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Beyond the Dividing Wall of Hostility: A Theory and Practice of Reconciliation for the Korean Church in the Conflict between "Comfort Women" and Japanese Government

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2010

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## Abstract

Beyond the Dividing Wall of Hostility: A Theory and Practice of Reconciliation for the Korean Church in the Conflict between "Comfort Women" and Japanese Government

By Won Chul Shin

There is ongoing conflict between "comfort women", who were exploited as a sexual slavery by Japan during World War II, and present Japanese government; this conflict has been sustained by Japanese government's official denial of sexual slavery during the war time. My thesis aims at resolving this ongoing conflict between two parties in terms of the language of reconciliation from my reflection and reconstruction of 1) Christian theology and ethics and 2) circumstances in other contexts over the world. I particularly focus on an agency of the Korean church in the process of reconciliation.

In the first and second chapter, I intend to suggest a sound theory of reconciliation in light of a compatible relation between *agape* and justice in the age of peace-building. Nurturing *agape* transforms justice from liberal justice – mere fairness and strict punishment – to restorative justice – restoring the right relationship. Restorative justice is the indispensable part of *agape,* and it also prevents *agape* from lapsing into injustice. Both nurturing agape and restorative justice shared a moral vision of restoration of the right relationship – bringing down the dividing of walls of hostility in the world of injustice and violence. In the third chapter, I try to persuade the Korean church to become an agent of reconciliation between "comfort women" and the Japanese government. I explored the richness of Christian languages of reconciliation in Christian tradition: 1) the Christology and Ecclesiology of Barth and Bonhoeffer and 2) the Pauline theology interpreted by Volf and Lederach.

In the rest of chapters I intend to develop possible practices of the Korean church in order to facilitate the process of reconciliation between "comfort women" and Japanese government. In the fourth chapter, I first explored the social context and location of "comfort women" by borrowing a Korean ethos, *Han* – suppressed pain from injustice or oppression. In the fifth and sixth chapters I suggested four practices of the Korean church – acknowledgement, reparations, apology, and forgiveness – for healing wounds of "comfort women" and restoring the right relationship between them and the Korean church, Korean society, and Japanese government by drawing 1) available sources of the established NGOs and lesson from the Recovery of Historical Memory Project conducted by the Guatemalan church (for acknowledgement); 2) biblical and spiritual resources of conversation between Calvin's commentary on Psalms and Judith Herman's trauma theory (for reparations); 3) vicarious confession of the German Confessing Church, lesson from the National Sorry Day in Australia, and the Act of Repentance performed at the UMC General Conference on May 4, 2000 (for apology); 4) insights from Howard Zehr and Daniel Philpott (for forgiveness).

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As well as three professors, I am deeply thankful to Dr. Steven J. Kraftchick, the Director of General and Advanced Studies, and Shelly Hart, the Director of Academic Administration and Registrar, who facilitate all processes concerning my thesis. I am also thankful to Rev. Gu Hyun Kwon and youth members at Sunlin Methodist Church who contributed to discover a possibility of the Korean church as an agent of reconciliation in the world.

Without courage and wisdom of "comfort women" who testify their painful stories and struggle against injustice, I could not finish my thesis. It was my hope to help them by publicizing their stories internationally, specifically in America, and encouraging others to bear a responsibility for this issue with "comfort women." I sincerely applaud their moral and spiritual strength, which sometimes goes beyond the diving wall of hospitality. Also, I am so thankful to those who stand

with "comfort women" against injustice, specifically the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery.

Personally, I must express my gratitude to my mother and my beloved. Now I name my mother as the great teacher in my life. I have learned a lot from her, especially a true meaning of love (*agape*). My commitment to studying theology and passion for advocating the marginalized are based on my reflection of her life. Finally, without love and care from my beloved, I could not finish my thesis. More appropriately saying, I could not accomplish my master's program at Candler without her. Again, I sincerely appreciate these two women's continuous love for me.

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# INTRODUCION

> For he is our peace; in his flesh he has made both groups into one and has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us. He has abolished the law with its commandments and ordinances, so that he might create in himself one new humanity in place of the two, thus making peace and might reconcile both groups to God in one body through the cross, thus putting to death that hostility through it.
>
> – Ephesians 2:14-16, NRSV

> What I am alive now is like a dream…dream, but it is a terrible nightmare.
>
> I am the living evidence! Why does Japanese government say there is no evidence?
>
> – Anonymous Korean "comfort women" testified in War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul, South Korea

In his letter to the Ephesians church, Paul points out the dividing wall between Gentiles, called the uncircumcision, and Jews, called the circumcision. This dividing wall represents hostility and enmity, which destroys peace between two communities. In the ongoing conflict between two alienated groups, Paul proclaims a new vision of reconciliation between two groups in Christ who has already broken down the dividing wall and created in himself a place of reconciliation on the cross. Two hostile groups become one new humanity of peace being reconciled by and in Christ.

We still live in the world with numerous dividing walls. The walls of hatred and enmity force us in ongoing conflict situations and often cause the endless chain of violence. One of the dividing walls exists between "comfort women" and Japanese government. "The term 'comfort women', an English translation of the Japanese euphemism *ianfu*, refers to the tens of thousands (between 50,000 and 200,000) of young girls and women of diverse ethnic and national backgrounds (the great majority of them are Korean women) who were coerced into sexual servitude during the Asia Pacific War that began with the invasion of Manchuria

in 1931 and ended with Japan's defeat in 1945."[1] As we saw above, testimonies of "comfort women" vividly capture their pain and anger; these testimonies represent ongoing conflict between "comfort women" and Japanese government. On the one hand, Japanese government does not officially admit the sexual servitude during World War II; it claims that "comfort women" were not coerced, but voluntarily chose to be prostitutes. On the other hand, numerous living evidences – surviving "comfort women" – testify that the official position of Japanese government is not truth. In the ongoing conflict, the living "comfort women" are getting older, and many of them already passed away in pain and anger. As time goes by they are wounded more and more by the past and present injustice; also the wall of hatred and enmity is strengthened more and more.

My passion to write this thesis originated from dynamics among 1) my personal experience hearing testimonies of "comfort women", 2) my reflection on Paul's letter to the Ephesian church, and 3) my calling as a leader of Christian community and a Christian ethicist. About one and half year ago, I first participated in the Wednesday Demonstration[2] for "comfort women" by chance, waiting for someone near the Japanese Embassy in South Korea. It was in mid-summer and around noon, so even young people, like me, feel tired in the scorching sun. However, two "comfort women" holding a microphone passionately protested against Japanese government which disregards the truth. They cried out, "I am the living evidence! Japanese government has to apologize! What we want to hear is your apology!" Though I cannot fully understand their pain and anger, from that moment, I have

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[1] In this essay, when I use the term "comfort women", I have "Korean comfort women" in mind. If I will refer other ethnic or national comfort women, I will name it differently, such as "Indonesian comfort women." The basic definition comes from C. Sarah Soh's book, *The Comfort Women*. See C. Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), xii.

[2] The Wednesday Demonstration has been facilitated by The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery (below the Korean Council); it has been continued on every Wednesday at noon in front of the Japanese Embassy in South Korea in order to restore the human rights of "comfort women" and international justice from January 8th, 1992.

tried to be empathic with their wounded body, emotions, and memories by the past and present injustice in the ongoing conflict situation.[3]

After facing with the ongoing conflict which has inflicted powerless and aged "comfort women", a question about theodicy naturally came up in my mind: why does God let this tragedy happen and where is God in the midst of their pain and suffering? My inner conflict between the reality of evil and my belief in God's goodness drove me into the reflection on Paul's letter to the Ephesian church. The Ephesian Christian community also suffered from the ongoing conflict between Gentiles and Jews. God, however, does not neglect their pain and suffering. Rather God also takes on pain through the cross. More importantly, through the suffering on the cross, God grants a new hope of reconciliation and a new vision of the reconciled humanity beyond the dividing wall of hostility. Applying this reflection to the situation of "comfort women," God's suffering on the cross symbolizes God's co-suffering with "comfort women", and God presents us the new vision of reconciliation between them and the Japanese government.

Then another question came up in my mind: how can we realize this vision of reconciliation? First of all, we have to acknowledge an asymmetric balance of power between "comfort women" and Japanese government. While "comfort women" consist of very powerless and aged women and are supported by primarily NGOs, such as The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery (below the Korean Council), the Japanese government (or Japan) is one of the world-leading powers. This asymmetric balance of powers calls for a mediator or facilitator in the process of reconciliation to advocate for the powerless party. Paul himself played a role as a mediator of reconciliation between Gentiles

[3] During my summer break in 2012, I had a chance to participate in the Candler Advantage Advanced Summer Internship in Congregational Leadership. I submitted a proposal about empowering congregation at Sunlin Methodist Church in South Korea as a good neighbor to the marginalized in Korean society. Two focus groups of the marginalized were "comfort women" and multicultural family. As a part of educational programs, I visited the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul, South Korea with the youth group at Sunlin Methodist Church, and participated in the Wednesday Demonstration during the ten weeks-internship.

and Jews beyond the hostility and enmity toward each other; also in the mediation Paul advocates the right of Gentiles as equal heirs of the commonwealth of Israel and of the covenantal promise. Hence, in order to realize the vision of reconciliation, we need someone who can play a role of both a mediator to facilitate the process of reconciliation and an advocator for the powerless party.

I contend a Christian community, specifically the Korean church[4], has to be inspired by the new vision of reconciliation and serve as an agent of reconciliation between "comfort women" and Japanese government. In order to empower the Korean church as an agent of reconciliation, we need to 1) provide it with a strong theory of reconciliation, 2) persuade it into becoming the agent of reconciliation, and 3) suggest concrete practices, based on a careful examination of the conflict situation, for the reconciliation. As a Christian leader and ethicist, I want to develop an ethical theory and relevant practices in order to provide the Korean Christian community with a clear direction and concrete ways toward the common good.

According to the dynamics among my personal experiences, reflection on Ephesians, and my callings as a leader of Christian community and a Christian ethicist, I will construct my entire thesis in the framework of theory and practice of reconciliation for the Korean church as an agent of reconciliation between "comfort women" and Japanese government. In other words, my thesis consists of two major sections of theory and practice.

In the first section, the theoretical part, I will primarily argue for a definition of reconciliation in light of relation between Christian love, specifically *agape*, and justice.[5]

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[4] Throughout my thesis, I use the term the Korean church to refer the Korean church in general regardless of denominations.

[5] The theory part can be understood as a conversation between a strong agapism tradition and a restorative justice tradition. My composition of this part has been indebted to two courses at Candler School of Theology in Fall 2012: 1) Directed Study: *Love and Justice*, lectured by Dr. Timothy P. Jackson and 2) *Restorative Justice*, lectured by Dr. Elizabeth Bounds.

This chapter consists of three chapters: 1) chapter 1 – a compatible relation between *agape* and justice, 2) chapter 2 – reconciliation as a concrete form of the compatible relation between *agape* and justice, and 3) chapter 3 – theological and social meanings of reconciliation in Christian tradition.

In the first chapter, I explore a compatible relation between *agape* and justice by describing and evaluating the compatibility of *agape* with justice in Nicholas Wolterstorff's Care-Agapism. I then articulate my normative position on the compatible relation between self-giving *agape*[6]and justice: 1) *agape* first nurtures justice within a moral boundary, not to be degraded into destructive retaliation or self-interested stress on the rights, toward restoration of the right relationship; 2) justice is an indispensable part of genuine *agape* to ensure that it does not lapse into injustice.

In the second chapter I will argue reconciliation is a concrete form of this compatible relation between *agape* and justice. Based on definitions of reconciliation from John W. de Gruchy, Daniel Philpott, and Miroslav Volf, I define reconciliation as restoration of the right relationship. I then construct a model of *agape*-restorative justice-reconciliation in the process of restoring the right relationship among alienated communities by comparing Volf's construction of the will to embrace-justice/liberation-actual embrace and Philpott's model of mercy-restorative justice-just peace. Given the priority over justice, *agape* first sets up the foundation and the framework in which reconciliation can take place. Restorative justice nurtured by *agape* works toward the restoration of the right relationship. As the proper fruit of mutual collaboration between *agape* and restorative justice, the right relationships among

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[6] Wolterstorff advocates *agape* as care, not self-sacrifice, in order to incorporate justice and self-love. However, I will argue that *agape* as "unconditional willingness to promote neighbor's well-being indiscriminately, which is open to and/or calls for *self-giving*" is more primary concept than care. My definition of *agape* is based on Timothy P. Jackson's book, *The Priority of Love*. See Timothy P. Jackson, *The Priority of Love: Christian Charity and Social Justice* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), 10-11. I use the term "self-giving *agape*" in order to distinguish my position from Wolterstorff's. When I use this term, I have *agape* as the potential and/or calling for self-giving in my mind.

hostile communities are restored.

I conclude this section by arguing why a Christian community has to be an agent of reconciliation in the world by exploring theological and social meanings of reconciliation in the Christian tradition. In the third chapter I first explore theological and social meanings of reconciliation in the legacy from Christology and Ecclesiology of Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer. I then present theological and social meanings of reconciliation in the Pauline theology through Miroslav Volf's article, *The Social Meaning of Reconciliation,* and John Paul Lederach's book, *The Journey Toward Reconciliation.*

The first section provides the Korean church with a strong theory of reconciliation and calls for the church to become the agent of reconciliation. The second section suggests concrete ways, based on my model of agape-restorative justice-reconciliation, to facilitate the process of reconciliation between "comfort women" and Japanese government. This practice part also consists of three chapters: 1) chapter 4 – the social context of "comfort women", 2) chapter 5 – description of four practices of reconciliation, and 3) chapter 6 –practices of the Korean church.

The second section begins with a careful examination of the social location of "comfort women" and critical issues between them and Japanese government. Based on the situation of "comfort women", in the fifth chapter, I choose four practices for the process of reconciliation from Philpott's book, *Just and Unjust Peace,* and De Gruchy's book, *Reconciliation*: 1) acknowledgement, 2) reparation, 3) apology, and 4) forgiveness. In this chapter, I will define each practice and describe the kinds of wound which each practice can heal (or restore).

In the last chapter I will suggest possible practices of the Korean church: 1) encouraging acknowledgement, 2) implementing reparations, 3) doing apology, and 4) supporting forgivingness. For encouraging acknowledgement, the Korean church can support

available resources which are already set up by some NGOs: 1) the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul, South Korea, 2) peace monuments over the world, and 3) the Wednesday Demonstration. As well as supporting existed resources, I suggest a comprehensive plan of interviewing and colleting testimonies of "comfort women" from a careful examination on Guatemala's Recovery of Historical Memory (REMHI) Project which the Catholic Church established and conducted.

For implementing reparations, I will suggest biblical and spiritual resources for trauma healing as a practice of rehabilitation – one of four categories of reparations – based on conversation between John Calvin's commentary on Psalms and Judith Herman's trauma theory. From the biblical and spiritual resources, Korean churches may implement educational programs, such as a Bible study or filed trip, for healing their trauma.

For doing apology, I propose the Korean church's confession of sin to neglect care for "comfort women" as the German Confessing Church vicariously confessed its guilt during World War II. In light of lessons from the National Sorry Day in Australia, I will suggest to set up an official day of apology with civic organizations. Based on reflection of The Act of Repentance conducted at the UMC General Conference in May 4, 2000, I will create the order of Korean church's ritual for confession and repentance of her sin.

Finally, for supporting forgiveness, I will stress that the Korean church should not coerce "comfort women" to forgive Japanese government and armies who assaulted them. Above all, "comfort women" have to be loved by others, at least by Korean churches, and the sense of being loved can be fulfilled by restoring their deprived rights through practices of reconciliation listed above.

## CHAPTER 1: A COMPATIBLE RELATION BETWEEN AGAPE AND JUSTICE

> [T]he attempt to achieve and maintain justice, or to undo or prevent injustice, is the one and only universal cause of violence.
>
> – James Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*

> No reconciliation is possible in South Africa without justice.
>
> – *Kairos Document*

At the climax of the movie, *Mission*, a war between the Guarani tribe and the Spanish colonial army is about to break out. Mendoza, who was a former slave trader and became a Jesuit missionary, wants to fight against the colonial army with his fellow Guaranians, motivated by his deep conviction that "God is Justice." However, Father Gabriel, who guided Mendoza to become the missionary, reproves him for his will to fight, saying "God is Love!" This scene vividly captures conflict between two moral concepts, love and justice. In this scene, it seems love and justice cannot be compatible with each other. The tension or conflict between love and justice has been continually described in the Western literature as well as in this movie.

The continuing view of incompatibility between love and justice is detrimental to building just peace in the world where violence and injustice prevail. On the one hand, as James Gilligan points out, one's will to achieve justice that which is due him/her, serves as a universal cause of violence.[7] In other words, justice alone cannot resolve the problem of violence in the world. On the other hand, the *Kairos Document* criticizes cheap reconciliation in South Africa: making (unjust) peace by appealing to Christian teaching of love of enemies without removing ongoing injustice.[8] It contends that this cheap reconciliation is not Christian reconciliation, but *sin*.[9] In other words, love alone cannot remove injustice in the

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[7] James Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 11–12.
[8] Miroslav Volf, "The Social Meaning of Reconciliation," *Interpretation* 54, no. 2 (Ap 2000): 168.
[9] Ibid.

worlds. For the age of peace-building, we do need both love and justice, not conflict between two.

Against the conventional view of love and justice, in his book, *Justice in Love*, Nicholas Wolterstorff seeks to prove a compatible relation between love and justice; throughout the book, he argues that love and justice are not in conflict, but in harmony with each other. His argument begins with his critique of what he calls "modern day agapism."[10] He argues that the kind of agapic love[11] that modern day agapists, specifically Anders Nygren, advocate is incompatible with justice (and self-love), and even perpetrates injustice. Then he suggests an alternative agapism – Care-Agapism; love as *care* incorporates justice (and self-love).

