate the judge to Jesus the prisoner. Pilate was taken aback. "What! Am I a Jew?" he shouted in disbelief. Still he must have an answer to his question about the man standing before him. "What have you done?" This he must know. What came back to him from Jesus was, however, not so much a reply as a declaration.

"My Kingdom," said Jesus, "does not belong to this world. . . . My kingly authority comes from elsewhere." Pilate in his shrewdness did not fail to catch a political overtone in this declaration. And so he asked again, "Are you a king, then?" The whole proceeding must have been unsettling for him. He probably felt a threat to his power to rule and judge. He was unable to realize that the kingly power that transposed and changed the power relationship between himself and Jesus came from God. The tragedy was that, although Pilate was used to the power struggles of this world, he could only see in Jesus' assertion of power and authority a claim to political autonomy for a colonized people. This blindness to the significance of the transposition of power between himself and Jesus must have caused Pilate's secret decision to comply with the Jewish demand for the execution of Jesus as a political offender against the Roman authority.³⁸

Song used another example to describe his liberation theology of the transposition of power:

Catholic Bishop Daniel Chi of Korea, the director of the Young Christian Workers, denounced the regime of President Park "for violence, intimidation and fraud." At his trial by the military court, he said defiantly, "I have done nothing wrong. I in no way support violent revolution. I did give money to the students for a peaceful demonstration . . . [because] I wanted to make the government realize that there is such a thing as loyal opposition. . . . Here again the positions of the judge and the judged, of the prosecutor and the prosecuted, of the interrogator and the interrogated are reversed. It is not Bishop Chi who had denounced the government for violent intimidation and fraud, who was on trial. It was the government that had committed the crimes of violence, intimidation and fraud against its people that was on trial before the bishop and the whole people of Korea."³⁹

Thus, according to Song, the weapons in the hands of Christians are love and suffering, not violence. In love and suffering, the position of the judge and of the judged are reversed. The poor gain "resurrection" while the rich are condemned, using Song's words.

This theology in fact is little different from the theology of the early Christians in Asia, namely, the theology of "going to heaven." The early Christians believed that all the sufferings on earth were temporary. The Lord would come to receive them into the golden kingdom

where there would be no more torment or oppression. Those who exploited them, on the contrary, would be condemned by the burning fire. This belief is little difference from what Marx called the appeal of religion as an opiate. The sufferings of the people will be only prolonged when Christians remain satisfied in their sublimation of the transposition of power because it means their acceptance of their situations.

An example of the unrealism of Song's transposition of power theory can be exemplified through what occurred to the dissidents in Taiwan. Eight dissidents, including one church minister, were arrested in October, 1980. They were put on trial and each given sentences from 12 years to life imprisonment. This group-arrest and trial by martial law shocked the whole country. According to the newspapers, "all men wept." Two wives and one brother of these dissidents ran for congress election the following year despite heavy pressure from the government that they withdraw. These three candidates were all elected with overwhelming victories. Their victories have been deemed as the condemnation of the government in the people's votes. According to Song's theology, their victories reversed the position of the judge and the judged. They won the victory while the oppressor was being condemned. But even though those were elected, none of the troubling situations has been changed. Oppression is still as it was.

C. G. Arevalo of the Philippines, however, holds a different view. He said "Poverty is a matter of life and death for the church in Asia. The church must side in with the poor and must speak of revolution."⁴⁰ Arevalo repeatedly stressed that words are empty. Christians must move from words to deeds, he said. He described three kinds of violence prevailing in Asia which exploits the poor people:

First, the violence of internal colonialism. In this form, the wealth of a small privileged group is maintained at the expense and misery of millions of their countrymen. In the Philippines, some twelve percent of the families have to divide less than 1-1/4% of the nation's income, while the upper 4% of the people receive more than 25% of the nation's total income.

Second, there is the violence imposed by the developed world on the under-developed world; there is the international monetary and trade system devised by the rich nations to suit their own needs and in many cases to exploit the poor nations. "The rich countries refuse to allow the poor nations to own and use whatever material resources they possess for their own interests and in their own way," Trevalo said, "Capitalism so often and on so large a scale subordinates human beings to profits and makes use of international politics and cultural imperialism for its own purposes. On the other hand, socialist super-powers nurture super-militarism too, promote wars, count the individual and his freedom for naught."⁴¹ On the face of this second violence, people in the developing regions have come to the realization of their needs and their rights to move from a modest and often miserable standard of living to a higher, richer, worthier and more human level.

The third form of violence is that exercised by the government which supports the two forms of violence described above, in the name of law and good order. They collaborate in the perpetuation of present structures of oppression and injustice in their own countries.

Facing these violences, what should Christians do in order to bring justice? There are two options, according to Trevalo. One is reformism and the other revolutionism. Reformism is to accept the given

structure and to merely desire changing their working for the better. Revolutionism is to seek to subvert the present disorder radically and rapidly to create new structures. In other words, the choices are two—the peaceful use of appeal or the violent use of the unsheathed weapon.

Arevalo continued to stress that since many committed Christians in some nations are jailed and tortured for taking positions, must the Christian, must the church, opt for revolution? Must the Christian churches in Asia align themselves unequivocally with the poor and the victims of social injustice, with poor men against unjust structures which impede justice? He said:

"In the harshly real world we live in, Christians and the churches will not bring about reconciliation and peace by posing as a super-historical meeting place for negotiation and peace, as a neutral table for conversation and arbitration."⁴²

". . . One must dialectically take sides to achieve the purpose of justice and peace."⁴³

Arevalo has in fact presented a lesser evil against evil. He understands that violence has already been present to exploit people, whether it was in the visible act of murdering or in the invisible form of law and order. In order to bring about justice, lesser evil is called to curtail a greater evil—injustice. The statement of the CCA in 1970 had implied that this violence was justifiable when necessary, to help fight for human dignity and justice. It, however, did not contradict C. S. Song's argument either, because it stated that non-violent struggle was still preferred.

B. A Culturally Relevant Concept of Development

C. G. Arevalo of the Philippines wrote in 1970:

Some Latin American theologians as we know, prefer not to speak of "development" but of "liberation". They feel that the

notion of development, as it is accepted in much current talk, has built into it a pre-judgement on the part of much of the developed world of the affluent West—a pre-judgement of what it means to be modern men. Modern society comes to fulfillment, with its focus on the TV set and the burdened table, the air-conditioned house cum swimming pool, an evening with the beautiful people, a seat on the 747 to Paris. Whereas liberation asks that the Latin Americans be allowed the freedom to grow toward what he himself would want to become, toward the society expressing the configuration of values he himself chooses toward the good life for man as he sees it, not as he is told to see it by others. . . . So liberation means that each people is progressively freed, politically, economically, culturally, so that it can have the room and space and air to realize its own vision of a world of human friendship and communion. Liberation, as one writer tells us, means that Latin Americans can say to the economic and cultural imperialist especially, "Let us be, let us find our own ways, let us shape our own future as we choose to."⁴⁴

Arevalo, in saying this, is in fact asking, "Can Asians find their own ways? Can Asians shape their own destinies and futures as they choose to?" He said, "Let us be."

In 1972, the Association of the Theological School in Southeast Asia met and stated, "Here the church says YES to the search for material development. The church must say NO to material development when the search for such development threatens to enslave Asian man or to promote inequality."

The CCA had stated in 1958 that an industrial revolution was taking place in Asia and Christians and the church should become "deeply involved in the whole process of economic and community development." Why in the seventies, did the Asian churches suddenly state a conditional approval to material development? Did the Asian churches not quest for a modernization in Asia and call for the participation of all people in the process of nation-building? To answer these questions, we must examine how the Asian people perceive development and how the development has affected their lives.

First, for the majority of Asian nations, development meant economic prosperity and social prestige. But two decades after the independence of Asian nations, it became obvious that prosperity and prestige could only be the possession of those few in privileged positions. New ruling classes came into existence in many nations in Asia, wielding enormous economic powers and political controls. The people in the street became tools of development rather than subjects of development. Behind the grandiose technological and economical developments, there were emaciated faces of men, women and children who had to scratch for the bare necessities of life. They constituted the cheap labor force exploited by the foreign investors and the latter's national collaborators. Development, instead of bringing dignity to man, debased him to a mere status of being the means to an end. It degenerated him into becoming a "handmaid" of the capitalist structure of society.

Second, under the name of development, there is a tendency for neocolonialism to take its rise and exploit fully but subtly the predicaments and contradictions that exist in those nations undergoing a development process. The statistic which reflects the situation in Latin America⁴⁵ has alerted the Asian church leaders and they became suspicious of development that comes in the form of economic aid and technical assistance. Instead of truly developing potentialities for the establishment of a more just, free and equal society, the development may become instrumental in further enslaving the poor in a new form of slavery.

Third, as development progresses, it is also obvious that a new value system emerges to replace the old value system. This, to some people, is too great a price to pay. Filial piety is a good illustra-

tion. Almost imperceptibly the family system, cherished so much by Asians, has undergone a radical change as described in previous chapters. People are less and less sure of their commitment to filial piety, as understood in the traditional way. Filial piety has been the pillar, making it possible for the large-family system to continue. Without this spiritual force, putting duty as well as affection before anything else, no family consisting of three or four generations of men and women under the same roof, would have the chance to stand the test of the whims, ambitions and frustrations of its individual components. But as the changes in economic and social behavior which have been taking place in Asia, force the disintegration of the large family system, where and how can filial piety find new forms of expression?

Fourth, when development proceeds with economic progress and technological achievement, the Asian society has gradually turned to the arena of ruthless competition. A highly industrialized society is for "the survival of the fittest." The Asian people were proud of their humanitarian civilization. The ruthless competition is foreign and dangerous to the Asian spirit.

Why did development not fulfill the dreams of the Asian people? Beside the internationalization of the oppressive power, one most outstanding reason is that the Asian countries tried to accomplish something within one or two decades which took Western-developed nations hundreds of years to accomplish. Development should be a gradual process. Besides technological readiness, the psychological readiness of the people to adjust to the change it brings is also important. According to W. W. Rostow, economic development involves five stages, namely, traditional society, the developing conditions necessary for growth, the

take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass-consumption.⁴⁵

Rostow argued that a traditional society is one whose structure is developed within a limited production function, based on a pre-Newtonian science and technology. This traditional stage had an economic ceiling due to the absence or non-application of the potentialities which flow from modern science and technology.

The second stage of growth according to Rostow, embraced societies in the process of transition. The pre-conditions necessary for eventual takeoff were developed in a clearly marked way, in the Western Europe of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The insights of modern science began to be translated into new production functions in both agriculture and industry, in a setting given dynamism by the lateral expansion of world markets and the international competition for them.

But the great watershed in the life of modern societies was what Rostow called the third stage in this sequence, the take-off, being the interval when the old blocs and resistances to steady growth were finally overcome. The forces making for economic progress then could expand and come to dominate the society to such an extent that growth would become its normal condition.

After take-off, there follows a long interval of sustained if fluctuating progress, as the now steadily growing economy drives to extend modern technology over the whole front of its economic activity. Some 10 to 20 percent of the national income is invested, permitting output regularly to outstrip the increase in the population. This is the stage in which an economy demonstrates that it has the technological and entrepreneurial skills to produce, not everything, but anything it

chooses to produce.

Rostow argued that the fifth stage is the age of high mass-consumption, where in time, the leading sectors shift toward durable consumer goods and services.

Almost every Asian nation during the early 1970's was still around the first and third stages. The impact of change upon people was great because there had been no preparation periods in Asian nations for development.

One question was often asked in the early seventies: "Has development with achievement in economic progress and technological advancement been able to help the Asian find his whole and real self?" The Asian people have been caught in the dilemma of "for development" or "against development." The church thus provides a conditional solution: "No" to material development which will enslave mankind, and "yes" to development which will liberate people from injustice and will also give a spiritual implication to humanity.

The urge for a culturally relevant development was first urged early in 1967 by M. M. Thomas who said, "Any modernization must find its roots and dynamism in the new sense of Asian selfhood, rooting in the past but with new creativeness and openness toward the future."⁴⁷ A special effort was made by M. M. Thomas in 1973 at the World Conference of Salvation Today held in Bangkok. In his personal statement, he raised a question to see if there was a vital relationship between the material well-being of the new society and the spiritual self-realization of man himself.⁴⁸ To give material development a spiritual meaning is a must, he implied.

Won Young Kang of Korea argued, "There is a fundamental problem

Asian people must confront in the face of development, namely, "Our culture is being destroyed." He explained:

By this I mean the ongoing destruction of the cultural heritage which has already been integrated into our life over these thousands of years. This implies that changes of the economic and social structures which have been effected by industrialization and urbanization have been imposed by modern technology. There have been bringing forth drastic changes in our cultural structure. I would rather strongly suggest that negative changes outnumber the positive ones.

He asked whether development is possible to be grafted into Asian culture. Have science and technology had nothing to do with culture?

To Kang, modern science and technology are products of Western culture. These objects of cognition are not seen in a relationship of harmony with the whole of nature. Rather, they are to be seen and analyzed in separation from nature and creation. However, in Asia, and particularly in North Asia, oriental people saw objects as an integral part of heaven and earth and observed them in relationship with all things in the universe. According to the ancient Chinese inscription of the Yin Shan period, 3700 years ago, heaven was already understood as the controller of the whole of life. Heaven, earth and man were seen in a relationship of harmony and mutual interaction. In other words, the oriental talked about interchange between heaven and earth and man, or the "Great Way" of harmony in nature, good and evil, the fortunes or vicissitudes of man, Li or Way and awakening in depth—all are united. Therefore, the oriental principles of the book of changes, evolved from the principle of interchange among heaven, earth and man. The medical science of the orient also viewed the human body from the "Great Way" of heaven and earth, but never became estranged from nature or man's rela-

tionship with his neighbor.

Furthermore, the Orient, especially the Taoist and Buddhist traditions, has a totally different view of time and space than Western man. To express the good life, the Oriental would use the expression, "Man lives in the environment with good waters and beautiful mountains," rather than "man lives on abundant food." Therefore, in building a house, an oriental would regard the position and location of it as of more importance than its structure (Fong-shui). Even when choosing a burial place, the natural environment is the most important consideration. The same is true for human relationships. Because family relations have a broad scope and are thought to be very important in regions where the Confucian heritage is deeply rooted, an individual is never to be separated from his community. In language, orientals seldom use the words "you" or "I". The word most frequently used is "we". Even when one introduces his wife to others, he often says "our wife".

The changes arising from industrialization and urbanization, the results of modern technology, are now fundamentally shaking and destroying the structure of Asian culture, Kung said. The beautiful environment with which Asian life is closely connected has been destroyed on such a large scale that Asians no longer have "beautiful mountains and fresh waters" and no longer can they see the "milky way in the blue sky." Even if their countries are called "The Land of the Morning Calm," that claim already belongs to the past. They suffer from environmental deterioration in the air and the water and from noise pollution. But what is more, their family systems and the villages, in which have been their traditional human relations, now are being dissolved by force. Traditional cultural events such as village festivals are now

being obliterated in the name of modernization. On top of these changes, such rapid social changes have given rise to anomalies in their society. The conflicts between traditional culture and values, and strange foreign culture and values have caused imbalance in the social structure. Consequently, Kang concluded, the people have lost their sense of direction and an identity crisis has arisen. This naturally had led to ambiguity in the criteria for ethical judgement and to the explosion of new types of criminal behavior. The tension between rapidly rising expectations and the inability to meet them is accelerating the phenomenon of dehumanization. This is also prompted by the tendency to employ even abnormal means and methods, as if they were just and right, in order to achieve their objectives. This does not mean that everything western is bad and all Asian systems are good. Neither does it mean that all modern construction should be destroyed that Asia might return to the primitive world of nature in which Lao-Tzu and Chiang-tzu lived. It is already an impossibility, nor could such a change be valid. The question is: What should the Asian people do at this cross-road?

Won Yong Kang suggests:

I would like to urge that to give up our community, in which we have lived together with our families and villagers for thousands of years in harmony with and with a delight in the whole of nature—that is, heaven, earth, animals and plants—is too high a price to pay for the more convenient way of living which may be obtained from so-called modernization, technological revolution and development. . . . But if our desire is really the happiness of our people, then we should not destroy our cultural foundation, but rather concentrate our full efforts on regenerating it creatively.

How can Asians adapt modern developments, yet still preserve their cultural foundations? The answer is to create a culturally rele-

vant concept of development. Won Yong Kang said:

I propose that we seek new directions for a strategy for development, the realization of justice and true liberation by making a drastic reassessment of the roles which the churches of Asia have played up to the present moment. I mean that we must search for a new direction of creating a new culture of relevancy and validity on the basis of our traditional culture by making a re-analysis of functions and dis-functions in the emerging technological revolution.

To create such a culturally relevant development, Kang argued that these guidelines are to be followed:

1. Development must be charged with divine meaning as well as human significance. It has to be undertaken by both sides, the material and the spiritual. The material side is the economic and technological progression. The spiritual side is the self-development of man himself so that he will not be cut off totally from his past and in the meantime will open up to the future unselfishly. In M. M. Thomas' words, it has to be a search for spiritual meaning in development.

2. A Christian's responsibility toward development should consist in his effort, not to let development, especially in its technological and physical aspects, become a new form of enslavement of man. Thus, the Christian churches in Asia cannot give an unqualified "Amen" to developments that promise happiness and joy through technological and economic progress.