In this chapter I first describe 1) Wolterstorff's critique of modern day agapism and 2) his Care-Agapism. Second, I will evaluate his argument with both my appreciation and critique: 1) the one hand, I will appreciate his endeavor to set up a compatible relation between *agape* and justice and his critique of Nygren's agapism; 2) on the other hand, I will point out limits of his Care-Agapism and liberal concept of justice. I then will articulate my normative position on the compatibility of *agape* with justice and self-love: 1) *agape* first nurtures justice within a moral boundary, not to be degraded into destructive retaliation or self-interested stress on the rights, toward a restorative form pursuing making the right relationship; 2) justice is an indispensable part of genuine *agape* to ensure that it not to lapse into injustice.

---

[10] Wolterstorff defines "modern day agapism" as an ethical system of agapic love that seeks to promote the good of others, specifically neighbors, as an end in itself, which is supported by Protestant ethicists and theologians in the 20th century, such as Søren Kierkegaard, Anders Nygren, Karl Barth, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Paul Ramsey. I disagree with his classification to lump these ethicists/theologians together as modern day agapist, so when I use this term in my essay, it does not mean I concur with him. See Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love* (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011), 21-22.

[11] Wolterstorff use the term "agapic love" for the form of love of what he called "modern day agapism." When he develops his own version of agapism, "Care-Agapism", he uses the term "*agape*" or "*New Testament agape*" for referring to the kind of love that 1) God shows us and 2) Jesus actually had in mind when he enjoined us to love our neighbors. See Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love*, 23.

### 1.1. Wolterstorff's Critique of Modern Day Agapism

In order to develop his argument for the harmonious relation between love and justice, Nicholas Wolterstorff begins with his critique of modern day agapism. He clearly contends that the kind of agapic love that modern day agapists, specifically Anders Nygren, support cannot be compatible with justice. He insists:

> And all the modern day agapists agreed that if one loves someone agapically, one does not treat him as one does because justice requires it, and conversely, if one treats someone as one does because justice requires it, one is not loving him agapically. Loving someone agapically and treating him as one does because justice requires it are conceptually incompatible. Agapic love casts out all thought of justice and injustice. Agapic love is blind and deaf to justice and injustice. Justice and injustice do not enter into its purview. Agapic love is *gratuitous generosity*.[12]

Wolterstorff argues that agapic love is totally indifferent to a matter of justice or injustice, since it is gratuitous *benevolence* or *generosity*. He argues that when we seek to treat someone justly, we have to acknowledge a certain kind of requiredness produced by someone's worth; however, the nature of agapic love is *spontaneous*, so it is blind to all requiredness from the side of the recipient.[13] Hence, he concludes agapic love is conceptually incompatible with seeking justice.

Wolterstorff, then, moves to explain why the modern day agapists all emphasize the spontaneity of agapic love by drawing on Nygren's interpretation of *agape* in the New Testament. He argues that God's loving forgiveness of the sinner lies at the heart of Nygren's interpretation of the Scripture, and it serves as Nygren's paradigm of God's love for us and our love of neighbor; Nygren understands the divine forgiveness is pure grace and spontaneity, since the one forgiven does not have a *right* to be forgiven.[14] Nygren says:

> When God's love is directed to the sinner, then the position is clear; all thought of valuation is excluded in advance…The distinction between the worthy and the unworthy, the righteous and the sinner, set no bounds to His love.[15]

---

[12] Emphasis is mine. See Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love*, 42.
[13] Ibid., 42-43.
[14] Ibid., 43-44.
[15] Anders Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, trans. Philip S. Watson (London:SPCK, 1953), 77.

Wolterstorff points out that for Nygren, *agape* is indifferent 1) to the worth or value of the person who is loved and 2) to requiredness from the person's worth; even we have no intrinsic worth other than that which is created in them by God's agapic love: "*Agape* does not recognize value but creates it."[16]

If Nygren's position on agapic love is conceptually incompatible with justice, Wolterstorff further argues it is also practically incompatible. He claims that Nygren regards Platonic *eros* – attraction – and Old Testament *nomos* – law and justice – as antithetical to agapic love in the New Testament, and justice is superseded by agapic love.[17] According to Wolterstorff, Nygren sets a moral dichotomy between agapic love and justice: one should choose *either* the former *or* the latter. Therefore, Wolterstorff concludes agapic love, specifically Nygren's *agape*, is conceptually and practically incompatible with seeking justice.

Wolterstorff then argues two instance of intrusion of justice into agapic love. First, if in general, agapic love is a species of benevolence seeking to promote the good of one's neighbor as an end itself, and if in particular, Nygren contends we only have worth consequent on God's agapic love for us, the neighbor comes to us with the requirement of *justice* – due respect for the neighbor's worth created by God's love.[18] In addition, he claims that if forgiveness is a paradigmatic agapic love that Jesus enjoined us to have for the neighbor, such love has to be alert to justice and injustice. Forgiveness cannot take place 1) if one has not deprived someone of something to which he/she had a right and/or 2) if the one who has been wronged (or deprived) does not realize the concept of being wronged.[19] Hence, he contends that the concepts of rights and wrongs (or justice and injustice) are necessary for acting and understanding forgiveness.

---

[16] Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love*, 44-45.
[17] Ibid., 46.
[18] Ibid., 50, 53.
[19] Ibid., 54-55.

The severest critique of modern day agapism is that agapic love may perpetrate injustice. Wolterstorff takes several examples of unjust agapic love; for example, the Gilmore Artist Award jury, which consists of agapists, gives the prize to the loser in a competition due to their commitment to equal-regarding agapic love: "Agapic love perpetrates injustice."[20] He then criticizes Nygren's interpretation of the parable of laborers in the vineyard (Matthew 20:1-16) and of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11-32). Nygren misinterprets two parables in a way that Jesus teaches we must seek agapic love instead of justice, even if agapic love perpetrates injustice. Wolterstorff, however, objects to Nygren's interpretation and claims that the grumblers and the elder son have not been treated unjustly; Jesus challenges them to rethink their understanding of justice. Here is a comparison between two different interpretations on the parable of vineyard.

> Nygren: "Suppose it's true that in being generous to the late-comers I am treating you *unjustly*; am I not permitted to exercise my generosity in whatever way I wish?
>
> Wolterstorff: "Friend, I am *not* treating you *unjustly*; did you not agree with me for a denarius? Take what belongs to you, and go; I choose to give to this last as I give to you. Am I not allowed to do what I choose with what belongs to me? Or do you begrudge my generosity?[21]

While in Nygren's interpretation, it is permissible to perpetrate injustice for the sake of agapic love, in Wolterstorff's, it is false.

To sum up, Wolterstorff contends modern day agapism (or benevolence-agapism) is an inappropriate ethical system for the harmonious relation between love and justice: 1) agapic love is conceptually and practically incompatible with seeking justice; 2) it ignores the need of justice for understanding and acting it; 3) even it might perpetuate injustice.

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[20] Wolterstorff's example goes as follows:. If the Gilmore Artist Award would mean very little to the flourishing of a less-talented contender but a great deal to that of the most-talented contender, the Gilmore Artist Award jury, which consists of adherents of modern day agapism, gives the honor and the money to the less-talented individual rather than to the Wolterstorff points out that the more-talented artist would then be wronged, so he contends that equal-regarding agapic love perpetrates injustice. See Ibid., 56-57.

[21] Emphasis is mine. Ibid., 60.

### 1.2. Wolterstorff's Care-Agapism

Wolterstorff suggests that *agape* has to incorporate justice and thereby self-love, contrasting with the agapic love of modern day agapists. For him, justice is a steady and enduring will to render to each his or her *rights* which are what respect for his/her *worth* requires.[22] Therefore, if *agape* incorporates justice, love should seek both 1) to promote the good in a person's life and 2) to secure that a person be treated with due respect for his/her worth.

His view on this compatible relation between *agape* and justice is based on his interpretation of the two love commands which Jesus enjoined us. Conversations between Jesus and each interlocutor (in Matthew a Pharisee lawyer, in Mark a scribe, and in Luke a lawyer) in all three synoptic gospels report that the two love commandments are the essence of the Torah; they are the greatest and most important in the Torah.[23] He then traces to the origin of the second love commandment – "You shall love your neighbors as yourself" – in the Torah; Jesus and the interlocutors quoted from the law in Leviticus 19. Some injunctions that lead up to the injunction to the second love command specify various ways of treating the neighbors *justly*, and the second love command generalizes or sums up these specific commandments to seek justice for the neighbors.[24] In other words, treating the neighbors

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[22] Wolterstorff develop his definition of justice from the third-century Roman jurist, Ulpian's definition of justice. And he links one's right to one's worth. See Ibid., 85, 89.

[23] In Matthew 22:34-40, a lawyer from the Pharisees asked Jesus the test question, "Teacher, which commandment in the law [the Torah] is the greatest?" Jesus replied to this question by saying the two love commandments. The lawyer could not pounce on Jesus' answer since that was in his mind too. In Luke 10:25-37, a lawyer asked Jesus a different question, "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" Jesus turned to the tables on his interrogator by making him to answer his own question: "What is written in the law [the Torah]? Then, the lawyer cites the two love commandments, and Jesus also agreed with him. In Mark 12:28-34, a scribe did not ask the question to test Jesus, but he expressed his approval of the great importance of the two love commandments. See Ibid., 79-80.

[24] According to Wolterstorff, from Leviticus 19:9-18 the Israelites are commended to treat justly their neighbors, including the member of their people, the poor, and the alien: 1) they shall not oppress or slander them; 2) they shall not stand idly by when a neighbor is in trouble; 3) they shall reprove the neighbor when he/she does wrong, but they shall not to bear grudges and take vengeance against him/her. Moses then says, "you shall love your neighbor as yourself"; the contrast between the specificity of "the justice imperative" and the generality of "the love imperative" calls for it to be understood as prefaced with a tacit "in short." "*In short*, love your neighbor as yourself." See Ibid., 81-82.

justly is a specific example of loving them; indeed, love incorporates justice in a harmonious relation.

Then, if *agape* incorporates justice, it also incorporates self-love; when a person acknowledges his/her own intrinsic worth, he/she can be treated justly. For Wolterstorff, agapic love, which calls for self-sacrifice, is not compatible with self-love. He takes an example of a woman who really does not have any self-love.

> She seeks to promote her own good only as a means to promoting the good of someone else or as a means to securing due respect for their worth. Her love is through and through self-sacrificial. She spends herself for others. She is totally self-giving, totally selfless…She does not locate her own intrinsic worth in being self-giving. She thinks she has no intrinsic worth.[25]

According to Wolterstorff, this woman, motivated by only self-sacrificial love without self-love, is indifferent to being wronged by others, since she thinks she does not have intrinsic worth. Such indifference is a way of wronging herself; even such indifference fails to take steps to stop or prevent the wronging.[26] Hence, Wolterstorff calls for an alternative version of agapism which allows us to love both others and ourselves as well.

Wolterstorff then develops his own version of agapism – Care-Agapism. He uses the term "care" as an alternative form of love to *agape* as benevolence or self-sacrifice which he says modern day agapists advocate.

> It's the term "care," understood not as caring *for* someone who needs aid or assistance but as caring *about* someone…Care combines seeking to enhance someone's flourishing *with* seeking to secure their just treatment.[27]

If benevolence seeks to promote a person's well-being without paying attention to what justice requires, care seeks to promote some good in a person's life with treating him/her justly – acknowledging that person's worth and seeking actions to befit the worth. If self-sacrifice cannot secure proper self-love, care secures both neighbor-love and self-love: "the

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[25] Ibid., 95.
[26] Ibid., 96.
[27] Emphasis is mine. Ibid., 101.

love that we typically have of ourselves *and* should have of the neighbor is love as care."[28]

With the definition of *agape* as care, Wolterstorff argues that we can care about God. If caring about someone assumes that the recipient of care is regarded as vulnerable, he contends that God is vulnerable, and indeed wronged by us. If someone issues legitimate commends, it makes the law-issuer vulnerable to being wronged by being disobeyed; by delivering Israel from Egypt God has the right to issue commandments to Israel and issues the commands, which means God is vulnerable to being wronged.[29] Forgiveness presupposes that one has been wronged; God forgives the sinner, which means God is wronged by us.[30] From these arguments, Wolterstorff contends we can care about God. He also insists that the form of caring about us is consistent with biblical writers' languages of testifying God's love of us: 1) God is depicted as our parents, and we are children of God and 2) Jesus instructed his followers to address God as *Father*.[31]

To sum up, Wolterstorff uses the term *care* for *agape* in order to stress that (New Testament or Jesus') *agape* seeks to promote one's neighbors' well-being with paying attention to justice, treating oneself and neighbors with due respect for one's and their worth. In this sense, *agape* as care incorporates justice and thereby self-love; there is no conflict between *agape* (or love) and justice, but two moral concepts are in harmony.

### 1.3. Evaluation of the Critique of Modern Day Agapism and Care-Agapism

There are two points Wolterstorff makes with which I concur: 1) his concept that *agape* incorporates justice (with self-love)[32], and 2) the critique of Nygren's agapism – an antithetical relation between *agape* and justice (self-love).

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[28] Emphasis is mine. Ibid., 105.
[29] Ibid., 107.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., 108.
[32] Even though I contend that Wolterstorff's argument of *agape* as "care" is not enough to grasp God's *agape* as self-giving for all creatures and for the whole world, at least I agree with his argument of the compatible relation between love and justice.

First, I appreciate his intellectual endeavor to prove the compatible relation between love and justice. Indeed, love and justice have been regarded as antithetical to each other; if someone takes love imperative, "Love your neighbor," he/she assumes to give up justice imperative, "Do justice." Such moral dichotomy between love and justice is detrimental. Without love, justice will permit endless retaliation, even worse endless cycles of violence and destruction. Miroslav Volf contends:

> [T]he will to embrace [love] the unjust precedes agreement on justice…If you want justice and nothing but justice, you will inevitably get injustice. If you want justice without injustice, you must want love.[33]

Volf points out that each party (or community) has its own account of "what is just" or "what justice means", and when their accounts of justice clash with each other, poisonous violence and disorder – injustice – are likely to be perpetrated, unless they reach an agreement on justice.[34] In order to achieve the mutual agreement on justice, which will bring about peace, the will to embrace – unconditional and indiscriminate love – is necessarily prior to the agreement on justice, since it transforms the very content of justice from mere disinterested and impartial fairness to reconciliation interested in sustaining relationships among human beings (or communities).[35] Volf also contends that "there can be no genuine and lasting embrace – love – without justice, since justice secures *mutual* embrace between the powerful and the powerless by 1) preventing imposition of justice of the powerful upon the powerless and 2) granting a preferential option for the powerless whose voices are excluded.[36] In other worlds, love and justice work together to prevent injustice and to bring about peace in inseparable and harmonious relation.

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[33] This quote from Miroslav Volf's book, *Exclusion and Embrace*, is taken from Timothy P. Jackson's book, *Love Disconsoled.* See Timothy P. Jackson, *Love Disconsoled*: *Meditations on Christian Charity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 212.
[34] Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 195-196.
[35] Ibid., 215-216, 220-225.
[36] Ibid., 216.

In addition, I appreciate Wolterstorff's term "incorporate": *agape* incorporates justice (and self-love). This world represents the harmonious relation between two concepts, and further it captures the comprehensiveness of *agape*. As Volf claims that love shapes the very content of justice and pursuit of justice should be located in the context of love, *agape* is a more fundamental or foundational concept to provide the framework for justice.[37] In my opinion, *agape* nurtures justice to be more mature and protects it with a moral boundary not to be perverted as destructive vengeance or retaliation.[38]

Second, I evaluate that Wolterstorff's critique of Nygren's agapism is quite legitimate. Nygren notoriously praises *agape* at the expense of other moral values, such as justice and self-love. Here is a salient example.

> Where spontaneous love and generosity are found, the order of justice is *obsolete* and *invalidated*.[39]

Nygren was too much preoccupied with securing the spontaneous nature of *agape*. Yes! It is a pure grace and generosity, but as Wolterstorff points out, it is "*just* generosity."[40] Wolterstorff appropriately criticizes Nygren's *agape* monism.

On the other hand, I find there are at least three flaws in Wolterstorff's arguments: 1) there is no such "modern day agapism"; 2) *agape*, which calls for self-sacrifice, is not unqualified; 3) Care-Agapism is not enough to capture God's self-giving love, specifically Christ's *kenosis*; 4) his liberal concept of justice is not appropriate for bring forth just peace. First, on the one hand, his critique of Nygren's agapism (or love monism) is quite legitimate, but on the other hand, his categorization of modern day agapism is quite *wrong*. From his

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[37] Volf also quotes Gustavo Gutierrez's argument in On Job that "the gratuitousness of God's love is the framework within the requirement of practicing justice is to be located. See Ibid., 220, 224.

[38] Outside the moral boundary (or moral womb) created by agape, there are possibly "self-destructive retaliation," "vengeance," or "individual-oriented right-talk (individual selfishness)." My argument is based on understanding of agape as (meta-) value to provide a unifying perspective that permits an intelligible balance of and/or choice between values. See Jackson, *Love Disconsoled*, 211. I will further explain my argument in the later section.

[39] Emphasis is mine. Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, 90.

[40] However, I do not think that God is motivated by justice. Rather, "the form of God's action" is just. In this sense I quote Wolterstorff's term. See Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love*, 108.

criticism on Nygren, he *hastily* and *inappropriately* generalizes that *all* modern day agapists thinks that *agape* and justice are antithetical to each other. According to Timothy P. Jackson, there are at least four groups of what Wolterstorff calls "modern day agapists":

> [S]ome moderns who extol charity [*agape*] virtually equate it with justice (Simone Weil and Joseph Fletcher); at least one puts it directly at odds with justice (Nygren); at least one sees it as entirely unrelated to justice (Kierkegaard); and still others view it as distinct from but symbiotic with justice (Barth, von Balthasar, Martin Luther King, Jr., Ramsey, and Outka).[41]

There is no such modern day agapism! According to his language of justice, diverse agapists are treated *unjustly* by being lumped into the group of "modern day agapists."

Second, Wolterstorff fails to register that *agape* is not unqualified self-sacrifice. *Agape* opens to and/or calls for self-sacrifice (or self-giving), and it lies at the heart of *agape*. However, self-giving *agape* is not incompatible with self-love. It is distinct from *eros*, *phila*, and self-love, but not antithetical to these forms of love; rather, they grow out of *agape* as its proper fruits.[42] In addition, the woman who does not have any self-love, described by Wolterstorff, takes *unqualified* self-sacrifice. According to Jackson, however, there are at least three criteria on self-sacrifice, which correspond to all three dimensions of ethics: 1) question of character: self-sacrifice should be properly motivated and must be prudent kindness; 2) form of action: self-sacrifice should not be coerced or compelled; and 3) consequence: it has to be constructive, bearing reason for it and doing good.[43] The case of women does not satisfy these criteria, specifically the third criterion; indeed it is destructive, rather than constructive. Hence, women's self-sacrificial love is *malformed* (or perverted) *agape*, which is not *agape*.[44]

I agree with Wolterstorff's position that *agape* incorporates both justice and self-love,

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[41] Timothy P. Jackson, "Justice in Love," Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews: An Electronic Journal (March 16, 2012), http://ndpr.nd.edu/news/29488-ju/ (accessed February 04, 2013).
[42] Jackson, *Love Disconsoled*, 56.
[43] Jackson, *The Priority of Love*, 21-25.
[44] I deliberately use the term "malformed." Wolterstorff himself uses "malformed care" referring to when care fails to secure to treat someone justly. See Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love*, 102.

but I do not agree with his argument that the primary form of *agape* is "care." Since he is concerned to secure justice in *agape*, he uses the term care for defining *agape* rather than benevolence and self-sacrifice. I have no doubt that God's love can be depicted as the form of caring. We, human beings, are cared and nurtured by someone or at least God in order to be a mature moral agent. However, care is not enough to fully capture God's self-giving love, specifically Christ's self-giving on the cross (or *kenosis*).

In his Care-Agapism, God is vulnerable to being wronged by being disobeyed (wronged, in fact).[45] I concur with his assertion of the vulnerability of God. However, my question is that "why does God let Godself to be vulnerable?" His Care-Agapism cannot response to this question. The only answer can be found in God's self-giving (or for Christ, self-sacrificial) love. God *freely* chooses to be vulnerable; God *freely* lets Godself to be vulnerable.[46] God's self-giving love is culminated in the incarnation and suffering of Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ *freely* give himself away on the cross for the world. The priority is given to *self-giving agape*, not *care-agape*. In Plato's *Republic*, the Philosopher king lets himself be vulnerable to being inflicted by prisoners in the cave. However, what the Philosopher king *first* does is to *come down* to the cave. Likewise, when God *first* comes down to us, care can be possible. Therefore, *agape* as self-giving is the first form and the culmination of God's love.[47]

Wolterstorff's concept of justice is primarily based on the liberal tradition which puts an emphasis on securing one's rights or treating him/her with due respect for his/her

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[45] Ibid., 107.

[46] Daniel L. Migliore contends that "God is free to be compassionate toward us, free to become vulnerable for our sake, without ceasing to be God…The suffering of the triune God [or vulnerability of God] is not a sign of helplessness but a promise of the final victory of compassionate *love*." See Daniel L. Migliore, *Faith Seeking Understanding: An Introduction to Christian Theology*, 2nd ed (Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans, 2004), 85–86.

[47] I have been indebted to develop this idea from Timothy P. Jackson's argument of the priority of agape as self-giving in *The Priority of Love*, and discussions with him in the directed study in 2012 fall semester, and Karl Barth's doctrine of reconciliation in *Church Dogmatics*.

worth. This sense of justice plays a certain role to remove injustice in the world, but it is too narrow to resolve the problem of violence. According to Gilligan, people often use violence as a means for achieving the liberal concept of justice.[48] People use violence for getting what they recognize as their due. In addition, when each community tries to secure the liberal justice, it might cause competing justices and often ends up the chaos of violence.[49] In other words, the liberal justice is not enough to resolve the problems of both injustice and violence. In order to bring forth just peace in the world, we need to calls for another form of justice along with *agape*.

Up to this point, I evaluate Wolterstorff's critique of modern day agapism and his Care-Agapism. Even though he is quite right to suggest the harmonious relation between love and justice, his own version of agapism, Care-Agapism, is not enough to 1) fully capture the priority of God's *agape* as self-giving and 2) bring forth just peace. Now, I turn to argue my position on relation between *agape* and justice (and self-love) based on the priority of *agape*.

### 1.4. Nurturing *Agape* and Restorative Justice

As I already discussed, I propose the compatible relation between *agape* and justice (and self-love). However, unlike Wolterstorff, I argue *agape* – unconditional willingness to promote neighbor's well-being indiscriminately, which opens to and/or calls for *self-giving* – as a *metavalue* encompasses justice and self-love. As a metavalue, *agape* is an ultimate and foundational resource of moral insight and power; it admits the genuineness of values, such as justice and freedom, and of other forms of love, such as *eros* and self-love, but has a unique priority over the values and other forms of love.[50]

I follow Jackson's three basic features of *agape*: 1) it is *unconditional* willing to the

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[48] Gilligan, *Violence*, 11–12.
[49] Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace : a Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation / Miroslav Volf.* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1996), 195.
[50] See Jackson, *Love Disconsoled*, 20 and *The Priority of Love*, 10-11.

good for the other, which is suggested by steadfastness of God's covenant with Israel and graciousness of God's gift, Jesus Christ; 2) it is *equal regard* for the well-being of the other, which reflects inclusiveness of Jesus' practice of neighbor-love; 3) it is passionate service open to *self-giving* for the sake of the other, which is exemplified by Christ's *kenosis*.[51] As I already discussed, in order to capture God's self-giving love and Christ's *kenosis*, *agape* has to be primarily defined as a potential and/or calling for unconditional and indiscriminate *self-giving* for the well-being of the other.

As Nygren contends, *agape* is pure grace and a spontaneous gift from God: God *first* love us, so that we can love ourselves and our neighbors. Wolterstorff claims that due to the spontaneity of *agape*, it can become blind to justice and injustice. However, God's spontaneous *agape* satisfies to treat us justly; it treat us with due respect for our basic and intrinsic worth as a human being created by God. If we find our fundamental and intrinsic worth in the Image of God (*Imago Dei*) shared by all human beings, and if we understand God's Image as *sanctity*, "the passive potential for *agape"* rather than *dignity*, God's spontaneous love satisfies our need from our intrinsic worth.[52] Hence, *agape* is spontaneous, but it is not indifferent to justice.

*Agape* does not give up justice and self-love; it is compatible with two concepts. More importantly, *agape* has a unique priority over justice and self-love, it *nurtures* them (other virtues also) to be more mature, but justice and self-love also prevent it from being

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[51] Jackson, *The Priority of Love,* 10-11.

[52] Conventionally, the understanding of God's Image is laid on dignity. Dignity stems from Latin word, *dignitas*. *Dignitas* is a political notion and entails special role or authority. In other words, not everybody have *dignitas*. In this sense, dignity found in personal autonomy is not appropriate for explaining the Image of God. Individual autonomy has the necessary condition – individual rationality. However, God's Image must be shared by all human beings, including those who cannot possess rationality – mentally disordered people, infant, and so on. Thus, dignity as God's Image is not proper. For the understanding of God's Image, "sanctity" is more proper than dignity. It stems from Latin word, *sanctitas*: as a religious notion, it means "*the need or ability to give and/or receive love*." Everybody, including those who do not possess rationality, deserves to be loved by God and other human beings, because all creatures are made in God's Image. Thus, sanctity - "the passive potential for *agape*" – constitutes God's Image. See Jackson, *The Priority of Love*, 67.

malformed.[53] Let's examine this relation in detail with below figure 1.1.

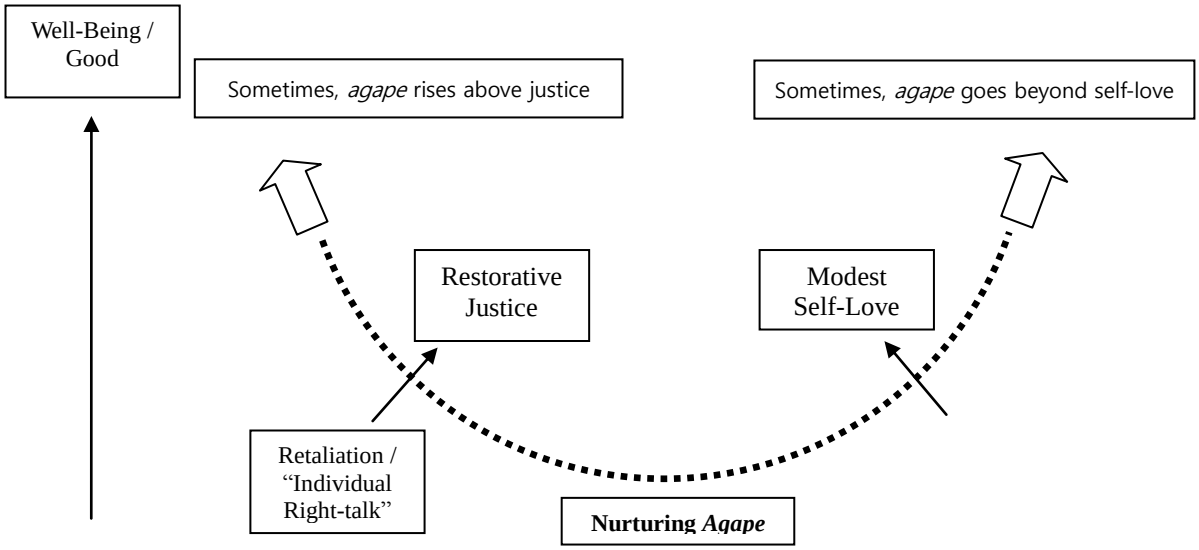


**Figure 1.1. Nurturing *Agape* and Restorative Justice**

As a metavalue (foundational value), self-giving *agape* encompasses justice and self-love with a moral boundary. Under a protection and nourishment from the moral boundary created by *agape*, justice and self-love are nurtured (or transformed) to become more mature forms. *Agape* protects justice and self-love within the moral boundary; outside the moral boundary there are malformed and immature forms of justice and self-love, which decreases well-being of oneself and/or neighbors. In other words, without *agape*, justice falls to destructive retaliation or self-oriented right-talk; without *agape*, self-love is perverted to mere self-indulgence.

As well as the protection in the moral boundary, *agape* nurtures both justice and self-love to be more mature. As the ancient image of *Justitia* – the angelic woman with a blindfold holds scales in her left hands and sword in her right represent – justice has been

[53] According to Timothy P. Jackson, "charity [*agape* as metavalue] *sustains* other values and *schools* other virtues, then but this does not mean that they have no impact on or significance for charity." I use the term *nurture* since it connotes both meanings of sustaining and schooling. See Jackson, *Love Disconsoled*, 24.

conventionally understood as disinterested and impartial fairness.[54] This sense of justice is commonly understood as retribution or reciprocity: "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."[55] However, justice nurtured by *agape* goes beyond mere fairness and strict reciprocity and is transformed to be *relational* and *restorative*. It also goes beyond the liberal from of justice which Wolterstorff has in mind and takes a restorative form. Justice is influenced by *agape*'s virtue and value - unconditional willingness to promote the well-being of others indiscriminately, even up to self-giving; due to *agape*'s nurturing, justice can 1) perceive the indispensable *interdependency* among human beings (or communities) and 2) aim at *restoration* of right relationships with others.[56]

This understanding of compatible relation between self-giving *agape* and justice is based on my reflection on biblical justice in the Old Testament and God's character – both merciful and righteous. Kathryn Tanner argues that biblical scholars commonly claim that justice and righteousness in the Old Testament have to be understood in the context of relationship; specifically, the context of *covenantal relationship* which God establishes with Israelites.[57] In other words, biblical justice in the Old Testament depends on making and maintaining *right relationships* under the covenant which God sets up with the people of Israel: "I will walk among you, and will be your God, and you shall be my people (Leviticus

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[54] Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, 220.

[55] According to Wolterstorff, what Jesus rejects in the second love command is the reciprocity code: "the code of repaying evil with evil." See Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love*, 120-134.

[56] Though *agape* transforms the strict reciprocal/retributive justice into the restorative justice, they are not identical; they have to be distinguished from each other in that *agape* necessarily calls for forgiveness, but restorative justice does not necessarily requires it. The concept of restorative justice resonates with a definition of justice from Howard Zehr, known as the grandfather of restorative justice. Even though he defines a restorative justice in a criminal justice setting, the core goal – restoration of right relationships – resonates with Tanner's understanding of God's justice and righteousness. Zehr defines the goal of restorative justice is healing for victims and of the relationship between victim and offender. Zehr contends "crime is a violation of people and relationships"; "[t]he first goal of [restorative] justice, then, ought to be restitution and healing for victims"; [h]ealing of the relationship between victim and offender should be a second major concern of justice. See Howard Zehr, *Changing lenses: A New Focus For Crime and Justice* (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1990), 181, 186-187.

[57] Tanner's argument is supported by biblical scholars, such as Gerhard Von Rad, Elizabeth Achtemeier, and Hemchand Gossai. See Kathryn Tanner, "Justification and Justice in a Theology of Grace." *Theology Today* 55 (1999): 514.

26:12, NRSV)."

In the light of this biblical justice, in the Old Testament God is depicted as *righteous* (or just) in that God faithfully remains in the covenantal relationship with Israelites. As well as God is righteous, God is *merciful*, and these two characters of God are not antithetical to each other; they are compatible, and God's righteousness grows out of God's mercifulness – God's self-giving *agape*. Tanner argues:

> [I]f righteousness is faithfulness to covenant relations, it can be expressed appropriately in acts of mercy. Yahweh does not break off relations with those who would make the covenant void by violating justice – those who oppress the widow and orphan. Yahweh does not break relations with them as they deserve – Yahweh is merciful. But in being merciful in this way, Yahweh remains righteous in the sense of faithful to the covenant, faithful to God's own intent to be the God of Israel. Such acts of faithfulness on Yahweh's part are, indeed, continuous in character with the acts by which Yahweh initially sets up covenant relations with Israel. At those times, too, God's initiatives towards Israel were undeserved; Yahweh did not set up those relations because of this people's special worthiness for them (see Deut 7:6-8; 9:5-6; 10:14-15). God's righteousness was, then, *from the very beginning an act of mercy*, something that was not owed.[58]

The covenant itself is initiated by God with *unconditional agape*. Under the covenant God is righteous - faithful to covenantal relationships with the whole people of Israel, even including those who oppress the widow and orphan, with *indiscriminate agape*. In other words, God's self-giving *agape* offers the foundational framework for God's righteousness (or justice), and it orients God's righteousness towards making/restoring the right relationships with the people of God.

As Wolterstorff contends that the legitimacy of self-love in the second love command enjoined by Jesus – love your neighbor *as yourself – agape* secures a room for self-love, but self-love is properly nurtured by *agape* not to damage the well-being of others. Such modest self-love in *agape* sometimes bears a possibility to open to self-giving, but it is not necessary (or required), since they are distinctive to each other.

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[58] Ibid., 515.

On the one hand, under the unique priority of *agape* as self-sacrifice, it protects justice and self-love from a danger to perversion into destructive retaliation and self-indulgence and nurtures them to become restorative and modest. On the other hand, justice and self-love are *necessary* and *indispensable* parts in genuine *agape*: 1) without justice, *agape* lapses into injustice – it might gloss over unjust victimization of the powerless (usually women and children) without addressing such injustice under the false name of forgiveness; 2) without self-love, *agape* commits tyranny – it might sustain the woman, who does not have proper self-love, endlessly sacrifices herself. Though *agape* goes beyond what justice and self-love generally demand, they are not antithetical to one another. Indeed, *agape*, justice, and self-love in tandem work together in a harmonious relation under the unique priority of *agape*: it sustains, protects, and nurtures both justice and self-love, and they are indispensable parts of genuine *agape*.

One of the most salient critiques of self-sacrificial *agape* is a feminist criticism. Feminist ethicists/theologians criticize that self-giving *agape* perpetuates women's victimization – serious injustice in the patriarchal society. According to Goldstein, "women's distinct experience fosters a tendency to neglect their own personal development, so they are prone to excessive selflessness."[59] Men can use this disposition of women and take advantage of self-giving *agape* for their justification to victimize and subordinate women. Mary Daly points out an emphasis upon self-abnegation became accepted by women, not by men, which reinforces the abject female situation.[60]

Absolutely we cannot deny the reality of women's victimization in the patriarchal society, I would like to ask, "Is this unqualified self-sacrifice the true *agape*?" The unqualified self-sacrifice compelled by men is the malformed *agape*: it does not conform to

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[59] Barbara Hilkert Andolsen, "Agape in Feminist Ethics," in *Theological Ethics: A Reader*, ed. Lois K. Daly (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 151.
[60] Ibid., 152.

constraints on *agape*. First, if women's self-sacrifice is merely due to their disposition, it is not properly motivated.[61] Second, if men compel women to practice self-sacrifice, it is not consensual. Lastly, if women's self-sacrifice brings about women's victimization, it is definitely not a proper (or good) consequence. Hence, if we pay an attention to these constraints (character of agent, form of action, and consequence) on *agape*, at least conceptually genuine *agape* can be compatible with the victimized women.