3. The Christian churches have further responsibility to continue to wage war against the demeaning of human nature through development. This has created a new group of elite whose economic powers tend to dominate society. They replace the old feudalistic autocracy by a new economic autocracy. The majority of the people come to subject themselves to economic power. Their integrity as human beings is thus

threatened. They become tools in economic and technological development. They are no longer the subjects of development. This is because the whole process of development is planned entirely without their participation. When the object or purpose of development is derived, it is not they, as growing human beings with human potentials being developed, but it is certain economically and technologically gainful projects and enterprises that are being formed. People come into the program between the planning and the end results. That is to say, in the eyes of the developers, they constitute production labor. In Asia, the labor wage is often pitifully low. They work under very inadequate conditions. They sell their labor in exchange for a bare minimum income to support themselves and their families. The church has the enormous task of speaking against and taking action against such acts of demeaning human nature in the name of development.

Three key Asian theologians from different parts of Asia expressed their similar concern regarding development in the seventies. M. M. Thomas was the one who forcefully advocated the necessity of modernization in the fifties. But in the 1970's he stated that development should be endowed with spiritual implications. C. S. Song has maintained that development should proceed with two ends simultaneously, namely, spiritual self-development of the man himself, along with the technological progress. W. Y. Kang insisted that development should proceed with Asian creativity in order to maintain the balance between nature and progress.

This endeavor to preserve Asian spirituality in the midst of development was a large and difficult task. How are Asian churches going to realize this goal remains to be seen. One thing seems to be

missing from the discussion on development within the Asian churches. This is the need to stand up as well as to catch up with the Western nations. By this, it is meant that, in terms of technological progress, the Asian countries should try hard to build up their readiness. In other words, without developing their creativity and know-how, the development will be foundationless. In G. Hardin's theory: "There is no survival without self-reliance, which cannot be donated from the outsider. Self reliance must be generated inside each nation by the people themselves."⁵²

Thus, three ends should proceed simultaneously in Asia: (1) Industrialization—to acquire the technological know-how and to equip with modern techniques for maximum production. In other words, to "stand up" so that development might proceed even if the technical help from the western nations should be terminated. (2) Consolidation of the conditions for development—this is actually part of the first process. The western nations have gone through hundreds of years of preparation before "taking off," while Asian countries proceed with no preparation at all. The first task of this consolidation toward foundation is education. The illiteracy rate in Asia is so high that it impedes the effectiveness of development. Development cannot be imposed upon people. The awareness and readiness of people for the need of development are both equally as important as the policies of the government toward development; for instance, the readiness of the people to learn and operate the new techniques imported from the west. (3) Conscientization—this is the hardest of all. W. Y. Yang used Paulo Freire's word, "conscientization" to describe the need to develop a culturally relevant concept of development. The developers as well as government policy-

makers should be made aware that preserving Asian cultural heritage is as important as its economic development. The balance between nature and progress should be maintained. But how to conscientize people remains a big issue. Kang did not present any suggestion as to how to proceed with it.

C. The Church's Concern for the Minority Groups

1. Ethnic Groups as Minority

One significant development of the social teachings of the Asian churches at this stage is the extension of its concern to the minority groups. The minority issue had never been mentioned in the fifties or sixties. How did the Asian churches start caring about minority groups? This development has much to do with the change in the concept of people.

In 1972, the word "community" had been changed to "people" in the statement issued by the Asian churches. "Community" seems to imply nation-building. But at this stage the concern of the Asian churches is no longer so much of community development or community organization as it was in the forties and fifties. Community development or organization had not liberated the people from suffering or injustice. The church leaders realized that it must be the suffering people themselves to whom the churches should extend its concern. Widyatmadza of Indonesia used three Greek words to explain this shift of attention.⁵³

There are three Greek words which refer to people, namely ethnos (ἔθνος), oxlos (ὄχλος) and laos (λαός). Ethnos means the union of people based on the skin's color and language. Oxlos signifies the multitude or the gathering of people. Ethnos refers to people who

gather together because of similar skin color or tongue while oxlos is a mass-gathering of unorganized people without a particular goal.

The church may develop into a unified ethnos, an alliance that has a racial nature and is very closed. It may also develop into an oxlos, an open union without any firm foundation or clear destination and with no commitment to support any movement. Each person or section may think and act on his own without considering or supporting mutual tasks in the others. Another man's suffering is not a criterion for meeting one another in a place called the Place of Worship. Each fights for his own safety.

The church must not fall into either ethnos or oxlos, Widyatmadza said. The church, made up of people chosen by God to bring about the Liberation Message, should be a laos people. This people is called to carry out social changes toward justice. This people will not take sides with the oppressor—they will identify themselves with those who are oppressed.

Since the Asian churches view themselves as laos, the people chosen by God to bring about liberation and to take sides with those oppressed, they naturally evolve their struggle for full humanhood to include justice to the minority groups in existence in Asia. When M. M. Thomas voiced that the Asian struggle for justice should enter into the level of spirituality, he means also that the Asian people should find a sacred relationship with nature and with one another.⁵⁴

Minority groups in Asia are the oppressed of those who suffer two-fold oppressions—oppression from the existing authorities plus the oppression of the majority groups that treat them as inferiors.

In 1974, 1977 and again in 1980, the major concerns of the Asian

churches were the race and minority issues. "Minority" can be interpreted in different ways, particularly in Asia where culture and ethnic composition are so diverse and complex. In colonial days it was the white minority who ruled and exercised supremacy over the local majority of the people. In post-colonial India for example, the scheduled "Castes" might insist that they are not a minority, but that it is the Brahmins (the highest caste in Hindu society) who are a minority, ruling over the majority of the people.

Others might say that the term "minority" itself has been imposed by the so-called majority, which is in effect dominated by a small group of elites, for example the Koreans in Japan. Again, if one looks at the minority group from a religious angle, the Christians in Pakistan and the Muslims in the Philippines are the minorities. From a numerical perspective, so also are Christians in most Asian countries.

One cannot analyze the minority situation without paying attention to the particular socio-economic and political context in which each group is placed. Therefore, the term "minority" can be considered as one of several heavily loaded terms which are intertwined with various meanings. One of these is that in a so-called democratic system, the majority has the final determining power, legitimacy and universal values behind it. Such a myth reinforces the paternalism of the majority. The effect of this is that the minority is seen as an object to be protected, but if any conflict of interest arises, the minority must adjust to the norms set by the majority. The minority, then, is understood in Asia as "a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics are singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who there-

fore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination."⁵⁵

The existence of a minority in society implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group with higher social status and great privileges. The relationship between the dominant groups and the minorities is not determined by numbers but by distribution of power. This is typically evident in Asia. It is characterized by marginalization of four kinds—geographical, economical, political and socio-cultural.

1. One of the fundamental elements which may determine the relationship between the dominant and minority groups is territoriality. In some cases, a certain minority group has the territorial domain and territorial identity which reflects the identity of that minority. In this situation, the right to the land or the territory is a paramount question. In other cases, minority groups have no relationship to a specific territory. Or a minority group is scattered around in the total area, mingling with other minorities or dominant groups, so that their identity is not tied to the territoriality, but is tied by other physical or cultural characteristics.

2. Economic. The second factor which determines the relationship between the dominant groups and the minorities is the economic factor. Often a minority group is tied to a particular sector of the economy, a particular kind of a job or economic activity which is segregated from other economic activities in which the dominant groups have been engaged. Thus the relationship between dominant and minority groups is determined in terms of economic dominance and economic segregation.

3. Political. Further, another crucial element in the relationship between the dominant and minority groups arises out of politi-

cal domination. There are two occasions for this political control. One is through external colonialism and the other is "internal colonialism" by a dominant group. The second case has been particularly relevant since World War II when many new nation-states were established in Asia. The relationship between major groups and minorities has been defined or rationalized in terms of the necessity for national unity and national integrity as opposed to identity and justice for the minorities. These bi-polar tendencies have determined the political relationship between the dominant groups and the minorities. Therefore, this relationship should be understood in terms of power relations, although their physical or cultural characteristics mark their differences.

4. Socio-cultural. On the social and cultural level, discrimination and "uprootedness" become paramount problems for the powerless ethnic or racial groups. Here the issues of self-identity and self-determination or autonomy become crucial for their liberation. Also, this issue is inseparable from unjust structures of power relations. The various myths, religious or otherwise, and other value systems, tend to rationalize or undergird the existing relationships, always in favor of the dominant groups. This relationship must be seen fundamentally in the context of power relationships, but must also be seen with their complex structures of domination, exploitation, repression and segregation.

Furthermore, one of the acutely experienced results of the minority oppression is segregation on the basis of physical differences, cultural or ethnic discrepancies, and religious conflicts. In this context, the socio-psychological consequences of oppression and domination over the powerless minority groups by the controlling groups is

very severe. Therefore, cultural identity and personal dignity for the oppressed minority groups have become a perennial question regarding the liberation and fulfillment of the racial and ethnic groups that are dominated. Often this segregation is primarily due to long social stigma, and the lack of political power perpetuates such social and economic segregation.

With the help of the churches, many oppressed minority groups in Asia have recently been asserting their fundamental rights—communal and people-oriented rather than as individuals—to share and participate equally in national and social life, and to recognize their identity and dignity as people, including their rights to ancestral land. This can be seen through the Australian aborigines' struggles for land rights against mining interests and the Philippine cultural minorities' struggles against dam construction. They have realized that if they are to exist as a people, they cannot be alienated from the land which is their spiritual source and the basis of their livelihood. For them, land is mother as well as life.⁵⁶

The cry of the minority groups for dignity and recognition as a people was so weak that the government ignored them and went ahead with its planned development projects. In the case of the Australian aborigines and the Philippine cultural minorities, this has endangered and threatened their survival. Amid their sufferings, the CCA in 1974 affirmed its support for research and action programs dealing with caste, class, tribal and regional conflicts.⁵⁷

The Christian church, however, is itself a minority group in Asia except in the Philippines. In the church's concern for minorities a reflection of concern for its minority status? How effective could

the church be in speaking for the minority since it (itself) is a minority?

The churches in Asia have recognized their minority status. But it is not the fact that they are minority groups which motivated their speaking out on the minority issue. It is the concept of people and the new awareness of the situation which leads the CCA to emphasize this issue. Let us examine the situations of the minority groups in Asia.

a) Philippines

There are at least seventy distinct minority peoples in the Philippines numbering at least four million and forming about 12 percent of the total population. About three million of these are Muslims in the south. The Igorots of northern Luzon form the next large minority group, numbering about half a million. While the Muslim and Igorots have developed complex and extensive political organizations and have become acculturated to the techniques of wet rice cultivation, the rest of the cultural minorities have remained mainly shifting cultivators or hunters and gatherers.

(1) Highlanders. Prior to the coming of the Spanish, trade relations between the highland and lowland people were based on equality. But the colonial administration concentrated economic and political power in the lowlands and forced mountain people into an inferior status as a price for their independence. These relations have continued.

Contact with lowlanders and their cash economy has proven disastrous to many of these minority peoples. Encroaching lowland settlers and land grabbers have transformed into commodities the lands which were once considered by the minorities as being free and for communal use.

Loggers have denuded the land of the forests which once supported their life. Government efforts at modernization and development have resulted in further displacement of minorities.

In the face of threats to their survival as a people, some of the hill tribesmen have withdrawn deeper into the mountain and forest interiors, and as a result have become even more isolated from the national mainstream.

One of the main problems facing these minorities is the projected construction of four hydro-electric dams along the Chico River which the Igorot people rely on for their livelihood. This project will inevitably uproot the Igorots, who have been vehemently opposed to the government's development project. The dam will flood at least 15 Igorot villages, affecting the lives of almost 1500 families. More than 100,000 people will be uprooted from their tribal land. The fears of the tribal people are based on their religiosity. Their traditions revolve round ancestor and spirit worship, and their ancestral graves will all be put under water by the dams.

Likewise, the mountain tribes are unwilling to give up their rice terraces which are both their livelihood and the matrix of their highly communal life. The land to which they are to be moved has been declared unfit for the kind of agriculture they have practiced.

Churches, both Protestant and Catholic, have been deeply involved in helping the Igorots' struggle. Their commitments and beliefs can be summarized in the following remark by the church. "Yours [meaning Igorots] is a struggle against the brutal facts of life. Because we are for peace and love, we are behind people who are oppressed and exploited. We support especially the cultural minorities

who are suffering injustice and oppression. We encourage you to tell your problems and to participate in seeking out solutions. By this you attain your identity.⁵⁸

(2) **Muslims.** Large numbers of people in the southern islands of the Philippines became Muslims in the 15th century when Arab traders and missionaries crossed over to the islands from the West. The Moros (Filipino followers of Islam) tended to be more advanced than the people in the north, namely the Igorots, technologically and in terms of social organization. By the 16th century when the Spanish came to the Philippines, they had achieved a socio-economic base supporting a kingdom headed by a Sultan in Sulu, the land of Mindanao. Sulu had been found to be rich in resources and raw materials, such as rubber and pineapple. By the force of the government, the lands had fallen into the hands of a few settlers who were favored by the government while the vast majority of the people were left landless.

Differing interpretations of land ownership on the parts of the Moros and of the government complicated the land issues. Muslims unfamiliar with Philippine law, which states that land for which no title exists is federal land, often failed to get the title to lands which they felt had been theirs for centuries. Settlers, on the other hand, were told that land was available and they were often helped to get titles. Land disputes frequently led to armed warfare. The demand for self-rule first surfaced in 1968 and this has been carried forward by the Moro Liberation Front. The government's continued suppression and exploitation, and the eventual militarization of the southern area, has resulted in the deaths of ten thousand people, has uprooted many more

and has caused wide destruction to homes and sources of livelihood.

b) Tribal People of Bangladesh

As with the other tribal minority groups scattered about South-east Asia, the tribal groups in Bangladesh have been exploited by the majority. The tribal people in the hill areas have been gradually pushed farther back into the hills. In 1960, these people lost their lowlands. All the cultivated land is now under the Bengalis. The main source of income of the tribal people is only from root cultivation. The hill tribal groups are finding their traditional land area to be shrinking. This, in turn, has caused a change from the traditional shifting cultivation practices of the tribal group called Jhuming, which has created an ever-depressing situation for them. As the total land available for crops has decreased, the Jhuming must concentrate on a lesser amount of land due to crop concentration, and the soil is not able to regain its productivity every year. This in turn decreases the crop production. There is no possibility for natural relief until the next spring when the next jute crop can be harvested. This inevitably pushes the tribal groups into poorer and poorer status. These people are simple, unsophisticated and easily deceived. They live in continuous suffering from exploitation.

c) Mountain People in Taiwan

The mountain people in Taiwan were the indigenous inhabitants of the island before the Chinese migration in the 17th century.⁵⁹ Mountain people, grouped in ten major tribes, are culturally and physically diverse. They have different languages, the only common ones being Japanese (among the older generation) or mandarin Chinese (among the

younger generation). Of the ten tribes, the Amis and Yamis basically live on the plains and have somehow been assimilated into the Chinese culture. According to 1974 government statistics, there are 267,698 of the mountain tribespeople, which is approximately 6% of the total population of Taiwan. During the period of the Japanese occupation (1894-1945), the mountain people were pacified through negotiations and by force. As was the case with other colonized nations, the Japanese administration imposed its language and religions onto the mountain people. Beginning in 1945, however, the nationalistic Chinese government formulated new policies administered with the aim of assimilating mountain people into the Chinese way of life. Despite the general tendency toward assimilation, the mountain people still maintain their traditional ways of life and culture. An indigenous system of self-government on the village level, with the village chief at the top co-exists with the government's local administration.

The most common basis for livelihood is rice production, but many are also involved in hunting and fishing. The land being cultivated is government land, even though the tribespeople have been there long before the present government arrived from China. The mountain people do not have private ownership of land. This makes their lives quite vulnerable. Whenever the government needs the land for any purpose, the people there must leave their native places. The development projects have also endangered their livelihood. Hunting is impossible today. The intrusion of a money economy and insufficient sources of cash income have prompted the people in the tourist promotion areas to go into all types of tourist business. Hence, side effects of tourism have raised moral disruption, family disintegration, loss of pride,

distortion of cultural heritage, etc.

Another major problem is education. The illiteracy rate is around 16.2 percent. Although most of the mountain people now have opportunities for elementary schooling, the number of students proceeding to higher education is very small. Urban migration following the rapid industrialization also creates social and psychological problems for those who migrate from the mountains. The fact that this discriminatory attitude exists among the plains-people toward the mountain-people has caused the mountain tribespeople's making a living more and more difficult.

d) Chinese in Indonesia

The Chinese presence in Indonesia is largely a legacy from the period of Dutch colonial rule (1602-1945). While a small number of Chinese merchants had settled and had become assimilated into Indonesia life earlier, the major immigration of Chinese was the result of the Dutch colonial ruler's practice of bringing in Chinese for contract labor and commercial enterprises.

By the eighteenth century, tensions were arising over such problems as Chinese settlement, control of Chinese activities, Chinese-Dutch relations and Chinese-Indonesian relations. The foreigners' domination of commerce and trade was one of the main sources of conflict. Yet many other options were closed to the Chinese. For instance, the Dutch colonial administration regarded the Chinese as "alien Orientals" and denied them the right to hold title to land. Waves of nationalism also increased the friction between the Chinese and the Indonesians. During Indonesia's struggle for independence from 1945 to 1949, the

Chinese were identified with the colonial rulers. From 1950 to 1956 they were often accused of being sympathetic to the Communist groups.

Discrimination takes place in different ways. Some is based on laws. For instance, there has been a rule that only a certain number of Chinese students could enter the universities. Formerly, it was officially 10 percent, but now it is not more than 5 percent.