However, another feminist critique might follow: "how does self-giving *agape* *practically* address the prevailing problem of malformed *agape* in the reality of women's victimization?" In order to address the problem of unilateral self-sacrifice of women, we have to stress out that *agape* is not merely supererogatory, but indeed *obligatory* upon men as well as women, if they both are loved by God, possibly through others.[62] For men, *agape* is not optional, but is required. If men have taken advantage of unilateral self-sacrifice of women, they should give away what they have gained and benefited from women. What we have to emphasize is that the second love commend enjoined by Jesus is a duty, not an optional philanthropy, of both men and women; it is a *mutual* duty, not unilateral duty putting a burden on women.

If self-giving *agape* is a mutual duty for both men and women, it seems unjust to require forgiveness – the culmination of self-giving *agape* from the victimized women – for the men who have burdened the women with the unilateral duty of self-sacrifice. Yes, it is unjust to obligate *agape* for the victimized women, if they never experience God's unconditional and indiscriminate *agape* directly or through other's love indirectly. God first loves us and then commends *agape*; the moral obligation presupposes God's love toward us, treating us justly with due respect for our intrinsic worth – sanctity – in the image of God

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[61] Women's disposition to prone to self-sacrifice could be *involuntarily* shaped by the dominant culture in the patriarchal society.

[62] Timothy P. Jackson, "Justice in Love," Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews: An Electronic Journal (March 16, 2012), http://ndpr.nd.edu/news/29488-ju/ (accessed February 05, 2013).

shared by all human beings regardless gender, class, race, and economic status. Hence, unless we treat the victimized women justly first according to their intrinsic worth, unless we unconditionally and indiscriminately love them first, we cannot put a burden – *agape* as a moral obligation – on them.

**Conclusion**

Throughout this chapter, I critically examine Wolterstorff's critique of modern day agapism and his Care-Agapism. With his clear attention to securing justice in love, he points out the flaw of Nygren's agapism, love monism. Then, by developing his own agapism, Care-Agapism, he tries to defend the harmonious relation between love and justice: *agape* as care seeks to promote one's life-good with treating him/her justly. At some point, his Care-Agapism is legitimate, and it captures the compatibility of love with justice (and self-love too). However, it fails to grasp the most important from of *agape*: the potential and/or calling for self-giving. The vulnerability of God as the precondition for care is initiated by God's self-giving love and Christ's self-giving on the cross for the whole world (*kenosis*). More importantly, his liberal concept of justice is not enough to resolve the problems of injustice and violence in the world.

Instead of care, I argue that self-giving *agape* as a metavalue encompasses and justice and self-love. Within the moral boundary, *agape* sustains, protects, and nurtures justice and self-love so that they 1) cannot be perverted into the malformed versions and 2) can transform into more mature forms. Justice and self-love also have an impact on *agape*, so *agape* can maintain its proper form; they are necessary parts of *agape*. To sum up, love (*agape*), justice (and self-love) in tandem work together in the harmonious relation.

## CHAPTER 2: RECONCILIATION AS A PROPER END OF THE COMPATIBLE RELATION BETWEEN AGAPE AND JUSTICE

In the first chapter I primarily argue that *agape*[63] – unconditional willingness to promote the well-being of others indiscriminately, which opens to and/or calls for self-giving – is compatible with justice (and self-love). Based on my reflection on the biblical justice, aiming at restoration of right relationships, and God's characters – both merciful and righteous (or just), I argue that *agape* has a unique priority over justice, and it transforms the very value of justice from merely fair or retributional/reciprocal (or the liberal sense of justice) into relational and restorative. Under the priority of *agape* over justice and *agape*'s nurturing justice, *agape* and justice in tandem work together in a harmonious relation.

If *agape* and justice in tandem work together, some questions, then, might follow: 1) for what do they work together? or 2) what can they achieve from their compatible relation? For these questions, I argue that reconciliation is the proper end of such a compatible relation between *agape* and justice. Reconciliation is a concrete form of the harmonious relation between two moral concepts, *agape* and justice.

Hence in this chapter I first define what reconciliation means from a conversation among John W. de Gruchy, Daniel Philpott, and Miroslav Volf. I then argue how *agape* and justice interact with each other for achieving reconciliation: 1) *agape* first secures the foundation and the framework for reconciliation; 2) restorative justice, nurtured by *agape*, actualizes the very content of reconciliation; 3) the right relationship between victims and perpetrators would be restored as the proper end and fruit of mutual interaction between *agape* and justice. Finally, I will explore Volf's construction of the will to embrace-justice/liberation-actual embrace and Philpott's model of mercy-restorative justice-just peace

[63] Throughout Part I, I argue that the primary form of *agape* is self-giving, based on my reflection on God's self-giving love, but *agape* does not exclude a form of care. From this point, when I use the term *agape*, I have self-giving *agape* - unconditional willingness to promote the well-being of others indiscriminately, which opens to and/or calls for self-giving – in my mind.

in order to support my construction of the relation among *agape*, restorative justice, and reconciliation.

### 2.1. Definition of Reconciliation: Restoration of the Right Relationship

Even though John W. de Gruchy, Daniel Philpott, and Miroslav Volf, have their own languages (or terminologies) and specific contexts to define what reconciliation means, they have a shared commitment to *restoration (or healing) of right relationships* among human beings. In the context of post-apartheid and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (below TRC) in South Africa, de Gruchy defines the goal of reconciliation is "interpersonal and social healing and the restoration of humanity."[64] During the apartheid regime in South Africa, the human rights of black inhabitants of South Africa were severely violated by the unjust system of racial segregation, and even brutal violence and massacre, such as the massacre of the Guguleti 7[65], occurred among the apartheid government (so called Afrikaners), the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, and black inhabitants. In such contexts of South Africa, de Gruchy understands reconciliation as a process of healing enmities, reestablishing trust and relationships, and developing a shared commitment to the common good.[66]

Philpott similarly contends the central aim of reconciliation is "the restoration of right relationship" in the broader context of political injustice over the world.[67] Political injustice causes ruptured relationships between political parties (or communities) and diminishes the well-being of those who are involved in that injustice, including victims,

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[64] John W. De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 25.
[65] The massacre of the Guguleti 7 occurred in March, 1986, and from this massacre, seven young men were murdered as terrorists by the secret police. They were armed, but expressed their surrender. However, the secret police killed them and made a false charge of terrorist against them. I found this story from watching the movie "Long Night's Journey into Day" in my class, *Restorative Justice*, lectured by Dr. Elizabeth Bounds, at Candler School of Theology, in Fall 2012.
[66] Ibid., 15.
[67] Daniel Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace: An Ethic of Political Reconciliation*, Studies in Strategic Peacebuilding (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 5.

perpetrators, members of the wider community, and governing institutions of the state.[68] He analyzes two types of wounds of political injustice: 1) primary wounds – the violation of the human rights of victims, harms to the victim's person, victims' ignorance of the source and circumstances of political injustice, lack of acknowledgement of the suffering of victims, the standing victory of the perpetuator's political injustice, and even harm to the perpetrators and 2) secondary wounds – memory, emotions, judgments, and actions.[69] He then argues that reconciliation aims at readdressing of both primary and secondary wounds and restoration of right relationships among political communities.

Volf uses his terminology, *embrace,* as a metaphor for reconciliation. The state of embrace symbolizes restoration of right relationships between the self and the other overcoming enmities against each other. The four elements in the movement of embrace metaphorically capture a process of reconciliation: 1) one opens his/her arms – it creates a space in oneself where reconciliation would take place; 2) the open arms wait before touching the other – the other cannot be coerced to being reconciled with the one, and a mutual commitment to reconciliation is required for both the self and the other; 3) two pairs of arms close for one embrace – the self and the other mutually understand each other and reconstruct the broken relationship over the enmity; 4) the two pairs of arms open again – each party restores a healthy self-identity within the right relationship with each other, and they bear another possibility of reconciliation with others[70] For Volf, the right relationship between the self and the other is based on his theological understanding of the *new covenant* which God has restored on the cross. He argues God restores the covenant which human beings broke by making space for the whole humanity in Godself on the cross with the blood of self-giving;

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[68] Ibid., 31.

[69] Philpott argues that primary wounds cause secondary wounds: it leads to a chain of memories, emotions, judgments, and actions. This chain of secondary wounds takes on a collective form which can 1) sustain an endless cycle of violence – civil wars, international wars, rebellions, and massacres – or 2) hurt the legitimacy of political orders and relations between states. See Ibid., 32-47.

[70] Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace,* 140-145.

the restored covenant can be broken again, but it cannot be undone.[71] This new covenant is God's *embrace* (reconciliation) of the whole humanity who ruptures the covenantal relationship, and this new covenant provides us with the foundation and framework for our social relationships with others toward *embracing* (reconciling) one another beyond the conditions of enmity.[72] In short, Volf understands reconciliation as renewing a social covenant, established by God's new covenant, among human beings.

J. de Gruchy, Philpott, and Volf have a shared understanding of reconciliation as restoring the right relationships among parties (or communities). This concept of reconciliation presupposes ongoing conflict between parties, which causes violence and violation of human rights (in de Gruchy's case), political injustice and primary/secondary wounds (in Philpott's case), and enmity and alienation (in Volf's case). Under the conflict situation resulting in vicious and toxic consequences, there are victims and perpetrators, though one group can be both victims and perpetrators simultaneously. Reconciliation aims at reconstructing the right relationships between victims and perpetrators beyond the conditions of conflict and against destructive violence and hatred.

With the consensus among three scholars on the aim/meaning of reconciliation, I now move to argue how *agape* and justice interact in order to achieve reconciliation as a proper fruit of the compatible relation between two moral concepts, given the priority of nurturing *agape*.

### 2.2. *Agape* and Justice in Harmony toward Reconciliation

In the first chapter I argued *agape* has an unique priority over justice in that it provides justice with the framework – the moral boundary – so that justice cannot be

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[71] Volf's understanding of the new covenant can be summed up three key elements: 1) "the readjustment of complementary identities" – making a space in oneself for the other – 2) "the repairing of the covenant even by those who have not broken it" – entailing self-giving, even self-sacrifice – and 3) "the refusal to let the covenant ever be undone" – "the eternality of the covenant." See Ibid., 153-156.

[72] Ibid., 156.

degraded into a forms of destructive retaliation/vengeance or self-interested advocate of individual rights. Within the moral boundary, further, justice is influenced by agape's virtue and value: unconditional willingness to promoting the well-being of others indiscriminately, entailing the potential/calls for self-giving. *Agape* nurtures justice, so that it 1) goes beyond mere securing one's rights with due respect for one's worth, 2) acknowledges an irrevocable relational web among human beings with considering *other*'s right, even the rights of perpetrators of injustice, and 3) finally aims at *making (sometimes, restoring) the right relationships* with others. If *agape* transforms the very character and content of justice from merely fair and reciprocal into relational and restorative, justice also plays an indispensible and necessary role to secure genuine agape: it secures *agape* not to lapse into injustice. In short, *agape* and justice share a *common* moral vision toward making/restoring the right relationships among human beings and work together in order to achieve that vision within harmonious and mutual relation.

Based on the previous definition of reconciliation – restoring the right relationship between the victims and the perpetrators against the condition of conflict causing destructive violence and hatred, *agape* first secures the foundation which reconciliation between two parties can take place. *Agape* then shapes the direction and content of justice towards restoring the right relationship, which was broken by the perpetrators of injustice, with paying attention to securing victims' rights as well as perpetrators' rights as a fellow human being. Finally, *agape* and justice collaborate with each other in the process of reconciliation: 1) without *agape*, we cannot image the *interrelationship* between victims and perpetrators; 2) without justice, we cannot achieve the *right* relationships. Though these two virtues work together toward reconciliation, we have to note that they are distinctive in that *agape* has a priority over justice and sometimes goes beyond what (restorative) justice demands,

concerning a requirement of forgiveness in the process of reconciliation.[73] *Agape* and justice are distinctive, but work together in order to restore the right relationships between the victims and perpetrators. In other words, reconciliation is a concrete form and proper fruit of the compatible relation between *agape* and justice in ongoing conflict situation.

My understanding of relation among *agape*, justice, and reconciliation define 1) *agape* as the foundation with the moral boundary, 2) restorative justice as the very content of reconciliation, and 3) reconciliation as the proper fruit of both *agape* and justice. This structure of *agape*-restorative justice-reconciliation resonates with 1) Volf's construction of will to embrace-liberation/justice-actual embrace and 2) Philpot's structure of mercy-restorative justice-just peace. I now turn to respectively explore each scholar's construction of relation among *agape*, justice, and reconciliation.

### 2.2.1. Volf's Model: Will to Embrace-Liberation/Justice-Actual Embrace\

Volf's model of reconciliation is constructed by three steps: 1) will to embrace, 2) struggle for justice (or liberation), and 3) actual embrace. Each step respectively corresponds to my model of reconciliation: *agape*-restorative justice-reconciliation (Please see below figure 2). Volf first sets up the precedence of the will to embrace over struggling for justice. From his interpretation of the Pauline version of Christian faith, he contends that God's grace has priority over justice, but grace does not trump justice by affirming justice in the act of transcending it.[74] As well as a theological aspect, his reflection on competing justices of communities in the real world contributes to his call for the priority of the will to embrace over justice. He points out the issue of clashing justices – justice of Serbs vs. justice of Croats

[73] I strongly note that agape's priority over justice does *not* mean its moral superiority over justice. In my opinion, restorative justice nurtured by *agape encourages* victims' forgiveness of the perpetrators of injustice in order to restore the right relationships between two parties, but it is not required. However, forgiveness is the culmination of *agape*, and sometimes *agape* requires it, specifically in the *full* process of reconciliation. I will argue further my position later in the part of my reflection on Philpott's understanding of mercy-restorative justice-reconciliation.

[74] Volf, "The Social Meaning of Reconciliation," 169.

– which leads to the chaos of violence – the Serbo-Croatian War, and in order to reach agreement on justice, the will to embrace has to be presupposed.[75]

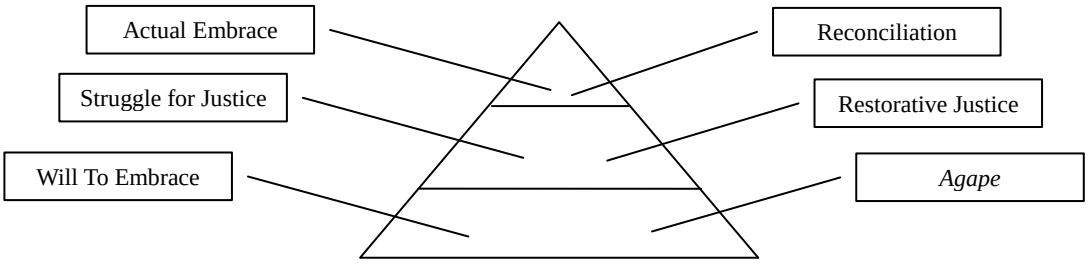


**Figure 2.1. Will to Embrace-Liberation/Justice-Actual Embrace Model**

In the light of God's unconditional and universal love to embrace the whole humanity by making a space in Godself on the cross with the blood of self-giving, Volf defines the characters of the will to embrace as *unconditional* and *indiscriminate*. His understanding of the will to embrace resonates with my understanding of *agape*: *unconditional* willingness to promote the well-being of others *indiscriminately*, which opens to and/or calls for *self-giving.* Given the priority of the unconditional and indiscriminate will to embrace, Volf argues that the will to embrace is the *framework* for the pursuit of justice (or liberation).[76] Likewise I contend *agape* secures the *foundation* with the moral boundary within which restorative justice and reconciliation can take place.

Volf stresses the importance of struggling for justice in the process of reconciliation. He distinguishes actual embrace from the will to embrace. Actual embrace – reconciliation – can take place *only* when the truth about transgressions between people has been expressed and justice is established: "without the commitment to justice within the overarching framework of love [the will to embrace], the pursuit of reconciliation will be perverted into

[75] Volf, *Exclusion and embrace*, 193–197.
[76] Volf, "The Social Meaning of Reconciliation," 171.

mere *pacification*, into the perpetuation of *oppression*."[77] For Volf, establishing justice means to rectify the wrongs which have been committed and reshaping the right relationship between people according to what they agree on to be true and just.[78] As we discussed above, Volf's understanding of the right relationship is based on the new covenant which God restored on the cross. His notion of justice resonates with my concept of restorative justice aiming at restoring the right relationships between perpetrators and victims. In addition, as Volf contends that truth and justice are *preconditions* of the actual embrace – reconciliation[79], I argue that restorative justice is the *indispensible content* of reconciliation.

Finally, Volf contends that the actual embrace is the *goal* of the struggle for justice (or liberation); the struggle for justice, however, has to be situated within the overarching framework of the will to embrace.[80] In other words, the will to embrace and the struggle for justice collaborate with each other in order to achieve the actual embrace. Likewise I contend with the foundation of *agape* with the moral boundary, *agape* and restorative justice work together for the shared moral vision of restoring the right relationship between victims and perpetrators as the end.

Up to this point, I argue my construction of *agape*-restorative justice-reconciliation can be supported by Volf's construction of reconciliation, will to embrace-justice/liberation-actual embrace. I now move to explore Philpott's construction of mercy-restorative justice-just peace comparing to my *agape*-restorative justice-reconciliation model.

### 2.2.2. Philpott's Model: Mercy-Restorative Justice-Just Peace

In the process of reconciliation, Philpott constructs the mercy-restorative justice

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[77] Emphasis is mine. See Ibid.