Discrimination against the Chinese has further isolated them from society. Because they do not participate in political and social affairs, they are accused of being exclusive and this in turn worsens the attitude of the rest of society toward them.

e) Burakumin in Japan

The Burakumin, presently numbering 2 to 3 million out of a total Japanese population of 113 million, is Japan's largest single minority today. Though not ethnically different from other Japanese, the Burakumin have been treated as "an outcast community," segregated and ostracized socially, politically and economically for a hundred years, because of their religious practice of animal-slaughter.⁶⁰ During the Tokugawa feudal period, the district lords imposed various restrictions on the everyday life of the Burakumin. Marriage with non-Burakumin was prohibited, and this is still observed today.⁶¹ Burakumin were required to live in designed ghetto-type communities on marginally-located land, urban and rural. Sometimes they had to hang an animal skin on the front of their houses to openly indicate their identity. They were not allowed to wear cloth sashes or belts, but were required to tie straw ropes around their waists and to hold their hair in place with straw cords. In certain areas they had to attach a rectangular place of

leather onto their garb. Their footwear was limited to straw sandals. They had no freedom of occupation beyond the traditionally segregated tasks. These and many other social norms segregated and distinguished them from the mainstream of society and gave birth to all kinds of prejudice and contempt toward them, by the ordinary Japanese.

f) Christian Churches in Pakistan

In today's Pakistan, Christians are segregated into a number of slums called Bastis, isolated from each other and the rest of society. Their contact with Muslim neighbors is extremely limited, partly due to the fear of religious intolerance and partly due to the official policy of separation. Separate electorate has adversely affected their already extremely-limited contact with the majority community.

When India became independent from the British colonial rule in 1947 Pakistan emerged as a separate, predominately Muslim, country. The minorities in Pakistan, for the most part, took religion as the dividing line between themselves and the dominant population, although the social and class differentiations were also explicit distinctions. Despite the fact that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, founder of the Pakistani nation, advocated equal rights and freedom for all religions, subsequent events showed an increasing trend toward muslimization.

According to the constitution, non-Muslim citizens include Christians, Hindus, Sikhs and Ahmadis belonging to scheduled castes. The total non-Muslim number far exceeds 10 million and is more than 15 percent of the total population. Among them, Christians, who probably constitute the largest single minority, number approximately 5 million, of whom one quarter belong to the lowest class of society, the so-called

"sweepers."

Most of the sweepers in the major towns are Christians from the Punjabi province. The Christian Punjabi sweepers, as they are commonly called, are treated in a special manner by the vast majority of Pakistanis, both because of their origins and because of the kind of work they perform.

The history of these people dates back to the second half of the 19th century, when a large number of the untouchable community called "Chuhras" were converted to Christianity. Because of the stigma in traditional Hindu society, the Churches were engaged in work related to pollution, such as sweeping and cleaning, apart from agricultural work.

Since the takeover of the new Pakistani government in July, 1977, the military government of General Zia has been enforcing a policy of muslimization. Among the new policies being introduced is one for a "separate electorate" under which Muslims will vote for Muslim candidates and non-Muslims for only non-Muslim candidates. Many Pakistanis see this move as a serious blow for the minorities, which will make their life and genuine social participation even more difficult.

g) Tamils in Malaysia and Sri Lanka

Tamils are the Indians brought to Malaysia and Sri Lanka from the Madra state of India by the British colonizers about 150 years ago to work as indentures, to clear tropical jungles for rubber planting and as hard-working and docile laborers to undertake the hard work of tapping and weeding. Up to the time of Malayan independence in 1957, 4.5 million Tamils had been brought in. Three million went home, not much richer than when they arrived. As many as one million had died of

malaria, dysentery, malnutrition or over-exertion. On Malayan Independence Day there were only a half-million left.

Today their conditions have improved little. They are among the large number of the poor and oppressed and in fact, they are the poorest and most oppressed. A new problem was also posed in the last decade by the government, requiring that they must learn and speak the Malay language only. This threatens to wipe out their own cultural heritage.

In Sri Lanka, the Tamils' situation is even worse. In 1948, one million Tamils remaining in Sri Lanka were deprived of the citizenship they had been granted previously under British rule. In 1964 and 1974, agreements were worked out that over a 15-year period, a certain number of persons were to be given Sri Lankan citizenship and others were to be repatriated to India. One Tamil, while awaiting repatriation to India wrote:

"The rulers alone decided that we leave this land and go across the sea and the loved one is separated from the beloved . . . On the sea between Sri Lanka and India, separated lovers groan and mourn of what will become of hearts long knit into one. . . . What jewels and money we saved and the pots and pans we take with us are looted on the way. . . . I do not know, O God, what is there in store for me? . . ."62

h) Aborigines of Australia and Maoris of New Zealand

Though Australia and New Zealand are not parts of Asia, they are parts of the Christian Conference of Asia. The concern for the minority groups of the Asian church, therefore, also extends to them.

The aborigines of Australia traditionally lived in small mobile groups that moved from place to place within land areas with which they and their ancestors had been identified from time immemorial. Events that were to sever the Australian aborigines from the land began with

the arrival of the British sea captain, Captain Cook, in 1770. The British soon claimed Australia and began to send settlers. They used it first as a penal colony, then encouraged the development of the sheep industry and of agriculture. They eventually expanded into additional areas with the discovery of gold and mineral resources.

In Australia, in contrast to their procedures in other colonized areas, the British negotiated no treaties, made no purchases of land and paid no compensation. As the invaders covered the land with sheep, cattle and crops, the aborigines were pushed aside, their food supplies destroyed, and their sacred sites violated. Individuals and whole groups were massacred. Their population has therefore dropped sharply. Racism and assimilation policies were so powerful that the conditions of aborigine life have deteriorated to the extent of near-extirmination. Today they face the threat of losing their indigenous culture and lifestyle, to them, of inestimable value. Many reports refer to their situation in terms like the following:

"Alcoholism is the worst disease now afflicting Australian aborigines. Aboriginal children have been starving during 1972 at Yirkalla Mission. Aborigines were living a dog-like existence because they lost their tribal ways and were not ready to enter white society." etc.⁶³

Since 1966, the aborigines had requested the government to grant them the right to their traditional land. Fighting a losing battle, they were many times turned down. In 1974, the labor government promised to study the situation, but before any study was made, the government was taken over by the Liberal party in 1975. Aborigines had been once again betrayed.

The Maoris Minority in New Zealand, as part of the Polynesian culture, are agriculturalists, cultivating land as well as hunting and

fishing for game. With the arrival of outside settlers and their demand for more and more farming land, conflicts began to arise between the Maoris and the settlers over the land.

In 1840 a treaty was signed stating that Queen Victoria had the sovereignty over all land which is described as Crown I land. The idea of Crown Rights actually was foreign to the Maori people. According to the treaty, the Maoris were to be adequately compensated for their land but the settlers continued to demand land, until a war broke out between them in 1872. The Maoris were finally subdued by British troops and 3 million acres of Maori land were confiscated, leaving the Maoris on the brim of extinction.

Today out of about 66 million acres in New Zealand, only around 4 million remain Maori-owned. Most of their land is uncultivable.

These minority situations are so complicated and so diversified that there is little that the church can do to help. Despite the difficulties, the Asian churches determined to give their full attention and support to these minority groups in the regions. Two guidelines have been affirmed:

(a) All actions intending to help minority groups overcome their plight must be initiated at the local level. Some Macro-approach oftentimes undermine grassroots initiatives, thereby augmenting dependency and paternalistic structures in relation to minority peoples.

(b) The role of regional bodies such as CCA must be that of supporting national action groups through such activities as bringing their struggles to the international level and protecting local initiatives from co-optation by International power manipulations.

Having asked earlier how effective the church's support could be: As observed above, except for moral and financial support, there is very little that the churches can do. The minority groups have to take

initiatives themselves before the Asian church can actually exert its help. Thus the Asian churches have spent much time in holding conferences, visiting the minority groups and presenting reports to the General Assembly of CCA.

2. Women as Minorities

CCA has focused its attention of minorities on racism, and much time was spent in discussing racial minorities. What about women? Are not they a minority in Asia? Numerically, they are not. For example, in Sri Lanka they form 52 percent of the population. Since women have traditionally been treated differently from men and since the definition of CCA for minority is "a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics are singled out from others in the society in which they live, for differential and unequal treatment and who, therefore, regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination," women should be included in the concern of the church. They have been regarded as inferior to men in Asian society.

CCA however, spent little time in discussing this issue even though it stated that "women are the victims of the male-dominated Asian society" in 1979. The first time that the women's issue was thoroughly discussed was in 1977 at the conference of "Jesus Christ in Asian Suffering and Hope." Women in Asia have suffered from being underpaid, the deprivation of civil rights, and most severe of all, being considered as the object of men's sexual pleasures.

It is understandable why women have never enjoyed equality of treatment the same as men in Asia, because culturally they are treated as inferior. Buddhism, Hinduism and Confucianism all regard women as

less worthy than men in every way. According to Buddhist belief, a being is born a woman because of bad Karma or lack of sufficient merit. Women are thus firmly placed at the lower rung of the spiritual ladder and debarred from any significant participation in religious life. Buddhists believe that the social order should mirror the spiritual order and men naturally take all the higher status occupations and dominate all activities which involve learning and knowledge.

In Confucian society, women have been ranked on the level of servants, deprived the rights of inheritance and excluded from the door of learning. According to Confucius' teachings:

"Men and women do not sit on the same mat. Brothers and sisters-in-law do not exchange inquiries about each other. Married sisters do not sit on the same mat with brothers or eat from the same dish. Men and women do not know each's name except through a matchmaker and should have no social relations or show affection."⁶⁵

"Women must cover their faces when they go out."⁶⁶

Confucius even ridiculed women by saying:

"Women and servants are most difficult to deal with. If you are familiar with them, they cease to be humble. If you keep a distance from them, they resent it."⁶⁷

At one point, Confucius even said that talentlessness is the virtue of women.

Under these circumstances, women are traditionally oppressed. They do not enjoy equal opportunity of employment, they are under-paid and often forced into harsh labor. Though these situations have somehow improved in recent years, women are still regarded as inferior to men. The worst of all, women have been treated as objects of men's sexual desires. Prostitution is a rampant fact in Asia, especially in the Philippines, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Thai-

land. This suffering of women—being sexually exploited—will be described, showing the devastating situation of the life-existence of women in Asia.

Sex trips to Taipei, Seoul, Manila and Bangkok come cheap. For instance, a four-day holiday package deal from Tokyo to Manila including all the "services" costs between \$300 and \$400. The social cost in dehumanized lives for the thousands of women involved, however, is immeasurable. "Sex is slotted into the package as unquestioningly as the native dancing, souvenir shopping and golf, which fill the idle hours," said a recent report in Britain's Guardian. The paper quoted an example from Taiwan where tour coaches enroute from the airport to the hotel deposit their clients at a thinly disguised brothel for a night out. In Manila hotels, a large folding screen parts to reveal a group of hostesses, each wearing a number for tourists to pick out for the night.

Most of the prostitutes have come from poor families. They operate under the control of vicious racketeers who claim a large slice of their earnings. In Taiwan, according to the Taiwan Pastoral Center, "The low class prostitution 'market' girls (frequently from the mountain areas) have usually been sold." In the Philippines, as elsewhere, prostitution is seen as the only means of survival by many women. Sister Mary-John Mananzan, dean of a Manila convent school, estimates that there are some 50,000 prostitutes and thousands of illegitimate children in her city alone.

Why have so many women been engaged into this dehumanizing business? A letter written by the Taiwan Pastoral Center explained it:

"The number of girls involved in prostitution is very high. Recently, in the maternity clinic which our Sisters manage, a very young girl registered for delivery. (She was a prostitute.) We asked for her Residence Certificate and Identity Card (a matter of procedure.) She did not hold it. It was in the hands of the operator. This is the technique used to prevent them from escaping."⁶⁸

Facing this painful reality, the church has tried to help those innocent girls from being exploited. Yet the result has never been encouraging. In Seoul, church workers were threatened when they started intercepting girls arriving at the city's railway station and offering them assistance with jobs and shelters to prevent them from falling into the hands of the brothel-keepers. In Thailand, a prostitute managed to escape from the den to a church center for help. What happened? Sister Mary of the Convent of the Good Shepherd, Bangkok, reported:

"She was here about a few hours when two rough looking thugs came to look for her—but naturally, nobody said she was here. . . . Not only do these people go around the villages looking for girls, but they are also here at the railway stations, at the bus stops, waiting for these young, unskilled people from the countryside, and they pick them up immediately."⁶⁹

The statement of the church in 1980 said that the churches and national councils in the region should become actively involved in the process of education and publicity to help these exploited people. The churches, however, have done very little. Of course, the church can only extend its help from the local units. This issue, the injustice imposed upon women, is not only the result of the ignorance, illiteracy or the lack of work-skills among women; more important, the governments of these regions have actively promoted the holiday trade to build up their exchequers on the proceeds. We can only hope that the Asian churches will center their attentions on this particular issue in the 1980's.

Summary

The name of the ecumenical church body was changed from East Asia Christian Conference to Christian Conference of Asia at this stage, to reflect its geographical reality. Many younger church leaders had also emerged at this stage to lead and influence the teachings of the Asian church. Among them were Emerito Nacpil, Won Young Kang, and Choan Seng Song. The most striking item of this stage was the shift of attention from participation in nation-building to the liberation of the people from poverty and oppression. The teachings even included the possible use of violent means to achieve the goal of justice for the Asian people.

Though the teachings still tended to be vague and repetitive of what had previously been said, they were more issue-oriented. For instance, much time was spent in discussing the conditions of the poor, racial discrimination and the suffering of women. To recognize a culturally relevant concept of development was still in the minds of many people.

In the 1970's, the attention was centered around the issue of poverty. Poverty, said the conference, was the fundamental problem facing Asia. It had been caused by colonial exploitation and aggravated by the present oppressive political system, depriving the wellbeing of the people. The people were powerless and unorganized, incapable of changing this reality. Thus the conference said that the churches in Asia must help to organize the people to gain power.

A theology of power was the center of discussion in 1972. The Asian theologians who attended the conference argued that power was a

God-given gift and must be used to enhance the service and relationship between God and men. Any misuse of power must be changed. The conference also argued that the oppressive nature of power in Asia had been institutionalized; therefore, a total transformation of structures was necessary. But how? In 1973 the fifth assembly of CCA resolved once again that the church must organize the suffering masses and extend its concern and training programs to educate the minority ethnic groups.

The minority issue was complicated in Asia, because the ruling parties were also minority. This ruling minority ruled the majority including the poor and the ethnic groups. The concern of the churches in Asia was not this ruling minority, but the suffering minority, namely, the ethnic groups and the women. This extension of concern was regarded as the struggle entering the spiritual level.

The three issues dominating the teachings of the churches at this stage can be categorized as poverty, a culturally relevant concept of development and the minority issue, namely, ethnic groups and women.

Poverty is the economic injustice imposed on the poor by the rich, said C. S. Song. The cry of the poor in Asia was not for charity, or lip service of the government, but justice. How to help the poor gain the justice they deserved? C. G. Arevalo of the Philippines argued that poverty is a matter of life and death and the church must speak of revolution to change this reality. Words of concern or the giving of relief were empty and ineffective measures. Though violence itself was evil, when necessary the lesser evil should be applied to eradicate the greater evil. The church stated that although it preferred the non-violent approach, the use of violent means would be deemed justifiable when necessary.

Development could also threaten to enslave the Asian people. Such development, said CCA, must be opposed. The new ruling classes that had emerged as the new exploiters, themselves wield enormous economic power and political control. The people had become the tools of development rather than the subjects of development. They constituted the cheap labor forces exploited for the use of foreign investors and national collaborators. Development, instead of bringing dignity to man, debased him to a mere status of being the means to an end.

Song argued that the Asian church must exert its influence for developmentability of man. Before the material development, man must develop himself to shatter his egoism so that justice and equality can prevail. In other words, development must be endowed with a divine meaning. W. Y. Kang said such a divine meaning had been there always in Asian cultural tradition. Thus, he argued, development must be proceeded with Asian spirituality and creativity. M. M. Thomas advocated that the Asian church must enter the stage of spirituality in its struggle for justice. The development of an Asianized concept of development was the expression of this spirituality, he said.

Another meaning of this stage of spirituality was the extension of the concern to the less fortunate minority groups existing in Asia, including the ethnic groups and the women. The situations of the minority ethnic groups had been devastating. They, besides being landless and homeless, were objects of exploitation and oppression both by the government and by the people. Their socio-psychological consequences resulting from oppression and domination by the outsiders had been severe. Almost in every country in Asia there were ethnic groups. They enjoyed no political protection nor economic security. The CCA advo-

cated that the church must help them to assert their rights and educate them to demand their rights as well.

All of these issues were profoundly complicated. The church in Asia, however, resolved to continue its search for full humanity for all Asian people.

Notes

- ¹Elwood, op. cit., p. 388.
- ²Luke 4:10-22.
- ³Elwood, op. cit., p. 387.
- ⁴Ibid., p. 390.
- ⁵Ibid., p. 393.
- ⁶Ibid., p. 395.
- ⁷Ibid., pp. 455-456.
- ⁸Ibid., p. 454.
- ⁹Minutes of the Fifth Assembly of the Christian Conference of Asia (Singapore: CCA, 1973), p. 54.
- ¹⁰Kyaw Than, ed., Christian Action in the Asian Struggle (Singapore: CCA, 1973), pp. 33-34.
- ¹¹Ibid., p. 24.
- ¹²Minutes of the Fifth Assembly of CCA, p. 55.
- ¹³Identity and Justice, Report of Ad Hoc Meeting on Race and Minority Issues in Asia (Singapore: CCA, 1977), p. 60.
- ¹⁴Mission in Asia Today: Papers from Hong Kong (Singapore: CCA, 1975), p. 19.
- ¹⁵T. K. Thomas, ed., Testimony Amid Asian Suffering (Singapore: CCA, 1977), p. 24.
- ¹⁶Minutes of the Christian Conference of Asia, 6th Assembly (Singapore: CCA, 1977), p. 102.
- ¹⁷Virginia Fabella, Asia's Struggle for Full Humanity Toward a Relevant Theology (Maryland: Orbis Books, 1980), p. 47.
- ¹⁸Ibid., p. 164.
- ¹⁹cf. ibid., p. 153 ff.
- ²⁰cf. ibid., p. 156 ff.
- ²¹CCA News, 15, No. 5 (January 1980):4.