[78] In his article, *The Social Meaning of Reconciliation*, Volf does not mention about making agreement between competing justices of each community. However, in his book, *Exclusion and Embrace*, he concerns about the agreement of competing justices, and situate this mission in the framework of the will to embrace. See Volf, "The Social Meaning of Reconciliation," 171; Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, 220-225.

[79] Volf, "The Social Meaning of Reconciliation," 171.

[80] Ibid.

(with six practices)-just peace model. I analyze his model with using an analogy of tree of reconciliation. (Please see figure 2.2.)

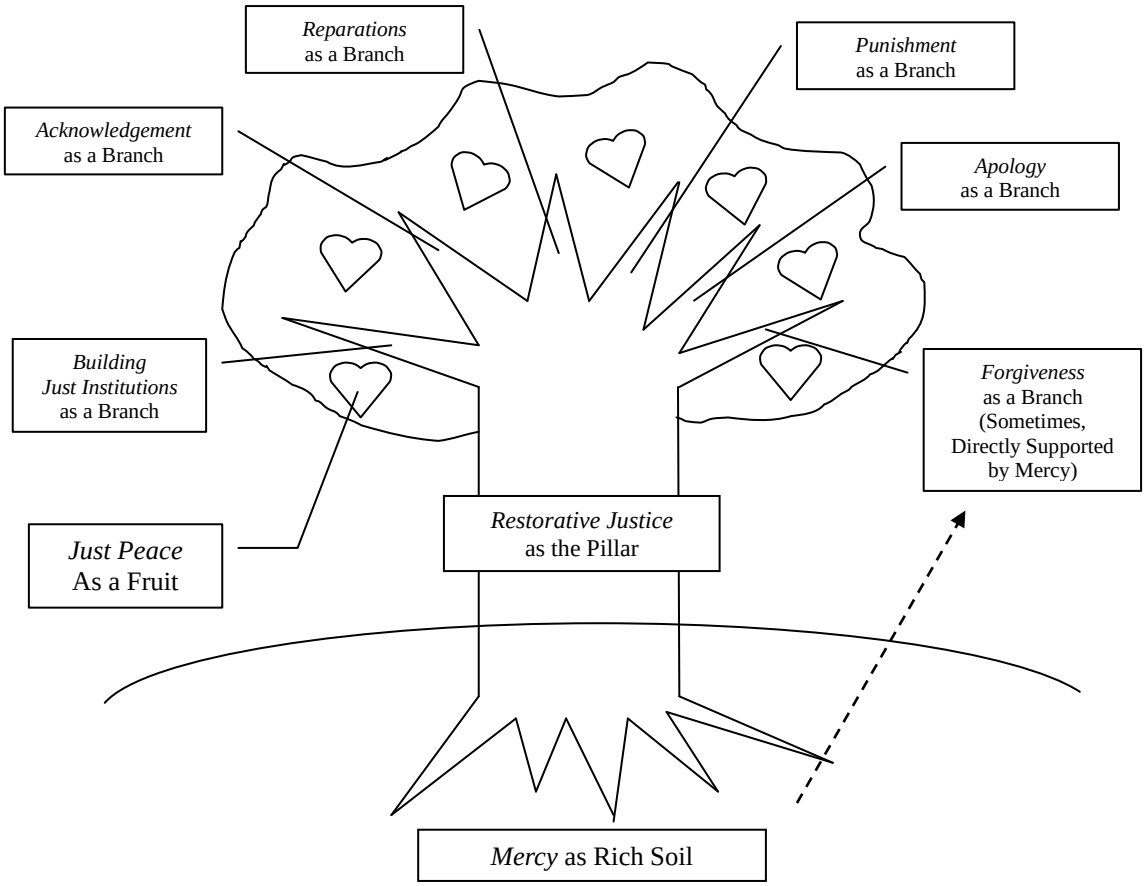


**Figure 2.2 Tree of Reconciliation: Mercy-Restorative Justice-Just Peace Model**

Philpott defines mercy as "a will to relieve the misery, grief, sorrow, or distress of another as end itself" and designate it as "the cardinal virtue" running through the whole process of reconciliation.[81] He points out that mercy seeks to *restore* the ruptured relationships which are caused by political injustices.[82] His understanding of mercy is based on his reflection on several religious traditions. One of them is the Christian tradition, and he argues that God's mercy is God's refusal to break off covenantal relationships with people of

[81] Daniel Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 63.
[82] Ibid.

God, as they deserve, but is also God's will to restore the right relationship with them.[83] He recognizes that the very character of mercy is seeking restoration, so he contends that "it *animates* all of the practices of reconciliation." Within the analogy of tree of reconciliation, mercy serves as rich *soil* to provide each part of the tree of reconciliation – the pillar of restorative justice and the branches of practices – with the fundamental nourishment, so that they can yield healthy fruits of just peace. In my terminology, *agape* as the fundamental foundation nurtures justice with the moral boundary toward the restoration of the right relationships among human beings.[84]

For Philpott, restorative justice, which describes "right conduct" and "the right response to wrong conduct," means "a comprehensive restoration of relationship", which is the very content of reconciliation.[85] Restorative justice animated by mercy does not negates classical Western concept of justice as "the will to render each person what is his/her due," but rather pursues something *wider* and more *holistic* by both 1) respecting one's rights and 2) readdressing additional wounds and harms (or the secondary wounds).[86] In order to achieve the full reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, Philpott suggests six practices of restorative justice readdressing both primary and secondary wounds caused by political injustices: 1) building socially just institutions and relations between states, 2) acknowledgement, 3) reparations, 4) punishment, 5) apology, and 6) forgiveness.[87] According to the analogy of tree, if mercy represents the soil, restorative justice play a role as the *pillar* to undergird the whole tree of reconciliation. Each practice of restorative justice serves as a *branch* of the tree growing from the pillar. As a tree can never yield actual fruits

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[83] Ibid., 139.
[84] Even though Philpott does not use the terms, such as unconditional or indiscriminate, to refer to mercy, there are many similarities between mercy and *agape*: 1) they both are the will to promote other's well-being as an end itself; 2) they both serves as the fundamental source toward reconciliation.
[85] Ibid., 53.
[86] Ibid., 68-69.
[87] Ibid., 4.

without a pillar and branches, the pillar of restorative justice with branches of its practices practically yield the healthy fruits of just peace.

In my construction of reconciliation, my understanding of restorative justice nurtured by *agape* resonates with Philpott's concept of justice animated by mercy. However, I do not agree with his equation of restorative justice with reconciliation. They are similar in that they have the shared vision of restoring the right relationship, but they are distinctive in the light of requirement of forgiveness. As Philpott contends:

> Measures through which members of the community and, if possible, the offender recognize and acknowledge the suffering of victims *ought to* be adopted. Victims *ought to* receive reparations. Punishment *ought to* be oriented toward repairing the specific kind of breach that occurred between victim and offender. Offender *ought to* be encouraged to hear and learn about the hardship that they caused victims and to apologize. Victims *may* respond with forgiveness.[88]

Restorative justice may encourage forgiveness, but never requires it. Only *agape* (mercy for Philpott) sometimes goes beyond what justice (even restorative justice) demands. Within the analogy of the tree, sometimes the branch of forgiveness is directly supported by the soil of mercy for the full process of reconciliation. Hence, defining reconciliation as the collaboration of restorative justice and *agape* is more precise than as restorative justice alone.

If mercy animates the whole process of reconciliation and restorative justice practically realizes it, Philpot defines the state of being reconciled (of restoring the right relationship) as just peace.[89] In other words, just peace is the end of reconciliation and the desirable outcome of the cooperation between two virtues, mercy and restorative justice. According to the analogy of tree, what the tree of reconciliation yields through the branches and the pillar of restorative justice, nourished by the soil of mercy, are the *fruits* of just peace. In my language, restoration of the right relationship – reconciliation – is the proper end and achievement of the compatible relation between *agape* and restorative justice. As restorative

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[88] Ibid., 66.
[89] Ibid., 63.

justice is wider and holistic than justice of liberalism, just peace achieves much broader restoration than liberal peace. The liberal peace's stress on rights could restore the deprived rights of victims, but just peace's vision of the right relationship enables to heal both the primary and secondary wounds of victims and even the wounds of perpetrators.[90]

**Conclusion**

From what I discussed above, we can find a consensus on the relation among *agape*, justice, and reconciliation. In the pursuit of reconciliation, *agape* and justice work together with the common vision of restoration of the right relationship. *Agape* first secures the foundation and framework in which reconciliation can take place. Restorative Justice nurtured by *agape* realizes the very content of reconciliation. Finally, as the proper end and fruit of cooperation of *agape* and justice the right relationship between victims and perpetrators is restored.

When we strive for reconciliation, we need both *agape* and justice. To be specific, we need the mutual cooperation between two with the precedence of *agape* over justice in the pursuit of restoring the right relationship between victims and perpetrators. A concrete form of this compatible and mutual relation between two is reconciliation. In other words, *agape* and justice could be *incarnated* through the form of reconciliation.

[90] Ibid., 72.

## CHAPTER 3: THEOLOGICALAND SOCIAL MEANINGS OF RECONCILIATIN IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION

Throughout the first and second chapters, I primarily develop a theory of reconciliation in light of the compatible relation between *agape* and justice. These two chapters are intended to provide the Korean church with a sound understanding of reconciliation and its structure based on *agape* and justice. The third chapter aims at motivating the Korean church to become an agent of reconciliation between "comfort women" and Japanese government. In order to accomplish this goal, I will explore theological and social meanings of reconciliation in Christian tradition. Through this chapter I will give the Korean church rationale for why it has to play a role of mediator to facilitate the process of reconciliation.

This work is very crucial since theological languages of reconciliation and its social implications have not been respected in the Korea church. Due to the evangelical zeal, the Korean church has been preoccupied with a doctrine of sin and atonement.[91] A theological meaning of reconciliation – God's reconciliation to the humanity – could be respected in terms of the salvation through the atonement. However, a social meaning of reconciliation is significantly absent in the Korean church. Before moving to developing practices of reconciliation, hence, I have to manage the Korean church's scantiness of theological and social meaning of reconciliation. This chapter would serve as a great segue from a theory part to a practice part.

In this chapter I first explore theological and social meanings of reconciliation in the legacy from Christology and Ecclesiology of Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Both two Protestant theologians developed rich theological languages of reconciliation through their

[91] In my opinion, throughout the history of the Korean church, the central ministry has been a conversion-oriented evangelism. Due to this evangelical zeal, the Korean church puts an emphasis on a sinful human nature and necessity of the salvation of sinners through the atonement.

Christology and offered us social implications through their Ecclesiology. I then present theological and social meanings of reconciliation in the Pauline theology through Miroslav Volf's article, *The Social Meaning of Reconciliation*, and John Paul Lederach's book, *The Journey Toward Reconciliation.*

### 3.1. Theological/Social Meaning of Reconciliation in Christology and Ecclesiology

In his doctrine of reconciliation, Karl Barth contends that through Jesus Christ, God reconciles the world with Godself and the world is reconciled with God.[92] In other words, Jesus Christ is *the Mediator* and *Reconciler* between God and the world. Barth argues three Christological aspects in the doctrine of reconciliation. His argument articulates the person (or nature) and work (reconciliation) of Jesus Christ at the same time.

First, Barth contends that Jesus Christ is *very God*; Jesus Christ as true God actively initiates and intervenes the reconciliation of the world with God by becoming a human being.[93] Since Jesus Christ becomes a human being, God can exert the divine and sovereign act of reconciling grace to all humans. God freely crosses a yawning abyss between God and creatures, caused by sin, and make peace with us through Jesus Christ who becomes one of us.[94]

Second, Barth insists that Jesus Christ is a *true human being*; Jesus Christ as a true human being becomes the new being reconciled with God and exalted above his creatureliness.[95] Barth contends:

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[92] The basic premise in the doctrine of reconciliation, sin of humans is real and it causes a breach of the covenant which as such contradicts God and stands under God's contradiction. See Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics: The Doctrine of Reconciliation*, vol. IV/1. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1961), 140. Reconciliation means re-establishment (or *restoration*) of the broken covenant between God and humans. However, it should not be understood as a legal contract, but restoring relationship between God and humans.

[93] Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, VI/1, 128.

[94] Ibid., 82-83

[95] Ibid., 131.

> As God He [Jesus] was humbled to take our place, and as man He is exalted *on our behalf*. He is set at the side of God in the humanity which is ours. He is above us and opposed to us, but He is also *for* us. [96]

Jesus Christ is our *representative* to be exalted above his creatureliness; he secures the path of reconciliation for the world. In him, we, all human beings, can be exalted by God and convert to God: with a verdict of God on human beings through Jesus Christ, God declares that we are no longer the covenant-breaker, but God calls us as a covenant-partner, a faithful servant of God, God's recognized friend, and well-loved child.[97]

Finally, Barth declares that Jesus Christ is the very "God-man"; as the God who humbles Godself and therefore reconciles all human beings with Godself, and as the man exalted by God and therefore reconciled with God, as the One who is very God and very man in this concrete sense, Jesus Christ himself is *one*: "He [Jesus] Himself, His existence, is this reconciliation. He Himself is the Mediator and pledge of the covenant. He is the Mediator of it in that He fulfils it – from God to man and from man to God."[98]

Then Barth explains the nature and mission of the church in the light of the person and salvific work of Jesus Christ. First, the very God, Jesus Christ, freely crosses the abyss of sin which separates the world from God, and forgives the sin of the world. By the divine verdict to forgive our sins through Jesus Christ, we are justified and become a *new humanity* who is reconciled with God; this new humanity forms a *new fellowship*, called the apostolate, the disciples, the community, the Church.[99]

Second, a true human being, Jesus Christ, who is exalted by God as a representative of the church, secures the path of *sanctification* for the church. Through the works of the Holy Spirit as the life-giving power, each member of the community builds up one another.

Finally, the very God-man, Jesus Christ, who exists as the Guarantor of the truth of

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[96] Emphasis is mine. Ibid., 131-132.
[97] Ibid., 93-94.
[98] Ibid., 135-136.
[99] Ibid., 151.

the reconciliation made in him, grant the divine promise to the church; when the promise is heard by the church, the community is sent out as a *witness* in the world and to the world.[100] The church is not the end in itself, but it stands *vicariously* for the whole world.[101]

According to Barth, the identity of the church can be found in God's grand plan of reconciliation of the world: the church is the community of reconciled beings. The mission of the church has two directions: 1) inwardly, each member of the church builds up together, and makes the church the place of reconciliation among members[102]; 2) outwardly, as Jesus Christ *vicariously* dies on the cross for the reconciliation of the world, the church *vicariously* witnesses Christ's reconciliation in the world. In this sense, the church stands as an agent of reconciliation for the world of injustice and violence.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer also understands that God reconciles the world with Godself in Christ, specifically through the "*vicarious representative* action (*Stellvertretung*) of Christ."[103] Through Christ's vicarious representative action, a *new humanity*, *sanctorum communio*, is realized as part of act of reconciliation; in other words, the church's life is founded by Christ's vicarious action of reconciliation.[104] Inwardly each member of the church imitates Christ's vicarious action of reconciliation for one another, so they form a "community of love" (Liebesgemeinshaft); outwardly the community of love embraces and unites in one body Jew and Gentile, male and female, slave and mater.[105] In other worlds, for

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[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] This understanding of the church as the place of reconciliation among the congregation is also based on the Scripture. Ephesians church suffered from the wall of hospitality between Jews and Gentile. Paul interprets that the cross of Christ (or the blood of Christ) reconciles both groups to God in one body. See Ephesians 2:13-16 (NRSV). [13]But now in Christ Jesus you who once were far off have been brought near by the blood of Christ.[14]For he is our peace; in his flesh he has made both groups into one and has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us.[15]He has abolished the law with its commandments and ordinances, so that he might create in himself one new humanity in place of the two, thus making peace,[16]and might reconcile both groups to God in one body through the cross, thus putting to death that hostility through it.
[103] De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 92.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., 93.

Bonhoeffer the church is "the cell or spore (Keimzelle) of reconciliation in the world."[106]

### 3.2. Theological/Social Meaning of Reconciliation in Pauline Theology

If Barth and Bonhoeffer developed theological and social meanings of reconciliation in the Christology and ecclesiology, Volf and Lederach explored them in Apostle Paul's theology of reconciliation. Volf argues two dimensions of reconciliation in Paul's personal life: a vertical – between God and him – and a horizontal – between him and other people, specifically early Christians.[107] First, Volf explores the vertical dimension of reconciliation in Paul's encounter with the resurrected Christ on the way of Damascus. Paul was an enemy of God who persecuted followers of Jesus (he identifies himself with an enemy of God in Rom 1:5), but God reconciled him with Godself in an act of God's love (or grace) beyond the pursuit of strict justice and against his enmity toward God.[108] The reconciliation between God and Paul was not *cheap reconciliation* which glosses over the reality of injustice; rather, the risen Christ named and resisted the injustice: "Why? Saul, Saul, why do you *persecute* me? (Acts 9:4)."[109] Though God acknowledged Paul's wrongdoing, God did not respond to it with the strict punishment, but restoration of the broken relationship between God and him. His personal experience of God's reconciling grace – the vertical dimension of reconciliation – provided him with the framework to understand the meaning of Christ's death on the cross: "For if while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more surely, having been reconciled, will be saved by his life" (Roman 5:10, NRSV).

The reconciliation between God and Paul intrinsically led to the reconciliation between him and early Christians whom he perpetrated injustice on. In Paul's former life, enmity toward God resulted in enmity toward other human beings: "Saul was ravaging the

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[106] Ibid.
[107] Volf, "The Social Meaning of Reconciliation," 166.
[108] Ibid., 165–166.
[109] Ibid., 166.

church by entering house after house; dragging off both men and women, he committed them to prison" (Acts 8:3, NRSV).[110] On the other hand, Paul was reconciled to God beyond enmity toward God and transformed from an enemy of God to a servant of Christ whom God has chosen to proclaim the good news of God's reconciliation to Gentiles.[111] Likewise, Paul the persecutor of the Church was reconciled (received) by the early Christian community which he had persecuted and became a builder of community of love beyond the dividing wall between Jews and Gentiles.[112] In other words, in Paul's life and theology reconciliation involves both vertical and horizontal dimensions: being reconciled to God intrinsically calls for being reconciled among human beings (or communities).

As well as Volf, Lederach explores theological and social meanings of reconciliation in the Pauline vision of Christ. He contends that Jesus' death on the cross – an act of atonement – can be understood as "a personal, social, and political process [journey] of reconciliation and healing" rather than a sacrifice which satisfies an individual debt of sin.[113] He points out the hatred between Jews and Gentiles in the Ephesian church; two groups have been divided and estranged by the dividing wall of hospitality (Eph 2:13-14). Through the death on the cross, however, those who once were enemies are reconciled in one new humanity in Christ; Christ' atonement is about "a dynamic group process, a journey where real enemies with deep hostilities are reconciled."[114] He then stresses Christ as a person who shows "his persistent movement toward people" in his life and "through whom new relationships are formed" on the cross.[115] As Paul depicts in Ephesian 2, Christ himself

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[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid. Paul's idea of building the community of love is well testified in 1 Corinthians 13 and his practical ministry of building that community can be found in Ephesians 2.
[113] John Paul Lederach, *The Journey Toward Reconciliation* (Scottdale, Pa: Herald Press, 1999), 162.
[114] Ibid., 163.
[115] Ibid., 164.

became as a place of reconciling love where two alienated groups, Jews and Gentiles, meet and make a new relationship of peace.

From this example of Jesus, Lederach highlights a necessity of agent who dares to "risk the journey to relate across the social divides" and to "reach across the lines of hostility."[116] According to him, the agency of restoring the right relationship between alienated groups is the *mission* of both God and Christians in the Pauline vision: "All this is from God, who reconciled us to himself [Godself] through Christ, and has given us the ministry of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5:18, NRSV).[117] In the Pauline theology, the mission of Church is about 1) facing divisions and enmity, 2) restoring the right relationship with God and other human beings, and 3) joining God's mission of reconciliation by building bridges and breaking down the dividing walls of hostility between alienated groups.[118] Lederach contends that the journey toward reconciliation lies at the heart of the gospel, God's work in history and the life of the Church in the world.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, we found the richness of theological languages of reconciliation in Christian tradition. Both Barth and Bonhoeffer put Christ's representative action of reconciliation into the core of their Christology. They understand the nature and mission of the church in the light of Christ's vicarious action in God's grand plan of reconciliation of the world. The church as a new and reconciled community exists vicariously in the world for the sake of restoring justice, reconciliation and peace.[119] Volf argues both vertical and horizontal dimensions of reconciliation in Paul's life and theology and calls for reconciliation among human beings as well as reconciliation with God. Lederach points out a new meaning of the

[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid., 166.
[118] Ibid.
[119] De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 94.

life and death of Christ – making a new relationship between alienated groups – in the Pauline vision and defines the central mission of the Church – the ministry of reconciliation. Indeed, we can find the rich legacy of theological accounts on reconciliation in Christian tradition, and it will serves as a great resource to inform the Korean church and to persuade it resuming the ministry of reconciliation for alienated groups which have been divided by injustice and violence.

## CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL CONTET OF "COMFORT WOMEN"

As I stated in the introduction, the first section is designed 1) to provide the Korean church with a strong and sound theory of reconciliation in light of the compatible relation between *agape* and justice and 2) to persuade it to become an agent of reconciliation to facilitate the process of reconciliation between "comfort women" and Japanese government from the theological and social meanings of reconciliation in Christian tradition. Now I turn to develop concrete practices, based on my theoretical construction of *agape*-restorative justice-reconciliation, for empowering the Korean church as the agent of reconciliation.

In order to develop relevant practices, we have to carefully examine the issue of "comfort women."[120] Hence, in this section I will first describe the critical issue – a matter of coercive mobilization – to cause the conflict between "comfort women" and Japanese government. I then create a place to listen to experiences and voices of "comfort women" in Korean society in order to point out their complicated victimization from "convergence of sexism, classism, racism, colonialism, militarism, and capitalist imperialism."[121] Indeed, their victimization does not only come from Japan's war crime, but also patriarchal and economic oppression in Korean society under the colonialism of Japan.[122] In this section I explain their experience in terms of a Korean terminology, *Han* – the existential state of suppressed pain generated by unjust social, political, economic, and cultural oppression.[123] I will describe their *Han* from being born as a daughter in the Korean patriarchal family under the colonialism, which affected to produce their tragedy, coupled with Japan's racism and

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[120] "The term 'comfort women', an English translation of the Japanese euphemism *ianfu*, refers to the tens of thousands (between 50,000 and 200,000) of young girls and women of diverse ethnic and national backgrounds (the great majority of them are Korean women) who were coerced into sexual servitude during the Asia Pacific War that began with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and ended with Japan's defeat in 1945." See C. Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women*, xiii. "Comfort women" were transferred to a comfort station in a battle field (mostly in the area of Manchuria) where their human rights were viciously violated during World War II.

[121] Ibid., xiii.

[122] My intension is *not* giving justification of Japan's war crime, but pointing out the Korean society's *responsibility* to cause their victimization in the colonial era and to sustain it in the postwar/postcolonial era.

[123] Andrew Sung Park, "Sin and Han--The Pain of a Victim," *Living Pulpit* 8, no. 4 (O-D 1999): 22.

militarism. Finally, I will depict their *Han* from living as a surviving "comfort women" in the postwar/postcolonial period in Korean society.

### 4.1. The Critical Issue: Forced Mobilization or Consenting Prostitute?

The crucial issue to generate the conflict between "comfort women" and Japanese government is the matter of coerciveness. According to testimonies of Lee Young Su, Kim Kun Ja, and Jan O'Herne (the Dutch-born woman), recruitment methods for "comfort women" can be divided into three categories: 1) Japanese agents (or sometimes Korean agents) deceptively recruited young women alluring them with promise of making money and receiving education (the case of Lee Young Su); 2) they were sold to a trafficker by their (Korean) father (the case of Km Kun Ja); and 3) they were forcibly mobilized into the military comfort station (the case of Jan O'Herne).[124] From these methods, we cannot find any *consent* of women to become "comfort women": they were deceived, sold, or mobilized.

On the other hand, in April 1991 the Japanese government officially denied the charge of war crime and a request of apology from the South Korean women's organizations with the reason that there is no official evidence of the forced draft of Korean women as "comfort women."[125] However, shortly after Japanese government's official denial, in January 11, 1992, *Asahi Shimbun*'s report on Yoshimi's discovery of official documents to support the forced mobilization triggered a humanitarian movement for "comfort women" around progressive leaders of civil society in Japan and in the world.[126] Against progressive

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[124] Some of Korean "comfort women" were forcefully drafted as the Women's Volunteer Labor Corps (in Korean, *chongshindae* and in Japanese, *teshintai*) – a group of women to support efforts in aircraft manufacturing and other war-related industries – but indeed forced to become "comfort women" without any choice. For the description of the Women's Volunteer Labor Corps, see Soh, *The Comfort Women*, 18-20.

[125] Ibid., 63.

[126] After this report, several international movements are followed: 1) the International Public Hearing Concerning Japan's Postwar Compensation where Ruff-O'Herne gave her testimony of being forcefully drafted to the military comfort station and 2) the Japan's War Responsibility Committee's reports to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and 3) A Democratic congressman Mike Honda's submission to the House Committee on Foreign Relations requesting Japan to formally apologize and accept historical responsibility for its coercion of young women into sexual slavery. See Ibid., 63-67.

leaders in Japan, some conservative leaders, including the Japanese Prime Minister, have continually denied the forceful recruitment." In March 1, 2007, the Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo again officially rejected the charge of coercive recruitment of "comfort women."[127] Rather, conservatives (ruling party politicians and historians) contend the comfort system during World War II was a form of licensed prostitution, not sexual slavery.[128]

Such a significant chasm between "comfort women" and Japanese government (or conservatives in Japan) concerning the matter of coercive recruitment has sustained the conflict between the two. From the Japanese government's denial of acknowledgement and apology, they have been inflicted by their unjust treatment as those who consent to become a prostitute for making money. Their pain and suffering has been continued by the past Japanese empire and present Japanese government.

### 4.2. Comfort Women's *Han* in Korean Society

The forced system of "comfort women" was the horrible war crime of Japan during World War II, and their pain and wound has been sustained the Japanese government's official denial of acknowledgement, apology, and reparation. However, we have to point out that Japan is not the sole player to produce this injustice. Korea also has a responsibility for causing and sustaining the injustice: 1) patriarchal and economic oppression in Korean society under the colonialism drove young women into the injustice; 2) social indifference and marginalization from Korean society in the postwar/postcolonial period have sustained their pain and trauma. I name their pain and wound from social, cultural, and economic oppression in Korean society as *Han.* According to Andrew Sung Park, "when the suffering of a victim reaches the maximum limit, it implodes and collapses into a compressed core of

[127] Ibid., 67.
[128] Ibid., 68.

pain as *Han*."[129] *Han* is extremely suppressed and compressed, so it is rarely expressed: a *Han*-ridden person is deprived of means to raise his/her voice. In other words, one of significant features of *Han* is its *voicelessness*.

Hence, in this chapter I will create a space to listen to *Han* of "comfort women" breaking its voicelessness. Their *Han* originated from being born as a daughter in the Korean patriarchal family under the colonialism, and it has been sustained by living as the marginalized from Korean society after World War II and the colonialism ended.

### 4.2.1. *Han* from Being Born as a Daughter in the Korean Family

When we hear testimonies of "comfort women", we can find that they themselves often use the term *Han* in order to express their bitterness and pain from patriarchal and economic oppression in the Korean family. Mun Pil Gi, who was at a military comfort station in Manchuria in late 1943 – 1945, testifies her *Han* from being deprived of right to receive education by her father.

> The one thing that stands out my childhood memories is my fervent desire to go to school and study. My father, however, was adamantly opposed to the idea of a girl studying, saying that educated girls turn into foxes. When I was nine years old, my mother secretly sold a bag of rice to provide tuition for my enrollment at a primary school. My father found out within a week that I was attending school despite his injunction. He dragged me out of the classroom and burned all my books. His anger did not subside with that. He beat me severely and threw me out of the house…I was allowed to return home only after I promised that I would never go to school again. I harbored *Han* for being unable to receive any education…I believe I could have been able to study my heart's content had I been born a *boy*…From the age of nine, for example, I did housework at home and helped with farming chores…I also helped my mother in the shop by boiling sweet potatoes to sell…It was hard work. All that work of mine was for the *choe* [sin in Korean] of having been born as a *daughter*.[130]

From her testimony we can find her passion for education. Her passion might be influenced the emergence of the "new woman" (*sin yeosung*, in Korean) in colonial Korea who received modern education, supported short hair and Western-style clothes, and participated in the

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[129] Park, "Sin and Han," 22.
[130] Emphasis in mine. See Soh, *The Comfort Women*, 82–83.

public sphere with self-supporting through their professional occupations in the late 1910s and the 1920s.[131] However, her passion for education was extremely suppressed by her father. Even she was severely beaten by her father and burdened with the enormous amount of work. This kind of abuse is not a particular case of Mun, but a prevailing phenomenon in the patriarchal Korean family under the colonialism. From *chosun* dynasty ($12^{th}$ – $19^{th}$ century) patriarchal culture in Confucianism has been deprived of Korean women's right of self-fulfillment and involvement in the public life. Until the turn of the $20^{th}$ century, the boundary of their education was restricted to the cultivation of "wifely virtues," including obedience, chastity, and selfless service for the family.[132] Mun's father represents a typical cultural pattern of sexism in Korean society at that time: while men are allowed to receive education and open to public life, women are coerced to do service for their family without a chance of any education.

Sexism in the patriarchal family and the wider society engendered Mun's *Han.* She expressed her depression, anger, and bitterness about being unable to receive any education. She is dependent on her father's financial resource, and the patriarchal oppression, which is widely spread in Korean society, is so powerful. Hence, she does not have any means to resolve her *Han* other than blaming for being born as a daughter. This *Han* eventually drove her into the trap of injustice.

> On an autumn day in 1943 a man in his fifties who lived in our village and worked as an agent of the Japanese approached me and told me that he could introduce me to a place where I could both earn money and study. His proposition was very attractive to me, an eighteen-year-old girl whose heart was filled with *Han* over being denied an education…I left home without saying anything to my parents [since she was afraid to being beaten by her father]…The next day, after breakfast, I was put on a train, together with four young women, in the compartment reserved for the military, and we were taken to Manchuria.[133]

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[131] Ibid., 6.
[132] Ibid., 5.
[133] Ibid., 83.

The agent for the Japanese exploited her pursuit of education and autonomy by deceiving her with the seductive promise of education and finance. Her hope was totally destroyed after she was taken to the military comfort station in Manchuria. Her *Han* from being born as a daughter and the deceitful recruitment together trapped her into the injustice of "comfort women."

If Mun made her own decision to follow the agent in order to receive education, though she was deadly deceived, Kim Sun Ok, who was at a comfort station in Manchuria in 1941 – 1945, was *sold* to pay her family's debt by her father. Let us hear her testimony.

> I had no childhood. I was *sold* four times from the age of seven. As soon as I returned to my home in Pyeongyang from Sinuiju after paying off my [family's] debt of 500 won, I recall that procurers began showing up at my house, coaxing my parents. I declared to my parents that I was not going anywhere and begged them not to sell me again. However, I could sense that my parents were being influenced, and it appeared that I would be sold to Manchuria. I contemplated a variety of methods of killing myself. But my love of life and hope for a change in the future prevented me from committing suicide. My father entreated me and said: "It's not because of cruelty that your father wants to sell you. In comparison to your siblings, you have the attractive looks and the experiences of living away from home. It's your misfortune to have someone like me as a father. Go this one time. They Promise to send you to a factory, which should be a good thing." Within a fortnight after my return home from Sinuiju, I was sold for a fourth time and send off to a military comfort station in Manchuria in 1941.[134]

Though Kim's father was also deceived that she will work at the factory in Manchuria, it cannot justify her father's sexism to treat her as a commodity, paying the debt with her labor force, and to coerce her to do service for the family. In this case patriarchal oppression is clearly interwoven with economic oppression which a poor family faced with under the harsh colonialism. Someone has to offer the labor force in order to pay the family's debt, and a daughter, generally the eldest, was forced to sacrifice herself for the entire family. Even though Kim does not explicitly mentions about the term *Han*, her testimony vividly shows

[134] Ibid., 11.

her deep pain and wound, *Han*, from being born as a daughter in the patriarchal family under the colonialism.

### 4.2.2. *Han* from Living As a Surviving "Comfort Women" in Korean Society

*Han* of Korean "comfort women" originated from the patriarchal and economic oppression in Korean society and reached the maximum limit in the military comfort station. However, after the tragedy ended, their *Han* from the tragedy has been sustained by social indifference, marginalization, and condemnation in the postwar/postcolonial Korean society. The patriarchal culture in Korea, informed with Confucian traditions, remained a major underlying socio-psychological factor that not only contributed to the absence of public discourse on the issue of "comfort women" but also undergirded the condemnation on the survivors as *ethically fallen* women who defiled their body by the sexual intercourse with the national enemy.[135] Such social indifference and condemnation have sustained the *voicelessness* of their *Han*, which has forced them to live as the marginalized with psychological trauma – the sense of depression and worthlessness – as well as past physical wounds from sexual abuse.[136]

Even though the issue of *chongshindae* was first mentioned in a Korean history text book in 1952, it was not about the military "comfort women", but mobilized laborers during World War II.[137] Until the 1997 edition of Korean history textbook came up, the truth about "comfort women" – the forceful and deceitful recruitment of sexual slavery – was not officially mentioned in the Korean textbook. After liberation from the colonialism, Korean society has preoccupied with major issues such as 1) recovery from tragedy of Korean War in 1950s – 1960s, 2) economic development in 1970s, and 3) democratization from the military

[135] Ibid., 168.
[136] Ibid., 177.
[137] Ibid., 171.

dictatorship of Park Jung Hee in 1980s. It has totally neglected the issue of "comfort women" who are minority and powerless until 1990s. Only some women organizations in South Korea[138]concern about this issue. Indeed, Korean society has abandoned surviving "comfort women" for a long time. Such social indifference has sustained their *Han*.

As well as social indifference, social condemnation on the surviving "comfort women" has aggravated their *Han*. The condemnation on them as *defiled* (or impure) women is widely permeated in Korean society. Let us hear a testimony of Kim Hak Sun, who married a Korean man who helped her to escape from a comfort station in China.[139]

> I had to suffer the hurt and indignity of being debased by my own husband who, when drunk, would abuse me in front of our son by calling me a *dirty* bitch who *prostituted* herself for soldiers.[140]

From her testimony we can find that the condemnation on her as dirty women or prostitute underlies her husband's abuse. The stigma on her as prostitute has sustained her sense of depression and even worthlessness.