- 22 Ibid., p. 5.
- 23 See Salonga, "Seven Years of Martial Law in the Philippines: An Evaluation," in Escape from Domination: Tokyo International Affairs (Singapore: CCA, 1979), p. 76.
- 24 Elwood, op. cit., p. 350.
- 25 cf. J. M. Colaco, ed., Jesus Christ in Asian Suffering and Hope (Madras, India: CLS, 1971), p. 17 f.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Fabella, Asia's Struggle for Full Humanity, p. 45.
- 28 Ibid., p. 44.
- 29 C. S. Song, Christian Mission in Reconstruction (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1975), p. 155.
- 30 Ibid., p. 156.
- 31 During colonial days, Asia served as a source of food for Europe and as a source of raw materials for its industries by supplying cheap labor and low price material.
- 32 T. K. Thomas, ed., Testimony Amid Asian Suffering, p. 11.
- 33 Elwood, op. cit., p. 391.
- 34 Ibid., p. 393.
- 35 Ibid., p. 395.
- 36 C. S. Song, Christian Mission in Reconstruction, p. 158.
- 37 C. S. Song, Third Eye Theology (New York: Orbis, 1979), p. 228.
- 38 Ibid., p. 229.
- 39 Ibid., p. 254.
- 40 cf. Elwood, op. cit., p. 408 ff. Though Arevalo did not straightforwardly say that Asian churches should pick up weapons to fight for justice, he meant violent struggle if it is the only option. There are three ways to fight for justice, he said, namely, by reformism, evolutionism and revolution. The former two are non-violent means and had been proven ineffective as so many people who appealed to the authorities had been jailed. The only option left was to subvert the present disorder. He emphatically asked: "Must the church in Asia not take its stand once and for all for the poor?" Clearly, he regarded violent struggle for justice as a lesser evil. Another Philippine theologian, E. Nacpil wrote that violent struggle would be condoned if

that were the only way. Why did not Arevalo be more straightforward? It is painful for a person from the Philippines where martial law is in force, to speak too explicitly. Lin Newman of the Philippines wrote in his article entitled "The Art of Being Artists under Marcos' Martial Law" [One World (WCC) (October 1979)], "We are forced to be more creative because we have to bring our message out with greater subtlety."

⁴¹Ibid., p. 409.

⁴²Ibid., p. 411.

⁴³Ibid., p. 415.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 402.

⁴⁵Kyaw Than, Asians and Blacks—Theological Challenges, East Asia Christian Conference, 1972, p. 38. Father Rene Laurentin, speaking out on Latin American situations, observed that from 1951 to 1961, for instance, the United States exported \$2,900,000,000 in investments and \$3,384,000,000 in gifts and loans, making a total of \$6,284,000,000 in capital for various enterprises. During this time, however, \$6,875,000,000 was returned to the U.S. in earnings and \$1,554,000,000 in loan reimbursements, interest payments and royalties; a total of \$8,329,000,000 which is a net loss of more than two billion dollars for Latin America. Paradoxically, the underdeveloped countries are exporters of capital to the developed nations. cf. Rene Laurentis, Liberation, Development and Salvation (New York: Orbis, 1972), pp. viii-ix.

⁴⁶cf. W. W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).

⁴⁷Kyaw Than, ed., Christian Action in the Asian Struggle, p. 25.

⁴⁸Arne Sovik, Salvation Today, with a forward by Philip Potter (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1973), p. 95.

⁴⁹Kyaw Than, ed., Christian Action in the Asian Struggle, p. 25.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 27.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 27.

⁵²Garrett Hardin is Professor Emeritus of Human Ecology at the University of California at Santa Barbara and is Chairman of the Board of Environmental Funds in Washington. He wrote this in his article entitled "The Tough Love Solution," Newsweek, October 26, 1981, p. 45.

⁵³cf. Toward a Theology of People, op. cit., p. 97.

⁵⁴cf. M. M. Thomas, Toward a Theology of Contemporary Ecumenism (Madras: CLS, 1978), pp. 175-190.

⁵⁵Identity and Justice, p. 1.

- ⁵⁶No Place in the Inn (CCA-URM, 1979), pp. 9-13.
- ⁵⁷Identity and Justice; p. 63.
- ⁵⁸cf. Report of Vochong Conference (Philippines: CCA, 1975).
- ⁵⁹cf. Justus Freytag, A New Day in the Mountain (Taiwan: Tainan Theological College, Research Center, 1968).
- ⁶⁰cf. No Place in the Inn, p. 49.
- ⁶¹"A Story of Burakumin," Eastern Economic Review, 1975.
- ⁶²No Place in the Inn, p. 49.
- ⁶³Identity and Justice, p. 23.
- ⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 19-20.
- ⁶⁵Confucius, Book of Rites 1:24.
- ⁶⁶Confucius, Book of Rites 1:12.
- ⁶⁷cf. Wing Tsit Chan, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 47.
- ⁶⁸Kathy Lowe, Travel Arranged: Bodies Sold, A Tourist Sage in One World, WCC, No. 62, December 1980, p. 19.
- ⁶⁹Information from "Providence and Prostitution—Image and Reality for Women in Buddhist Thailand," Khin Thitsa, London, 1979.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF WCC AND THE ASIAN CHURCHES

I. Introduction

During the three decades of its existence, the ecumenical movement of Asian churches represented by the EACC and CCA, has been deeply influenced by the WCC especially during the 1950's and 1960's, increasingly in the 1970's. Both the WCC and CCA were influenced by the arguments developed by Latin American Theology of Liberation. In this chapter I will examine the influence of the WCC on the social teachings of the Asian ecumenical movement and the influence of Liberation Theology as well.

II. The Development of the Social Teachings of the WCC

The Development of the social teachings of the WCC can be divided into three periods, namely the period of the responsible society (1948-1965), the period of the birth of a radical stance (1966-1968), and the period of liberation theology (1969-1979).

A. The Responsible Society (1948-1965)

The Inaugural Assembly of the World Council of Churches in August 1948 which convened in Amsterdam, was one of the most representative gatherings of Christian churches in history. It drew 350 delegates

from 150 churches in 43 countries and represented nearly all the Protestant denominations in the world. The dominant concerns at the Amsterdam Assembly included helping with reconstruction in Europe and in aiding refugees and prisoners of war. Its basic message was to create a responsible society. What is a responsible society? The Assembly defined it:

A responsible society is one where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order, and where those who hold political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and to the people whose welfare is affected by it.

This teaching for a responsible society was reaffirmed by the WCC's second assembly held in Evanston, Illinois in 1954. It elaborated:

Responsible society is not an alternative social or political system, but a criterion by which we judge all existing social disorder, and at the same time it is a standard to guide us in the specific choices we have to make. Christians are called to live responsibly, to live in response to God's act of redemption in Christ, in any society, even within the most unfavorable social structure.

During this period, many third world countries were still engaged in the struggles for independence. The Amsterdam Assembly condemned colonialism and racism. It said: "We protest against the exploitation of non-self-governing peoples for selfish purposes, the retarding of their progress toward self-government and discrimination or segregation on the grounds of race or color."

By 1954, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia had been granted independence. The Evanston Assembly called on the colonial powers to remove the yoke of colonialism and assist the third world countries to establish democratic systems. East Asia was the first non-western region into which the WCC took its quest for "the responsible

society." The quest was to learn how to promote the East Asian churches in carrying out the challenge: "Christians are called to live responsibly, to live in response to God's act of redemption in Christ, in any society even within the most unfavorable structure." An East Asia secretariat in Bangkok, Thailand was created in 1951 under the direction of WCC. This secretariat later became the East Asian Christian Conference.

The phrase "rapid social change" was used repeatedly in preparatory papers on underdeveloped countries at Evanston and was elaborated on at the New Delhi Assembly in 1961.

The New Delhi Assembly was the first one held outside of the northern hemisphere. Here the WCC accepted eighteen new member churches from the third world. The concern of the assembly was the church's response to rapid social changes taking place in the third world countries. The WCC's Church and Society Department began a study on "the common Christian responsibility toward areas of rapid social change including political independence and nationalism, industrial and urban development and rural and village life.

B. The Birth of a Radical Stance (1966-1968)

At Amsterdam, WCC asserted that the disordered world should be transformed into a responsible society; but the complication of the problems facing the newly independent nations had forced the church to think beyond the idealistic slogan and wish. At the 1966 Geneva Conference on Church and Society, delegates from Asia and Africa were interested in seeking practical and convincing concepts of social developments to provide them an idea of the "good society."⁴

Disappointed with the New Delhi Assembly's inability to come to grips with the theological and political implications of dynamic change in the third world, the conference called for world revolution to knock out all existing suffocating constitutions, systems and the powers that kept people from moving forward.⁵ Four principal themes were discussed in Geneva:

1. The gap between rich and the poor states should be closed. In order to close the gap between rich and poor states, a new International Economic Order was deemed to be necessary. Under this order, the developed western nations should contribute 1 to 2 percent of their annual GNP to aid the underdeveloped, tariff barriers against the third world should be removed, safeguards against domination by foreign capital should be established and the prices of commodities should be stabilized. If these measures would be taken it was believed that industrialization in the developing countries would follow.

2. States must control all centers of power within themselves. At the Geneva Conference, the power of state had not been questioned. Instead, it said that the government should have full power to determine economic policies and to control all other centers of power for the common good.

3. The new nationalism of the third world states is different from the old nationalism which led to war. The new nationalism of the third world appears to aim at ascertaining the national pride and can be seen as a vehicle of social integration, while the aggressive nationalisms of the west seem to deify the nation and provoke feelings of national superiority.

4. Revolutionary violence is permissible, as a last resort in

overthrowing oppressive elites, if it will eliminate the vast covert violence which the existing order involves. This point seems to be in conflict with point two, which says that states must control all centers of power within themselves. However, it believed that states are essentially for the welfare of the people. If power is shifted to the hands of the elites who become oppressive, revolutionary violence could be permissible as the last resort. This judgement emerged from a long debate, and the debate still continues.

One of the opponents of this statement was Paul Ramsey, who argued that the churches have the right to speak out on great moral issues such as tyranny, genocide and wars of conflict, but that it is morally wrong to suggest any violent revolution.

These statements in Geneva were ratified at the Uppsala Assembly in 1968. It affirmed the morality of revolutionary violence against inhumane structures. The struggles against Hitler in Germany was cited as an example of justified violence.⁶ The Uppsala Assembly also called for equal status for women and their full participation in human affairs. It vigorously asserted the right of ethnic, cultural and religious minorities. The Assembly went even further in affirming the rights of the poor and powerless to personal development and self-determination. The western industrial status nations were called selfish and stubborn, but the third world elites were also attacked for monopolizing and profiteering at the expense of their own people. In such situations, churches were urged to take up the cause of the poor and to support revolution if necessary.

C. The Dawn of Liberation Theology (1969-1979)

The tone of the Uppsala Assembly has prepared the way toward the emergence of the liberation theology. After the 1968 Uppsala Assembly, the WCC became increasingly receptive to the growing liberation theology movement that was then under way among Roman Catholics in Latin America. It produced a report on Renewal in Missions⁷ affirming humanization as the main concern of the churches. A list of criteria for evaluating missions was cited:

Do they place the church alongside the poor, the defenseless, the abused, the forgotten, the bored?

Do they allow Christians to enter the concerns of others to accept their issues and their structures as vehicles of involvement?

Are they the best situations for discerning with other men the signs of the times and for moving with history toward the coming of the new humanity.

In 1969 the WCC central committee authorized a five year program (later extended) to combat racism, aiming at eradicating racial differentiation and discrimination. This program included study consultative services to member-churches and a fund to help the organization of oppressed racial groups or organizations supporting victims of racial injustice.

The liberation effort, which even though involving only a small portion of the WCC's budget and staff time (in 1979 the program to combat racism had four staff members among a WCC staff headquarter staff of 275), has from the start been controversial.

During and after the Uppsala Assembly, some evangelical Christians had expressed strong concern regarding the church's mission. They charged that the new understanding of the mission of WCC had distorted the classical theology of missions and had reduced the mission of the

church to social and political activism. Thus, under the leadership of Peter Beyerhaus of the University of Tübingen, 15 evangelical groups adopted a declaration on the fundamental crisis in Christian mission at Frankfurt on March 4, 1970. The text of the Frankfurt Declaration began with a preamble setting forth the church's mandate for its mission. Its starting point is "the sacred privilege and irrevocable obligation of the church of Jesus Christ to participate in the mission of a triune God."⁹ They opposed WCC's tendency to determine the nature and task of mission by socio-political analyses of the time and from the demands of the non-Christian world.

Despite this voice of opposition, the impact of the Uppsala Assembly on the Mission of the Third World Church has been tremendous. At the 1973 Bangkok Conference of Salvation Today, many delegates from the third world have viewed salvation as synonymous with liberation. In 1975, at the Nairobi Assembly, WCC adopted the doctrine of conscientization. It called upon the churches to "raise the conscientiousness" of people, to understand the cause of their oppressions and thus motivate them to improve their own lots. "Consciousness-raising," said a Central Committee report of Nairobi, "attacks the problem of apathy, the state of human beings who have been so conditioned by their relationships in society that they internalize failures and accept their situations without hoping to change them."¹⁰

The term "conscientization" was originally popularized by Paulo Freire of Brazil who referred to conscientization as a way of teaching adults to read and write quickly by using materials from everyday life. It linked the goal of literacy with the improvement of their social, political and economic conditions. In the late sixties, Freire's words

and processes were seized upon by liberation advocates. The concept was soon expanded to become a method of teaching oppressed people (women, racial minorities, peasants, third world citizens) to understand the causes of their oppression; thus motivating them to improve their lots. It assumed that the oppressed people do not understand their own situations and must be enlightened.

At Nairobi, WCC proclaimed that poverty, racism, violation of human rights and militarism all result from unjust systems foisted upon humanity by the white-dominated consumer societies of the northern hemisphere. Liberation thus meant changing or overthrowing unjust structures and replacing them with systems that served rather than exploited people. Fundamental human rights included the right to work, to have adequate food, to be guaranteed health care, to enjoy decent housing and to participate in education, for the full development of the human development.¹¹ These are the civil and political rights spelled out in the U.N. declarations and they coincide with the Christian understanding of a just society, the Nairobi Assembly believed. They also believed that these rights would have no meaning unless they were to be matched with social and economic rights.

The Nairobi Assembly condemned racism in South Africa and blamed the North Atlantic nations for trade patterns and preferences that had militarized against other racial groups. The plights of the Korean minority in Japan, native people in North and South America, aboriginal people in Australia, ethnic minorities in New Zealand, and black people and migrant workers in Europe were mentioned. But the conference failed to rebuke the Soviet Union for its denial of religious liberty and other rights-violations.

III. The Teachings of the CCA as the Reflection of the Teachings of the WCC

Between the years 1948 to 1965, the social teachings of the CCA and WCC were very similar. The second stage of CCA's teachings and the third stage are also about the same time as those of WCC. Is it a coincidence? Absolutely not.

The WCC Amsterdam Assembly in 1948 emphasized on Christian responsibility, in saying it was the responsibility of Christians to seek solutions in the problems that people faced. Ten years later, at the Inauguration Assembly of the East Asia Christian Conference at Kuala Lumpur, W. A. Visser't Hooft, the general secretary of the WCC, who was invited to give the lecture asked the question, "What criterion have we for our Christian judgement on social and political issues?" He answered himself, "It seems to me that the simplest and clearest formula is still the one that was used in the 1948 World Council Assembly—the responsible society."¹² He explained what this meant:

1. Society must offer all men the possibility to participate responsibly in the shaping of the common life. Man is treated as less than man when that possibility is denied to him, and where he is not allowed to make his own choices and express his own judgements in full freedom.
2. Our common life, local, national and international, must express the fundamental responsibility which we have for the welfare of our fellowmen. The rejection of that responsibility in "laissez faire" liberalism or the limitations of that responsibility in selfish forms of nationalism or class-consciousness, are equally un-Christian.
3. No state or society is an aim in itself. No social or political system has the right to set itself up as a closed or absolute system. There must be the possibility to appeal to that which is beyond the state and the society.¹³

In his conclusion, he emphasized that it is the task of the church to remind the world of these truths.

EACC did not disappoint Hooft. It affirmed that it is the

responsibility of Christians to take part in nation-building and to educate people to the meaning of the new era opened to them. It called for a responsible church to work toward a responsible society so that freedom and justice might prevail.

Interestingly enough, WCC at this period called for the removal of the "colonial yoke" from third world countries. And Oh Jae Shik of EACC also used the term "colonial yoke"¹⁴ to describe the heavy burden pressing Asian people and the removal of this yoke as the goal of the Asian revolution.

In the 1960's, WCC's theme centered around "Christians in Technical and Social Revolution of our Time." It spoke of the rapid social change and the need of industrial and urban development in the newly independent countries. At the 1967 General Conference, the tone was pro-third world and anti-American. The Asian delegates, headed by M. M. Thomas, requested, "We need aid, but give it to us in respect"—a tone profoundly reflecting the pride of the third world. Also, at this conference, Bola Ige of Nigeria called the need to knock out all existing suffocating constitutions, systems and powers that kept people in the third world from moving forward. It was stated at this conference: "Revolutionary violence is permissible as a last resort in overthrowing oppressive elites."

How did the EACC respond to this WCC trend? It picked up the theme, "Modernization," in 1968 and affirmed the necessity for revolutionary change in the power structure.

Observing the polarization between conservative evangelicals and liberals at the Uppsala Assembly,¹⁵ CCA warned the Asian churches in 1970 to avoid the danger of polarization within Asian churches. Peter

Beyerhaus had visited Asia and a special conference on Mission was held in Tainan, Taiwan on June 29-30, 1971. Beyerhaus spoke on the role of Asian churches in Mission, from the viewpoint of the Frankfurt Declaration. Among the 52 participants, 19 came from a Catholic background, and 8 claimed to be born-again Christians. Though the conference did not publish any paper or statement, it was clearly perceived that Asian church leaders rejected Beyerhaus' appeal for support on two items: first, church leaders tried to avoid the split among churches (the refusal of some to go to polarization); second, most of the church leaders believed that the Frankfurt Declaration was too conservative and too dogmatic for Asian churches, who believed in social concern as being an inevitable task of the church.¹⁶ The Asian church leaders were in favor of the report on the renewal in Mission, which called the Christians in Asia to participate in human development.

In 1968 at the Uppsala Assembly, WCC vigorously asserted the rights of ethnic, cultural and religious minorities and affirmed the right of self-determination for the poor and the powerless. The Asian church responded in two ways: First, it adopted the rights of self-determination by the poor in 1969 at CCA's conference of the Urban Organization Committee. The word "Community" was changed to "People" in 1972, signifying the concern of the church for the powerless poor. The minority issue also became the theme of discussion in the following years. Second, the Uppsala Assembly did not only influence the direction of the social concern of CCA. It also encouraged the local church to speak up toward its concern over their people's future. On December 30, 1971, the Presbyterian church in Taiwan unprecedentedly published its first statement in history to call for the right of self-determination

for the people in Taiwan.

For a quarter of a century the Nationalist Government of China in Taiwan had been practising the politics of illusion. In 1949 this government was defeated by the Communists led by Mao Tse-Tung. The Nationalists fled to Taiwan which had been given to the hands of the Nationalists by the Japanese for temporary occupation until its fate was decided by the Allies. The tide of history had definitely turned against the Nationalists, but they refused to face the historical reality of their situation. They claimed that theirs was the sole legitimate government of China and that Taiwan was part of China: It was their sacred duty to retake mainland China from the rebellious Communists. Their domination thus was based on an illusion of tyranny. Their ideology was rigid and they treated any opposition with brutality. From the very beginning, martial law was declared to prevent any voice which might urge the people to face reality. The expulsion of the Republic of China—the official name of Taiwan's government—from the United Nations in the winter of 1971 completely shook up the whole island. After thirty years the people awakened from a bad dream and realized that their collective fate was at stake. But the martial law of the government, which had been the longest in all of world history, banned any conscientious voice. Soon after this, President Nixon's visit to China put an end to Communist China's isolation and caused panic and confusion in Taiwan. In this critical situation the Presbyterian church in Taiwan broke its long silence, risking the danger of being dismantled. It issued the "Public Statement on our National Fate." It spoke aloud what the people of Taiwan had been thinking.

The church's statement was, in the first place, an appeal for

the unity of all the people in Taiwan, regardless of their origins. It affirmed the desire of the people of Taiwan to live in peace, freedom and justice. It rejected an attempt on the part of foreign powers to take over Taiwan. It declared that the people of Taiwan should be entitled to the right to determine their own future. In the words of the statement:

We oppose any powerful nation disregarding the rights and wishes of fifteen million people and making unilateral decisions to their own advantage, because God has ordained and the United Nations Charter has affirmed that every people has the right to determine its own destiny.

This statement may not be the result of the WCC or the CCA teachings. As Dr. C. M. Kao, the general secretary of the Presbyterian church in Taiwan said afterward, it is an act of faith in the time of crisis. But the indirect encouragement of the WCC and the CCA's teaching upon this statement is undeniable. At the Uppsala Assembly the church was to speak up on human rights issues. The Presbyterian church in Taiwan made the confession that Jesus Christ is sole Lord of the world, as CCA stated in 1968. In the following year, Dr. Shoki Coe and Dr. C. S. Song, who both attended the Uppsala Assembly, initiated and organized "Formosan Christians for Self-Determination" to assert the rights of the Taiwanese people in determining their own future.

At the Uppsala Assembly, WCC had put special emphasis on "combating racism." This had initiated the discussion of the means for the struggle against tyranny existing in Asia. In 1970 the justifiability of a violent struggle was adopted and the definition of racism adopted by the 1969 Central Committee of WCC was also endorsed by CCA. This theme had dominated the discussion of CCA meetings throughout the seven-

ties.

The fifth WCC assembly, which was originally scheduled to meet in Jakarta, Indonesia was shifted to Nairobi, Kenya, because of the conflict between Indonesia's Muslim and Christian communities. Its theme, "Jesus Christ Frees and Unites" reflects hope for a new ecumenical internationalism. At this conference, dynamic change and revolution were at the top of the WCC agenda. Evangelism and mission had been re-baptized as liberation. The Assembly proclaimed that poverty, racism, violation of human rights and militarism (excluding military action by liberation groups) were the results of unjust systems foisted upon humanity by the white-dominated consumer societies of the northern hemisphere. Liberation meant changing or overthrowing unjust structures and replacing them with systems that serve rather than systems that exploit people. Fundamental rights included "the right to work, to adequate food, to guaranteed health care, to decent housing and to education for the full development of human potential."¹⁸

In response to the Nairobi Assembly, an Asian consultation on "Education for Liberation and Community" was held in Singapore in February 1975 with 25 educators from 12 Asian countries participating. They asked the questions: "Is Japan liberated? Is Korea liberated? Is Taiwan liberated? Is Asia liberated?"¹⁹ The answer they concluded, straightforwardly, was "No." Though this consultation did not publish any statement, it was agreed that Asians were suffering from oppression and exploitation. Thus they concluded that Asia must be liberated from "Oppression to justice, domination to participation in decision-making, exploitation to respect, destruction to creation, fear to courage, despair to hope, illiteracy to wide communication, dependence to inde-

pendence."²⁰

This conclusion sounds like a slogan, "Is there any hope for the relief of Asian suffering?" The 1977 CCA sixth assembly adopted the theme, "Jesus Christ in Asian Suffering and Hope" to reconsider the mission of the church. Philip Potter, the general secretary of WCC, addressed the assembly saying:

During the past thirty years or so, we have witnessed the groundswell of a growing consciousness among vast millions of people whose sufferings are caused by poverty, the denial or personal and social rights and oppressive military regimes, but these are not inevitable or eternal. They are created by human beings and can therefore be changed by human beings. The rising expectations of people are certainly proving to be a test for those who exercise unjust power and they are proving unequal to the test. The peoples of the world are therefore discovering rapidly that they must take their destiny in their own hands, if they are to participate in decisions and actions for a more human and just existence.²¹

Potter pinpointed that sufferings are caused by poverty and denial of personal and social rights, and they can be changed if people will take their own destinies into their own hands. Only through struggle can people see hope in their futures. The Assembly in its statement called for the confessing of Jesus Christ through confrontation, organization and resistance. In other words, people need to be conscientized to understand their situations in order to participate in their liberation processes. This is a total reflection of WCC's teachings at Nairobi.

How could WCC's concern over the social issues be concurrent with the issues of CCA? Has not Asia had its own particular social problems?

As Ernest W. Lefever pointed out, the issues that concerned WCC after 1954 were actually the issues of the third world countries.²² The

core of these issues, as Potter pointed out, was injustice caused by the denial of individual rights. The people in South America, Africa and Asia were facing the same problems and they were all under authoritarian rules. The concern of WCC thus became the concern of the CCA. The theology of liberation of South America thus also became the theology of Asia. Preman Niles of Sri Lanka pointed out in 1977 at the CCA assembly meeting that Asian theology was dominated by the theological thinking of the west, and more recently has become dominant in Latin American and black American theologies.

IV. The Emergence of the Theology of Liberation

The importance of the theology of liberation lies in the fact that it is not simply a critical reflection on the commitment of Christians to the struggles toward justice for the oppressed; rather, as Gustavo Gutierrez has pointed out, it is "a critical reflection on Christian praxis in the light of the world."²³

Liberation theology is unlike the theology of the North Atlantic which begins with theological categories; namely, God, church, world. The theology of liberation begins with the poverty-stricken, oppressive and dominated realities of Latin America. Theology is conceived not simply as "spiritual" or "rational" knowledge of the faith, but as a critical reflection on the historical praxis of faith. It is out of the commitment and participation of Latin American Christians in the struggle for liberation that the theology of liberation has come into being. It represents a very different way of enacting theology because it questions faith on the march in a concrete, historical situation, rather than abstractly. Therefore Gutierrez can affirm:

The theology of liberation offers us not so much a new theme for reflection on historical praxis as a liberating theology, a theology of the liberating transformation of the history of mankind and also therefore that part of mankind—gathered into ecclesia—which openly confesses Christ. This is a theology which does not stop with reflecting on the world, but rather tries to be part of the process through which the world is transformed. It is a theology which is open—in the protest against trampled human dignity, in the struggle against the plunder of the vast majority of people, in liberating love,²⁴ and in the building of a new, just and fraternal society. . . .

The special contribution of the theology of liberation does not merely lie in the fact that it represents a theological revolution vis-a-vis the theologies of the last decades produced in the affluent world. It also constitutes a radical reflection on the mission-liberation issue. Its historical orientation with its situational hermeneutic leads to a redefinition of such concepts as salvation, Christianity, eschatology and the church. It is beyond the purpose of this thesis to analyze these concepts in the theology of liberation, but in order to understand them, I will briefly consider these themes:

A. Liberation and Salvation

Salvation, Gutierrez affirms, is the central theme of the Christian mystery. For this reason, the theology of liberation asks about "the relationship between salvation and the process of liberation of man through history."²⁵ It is primarily concerned with the intra-historical reality of salvation. Consequently, it is more preoccupied with the qualitative dimension of salvation than with the quantitative. The latter has to do with "the problem of the number of persons saved, the possibility of being saved and the role which the church plays in this process."²⁶ The former deals with the values of human existence or "with the intensity of the process of God's grace among men, and there-

fore of the religious significance of man's action in history."²⁷

The substitution of the qualitative dimension for the quantitative, leads Gutierrez and his colleagues not only to a universalistic concept of salvation in the widest sense of the word, but to the elimination of the other-worldly character of salvation. Salvation is thus oriented to the transformation in history toward human reality."²⁸

The notion of a qualitative, intensive salvation is, according to Gutierrez and others, grounded on the Biblical link between creation and salvation. This link is "based on the historical and liberating experience of the Exodus."²⁹ Accordingly, creation is seen as the first saving act. It marks the initiation of history and thus the opening up of "the human struggle, and the salvific adventure of Yahweh."³⁰ Further, creation is a salvific act because it is revealed by the Redeemer Himself in His redemptive action in the Exodus experience. Since the "Exodus experience" constitutes a political act, in which Israel was liberated from the bondage of oppression, it follows that salvation must be understood in terms of political liberation. Furthermore, political liberation ought to be understood as the "self-creation of man."³¹ The dislocation introduced by sin is resolved by God's liberating action. Creation continues by God's decisive action.

Accordingly, salvation must be understood as the inner force to fullness of this movement of man's self-generation which was initiated by the work of creation. Salvation is thus conceived of as a process which embraces the whole man and all of human history. This means that building a temporal city is not simply a stage of humanization nor pre-evangelization nor the fruit of the ethical application of Christ's saving work. Building a just, peaceful and fraternal human society is

what salvation is all about.

B. Christology and History

Not only is salvation understood in intra-historical terms, as political liberation, Christ is also understood pre-eminently in historical categories. He is the Logos made flesh, the historization of God. The idea of the presence of God, understood in the Old Testament as being localized in the temple, is both universalized and transferred to the heart of human history.

Since God has become man (humanity), every man since the beginning of history is the living temple of God. Consequently, God is to be found among men and Christ is to be found in every man. We meet Him in our encounters with men and we encounter Him in the commitment to the historical process of mankind. Thus, to be converted to Christ, it is necessary to be converted here and now to man and to man's history. It is in the struggle for the liberation of man that the love of God is materialized.³²

C. Church Mission and Evangelization

Since Christ is to be found present in all mankind, conversion takes place only in relation to one's commitment to the transformation of human reality. Since salvation is understood as the liberation of man and history, this means that the church should witness through its life to God's presence in the struggle for liberation. In other words, the church must be a place of liberation in its concrete existence. This action takes at least three forms; namely, celebration, denunciation and annunciation.

The church points to the reality of salvation by celebrating with joy the gift of the salvific action of God in humanity through participation in the Eucharist. This celebration becomes a vivid dramatization of what has been achieved in Christ—human liberation and brotherhood in the historical praxis of the Christian community.

Denunciation represents the stance the church much take against the present state of social justice. It represents the necessary confrontation that must take place wherever the gospel is proclaimed. Accordingly, denunciation is achieved by confronting a given situation with a reality which is announced. In Gutierrez' words:

It is to announce the coming of the Kingdom. The gospel message reveals, without any evasion, that the root of social injustice is: the rupture of the brotherhood which is based on our sonship before the Father.³⁵

Summarizing what has been discussed above, liberation has a threefold meaning:

1. Christ is presented as the One who brings us liberation: Christ the Saviour liberated man from sin, which is the ultimate result of the disruption of friendship and of all injustice and oppression. Christ makes man truly free. He enables man to live in communion with Himself and this is the basis for all human brotherhood.

2. Man is seen as assuming conscious responsibility for his own destiny as salvation takes place intra-historically.

3. Liberation expresses the aspiration of an oppressed people and of social classes, emphasizing the conflictual aspect of the economic, social and political processes which put them at odds with wealthy nations and oppressive classes. The issue of development does, in fact, find its true place in the more universal, profound and radical perspec-

tive of liberation.

D. Liberation Theology and Asian Theological Thinking

As P. Niles pointed out, Asian theological thinking has been very much dominated by the 1970s' liberation theology theme. Besides their similar colonial experiences, the church leaders of both regions agree that theology must speak to the sufferings of the people.

The beginning of theology: "Liberation Theology" begins with the poverty-stricken, oppressive situations of Latin America. Its Biblical basis is grounded on creation and Exodus. Creation, according to Gutierrez is the first salvific act, which marks the initiation of history and the opening up of human struggle. Exodus is the expression of liberation from the bondage of oppression. These theological discourses are not strange to Asian theologians. In fact, the most pre-eminent and influential Asian theologian, C. S. Song, bases his theology on exactly the same ground.

First, Song said, "God's heart ache" is the beginning of theology. His heart aches because deep darkness surrounds the formless and void earth (Genesis 1:2). The power of darkness, that terrible monster called "tehom"³⁴ has separated God from the world. It claims authority and exercises power over the earth and threatens to reduce it to nothingness. God's heart aches and cannot contain His ache and pain any more, so He has plunged into the act of creation. He checks the power of the tehom and lets light come, to illumine part of the universe, thus saving it from total destruction. Creation, thus is His theology in action. God translates the aching of His heart into the creating of

life. Creation is the victory of God over tehom, of heart-love over heartlessness, and of life over death. Creation is therefore the disclosure of the heart of God as confronted with the powerful principle of the negation of heartlessness. Creation and salvation are the outpourings of the heart of God, the giving of Himself.

The drama of this (God's heartache) was repeated at the Exodus. God could not bear the suffering of his people so He plunged Himself again into a salvific act to bring His people out of bondage. Song said, "This mission of the Exodus was the mission of Christians to lead men and women from bondage to freedom."³⁵

What does the aching of God's heart mean and what has it to do with Asian theology? Song explained that God's heartache reveals that God loves so much that He feels pain when tehom or the powers of evil have taken charge. Because of this pain and aching, the incarnation of God was made possible. Thus theology must begin from the heart, the pain of the heart and the love in the heart. In other words, theology must begin from where suffering is.

The Asian people have suffered much from poverty and injustice. Thus theology must start from the poverty and injustice of the Asian people. This theological speculation has dominated Asian theological thinking since the seventies. This coincides with the emphasis of Latin American theology on the praxis of theology. In Song's words:

Theology is beginning to pick up theological themes in the lives of the people, to relate to social analysis and social investigations which expose conflicts in society. Theology is not to be learned but to be experienced. It is not a systematization of the contents of faith but the acting out of that faith in real life situations. Christian and theologian in Asia are increasingly forced into doing their theology in situations of confrontation with the political powers which suppressed freedom and prostitute human rights. They are thus called to do theo-

logy not with the head but with the heart; that is, with the whole being.³⁶

How does Song's theological approach affect Asian thinking? The most obvious effect has been seen through the understanding of the Urban Rural Industrial mission of CCA. Oh Jae Shik, who led UIRM for many years, wrote that the task of theology thus is an ongoing reflection of the movement of people in history, for people are the motivating power of history and inheritors of the Kingdom that God has chosen for all creation. He said the people of Asia have come to age and are about to embark on a new liberation.³⁷

E. Liberation or Development?

Arevalo of the Philippines pointed out in 1972 that Latin American theologians have preferred the word "liberation" over the word "development" in the endeavor to improve the peoples' livelihood. Development seems to imply capitalistic mentality while liberation reflects the real aspirations of people. Arevalo, as well as many other Asian theologians including C. S. Song, advocated the necessity of giving "development" an Asian meaning.