As well as this personal experience, an obstacle to building War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seodaemun Independence Memorial Park[141] vividly represents the social denigration of "comfort women" as impure women. The War and Women's Human Rights Museum was supposed to be located in the park, but some Korean organizations for independence patriots, such as Korean Liberation Association, vehemently opposed to this plan. They contend that locating the museum in the park is dishonoring the noble and pure sprit of independence patriots. The museum eventually ended up to locate another space in

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[138] They eventually formed the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan in November, 1990.
[139] Soh, *The Comfort Women*, 177.
[140] Emphasis is mine. Ibid.
[141] This museum was opened on International Women's Day, March 8th, 2012 for remembering the tragedy of "comfort women" and commemorating their struggle for justice and human rights. Dongnimmun (Independence Gate), which built by the Korean Independence Association in 1896 in order to declare the perpetual independence of Korea, is located in the Seodaemun Independence Memorial Park. This gate was not destroyed during the colonialism, so it served as a primary symbol for the national independent movement during the colonialism.

Seoul, causing spending more money and time to secure the land. Their opposition to locate the museum in the park reflects the social condemnation of "comfort women" as unworthy and shameful women in the Korean history. Through the social denigration, the sense of worthlessness and resignation is deeply internalized within comfort women's everyday life. Their *Han* has been accumulated by such unjust treatment of victims of Japan's war crime and Korea's sexism.

**Conclusion**

In this section we examined the critical issue – a matter of coercive recruitment – to generate the conflict between "comfort women" and Japanese government and social locations of "comfort women" in Korean society. This conflict is a great factor to sustain their pain and suffering. However, it is not the only factor. Rather, we need to acknowledge various complicated factors to generate their *Han* – the compressed pain by injustice. Their *Han* originated from being born as a daughter in the patriarchal family under the economic oppression from Japanese colonialism. It reached the maximum limit through the injustice in the comfort station where Japan's vicious war crime was committed. However, it has been sustained by 1) the present Japanese government's official denial of acknowledgement and apology of the forceful mobilization and 2) Korean society's indifference and condemnation on "comfort women" as ethically fallen women – impure, unworthy, or wrong. Their *Han* is not a result of only Japan's inhuman crime, but collective violence of Japan, Korea, and the world. Since in the process of reconciliation, we need to heal victims' wounds and restore the right relationship between victims and perpetrators, the Korean church has to readdress *Han* of "comfort women" by focusing on several sources of their *Han*: 1) Japanese government's official denial of acknowledgement and apology and 2) the social indifference and condemnation in the Korean (patriarchal) society.

## CHAPTER 5: FOUR PRACTICES IN THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION

In the previous chapter, we heard *Han* of "comfort women" from the collective violence of the convergence of sexism, classism, racism, colonialism, and militarism in Japan, Korea, and the world. In the process of reconciliation, the journey toward restoring the right relationship between "comfort women" and Japanese government, we have to resolve their *Han* and heal their wounds of *Han*. I choose four practices – acknowledgement, reparations, apology, and forgiveness – based on my understanding of *agape*-restorative justice-reconciliation and examination on the social location of "comfort women" in order to heal their wounds and restore the right relationship with Japanese government and Korean society.

As I contend in the first chapter, reconciliation is the proper end and fruit of compatible relation between *agape* and justice. Given the analogy of tree of reconciliation, *agape* serves as soil to provide the fundamental nourishment; it secures the foundation and framework for reconciliation. The pillar of restorative justice, nurtured by *agape*, fulfills the very content of reconciliation. It primarily cares about restoring deprived rights (or worth) of victims with paying attention to restoring right relationships. Branches of practices grow from the pillar of restorative justices, based on the soil of *agape*. Braches, such as acknowledgement, reparations, and apology, are directly related with the pillar of restorative justice: they seek to keep due respect for victim's worth (or rights), but goes beyond mere retribution or distribution. A branch of forgiveness is also related with the pillar of restorative justice, but sometimes it is directly supported by the soil of *agape*.

In this section, I will describe each practice in the process of reconciliation from my reflection on Philpott's and De Gruchy's processes of reconciliation. For an account of each practice, I will 1) define what it means and aims at, 2) explain what it can primarily and secondarily restore or heal (or how it can heal comfort women's wounds of *Han*), and 3) give specific examples of it. Finally, I will conclude this section with a wise reminder from John

Paul Lederach and Angela Jill Lederach that the process of reconciliation is not linear having one direction toward progression.

### 5.1. Acknowledgement

According to Philpott, acknowledgement is the action by which a political official or body of officials, such as the truth commissions, recognizes wounds and pain of victims caused by a political injustice and overcomes social indifference.[142] According to de Gruchy, acknowledgement consists of telling the truth and listen to victim's sound of fury and pain.[143] The primary goal of this practice is readdressing social ignorance and isolation by which victims have been wounded.[144] This practice is relevant to the social context of "comfort women" whose *Han* – the existential state of suppressed pain – has been sustained by the present Japanese government's official denial of acknowledging its war crime and Korean society's indifference to the issue of "comfort women" until 1990s.

Since social indifference itself is wound and pain of victims, acknowledgement primarily readdresses victim's wounds, generated from social isolation and indifference, as "a political version of solidarity with the suffering."[145] After having public acknowledgement of her experience, Mzykisi Mdidimba, a South African torture victim expressed that:

> [Her testimony at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission] has taken it off my heart…When I have told stories of my life before, afterward, I am crying, crying, crying, and felt that it was not finished. This time, I know that what they've done to me will be among these people and all over the country. I still have some sort of crying, but also *joy* inside.[146]

Even though telling truth does not guarantee to resolve all problems caused by past and present injustice, at least she can find inner joy from the solidarity of society (or others).

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[142] Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 181.
[143] De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 154–170.
[144] Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 181.
[145] Ibid., 183–184.
[146] Ibid., 184.

As well as repairing the wounds of victims, it can also repair wounds of offenders. Various truth commissions unearthed an overwhelming collection of evidence about past injustices which does not leave a room for denial of acknowledgement.[147] By bringing to light truths about injustices which were concealed by social ignorance, it can inspire contrition in perpetrators whose soul is also wounded by doing injustice.[148]

Acknowledgement can also bring about secondary restorations. It can bring about positive transformation in broad popular attitude which benefit democratic regimes and peace settlements: 1) it grants new just institutions or a new peace settlement more legitimacy; 2) it exposes the lies of the previous unjust regime; 3) truth commissions offer recommendations for reform of unjust systems.[149]

Truth commissions – an officially sanctioned body to investigate the injustices of a specific place and period of time – are the most proliferated examples of acknowledgement during the age of peace building.[150] The most famous truth commission is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa: the slogan "Truth, the Road to Reconciliation" represents its deep commitment to the practice of acknowledgement.[151] As wells as the truth commissions, there are older and more common forms of acknowledgement: 1) memorials, 2) monuments, 3) museums, 4) days of commemoration, and 5) public rituals, and 6) public school history textbooks.[152]

### 5.2. Reparations

The second practice is reparation(s) defined as a transfer of money, goods, and services from governments and individual perpetrator to a victim in response to the political

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147 De Gruchy specifically mentions about the case of South Africa's truth commission. See De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 160.
148 Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 187.
149 Ibid., 189.
150 Ibid., 181–182.
151 De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 154.
152 Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 182.

injustices that he/she suffered.[153] According to Philpott, there are four types of reparations: 1) restitution – restoration of liberty, human rights, citizenship, property, and employment that a victim enjoyed prior to the violation of the human rights, 2) compensation – "the form of financial payments for any economically assessable damage", 3) rehabilitation including "medical care and psychological, legal and social services", and 4) satisfaction – "guarantees against repetition of the past injustices and violations of human rights.[154]

This practice is also very important for "comfort women" when we consider their social context: 1) their human rights were viciously violated (and still being violated by social indifference and condemnation); 2) their coerced labor as sexual slave has to be compensated; 3) they are now physically and psychologically vulnerable due to sexual abuse, trauma, and their age (80-90s); they generally live alone and cannot work for financially self-supporting.

Reparations primarily aim at restoring the victim to his/her condition prior to the injustices as much as possible, so they readdress direct harms –physically, economic, emotional, psychological, and spiritual – to the victim through transfer of materials.[155] This primary restoration resonates with the liberal idea, but reparations go beyond liberalism: as another kind of acknowledgement which is fortified materially, reparations can also heal the wounds of social ignorance.[156] In other words, they can convey symbolic messages of recognition. Hence, secondary restorations of reparations resonate with those of acknowledgement: 1) reparations proclaim the legitimacy of human rights; 2) they dethrone the standing victory of political injustices; 3) victims place more trust in a new regime or peace settlement and forge bonds of trust and commitment with their fellow citizens.[157]

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[153] Ibid., 191.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid., 193-194.
[156] Ibid., 196.
[157] Ibid., 197.

Germany's reparations for survivors of the Holocaust are the historical prototype of this practice: from the Luxembourg Agreement of 1952, the German government pledged 3 billion Deutschmarks as reparations for Nazi atrocities, and in 2001 it also agreed to provide payments to forced laborers during the Holocaust.[158] However, we have to be cautious about reparation without apology might be degraded into blood money: J. D. Bindenagel, an ambassador who supported to negotiate a 5 billion-dollar settlement in which Germany would compensate forced laborers and slaves by Nazi, stresses the requiredness of both apology and reparation for the agreement.[159] This symbiotic relationship between apology and reparation(s) is neglected in the case of Japan's Asian Women's Fund (AWF) in 1997. Japan tried to compensate for "comfort women", but an official apology from the Japanese government was missing and the fund was raised by the private source (Japanese citizens), not the government.[160] Due to lack of the official apology, the Korean Council was adamantly opposed to receiving the AWF until an official apology from the Japanese government occurred.

### 5.3. Apology

An apology is the action of a perpetuator involving following six steps: 1) admitting that an individual or a political institution performed the injustice; 2) recognizing that it is wrong; 3) displaying regret for having done it; 4) communicating this regret to the victim; 5) accepting responsibility for it; 6) pledging not to redo again it.[161]

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[158] Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 192.
[159] Ibid., 197.
[160] Soh, *The Comfort Women*, 96–97. Also, see The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan, "The Korean Council's Official Statement: Requesting a Legal Responsibility of Japanese Government," https://www.womenandwar.net/contents/board/normal/normalView.nx?page_str_menu=0301&action_flag=&search_field=&search_word=&page_no=21&bbs_seq=10195&passwd= (accessed March 11, 2013).
[161] Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 198.

The common type of apology in the public sphere is a collective apology: leaders apologize for actions that one of their own subordinates or the previous political institution committed, but for which they do not bear direct responsibility.[162] There are controversies over the legitimacy of collective apology, but if we recognize political injustice consists of both an individual and a collective dimension, we can conclude that it is legitimate and even necessary for the community.[163] The tragedy of "comfort women" was the result of collective violence of Japan (a war crime as systematic forced sexual slavery), Korea (social indifference/condemnation as systematic sexism in the patriarchal culture), and the world (systematic chain of violence and war). Also, surviving "comfort women" sincerely long for hear the official apology of the Japanese government. Hence, the practice of apology is quite necessary for healing wounds of "comfort women" and restoring the right relationship with Japanese government and Korean society.

Primary restorations that the apology can bring are 1) dethroning the standing victory of a political injustice, 2) encouraging the apologizer to take direct responsibility and communicate genuine repentance, 3) initiating the repair of offender's soul, 4) addressing social ignorance of the victim's suffering, and 5) reinforcing the legitimacy of the human rights of victim, especially when a head of state apologizes.[164] The apology can also bring some secondary restorations: 1) it grants the political order more legitimacy; 2) when victims who are minorities receive apology, other citizens might become more open to endorse the victims' full membership in the political community; 3) it may also promote peaceful relations between states.[165]

The collective apology was confessed by F.W. de Klerk, the last president of apartheid South Africa: he said apartheid was wrong and apologized for the harms which it

[162] Ibid., 201.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid., 205.
[165] Ibid.

caused.[166] Interestingly, President Nelson Mandela also confessed apology for harms which the African National Congress caused during its struggle against apartheid.[167] However, we have to remind the symbiotic relationship between apology and reparations. South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission offered recommendations concerning economic reparations, such as redistribution of land and wealth, but they were not well implemented due to new government's lack of capacity to implement them.[168] According to survey conducted by political scientist David Becker, among negative judgments on South Africa's truth commission, the lack of reparations or socioeconomic inequalities is the primary dissatisfaction of victims.[169]

### 5.4. Forgiveness

As well as acknowledgment, reparations, and apology, forgiveness is a necessary and even dramatic practice in the *full* process of reconciliation: the right relationship is restored in a significant way by a decision of victims to reconstruct their view of perpetrators beyond anger, hatred, and resentment and is thus furthered by an act of forgiveness.[170] Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa says: "There is no future without forgiveness."[171]

The common critique of forgiveness is that it becomes a tool in the manipulation of power relation, making the oppressed even more a victim of injustice. However, as Donald Shriver contends, forgiveness displays moral courage:

> Cherishing hope for revenge is one way sufferers of atrocity cope with their memories. But there is another way: the facing of still-rankling past evils with first regard for the truth of what actually happened; with resistance to the lures of revenge; with empathy – and no excursing – for all the agents and sufferers of the evil; and with real intent on the part of the sufferers to resume life alongside the evildoers or

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166 Ibid., 198.
167 Ibid., 199.
168 De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 205–206.
169 Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 184–185.
170 Ibid., 261.
171 Ibid., 2.

their political successors. That is the *moral courage* of forgiveness.[172] Forgiveness is morally courageous, having empathy with perpetuators (or enemies), against our natural inclination toward revenge. In the practice of forgiveness, victims remember, not forget, the past injustice, but in ways that heal relationship, build up community, and prepare a new future – *restoration*.[173]

According to de Gruchy, forgiveness secures "two way process" in which both victim and offender are able to share a common idiom of humanity, a sense of human relationship between them.[174] In this sense, forgiveness may contribute to restore the humanity of offenders who are often regarded as "demons" (cruelty) or "psychos" (irrationality). As well as healing of offenders, victims can also be healed through forgiveness by moving themselves from the devastating past to the restorative future.

Forgiveness has to be 1) *unconditional* – it does not require reparation – and 2) *non-coercive* – we cannot force victims to forgive – and 3) *prevenient* – it enables reparations and repentance, although its actual effectiveness is dependent on the extent of offenders' remorse and acknowledgement of accountability.[175] In other words, forgiveness is (should) always the *prerogative* of victims: 1) it is another way of empowering themselves amidst powerlessness and an expression of healing, not destruction; 2) it is also a sign of wisdom.[176] Through the practice of forgiveness, victims actively choose to show *agape* toward perpetuators who did evil actions, but still are fellow-human beings created by *Imago Dei*. In the context of "comfort women", if they obtain the sense of being loved by God and others enough to share their love, the practice of forgiveness would empower them as an autonomous agent of the moral courage, not remaining in the seat of victim.

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[172] Emphasis is mine. See Donald W Shriver, *An Ethic For Enemies: Forgiveness in Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 67.
[173] De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 178.
[174] Ibid., 176.
[175] Ibid., 179-180.
[176] Ibid.

Nelson Mandela practiced forgiveness even after the twenty-seven years imprisonment. He testifies:

> In prison, my anger toward whites decreased, but my hatred for the system grew. I wanted South Africa to see that I loved even my enemies while I hated the system that turned us against one another.[177]

In his testimony, he clearly does not negate the reality of evil and injustice. Nevertheless, he does not identify his enemies with evil. Rather he strives for loving his enemies and transforming the systematic evil of apartheid. His forgiveness is practiced by following actions: 1) he invited three of his former warders to sit in the VIP seats at his inauguration; 2) he had a luncheon for the wives of former apartheid leaders with leaders of liberation movements; 3) he wore the Springboks' jersey, a rugby team which had symbolized the white unity, in the 1995 rugby World Cup games. Mandela's action of forgiveness is not a resignation to injustice, but active expression of *agape* toward restoring the right relationship with whites, so-called his enemies.

**Conclusion**

Up to this point, I explored four practices in the full process of reconciliation: acknowledgement, reparations, apology, and forgiveness. These all practices work together for achieving the goal – healing of victims and restoration of right relationships. Also, they all are complementary to one another; we have to highlight symbiotic relationships among these practices. For example, prior apologies often make victims more willing to forgive; prevenient forgiveness may enable apology (or repentance). Before moving to developing some possible practices of Korean church, we have to make sure that the process of reconciliation is not always linear having one direction toward progression. As John Paul Lederach and Angela Jill Lederach contend, the process can be repetitiously back and

[177] Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 257.

forth.[178] In the process of reconciliation, we will not have not only progression, but also regression at some points. In other words, if we successfully implement the practice of acknowledgement, it does not guarantee a success of the rest of practices, though it would be helpful. Even if we successfully realize a practice of apology, we may need to find another form of apology. In this sense, peace-building cannot depend on only short-term strategies or one-time event, but calls for long-term plans and repetitive events as well.

[178] John Paul Lederach and Angela Jill Lederach, *When Blood and Bones Cry Out: Journeys Through the Soundscape of Healing and Reconciliation* (Oxford, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2010), 4–6.

## CHAPTER 6: PRACTICES OF THE KOREAN CHURCH FOR RECONCILAITON BETWEEN "COMFORT WOMEN" AND JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

In the last chapter, I will suggest possible practices of the Korean church[179]: 1) encouraging acknowledgement, 2) implementing reparations, 3) doing apology, and 4) enabling/support forgivingness.

For encouraging acknowledgement, local Korean churches can support available resources which are already set up by some NGOs: 1) the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul, South Korea, 2) peace monuments over the world, 3) the Wednesday Demonstration, and 4) a history book for elementary school students. As well as supporting existing resources, I will suggest a comprehensive plan of interviewing and colleting testimonies of "comfort women" from a careful examination on Guatemala's Recovery of Historical Memory (REMHI) Project which the Catholic Church established and conducted.

For implementing reparations, I will I suggest biblical and spiritual resources for trauma healing based on conversation between John Calvin's commentary on Psalms and Judith Herman's trauma theory. Among four categories of reparations which I mentioned in the previous chapter, trauma healing falls on the category of rehabilitation – psychological and spiritual care for wounds of victims. From the biblical and spiritual resources, Korean churches may implement educational programs, such as a Bible study or field trip, for healing their trauma.