This trend has been motivated at least by two factors: First, the Asian cultural values have been threatened by the process of modernization. Kang of Korea especially feels keenly about this and he vigorously advocates that development should be redressed with an Asian context, while Arevalo concurs with the liberation theologians that development seems to imply pure economic growth. What Asian countries need is more than economic growth. They need something which does not only bring economic development, but which will also preserve their rich

cultural heritage. Song prefers to speak of development in terms of the "developmentality of man." He means: Development must attack the roots of evil, the causes of problems. The poor countries have attributed their underdevelopment to the high development of western countries. Due to the type of the relationship existing between the rich and the poor countries and between the privileged and the proletariat classes, liberation seems to spell out Asia's desire for justice. Second, the dialogue has increased between Latin American theologians and Asian churches. There was almost no contact between Latin American theologians and Asian churches prior to the seventies. But the dialogue between these two regions has steadily increased since 1972. The address of Jose M. Bonino, "New Theological Perspectives," was presented at the World Council of Christian Education Conference in Lima, Peru, 1971. It is interesting to note that in its printed form, this address was one of the required readings of the Asian workshop on Theology in Action in 1972. Also, Emilio Castro was invited as the keynote speaker to the 1973 CCA conference. In 1979, Sergio Torres and Eunice Santana de Veliz were also invited to attend and address the Conference of Asia's struggle for Full Humanity.

In conclusion, we see that the social teachings of the Asian churches have been, in large, a reflection of the social teachings of the World Council of Churches and its theological approach. This seems to be an echo of the trend of Latin American theology.

Notes

- ¹The Ten Formative Years, 1938-1948 (Geneva: WCC, 1948), p. 9.
- ²W. A. Visser't Hooft, ed., The Evanston Report (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. 113.
- ³W. A. Visser't Hooft, The First Assembly, p. 91.
- ⁴There were 46 voting participants from Asia, 42 from Africa, 42 from Latin America and 17 from the Middle East.
- ⁵Official Report, World Conference on Church and Society (Geneva: WCC, 1967), p. 18.
- ⁶One section of the Assembly sanctioned only non-violent strategies for achieving justice.
- ⁷The report is divided into three parts. The first deals with the mandate for mission; the second with the contemporary opportunities for mission; and the third with the necessary freedom for mission. The first part is rather dialectical. While it has a definite anthropological starting point ("we belong to a new humanity that cries passionately and articulately for a full human life." See N. Goodall, ed., The Uppsala Report 1968, p. 27). The first paragraph concludes, nevertheless, with Jesus Christ as the new man. The same trend may be observed in the second paragraph; it begins with men searching for their true identity and ends with their crying for the Triune God.
- ⁸Goodall, ed., The Uppsala Report, 1968, p. 27.
- ⁹Peter Beyerhaus, Mission: Which Way? Humanization or Redemption (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1971), p. 111.
- ¹⁰Uppsala to Nairobi (New York: Friendship Press, 1975), p. 192.
- ¹¹David M. Paton, ed., Breaking Barriers: Nairobi, 1975 (Grand Rapids, 1976), p. 103.
- ¹²E. C. Sobrepena, ed., A Decisive Hour for the Christian Mission (London: SCM Press, 1960), p. 67.
- ¹³Ibid., pp. 67-68.
- ¹⁴Oh Jae Shik of Korea was a secretary of Urban Industrial Mission of CCA until 1980, cf. Toward a Theology of People (Singapore: CCA, 1976), p. 51.
- ¹⁵The Uppsala Assembly marked a watershed in relations between conservative Evangelicals and liberals, cf. Arthur Glasser, "Salvation Today and the Kingdom," in McGavran's Mission Tomorrow, p. 33.

¹⁶John Tin, "Comment on Frankfurt Declaration Seminary, Eng-Kng," Taiwan Church Press Journal (July 1974):18-23.

¹⁷The original copy of the Statement published by the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, 1971.

¹⁸Paton, ed., Breaking Barriers: Nairobi, 1975, p. 103.

¹⁹Education for Liberation and Community (Singapore: CCA, 1975); p. 9 f.

²⁰Ibid., p. 66.

²¹Thomas, Testimony Amid Asian Suffering, p. 41.

²²cf. E. W. Lefever, Amsterdam to Nairobi (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University, 1979), p. 17.

²³Gustavo Gutierrez, Theology of Liberation (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Book, 1972), p. 13.

²⁴Ibid., p. 15.

²⁵Ibid., p. 149.

²⁶Ibid., p. 150.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., p. 153.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., p. 4.

³¹cf. Ibid., pp. 155 ff.

³²cf. Matthew 25. Also cf. Hugo Assmann, Oppresion-liberacion, 1971, p. 155.

³³G. Gutierrez, Theology of Liberation, p. 269.

³⁴"Tehom." The cosmos abyssia is connected with Babylonian Tiamat, the primeval dragon of chaos. cf., Gerhard von Rad, Genesis, A Commentary, trans. by John H. Marks (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), p. 48.

³⁵cf. C. S. Song, Christian Mission in Reconstruction (India: CLS, 1975), p. 114.

³⁶C. S. Song, ed., Doing Theology Today (India: CLS, 1976), pp. 65-66.

³⁷Oh Jae Shik, op. cit., pp. 52 ff.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

I. Introduction

During the long road from Bangkok in 1949 through Kuala Lumpur in 1959, down to the present, the Christian Conference of Asia has shown an increasing interest in the economical, social, political and cultural problems facing Asia. In word and deed, the Conference (including its staff and the leaders of the member churches) has moved from a largely Western concept of social responsibility to a more radical ideology which has embraced the concept of liberation theology.

In its early years, CCA advocated that the church should become an educator to help people understand the meaning of the new era. This was so the people could take part in the process of nation-building. The church taught that Christians should be responsible to society and should cooperate with the ruling powers for the unity of their nation and for the prosperity of society. Gradually, the churches began to observe the complications of the issue: that national political independence from colonial powers did not necessarily mean the dawn of justice. Cooperation with the new elites who controlled political power only served to consolidate the power bases of the politicals. In the seventies, CCA advocated a drastic change in demanding total liberation from the oppression of the people, so that power and wealth could be

shared and distributed justly among the people and so that equal opportunity, regardless of sex or race could be guaranteed. They also advocated that the pursuit of this development should be dressed with Asian creativity.

Why did CCA change its teaching so drastically in such a short span of time? How realistic or idealistic has the CCA been in its teachings? What kind of role has the CCA played in Asian society? Before answering these questions, we should examine first the mental development of CCA during the last three decades.

II. The Mental Development of CCA

CCA acquired a kind of naive awareness during its early years and then realized that only a critical awareness would lead them into the future.

Naive awareness, according to G. Gutierrez' interpretation, "does not deal with the problems, gives too much value to the past, tends to accept mystical explanation and tends toward debate."¹

The first stage of the social teachings of CCA was exactly based on this kind of mental attitude. They believed that all of the problems facing Asia would be solved gradually as soon as the goal of national independence was achieved and the foreign colonizers ousted. The elites who led the national movement also claimed loudly that decolonization was the key to a prosperous national life. The church as well as the populace tended to accept this claim which Gutierrez described as a mystical explanation. Furthermore, Asia had had a glorious past, especially in the cases of India and China. They are proud of their ancient golden cultural civilizations and give great value to their heritage of

the past. This same giving of value to the past might have provoked people to resist the colonial rule and helped the nationalistic movement. Now, however, it was the expression of naive awareness.

The emphasis on teachings at this stage was educational, pointing out that people should take part in nation-building and that economic development could be facilitated by the peoples' cooperation. The CCA understood that the main obstacle was the peoples' ignorance about the new possibilities just opened to them. Thus, the teachings of CCA aimed at educating people in the meaning of the new era. This approach, in light of the high illiteracy rate in Asia, might be right but eventually tended to fit what Gutierrez described as "not dealing with the problems." Ignorance undeniably was one of the major obstacles—but a more urgent need was the prevention of the structures of colonialization from being internalized.

Even though Asian countries had gained their independences, the newly rising powers had inherited the oppressive characteristics of the Western colonial powers. Superficially, the colonial elements in Asian soil had been demolished, but in reality, the colonial characteristics of exploitation and oppression continued in new clothing. CCA did not foresee the internalization of this colonialistic policy. Though CCA had helped people to envision a new heaven and a new earth, its teachings failed to lead them to reach the promised land. A just society had not materialized nor had the church conscientized the elites.

It was not until 1964 that this approach was questioned, and not until 1968 that the church stated the necessity for a revolutionary change in power structure as an indispensable requirement to a just society.

The 1968 CCA Assembly emphasized the absolute necessity of what was called the "Mass struggle of people" for justice. This meant that without "people power" and its struggles, parliamentary democracy in Asia only buttressed the established power structure. The one-party's democracy tended to become bureaucratic, serving to minimize the peoples' participation. The Assembly for the first time spoke about civil disobedience. It believed a Christian's obedience to God should be absolute, where as his obedience to government was of a limited nature. The people of God should thus obey only a government which does not abuse the authority given by God. The church, as God's people, has the right to withdraw its obedience to a government that oppresses its people.² CCA affirmed its belief that the church was of three vocations, namely, as priests, as kings and as prophets. As a priest, the church is to pray for the government and the people; as a king, the church is to play the role of defender of the poor and the oppressed; as prophet, the church is to warn the governments which do injustice to its people.

In 1972 in Manila, the Asian theologians who met on the theme, "Theology in Action," advocated that theology is not to be learned but to be lived; it is not to be taught but to be experienced; it is not a systematization of the contents of faith but the acting out of that faith in real life situations. This new tone of the church echoed the new strategy set out at Uppsala General Assembly of the World Council of Churches. It also encouraged the church leaders in the different regions to take more active roles in their struggles toward justice. There is, however, a price to pay for the church's shift in its stand. Fr. Ed de la Torre of the Philippines was one of the first victims when

the churches accepted this new tone. He was arrested and jailed in December 1974, without even being charged or given a trial, simply because he spoke sharply against the government's violation of human rights. This new tone, which Paulo Freire called "critical awareness," developed partly because the churches had been disillusioned in their expectations toward the ruling powers. But more important, it was because of the influence of the world churches, especially that of the Uppsala conference. C. S. Song urged that Asian churches develop a third eye to perceive the deeper meanings of their situations, and to side with the poor in the struggle for justice and liberation.

III. How Can We Explain the Changes in CCA's Teaching?

There are at least four explanations:

A. CCA Responding to WCC

The CCA throughout its history was simply responding to changes in the intellectual and theological customs accepted by the WCC. For instance, various topics from the WCC were reflected: i.e., "responsible society," "minority rights," "civil disobedience," or "urban ministry" to name a few.

From the early years of EACC, the WCC had played a guiding role to EACC. In almost every EACC/CCA meeting the major keynote speech had been given by a distinguished visitor from WCC. For instance, prior to the EACC period, it was Norman Goodall, the secretary of the Joint Committee for the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council; during the EACC period, it was W. A. Visser't Hooft, the

then-General Secretary of WCC; in the seventies, it was Philip Potter. W. A. Vissert Hooft raised the issues of Responsible Society and Indigenization of Theology, and Philip Potter conveyed the Message of the Suffering and Hope in Light of Liberation. Though these WCC officials had not initiated the actual themes of discussion within EACC/CCA, their inputs cannot be denied.

The theme of Liberation had dominated WCC's theology since the Uppsala Conference in 1968. CCA had begun identifying liberation as its concern in the seventies. In identifying itself as a part of the third world countries, CCA began to increase its dialogue with Latin America and Black American theologians. Jose M. Bonino's address at the World Conference of Christian Education held in Lima, Peru, in 1971 was selected as the required reading for the CCA conference in 1972. Emilio Castro visited CCA and gave a speech at CCA's 1973 conference. Both Bonino and Castro are outstanding Latin American theologians. It is interesting to note that Jose M. Bonino and C. S. Song have shared similar views of theology in this regard. Bonino said: "Theology is not purely intellectual exercise but a stance of commitment. It raises questions from the heart of reality. I can't do theology without having a living tuning-in, without suffering to a certain degree."³ C. S. Song pointed out that the totality of life is the raw material of theology. "Theology deals with concrete issues that affect life in its totality and not just with abstract concepts that engage our theological brains. Theology, therefore, has to wrestle with the earth and not with heaven."⁴ They both emphasized the praxis of theology with its practical response to the suffering world.

In 1972, EACC invited Dr. G. S. Wilmore, a Black theologian,

also the chairman of United Presbyterian Division of Church and Race, to deliver a lecture on "Some Theological Issues for Asians and Blacks." He attacked racism as the enemy of theology and challenged the Asian churches to think of its "Blackness" in terms of its "Christian mission in Asia today."

Asian Christians, as the minority in Asian society, have shared minority status with the black people in North America. Though the Asian people are no longer exploited physically by white colonialism, the scars and impacts of white domination through international trade and economic aid are still strong. When reminding themselves of this minority status in Asia, Asian Christian theologians advocated that a meditation on the "self-development of man" was necessary. This meant that material development was not enough to ensure the well-being of their people. Development should proceed on two fronts simultaneously: besides economic development, man should also proceed toward a spiritual development, which is to extend love to the less fortunate, embodying love, freedom and justice as concrete actions.

On the practical side of CCA's teachings, CCA has been proud of its work during the seventies, carried out by the Urban Industrial Mission. The Urban Industrial Mission, however, is not an Asian creation. The Mexico Conference on World Mission and Evangelism of the WCC in 1963 had emphasized the emerging challenge of UIM. An advisory group on UIM was also established in 1965 under the chairmanship of Bishop ~~Tea~~ Wickham to initiate the program of UIM. CCA did not officially support and set up the UIM in Asia until 1968. In the month of September of that same year, the Asian UIM organizing committee met in Hong Kong and set forth its goals: that they should "make the Urban and Industrial

Mission the movement of the people," and the realization that participation "in the people's movement means to organize the people for exodus and for deliverance from captivity—spiritual, material and political."⁵

These quotations are not Asian either, but are the acceptable statements of the world churches. "People's Movement" is the theme of the liberation theology and of the WCC. "People for Exodus" is the expression of Black theology. These examples explain themselves: that CCA had simply followed the theological expressions of the larger WCC in its teachings.

B. CCA Gained New Insights Over Time

As time passed, they became more realistic, less mystical. In other words, they became more mature in dealing with social-political issues facing them through the benefit of experience. D. T. Niles had expressed his views: that they would make mistakes, but this knowledge would not prevent them from venturing onward.

In the early stages of EACC, when Asian nations were coming out of the colonial period of their history, nationalism and nation-building were the demands of the hour. Many Christians participated in the freedom struggle and in the process of nation-building. Historically, it was a time of rising expectation. There were great aspirations that a new Asia was "in the making" in which justice would prevail.

In the early 1970's the mood changed from expectation to despair. Independence had not produced the alleviation of the suffering masses. A few had much and many had little, and the direction of both human and economic development tended to favor the few. Independence did not mean the coming into being of national human communities.

Rather, what resulted in Asia was a certain ideological crystallization with a corresponding sense of the communal element. Communities were in conflict with one another as each asserted its identity apart from and against other communities. This situation of conflict was exploited by the many military dictatorships in Asia that remained in power.

The EACC/CCA discovered throughout the years that they were for people, not for any particular ideology. They had worked together with the elites to build up the nation-state of their expectations but had failed, because they had accepted the empty slogans and mystical explanations offered by the elites about a prosperous society in the making. But EACC/CCA, far from expressing despair and pessimism in the midst of massive suppression of human rights, growing militarism and tight technocratic control and the displacement and destruction of people, grew into a new movement of hope. Basic to this new hope and this new theological stance was the affirmation that the people are the subject of history, not their rulers.

The shift in emphases in Asian-Christian teachings over the years was evident in the EACC/CCA Assembly themes: The Christian Community within the Human Community (1968), Christian Action in the Asian Struggle (1973), Jesus Christ in Asian Suffering and Hope (1977), and Living in Christ with People (1981).

The emphasis of the social teachings of the Asian churches in the seventies was no longer nation-building, nor citizenship rights. The emphasis was "People." CCA in 1981 made the following affirmation:

The wealth of Asia is in its people. Over half the world's population is in Asia . . . a new move is emerging in Asia—an awakening of the people themselves, a new history is being written in over time. No longer are the victorious and exploits of the powerful the central points for an understanding of history. . . . Empires rise and fall, kingdoms come and go, but

the people remain as the permanent reality of history. . . . Jesus lived with people and ministered to them. It was in living with people that Jesus understood the shape and purpose of His own ministry. He put the outcasts, dispossessed and victimized at the very center of His teaching and proclamation of the kingdom of God. It is from this perspective that we must view the deep aspirations of the people to be the subjects of their own history.

With this conviction, the CCA advocated that the church must be sided with people, not only with the ordinary suffering people, but also with the minority groups, the women and the poor.

By that time, CCA had gained the insight that it was "People" with whom the church should extend its prime concern. This did not mean that the Asian churches were not people-oriented in the 40's or 50's, but rather that the churches had gained a new awareness throughout the years, the awareness which Gutierrez and Freire described as "critical awareness."

This critical awareness can also be described as the maturity of the Asian churches. The Asian church gained its autonomy only after World War II. Though we cannot measure the adulthood of the church by the standard of human growth, Dr. Charles Kao, an Asian scholar on maturity said that it moves from the polarity of the world (external authority) to the polarity of the self (internal authority) and then to the integration and harmony of the two; just as one grows from childish dependence and heteronomy to adolescent independence and autonomy, then to adult interdependence and maturity. In early childhood, one's life is full of magical thinking and egoism, but gradually one becomes factual and less egoistic.

The magic thinking of the Asian churches in the early age was that Asia would be re-shaped through revolution, nation-building and the

adoption of western democratic humanism. But the formulas of magic did not perform their tricks. In realizing this, the Asian church shifted its emphasis to "People" and called the 70's as the time of the "People-come-of-age."

It seems that the teachings of the CCA in the 70's was based more on factual analysis rather than on wishful thinking and idealism as it had been to a large degree in the 50's, because the CCA tried to guide its followers to see the world realistically and accurately instead of as an unreal fantasy. But had the Asian people really "come of age" as the CCA said?

According to Oh Jae Shik, the answer is "yes." He said that the will of the people in Vietnam in their struggle against the most powerful army and sophisticated technology of the strongest nation in the world, testified to the power of the people. Thus, he concluded that the people are claiming their rights to be subjects of history; they are refusing to be passive objects. They are recognizing their own strength and ability to shape a new society, and thus the people in Asia have come of age.

This argument, however, revealed that the Asian church had only become less mystical than they were in the 1950's. The CCA must realize that the defeat of the U.S. by the Viet Cong in Vietnam cannot be uncritically concluded as victory for the people of Viet Nam. The conflict in Indo-China cannot be exclusively classified as the struggle of people against injustice; rather, that it was the conflict between two different ideologies. The Asian people suffered in the 40's and 50's under the ideological conflict and in the 70's they were still the pawns of the same conflict. The continuous waves of the "boat people,"

running away from the so-called Communist victory proves for itself that the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam was not a victory for the Vietnamese people. CCA may have learned from the past, but at times it may still be as mystical and unreflective as it was before.

C. Changes in Social Problems

The changes in the social teachings of the CCA simply reflect changes in the kinds of social problems that have become paramount within Asian societies.

In the 1950's, the teaching of the church had focused on nation-building, which involved different phenomena; political independence, for instance was the first goal of nation-building. Thus the teaching of the church has emphasized the advocacy of nationalism, not only in terms of restoring the ancient Asian pride for autonomous sovereign state, but also of adopting the concept of modern political democracy. The churches were also concerned with the development of adequate institutions to increase public participation in them.

Modernization was one of the "musts" deemed by the churches as well as the new political regime to be an indispensable process for nation-building. This process, however, has also contributed to drastic changes in the social problems facing Asian nations.

The phenomena of this change is revealed in at least two different aspects: (1) the transformation of economic structure, and (2) the change in relationship between classes, especially between landlords and servants.

The transformation of economic structure initiated the churches toward establishing their Urban-Rural-Industrial-Mission. The change in

the relationship between classes also induced indirectly the concern of the church toward minority groups, including women and aborigines.

1. The transformation of the economic structure is most evident by the phenomena of urbanization as it took place in Asia in the 50's and 60's. Because the work pattern changed from manual to mechanized and from family-oriented industry to factory industry, the migration of the people from the country to the city followed. This brought not only the breakdown of the traditional family structure, but also changed the traditional sense of values. Family ties were loosened because of the migration of the young to the cities for employment. These uprooted people were totally surrounded by the new and strange living environments. At home, the women were forced to take more responsibility as well. These new phenomena came to the attention of the churches which then established URIM to help the people and to assist them in adjusting to the changes.

2. The change of the class relationship: One of the processes of nation-building is the extending of citizenship rights to everyone. This has changed the picture of the whole class relationship. The nobility no longer enjoys the rights it possessed at one time, because the traditional relationship between masters and their servants were destroyed by the spread of equalitarian ideas.

In traditional society, the inequality of rank was a universally-accepted condition of social life. In that society structure, the individual enjoyed the rights and fulfilled the obligations appropriate to his rank. Although the distribution of such rights and duties was greatly affected by the use of force, it was established contractually and was accepted as such.

The process of nation-building by adopting western democracy destroyed this system by creating among all citizens a condition of abstract equality. As the social distance between landlords and servants decreased, the point of personal disagreements between them increased. In the minds of the landlords, they continued to think of themselves as superiors. The servants, on the other hand, rebelled in their hearts against the subordination to which they were subjected but from which they derived their actual earnings. The servants had consented to serve because that was to their advantage. It was an economic need rather than an unalterably inferior status forcing them to be subordinates. Legally, the servant became the equal of his landlord, economically, the servant was still a subordinate.

This change in class relationship also bears political significance because servants are legally equal to their masters, but in actuality they continue to serve for economic reasons. They are inclined to consider the landlords who order them as unjust usurpers of their personal rights. In order to protect their own benefits, the landlords will side with the elites. This secret, internal warfare goes on between these rivals who are always suspicious of each other. The most typical example of this, and of the tensions between class relationships is revealed through the "Tillers Gain the Land" program carried out in the Philippines and in Taiwan. The relationship between the landlord and the servants does not only drastically change, but the tensions have built up between them, because of suspicion on the part of the landlords and the arrogant attitude of the servants. Regarding the program of giving servants the ownership of a small part of the land which formerly belonged to the landlord: The servants who have now become the land-

owners still have to till land for their former masters for the small land parcel is not sufficient for their survival. Thus the program made both parties landowners and their relationship was changed from masters-servants to partners.

D. Inevitable Shifts of Historical Development of Social Movement

The change in the teachings of CCA reflects inevitable shifts accompanying the historical development of social movement. Original abstract idealism gives way in time to more pragmatic, immediately concrete concern.

The typical example of this shift is revealed in the change in the attitude of the churches toward nationalism. In the 1950's nationalism was not only the center of the teaching but also was the hope of the church. The churches believed that through nation-building, a just society would be created. Nationalism and nation-building were in fact the magic words for the future. All the expectation was given to it. But this idealistic trust in nationalism was soon changed. In 1968, EACC Assembly radically questioned "nationalism as an ethos" for a genuine process of modernization and the realization of a just society in Asia. Even though no specific strategy was agreed upon at the time, it ignited the tone of a more pragmatic stand of the church for the years to come.

One of the main reasons behind this change could be attributed to the change of the church's understanding of history: In the 1940's and 1950's, the Asian church leaders, for example M. M. Thomas, Duff Wilson and Milles of India, believed that the changes taking place in

Asia would prepare the way for the Christianization of Asia. M. M. Thomas said that Asian revolution was a preparation for the Gospel and that the impact of western culture on Asia, i.e., political policy, economic development, etc. was destroying the old goals of traditional Asian religions. Thus, it prepared the Asian people for the Gospel. To Thomas, history moved in a straight line. Since modernization is also a process of westernization, he believed that the result of this change would lead to a Christianized Asia.

The expectation of a Christianized Asia, however, proved to be wishful thinking. The Asian people remain loyal to their traditional religions. C. S. Song challenged this straight-line view of history. He said that God's salvation can no longer be explained in terms of history moving forward along a straight line. God moves in all directions. He moves forward, no doubt, but He also moves sideways and even backwards. He perhaps zigzags too. God has no strict time-table for His journey toward redemption. Thus the Asian churches cannot expect a Christianized Asia through nation-building. God is not a rigid God, but a flexible One. He will condemn, but He will also forgive. He will become angry, but He can also be merciful. A flexible God is not predictable. Therefore, the teachings of the church have to be flexible and practical to reach the needs of the people and of the times. Though idealistic thinking has given way to a more pragmatic teaching, it does not mean that the CCA is no longer idealistic. It has only shifted its attention to the more concrete issues like poverty, discrimination, human rights violations, etc.

IV. How Realistic and Idealistic are CCA's Teachings?

How realistic and idealistic has the CCA been in its social teaching?

CCA has emphasized the theme of "social and political involvement" throughout the years, but its teaching has tended to be idealistic. From 1949 until the present, its teachings have spoken in grand terms about social amelioration as if the various goals they have identified—from nationhood to social equality—were simply historical objectives that could easily or comparatively-easily be realized, by means of political independence or social revolution. But these ends are not that easily realized. Reinhold Niebuhr's words were that human sin is a very powerful restraint on social progress.

In his book, Moral Man and Immoral Society, Reinhold Niebuhr erupted in violent protest against the optimism prevailing in the United States in the 1920's that basic social problems were approaching solution. Many people were sure that all of men's social relationships were in fact being brought progressively under the law of Christ through the church movement called the Social Gospel. Analyzing the problems of individual and social morality, he saw that the belief in inevitable progress through growing good-will and social education was only an illusion. What can be achieved in individual righteousness may be quite impossible for society. Social decisions are never as clear-cut as decisions about personal morality; they are always, to use a favorite word of Niebuhr, ambiguous. We never have a clear choice between pure truth and pure error, good and evil. In man-to-man relationships, in small groups, we can often achieve a high level of morality and of

unselfish love, but in large societies, in the conflicts between groups in society, the moral problems are different. Relationships are impersonal; men are not related to each other in face-to-face contact, but as representatives of groups with interests to be served. There is not only the self-centeredness of individuals, but there is also the egoism of races, of corporations and of nations. Moreover, this egoism is not restrained and checked by conscience and goodwill and reasonableness: for our social responsibilities are confused and our reasoning is distorted by the interests of the groups to which we belong. There is an impersonal and brutal character about the behavior of all human "collectives," with their self-interest and group egoism, which makes social conflict inevitable.

CCA's teachings tended to expect that through social education and growing goodwill, Asia would be developed into a just society. Even though there might be goodwill among the elites and the people, Asian society, like any other society, will remain a paradox—moral man and immoral society. CCA's teachings thus have tended to simplify the issues and to be idealistic and Utopian.

Conclusively, CCA's teachings have been at once realistic in naming the problems and idealistic in stating their visions about the kind of society they would like to help bring into being. But they have been vague and unclear about the means to get from here to there. Perhaps there is a reason for this vagueness regarding the means, middle axioms, and particular strategies, since these must, by nature, be particular and suited to varied, relative situations.

**V. What Kind of Role has the CCA
Played in Asian Society?**

Christianity is a minority in Asia. What contributions has the CCA made through its teachings to Asian society and what significance can we attach to it?

A. The Role Within the Asian Churches

The CCA stimulated the development of an indigenous theology for Asia. Although the validity of this theology is still questionable, the CCA gatherings stimulated the Asian church leaders to develop an Asianized Theology. This was most strongly expressed at the 1964 and 1968 meetings. At the 1964 meeting, one issue arose regarding the dialogue of the church toward the Asian world; how can a Christian community function effectively within the human community which is essentially non-Christian? How should the church encounter with men of other beliefs? The 1968's theme "Confessing the Faith in Asia Today" revealed the concern of the Asian churches toward finding a root plan for Christianity in Asia.

Three approaches have been born since: namely, syncretization, accommodation and contextualization. The syncretization approach is an attempt to indigenize Christianity with the national religions of Asia (Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Islam). The accommodation approach tries to accommodate the prevailing customs and religious practices and adopts the good ideas of other religions into Christianity. Contextualization is a kind of situational theology which advocates the response of the church to the particular needs of the situation.

Although the three approaches are different in their understand-

ing of an indigenous theology, they share a common goal to create theologically a unique Asian perspective. They believe that the social problems of Asia are typical of Asia; thus, the church should develop a unique Asian theological perspective to deal with these issues.

Is there a unique Asian perspective? Can such an Asian perspective on social problems be developed that would be uniquely Asian? Have the Asian Christians been able to indigenize their moral teachings? The answer to these questions is ambiguous. First, the social issues of Asia after World War II, or after the nations' political independences, have not been uniquely Asian. They have been universal. Masao Takenaka pointed out in 1959 that the changes taking place in Asia had been taking place in the West since the European Renaissance and Reformation.

It is understandable to say that these issues are Asian, because they occur in Asia in the 20th century. But they are not typically Asian, because the Western nations experienced the problems before. Therefore, Western experience should be able to serve as a guide to Asian nations, to deal with their problems. The Asian nations have the advantage of knowing what might be forthcoming in their process of nation-building, by considering the experiences of the Western nations.

The Asian countries indeed have their uniqueness in terms of their cultural heritage which is different from the West. They, however, cannot say that their problems are uniquely Asian. The approach to the problems may be different due to the cultural background of the land and the people, but the cores of the problems are frequently the same, namely, the by-products of modernization.

Even if we assume that the Asian social issues are uniquely Asian, an indigenous approach still cannot serve as a cure. Asia has

been heterogeneous. Asia is not one, but many. If an indigenous theology is needed, there would be many Asian theologies rather than one. Because of the complexity of Asia, it is not an easy task, and perhaps it is an impossible one, to indigenize the church's moral teachings.

The three different approaches of Asian theology, restrictively speaking, only put a cultural clothing on top of Christian theology. Despite these limits, the endeavor to an Asian theology has its contributions. It serves as a vehicle by the means of which Christians, from several different countries, have helped themselves to gain and to maintain a sense of common purpose and shared visions.

B. The Social Contribution of CCA

By its Asian perspective, the CCA has helped to keep member churches from becoming overly identified with the fortunes and interests of the people of particular nations, even while at the same time, encouraging them to seek the welfare of these nations. Thus, the social function of the CCA can be categorized as follows:

1. They have helped to foster a sense of unity and community-spirit among Asian Christians in spite of national and denominational differences.

This sense of unity and community-spirit has been fostered by involving the common Christian symbols, but also by attempting to relate these symbols to social problems which were common and similar, in spite of national differences.

Suffering is a common experience for the Asian people. But God Himself suffers too. Jesus Christ on the cross is a God-man in suffer-

ing. The Cross, from the standpoint of Christian faith, is the supreme symbol God's suffering love—and has never been surpassed. The cross reveals that suffering is not only physical, institutional, impersonal or secular; it is also religious, human and divine. Suffering is the cross God bears with all His creation.

Suffering, however, is not an end in itself. Suffering does produce a hope—the resurrection of Jesus Christ expresses hope for mankind. The Asian people have suffered much, but there is also the hope of resurrection, because death is not the end of Jesus' sufferings. Thus, the cross becomes a symbol of the peoples' suffering and of their hope.

Another religious symbol that over the centuries has become the focus of the religious devotion and spiritual aspiration of a great number of people in Asia, under the influence of Buddhism, is the lotus.⁷ The image of Buddha or Bodhisattva seated cross-legged on the lotus has been to the Buddhist masses a source of comfort and peace. It stills the troubled mind and gives assurance that suffering is not the last word. It helps to maintain serenity in the midst of a turbulent life of bitterness. And it promises a life of bliss when all births cease. The lotus is to the Buddhist as much as religious symbol as the cross is to the Christian. These two symbols point the two religions toward crucial quests of their human life—exodus (deliverance).

The suffering and hope which are symbolized by both Cross and Lotus are expressed through the historical experiences of the Asian people under the guns of the powerful.

The gun is a symbol of wounding, which the Asian people have suffered since the early 14th century when the expansionism of Western

nations took their lead. The economic, political, anthropological and cultural suffering of Asia's experiences during the West's expansion, conquest and empire-building poses unforgettable wounds deep in the hearts of the Asian people. The gun represents not only the colonial exploitations—disruptions prior to the political independence of the Asian nations, but also represents their suffering and wounding after their independence when the gun has been shifted to a new owner of the newly rising powerful elites, shooting the unarmed people. In order to sooth the wounds, the colonial powers and the newly established independent regimes each offered a promise: the ointment. The people yearn for healing when they are wounded. The Asian people are no exception. They suffered much but they also dreamed of the healing. This ointment is represented in the endeavor of modernization—a new life for everyone.

Modernization was an unwanted gift to Asia. The Asian people would have rejected it in the first place if they had the right to choose. This ointment, however, gained the confidence of the people through its medical services extended to them. The Asian people also accepted the educational opportunities brought to them through this ointment. After independence, the ointment became even stronger and more important. It became a promise of the new government to the people for a prosperous society.

Paradoxically, the ointment also means suffering, because modernization does not simply mean a spread of modern technological information and practices; it also requires a new orientation in the lives of the Asian people. This has effected radical transformation in all areas of their lives. It affected the political systems, inter-

national life, community life, employment, labor conditions, public works and business enterprises. At the end, the ointment is not ointment at all. The cross that the Asian people bear is still heavy. The exodus is yet to take place and lotus yet to appear.

With the experiences of suffering of the Asian people expressed through the common symbol of the cross and the common aspiration for deliverance CCA has helped to bring the Asian churches together, expressing their frustrations and their dreams and thus has fostered a sense of unity and community.

2. The CCA helped member-churches and Christians in Asia to strike a balance between: (a) over-identifying with the western Christian traditions, and (b) over-identifying the value of their respective nations.

(a) Over-identifying with the western Christian traditions: One of the reasons for the establishment of the CCA was the common-identification of the Asian churches of their "Asian-ness." The Asian church leaders are too well aware of the missionary origin of their churches, the European impetus for the ecumenical movement and the western concern regarding development. Asian churches have adopted not only the European form of worship, but also their entire theological thinking. The Asia churches could easily become theological colonies of the western church, and in fact they have. But CCA has repeatedly advocated the need of an Asianized theology and concept of development. Almost all of the Asian theologians pick up the theme of indigenization as the starting point in their theological discourse. This emphasis of an indigenous theology has helped check the Asian churches from over-identifying with the western origin of belief. Even though the Asian churches

have not yet established a system of their own theology, the validity of an indigenous theology is still debatable. Asian churches have shown their efforts to create a system fitting their own situations while still not detached from the western origin of their religion.

(b) Over-identifying with what nation-elites identified as the values of their respective nations: CCA recognized a real danger in the over-identifying with the national elites during the 1950's and 1960's. During these periods, the theme of nationalism had dominated the thinking of CCA Conferences. CCA thought that nationalism would provide an adequate ethos in the struggle for social justice and in this sense, they talked about nation-building. But CCA in 1968 pointed out that nationalism had become confined to the elites, and had become an ideology for the search for power and conspicuous consumption in many nations of Asia. Nationalism with its emphasis on national security, unity and stability had tended to become an ethos for preserving the structure against change, and to justify the suppression of democratic rights and mass-actions for change.

With this warning, CCA helped member churches and Asian Christians to prevent over-identifying with the national elites by consciously identifying with the concerns of those of less influence and of the less-powered, suppressed minorities, including the poor, the linguistic minorities, the ethnic minorities and religious minorities. This position was most fitting because Christians in Asia, except in the Philippines, are in fact minority groups. The CCA seems to have been self-conscious about this identification in relation to their concern for the "have-nots," and the ethnic minorities.

Following the divorce of Christian-social-thinking from nationalism, the CCA took a sharp turn in identifying the problem existing in Asia as "exploitation of the powerless by the powerful." It thus placed the accent on "people's liberation in Asia," which meant the transformation of power structures, enabling the people to participate in centers of society where power was exercised and decisions were made. This theme of transforming Asia's power structure replaced the theme of nation-building and dominated the thinking of CCA through the seventies and into the eighties.

The theme attempting to transform society has revealed the sectarian character of CCA's religious thinking the same as did minorities in Asia for democracy and pluralism.

One small group of earnest Christians lived apart from the world, claiming complete civil and religious freedom. Their aim was the formation of a "holy community"—holy in service according to the Sermon on the Mount. Ernst Troeltsch in his book Protestantism and Progress pointed out that this sectarian ethic later became imbued with the democratic idea and modern economic views. It included the development of the multiplicity of unions and associations, the general mobility of society, the upward movement of the masses and the gathering of influential voluntary associations. With the expansion into great societies, recognized and tolerated by the State, their original radicalism became toned-down into sober citizenship. They have played a large part in the creation of the middle classes in towns of England and America.

Like Calvinism, the group as a whole is active and aggressive, and desirous of re-shaping the world to the glory of God and making the reprobate bow submissively to Divine Law and Will and with all diligence

create and maintain a Christian commonwealth. It scorns all mere emotion and sentiment as idle and frivolous but is inspired by a profound sense of working for the honor of God and His church. Thus, there arises, in addition to an unrelenting activity and strict severity, a systematic completeness and a Christian social trend in the spirit of Calvinistic ethics.

The teachings of Asian Christian churches are very similar to these sectarian ethics. The Asian churches are a minority group in Asia. Their existences are almost non-recognizable. But they have determined to create an ethos which will transform Asian society into an ideal community by being good citizens who exercise their civil rights in societies. The Asian churches extend their concerns to the poor and to the less privileged just like the Anabaptists. They have also tried to boost democratic ideas and modern economic views for the development of the Asian society. All of these goals of the Asian churches, reflect the characteristics of sectarianism. CCA is not a sect, but its social teachings have reflected its sectarian mentality.

The influences of CCA on the social structure and the formation of the peoples' awareness toward the new age are, so far as it exists at all, mainly indirect. That is not to be wondered at in a movement which is in essence religious. But as a matter of fact, Asia is very complicated. CCA has striven for equality and prosperity of the Asian society. Since the 1950's, even though their approaches shifted, these goals remained unchanged.

Can CCA's goals ever be realized? It is very doubtful with the current strategies of the CCA. Although there are some positive

results, CCA remains ineffective and unreflective in many ways. They have voiced that Christians should be sided with the poor, but at the end, Asian Christians like the sect group, are still of middle-class citizenship, and CCA is supported by middle-class churches. How effectively can they reach out to the poor and how much are the Asian churches willing to suffer under the increasing pressures of the governments? The CCA has spent a lot of time and a lot of money on meetings. The question is: Are their teachings only slogans being discussed around the conference table? In May 1981 at the CCA Assembly held in Bangalore, India. Fr. Torre of the Philippines, on his first appearance after his release from prison said, "All theological language and writings I could have addressed to peasants are not half as eloquent as a simple presence in their midst, and at their side, when they struggle."⁸ This is a challenge to CCA in the eighties. As the oppressive regimes in Asia tighten their controls over the people, should CCA publish more statements as they have in the past—which produced very little in results, or should they exert more action as they teach in terms of their determination to side with the poor for justice?

These questions can only be answered by CCA itself in the years to come.

Notes

- ¹G. Gutierrez, Theology of Liberation, p. 91.
- ²Toward a Theology of People (Singapore: CCA, 1977), p. 98.
- ³Theology in Action (Singapore: EACC, 1970), p. 82.
- ⁴cf. C. S. Song, "New Frontiers of Theology," South East Journal of Theology 20, No. 1 (1979):15 f.
- ⁵Toward a Theology of People, p. 57.
- ⁶cf. K. Y. Bock, ed., Minjung Theology—People as the Subject of History (Singapore: CCA, 1981), p. 11.
- ⁷The symbolism of the lotus-flower was borrowed by the Buddhists directly from the parent religion Brahmanism. Primarily, the lotus-flower appears to have symbolized for the Aryans from remote times the idea of superhuman or divine birth, and secondarily, the creative force and instrumentality. The traditional Indian and Buddhist explanation of its is that the glorious lotus-flower appears to spring, not from the solid earth, but from the surface of the water, and is always pure and unsullied, no matter how impure may be the water of the lake. (Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 8, p. 144)
- ⁸One World, WCC, No. 68, July 1981, p. 4t.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ana, Julio de Santa, ed. Separation Without Hope. Geneva: WCC, 1978.
- Anderson, Gerald H., ed. Asian Voices in Christian Theology. New York: Orbis, 1976.
- Bellah, Robert N., ed. Religion and Progress in Modern Asia. New York: The Free Press, 1965.
- Bendix, Reinhard. Nation-Building and Citizenship. New York: Anchor Books, 1969.
- Bennett, John. The Christian as Citizen. London: SCM, 1956.
- . The Radical Imperative. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975.
- Beyerhaus, Peter. Humanization or Redemption. Grand Rapids: 1971.
- Bock, Kim Y. Minjung Theology. Singapore: CCA, 1981.
- Bonino, Jose M. Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975.
- Brown, Robert. Theology in a New Key. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978.
- Butwell, Richard. Southeast Asia, Today and Tomorrow. New York: Fred Praeger Publisher, 1966.
- Chan, Wing T. A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- Chou, L. H. Chi-Tu-Chiau Ji-Hoa Pai-Chhi Nian [Christianity in China]. Taipei, 1977.
- Clark, William H. The Church in China. New York: Friendship Press, 1969.
- Coe, Shoki. Ministry in Context. Bromley: TEF, 1972.
- Colaco, J. M., ed. Jesus Christ in Asian Suffering and Hope. Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1977.
- Cones, James. Black Theology and Black Power. New York: Seabury, 1969.
- . A Black Theology of Liberation. New York: Lippincourt, 1970.

- Cox, Harvey, ed. The Church Amid Revolution. New York: Associate Press, 1967.
- Creel, H. G. Chinese Thoughts. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Davies, J. G. Christians Politics and Violent Revolution. London: SCM Press, 1976.
- Dawood, Nawaz. Tea and Poverty, Plantation and the Political Economy of Sri Lanka. Singapore: CCA, 1980.
- De La Costa, H. Reading in Philippine History. Philippines: Manila, 1965.
- Deutsch, Karl W. Nationalism and Social Community. Cambridge: MIT, 1966.
- Devanandan, P. D. Christian Issues in Southeast Asia. New York: Friendship Press, 1963.
- Dickson, Lillian. These My People. Toronto: Evangelical Publication, 1953.
- Douglass, James W. The Non-violent Cross. New York: Macmillan, 1970.
- Durant, Will. Our Oriental Heritage. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963.
- Elwood, Douglas, ed. What Asian Christians are Thinking. Philippines: New Day Publisher, 1976.
- England, John, ed. An Encounter with Education for Liberation and Community. Singapore: CCA, 1975.
- Fabella, Virginia, ed. Asian Struggle for Full Humanity. Orbis, 1980.
- Forman, Charles W. The Nation and the Kingdom. New York: Friendship Press, 1964.
- Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Herder & Herder, 1970.
- Freitag, Justin. A New Day in the Mountain. Taiwan: Tainan Theological College Press, 1968.
- Freitag, Walter. Spiritual Revolution in the East. London: Edinburgh House Press, 1949.
- Furnivall, J. S. Colonial Policy and Practice. London: Cambridge, 1948.
- Girvan, Norman. The Question of Compensation: A Third World Perspective. New York: White Plains, 1974.

- Goodall, Norman, ed. A Decisive Hour for the Christian Mission. London: SCM, 1960.
- Gutierrez, Gustavo. Theology of Liberation. New York: Orbis, 1972.
- Griffin, Keith. Underdevelopment in Spanish America. Cambridge: MIT, 1970.
- Hao, Yap Kim, ed. Asian Theological Reflection on Suffering and Hope. Singapore: CCA, 1977.
- Hargleroad, B. W., ed. Struggle to be Human. Geneva: WCC, n.d.
- Hooft, W. A. Vissér't, ed. The Evanston Report. Harper and Brothers, 1955.
- Hong, Harold S. Korean Struggle for Christ. Korea: Seoul, 1966.
- Jacob, Edward. Theology of the Old Testament. Chinese Translation. Hong Kong, 1964.
- Keraney, Robert, ed. Politics and Modernization in South and Southeast Asia. New York: Helsten Press, 1975.
- King, Winston L. In the Hole of Nibbana. LaSalle, Ill.: Opencourt Publishing Company, 1964.
- Kitagawa, Daisuke. Race Relations and Christian Mission. New York: Friendship Press, 1964.
- Kitamori, Kazo. Theology of the Pain of God. London: SCM, 1966.
- Klostermaier, Klaus. Hindu and Christian in Urindaban. London: SCM, 1969.
- Kohn, Hans. The Idea of Nationalism. New York: Collier, 1944.
- Kothan, Rajani. Democratic Policy and Social Change. Bombay: Allied Publisher, 1976.
- Koyama, Koshuke. Pilgrim or Tourist. Singapore: CCA, 1974.
- . Theology in Contact. Madras: CLS, 1975.
- . Waterbuffalo Theology. New York: Orbis, 1974.
- Koyoshi, Nakarai. Relation Between the Government and Christianity in Chosen. Korea: Educational Affair Bureau, 1921.
- Latourette, Kenneth S. A History of Christianity. London, 1954.
- Laurentis, Rene. Liberation, Development and Salvation. New York: Orbis, 1972.

- Lefever, E. W. Amsterdam to Nairobi. Washington, D.C.: George Town University Press, 1979.
- Leeuwen, A. T. Van. Development Through Revolution. New York: Scribners, 1970.
- Linton, Ralph. "Nativistic Movements." American Anthropologist 45 (1943).
- Manikan, R. B., ed. Christianity and Asian Revolution. New York: Friendship Press, 1955.
- Mao tse-Tung. Selected Works. Vol. 4: Friendship or Aggression. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966.
- Memmi, Albert. The Colonizer and the Colonized. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.
- Metz, John. Theology of the World. New York: The Seabury Press, 1973.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. The Challenge of World Poverty. New York: Vintage Books, 1970.
- Nacpil, Emerito, ed. The Holy and the Human. Philippines: New Day Publisher, 1978.
- Neil, Stephen. The Story of the Church in India and Pakistan. Grand Rapids, 1970.
- Niebuhr, Reinhold. Moral Man and Immoral Society. New York: Scribner, 1960.
- Niebuhr, Richard. Christ and Culture. New York: Harper and Row, 1956.
- Nile, D. T. Reading the Bible Today. London: SCM, 1960.
- Novak, Michael. A Theology for Radical Politics. New York: Herder and Herder, 1969.
- Ogburn, W. F. Social Change. New York: Dell Publisher, 1966.
- O'Grady, Ron, ed. Suffering and Hope. Singapore: CCA, 1976.
- Oh Jae Shik, ed. Toward a Theology of People I. Singapore: CCA, 1977.
- , ed. Identity and Justice. Singapore: CCA, 1977.
- , ed. Theology in Action. Singapore: CCA, 1973.
- Paton, David M., ed. Breaking Barriers, Nairobi, 1975. Grand Rapids, 1976.
- Permalil, H. I., ed. Christianity in India. India: Allepy, 1972.

- Ramientos, Nene. Christian Social Concern: The Mission of the Church in Asia. Asia Theological Association, 1978.
- Rostow, W. W. The Stages of Economic Growth. Cambridge: MIT, 1961.
- Roy, Andrew T. On Asia's Rim. New York: Friendship Press, 1962.
- Sargent, Lyman T. Contemporary Political Ideology. Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1976.
- Segundo, Juan Luis. The Liberation of Theology. New York: Orbis, 1976.
- Shafer, Boyd C. Nationalism, Myth and Reality. New York: Harcourt, 1955.
- Simandjuntak, M. A., ed. Mission in Asia Today. Singapore: CCA, 1975.
- Singh Gour Sir Hari. The Spirit of Buddhism. India: Calcutta, 1929.
- Smith, Antony. Theories of Nationalism. London: Duckworth, 1971.
- Song, C. S. Sin-Se-Ki e I"-Siong [Signs of the New Age]. Taiwan Church Press, 1969.
- . Christian Mission in Reconstruction. Madras: CLS, 1975.
- , ed. Doing Theology Today. Madras: CLS, 1976.
- . Jen-Tong yu Ho-I [Identity and Unity]. Hong Kong: Christian Publisher, 1979.
- . The Church--Its Task and Responsibility. Taiwan: Church Paper, 1964.
- . The Compassionate God. New York: Orbis, 1982.
- . Third Eye Theology. New York: Orbis, 1979.
- Sovik, Arne. Salvation Today. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1973.
- Spengler, J. J., ed. Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan. Durham: Duke University Press, 1955.
- Stauffer, R. B. "The Marcos Coup in the Philippines." Monthly Review (April 1973).
- Stenson, M. R. Industrial Conflict in Malaysia. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.

- Than, Kyaw, ed. Asians and Blacks. Singapore: CCA, 1972.
- _____, ed. Christian Action in the Asian Struggle. Singapore: CCA, 1973.
- Thitsa, Khin. Image and Reality for Women in Buddhist Thailand. London: SCM, 1979.
- Thomas, M. M. Christian Participation in Nation-building. Bangalore, NCC of India, 1960.
- _____. Salvation and Humanization. Madras, CLS, 1971.
- _____. Toward a Theology of Contemporary Ecumenism. Madras: CLS, 1978.
- _____. The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution. London: SCM Press, 1966.
- Thomas, T. K., ed. Christianity in Asia. Singapore: CCA, 1977.
- _____, ed. Testimony Amid Asian Suffering. Singapore: CCA, 1977.
- Troeltsch, Ernest. Protestantism and Progress. London: Williams and Norgate, 1912.
- _____. The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, Vol. I. Translated by Olive Wyon. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Thornton, A. P. Imperial Idea and Its Enemy. London: MacMillan, 1959.
- Wallace, Anthony. "Revitalization Movement." American Anthropologist 58 (1956).
- Weber, Max. The Religion of China. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Welch, Holmes. Taoism. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

Other Materials published by EACC/CCA or related sources:

Minutes and Reports of the following EACC/CCA conferences or consultations:

- 1948 — Joint Commission on East Asia of International Missionary Council (IMC) and the World Council of Churches (WCC), Manila, Philippines
- 1949 — The Conference of East Asia Church Leaders, Bangkok
- 1956 — Consultation of Ecuminism in East Asia, Bangkok
- 1957 — Preparatory Assembly of the EACC (the First Assembly), Prapat, Indonesia
- 1959 — Inaugural Assembly of EACC (the Second Assembly), Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
- 1964 — Third Assembly of EACC, Bangkok
- 1966 — Faith and Order Conference of EACC, Hong Kong
- 1966 — WCC World Conference on Church and Society, Geneva, Switzerland
- 1968 — Fourth Assembly of EACC, Bangkok
- 1969 — Christian Education and Lay Training Consultation, Tokyo, Japan
- 1970 — Ecumenical Conference of Development, Tokyo, Japan.
- 1970 — Youth Leadership Training Conference, Tokyo, Japan.
- 1972 — Theological Conference on Power, Singapore
- 1973 — Fifth Assembly, EACC, Singapore
- 1974 — Human Rights workshop and the first URM Committee Meeting, Hong Kong
- 1976 — Consultation on Land, Colombo, Sri Lanka
- 1976 — Younger Theologians Consultation on Suffering and Hope, Hong Kong
- 1977 — Consultation on Race and Minority Issues, Hong Kong
- 1977 — Sixth Assembly, Penang
- 1978 — Rural Youth Meeting, Singapore
- 1979 — Theological Conference on Full Humanity, Sri Lanka
- 1980 — Regional Consultation on Race and Minority Issues, New Dehli, India

Singapore to Penang, The Work of the CCA from 1973-1977.

From Penang to Bangalore, The Work from 1977-1981.

CCA News (Monthly Newsletter), from 1974-1981.

Southeast Asia Journal of Theology, from 1964 (semi-annually)

Northeast Asia Journal of Theology, from 1967 (quarterly)

Theology and the Church, Journal of the Tainan Theological College, 1958, 1962, 1968-1978

Ching-feng: Journal of Asian Culture and Theology, Hong Kong, 1967, 1968, 1970, 1974, 1976