For doing apology, I propose the Korean church's confession of sin to neglect care for "comfort women" as the German Confessing Church vicariously confessed its guilt during World War II. In light of lesson from the National Sorry Day in Australia, I will suggest to set up the official day of apology with civic organization, such as the Korean Council. Then, based on reflection of The Act of Repentance conducted at the UMC General

[179] In this chapter when I use the term the Korean church, the Church in general is my mind. I will use a Korean church or Korean churches to refer to a Korean church(es) in a local level.

Conference in May 4, 2000, I will create the order of Korean church's ritual for confession and repentance of its sin.

Finally, for supporting forgiveness, I will stress that Korean churches should not coerce "comfort women" to forgive Japanese government and armies who assaulted them. Above all, "comfort women" have to be loved by others, at least by Korean church, and the sense of being loved can be fulfilled by restoring their deprived rights through practices of reconciliation listed above.

### 6.1.The Korean Church's Practices for Encouraging Acknowledgement

The Korean Council has already begun some types of acknowledgement: 1) with NGOs, it built the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul, South Korea (please see a picture 1 in appendix); 2) it passionately works to erect peace monuments over the world – there is a peace monument in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul, South Korea and in New Jersey, United States (please see a picture 2 in appendix); 3) on every Wednesday, it has facilitated the Wednesday Demonstration from January 8$^{th}$, 1992 without any exception (please see a picture 3 in appendix); 4) recently, it initiated to develop a history book for elementary school students.

Korean churches can support these available resources which are already set up by the Korean Council: 1) they may encourage congregation to visit the museum; 2) with collaboration with Korean churches in America, they can erect more peace monuments in different states; 3) they may host Wednesday Demonstration regularly and participate in the demonstration; 4) they may use the history book in the Sunday school occasionally.

#### 6.1.1. The Recovery of Historical Memory Project for "Comfort Women"

As well as supporting/participating in existed practices, the Korean church collaborate with the council for "comfort women" to plan and implement the truth

commissions like Guatemala's Recovery of Historical Memory Project (below REMHI), which the Catholic Church established and conducted. I was so encouraged when I read about what the Catholic Church did in the process of Guatemala's REMHI. From a conversation with a representative of the Korean Council, I found that among about two hundred Korean women who identified themselves as "comfort women", only fifty eight women are now living. Even survivors are very old now (almost 80 – 90s), so the official and comprehensive collection of their testimonies are requested. As well as concern about their health, the issue of "comfort women" has been neglected throughout the Korean history. As we examined above, they remain in silence and marginalized place in Korean society due to Korean society's indifference and condemnation on them as impure women. Under such a social location, their *Han* has been accumulated: their *voicelessness* – the critical feature of Han – is more intensified. Hence, in order to heal their wounds and break the voicelessness of their *Han*, the Korean church has to call for a Korean version of Recovery of Historical Memory Project.

REMHI was born of deep frustration at the lack of scope and mandate agreed for the official Truth Commission, The Commission for the Historical Clarification of Violations of Human Rights and Acts of Violence (CEH), in the Oslo Accord endorsed by the Guatemalan government and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) in 1994.[180] REMHI was organized by the Human Rights office of the Archdiocese of Guatemala, and implemented by auxiliary Bishop Juan Gerardi: he said "as a church, we collectively and responsibly took on the task of breaking the silence that thousands of war victims have kept for years."[181] This project is not mere collection of testimonies of war victims in Guatemala, but aims at gathering memory as an instrument of social reconstruction and reconciliation

[180] Marcela López Levy, "Recovery: The Uses of Memory and History in the Guatemalan Church's REMHI Project, " in *Truth and Memory : the Church and Human Rights in El Salvador and Guatemala*, ed. Michael A. Hayes and David Tombs. (Leominster: Gracewing, 2001), 104.
[181] Ibid., 105.

among local communities and Guatemalan government, quoting from John 8:32: "to know the truth which will set us all free."[182] The initiation of Guatemalan church is an encouraging precedence for the Korean church. Organizing an officially sanctioned truth commission by both two governments of Japan and Korea is difficult since the Japanese government officially denies the past war crime on "comfort women." However, at least, the Korean church can initiate a Korean version of Recovery of Historical Memory Project and contribute to reconciliation between victims and perpetrators.

In the process of REMHI volunteers, who are called as *animadores* or "agents of reconciliation", played a significant role to collect testimonies of victims who reside in various rural Mayan villages.[183] They were trained to interview victims with emotional, psychological, and spiritual sensitivity and learned how to empathetically listen to their painful stories; they finally interviewed 7000 times in seventeen local Mayan languages.[184] Through their passionate service, REMHI is regarded as the best example of personalism – "direct and empathetic attention to the individual victim."[185] As Guatemalan church did, the Korean church can invite volunteers from local churches who are filled with passion for support "comfort women." The Korean church has rich resources for pastoral counseling, such as Korean Association of Pastoral Counselors.[186] From this organization, we can train and educate the volunteers in order to empathetically listen to stories of "comfort women" and react appropriately to traumatic phenomenon during the interview.

For the interview with victims, *animadores* asked the seven general questions: 1) who was the victim? 2) what happened? 3) who did it? 4) why did it happen? 5) what did you

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[182] Ibid.
[183] Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 186.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid., 185–186.
[186] During 2012 summer, I had a chance to participate in the 30th anniversary conference of Korean Association of Pastoral Counselors. This association was created in 1982 by several pastoral care professors at seminaries in South Korea in order to bridge between local church's ministry and pastoral care/counseling. It has its own counseling center which has about 30 professional pastoral counselors.

do to cope with situation? 6) what effect did the event have on you and your community? 7) what needs to be done so that it does not happen again?[187] From these questions, we can acknowledge that REMHI intends to not only gather information of the past injustice from individual victims, but examine effects of violence on the individual, the family, and community.[188] As well as gathering information and examination of collective effects of violence, from the interview, victims indeed were healed from their wound of social ignorance and empowered to go beyond the seat of *victim*. They first had a sense of being included into common history of Guatemala, though they had been excluded before. One of victims testifies:

> Now I am content because the testimony I have given will become part of history… now I have released my pain by giving my testimony.[189]

From this testimony, we can find that victim's suffering from social indifference is healed by the assurance of being the part of common history. Also, *animadores* asked how victims have coped with the past injustice, which acknowledge the capacity for individuals and communities to deal with their experience.[190] Through this question REMHI values people's own resources as a possible initiating point toward social reconstruction and reconciliation: it is a significant recognition that people are more than simply victims.[191] In other words, REMHI transformed victims' memory from hostage to past pain and traumatic experience into a possibility of living better in the present and of facing future differently: as Martín-Baró expresses that "historical memory…has to do with rescuing those aspects of identity which served yesterday, and will serve today, for liberation."[192]

From the case of REMHI, through collecting their testimonies, the Korean church

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[187] Levy, "Recovery," 107.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid., 106.
[190] Ibid., 107.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid., 113.

can expect to heal the wounds of comfort women's *Han* which has been sustained by Korean society's social ignorance. Their pain and suffering has been kept in silence by the patriarchal oppression in Korean society. By giving testimonies, they can become a part of Korean history which we have to remember and acknowledge. In addition, the Korean church's initiation of colleting testimonies represents its solidarity with them: in solidarity they can assure that they are not alone, but stand together for struggling against the patriarchal oppression in Korean society and the past and present injustice of Japan. As well as healing their wounds of *Han*, by giving testimonies "comfort women" can participate in an active resistance against the past and present injustice. In other words, they can be empowered as an autonomous participant in struggle for justice.

The case of Bok Dong Kim, a survived "comfort women", exemplifies such empowerment. After giving her testimony to the Koran Council, she became one of the most active advocator of women's human rights. In February, 2012, she declared her will to donate the whole amount of future reparations from Japanese government to support other women in the world whose human rights are violated by war. In order to respect her will, the Korean Council found the Butterfly Fund (*navi-gigum*, in Korean) to assist women who are abused during war: Rebecca Masika Kutsuva, who is a former rape-victim in 1988 and the founder of Listening House – a shelter for rape-victims during Congo civil war – in South Kivu, Congo, is selected as the first recipient of the Butterfly Fund.[193] Likewise, the Korean church can encourage "comfort women" to go beyond the seat of victim through the Korean version of REMHI.

The true value of REMHI is debunking underlying structural and historic problems of socio-economic oppression, inequality, and racism on the surface of the recent

[193]The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan , "Report of 2012 Butterfly Fund,"
https://www.womenandwar.net/contents/board/normal/normalView.nx?page_str_menu=0301&action_flag=&search_field=&search_word=&page_no=1&bbs_seq=12169&passwd= (accessed March 13, 2013)

victimization: the recent injustice is continuous with Guatemala's centuries-old exploitation and oppression.[194] The Korean version of REMHI can shed a light on the neglected truth about systematic oppression – patriarchal culture and family system – in Korean society. The past and present injustice of Japanese government obviously produces the tragedy of "comfort women", but we have to acknowledge a significant responsibility of Korean society, including the Korean church, to them. From several testimonies we already glimpsed at how the patriarchal oppression and social ignorance in Korean society produced and sustains their *Han*. Hence, the Korean church may debunk the systematic and cultural oppression behind the surface of issue of "comfort women" and encourage the wider society to bear a sincere responsibility to this issue.

### 6.2. The Korean Church's Practices for Implementing Reparations

According to Philpott, reparations primarily aim at restoring the victims to their condition prior to the injustices as much as possible, so they readdress direct harms – physically, economic, emotional, psychological, and spiritual – to the victim through transfer of materials.[195] He also names four categories of reparations: 1) restitution, 2) compensation, 3) rehabilitation, and 4) satisfaction; among these categories, I will focus on a form of rehabilitation – "medical care and psychological, legal and social services."[196] As de Gruchy highlights the pastoral role of Churches and other faith communities to provide emotional and spiritual support for victims' trauma in the TRC (a practice of acknowledgement)[197], the Korean church needs to heal the trauma of "comfort women" as a practice of reparations.

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[194] Levy, "Recovery," 117.
[195] Ibid., 193-194.
[196] Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 191.
[197] De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 157–158.

The term trauma means an overwhelming wound or injury inflicted upon the body and psyche (internal world, including mind, emotion, and spirit) by an act of violence.[198] Indeed, the tragedy of sexual servitude during World War II and of social indifference/condemnation is a traumatic event for "comfort women" in that 1) they experienced "threat of annihilation" and "potential annihilation" embedded in lived relationships as direct victims and 2) the tragedy has been continually and overwhelmingly internalized in them as the existential state of *Han.*[199] Based on their testimonies in the chapter 4, we can find that after experiencing the traumatic event, they have suffered from 1) *intrusive memories* of the previous traumatic event, 2) a state of *powerlessness* accompanying loss of autonomous will and hope, and 3) a sense of *isolation*.[200] Hence, for the following chapter, I will suggest some biblical and spiritual resources for the trauma healing from the conversation between Calvin's commentary on Psalms and Judith Herman's trauma theory in Serene Jones' book, *Trauma and Grace*.

### 6.2.1. Biblical Resources and Educational Programs for Trauma Healing

Jones first points out the social context – traumatic experience of Calvin's congregation in the sixteen-century Geneva – in which Calvin's *Commentary on the Psalms* were written: his congregation's life is at stake in ongoing and collective threats involving their social isolation and "terrorized conscience" – the mental distress caused by social violence.[201] Jones contends that Calvin's theological work on the Psalms encourages the traumatized congregation to open themselves to "the healing power of God's grace."[202] She then identifies certain resonant patterns between three categories of prayers of Psalms in

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[198] Serene Jones, *Trauma and Grace: Theology in a Ruptured World* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009), 12.
[199] Ibid., 13–15.
[200] There are many conditions of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), but specifically three conditions which I mentioned fall on the context of "comfort women" in light of their *Han*. See Ibid., 16–18.
[201] Ibid., 46–49.
[202] Ibid., 49–52.

Calvin's commentary and three stage of trauma healing developed by Judith Herman: 1) psalms of deliverance – the establishment of safety; 2) psalms of lamentation – remembrance and mourning; 3) psalms of thanksgiving – reconnection with ordinary life.[203] Now I move to show how Calvin's commentary on each prayer of Psalms resonates with Herman's three stages of trauma healing and how the Korean church applies these biblical resources into the context of "comfort women."

Calvin's commentary on Psalm 10:12-18, a prayer of deliverance, establishes a theological foundation which bestows a sense of *safety* and *trust* in God upon his congregation, which resonates with Herman's first stage of trauma healing – establishing safety.[204]

> [12] Rise up, O Lord; O God, lift up your hand;
> do not forget the oppressed.
> [13] Why do the wicked renounce God,
> and say in their hearts, 'You will not call us to account'?
>
> [14] But you do see! Indeed you note trouble and grief,
> that you may take it into your hands;
> the helpless commit themselves to you;
> you have been the helper of the orphan.
>
> [15] Break the arm of the wicked and evildoers;
> seek out their wickedness until you find none.
> [16] The Lord is king for ever and ever;
> the nations shall perish from his land.
>
> [17] O Lord, you will hear the desire of the meek;
> you will strengthen their heart, you will incline your ear
> [18] to do justice for the orphan and the oppressed,
> so that those from earth may strike terror no more. (Psalms 10:12-18, NRSV)[205]

In his commentary, Calvin first invokes the reality of God's sovereignty – God as "the ultimate determiner and orderer of all" – and this invocation of divine control can give a sense of order and *safety* to a traumatized person who is in the midst of his/her experience of

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[203] Ibid., 52–55.
[204] Ibid., 56.
[205] Ibid., 55.

significant disorder; in the divine order and safety the person acknowledge the truth that God loves him/her.[206] Calvin then creates an imaginative space in which the traumatized person can *trust* in "the protection of God's enveloping arms and receptive ear." He creates another imaginative space where the traumatized person *empowers* him/herself as a meaningful agent to make a connection with others again within the framework of divine safety and trust.[207]

In Calvin's commentary on prayers of lamentation (specifically Psalm 22), he allows his congregation to express their anger, outrage, frustration, and urge for revenge without any negative judgment on their expression; it clearly resonates with Herman's second stage of trauma healing – remembrance and mourning.[208]

[1] My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?
Why are you so far from helping me, from the words of my groaning?

[12] Many bulls encircle me,
strong bulls of Bashan surround me;
[13] they open wide their mouths at me,
like a ravening and roaring lion.

[14] I am poured out like water,
and all my bones are out of joint;
it is melted within my breast;
[15] my mouth is dried up like a potsherd,
and my tongue sticks to my jaws;
you lay me in the dust of death.

[16] For dogs are all around me;
a company of evildoers encircles me.
My hands and feet have shrivelled[20] Deliver my soul from the sword,
my life[*] from the power of the dog!
[21] Save me from the mouth of the lion!

[24] For he did not despise or abhor
the affliction of the afflicted;

[206] Ibid., 56.
[207] Ibid., 57.
[208] Ibid., 58-60.

he did not hide his face from me,*
but heard when I cried to him (Psalm 22:1; 12-16; 20-21; 24, NRSV)[209]

According to Herman, after establishing safety and trust survivors begin to *remember* the original traumatic event and its aftermath to them by actually, not necessarily accurately, speaking their experience of pain and suffering without negative judgment, which develops their capacity to *mourn* the wound inflicted on them.[210] In his commentary Calvin encourages his congregation to identify with the psalmist who is filled with rage and to express their sense of hate and outage against their enemy whom they regard as "wicked one", "dog", "the liar", and "the evildoers."[211] Jones understands this work as Calvin's rhetorical skill to create an imaginative space where his congregation's groan and anger against their persecutors is heard (or acknowledged), which is the essential "precursor" for their healing process.[212]

The last category of Psalms in Calvin's commentary – psalms of thanksgiving (Psalm 119 as an example) – resonates with Herman's their stage of trauma healing: reconnection with daily life.

54 Your statutes have been my songs
wherever I make my home.

103 How sweet are your words to my taste,
sweeter than honey to my mouth!

129 Your decrees are wonderful;
therefore my soul keeps them.
130 The unfolding of your words gives light;
it imparts understanding to the simple.

165 Great peace have those who love your law;
nothing can make them stumble.

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209 Ibid., 58.
210 Ibid., 59.
211 Ibid., 60.
212 Ibid.

166 I hope for your salvation, O Lord,
and I fulfil your commandments.
167 My soul keeps your decrees;
I love them exceedingly.
168 I keep your precepts and decrees,
for all my ways are before you.

171 My lips will pour forth praise,
because you teach me your statutes.
172 My tongue will sing of your promise,
for all your commandments are right.
173 Let your hand be ready to help me,
for I have chosen your precepts.
174 I long for your salvation, O Lord,
and your law is my delight.
175 Let me live that I may praise you,
and let your ordinances help me.

(Psalm 119: 54; 103; 129-130; 165-168; 171-175, NRSV)[213]

Herman contends this stage does not pursue to forget or unrealistically glorify the survivor's narrative of their traumatic experience, but *integrate* the disputed discourse of trauma into an "account of daily life" which is broader and more complex.[214] Calvin's commentary on psalms of thanksgiving does not pretend that the traumatic event never happened or magically disappeared; rather he allows the reality of violence to repeat again through the psalms of thanksgiving.[215] Calvin tries to transform the disrupted imagination of his congregation by referencing daily life matters, such as "eating, feasting, resting, waking safely, and sleeping peacefully" and God's omnipresence in such daily activities: "God gives us food, sleep, daily work, and the bonds of human community."[216]

As Calvin refers his commentary as a "performance" and identify himself as a "performer", the Korean church can perform Calvin's biblical interpretation for trauma healing of "comfort women." There are various ways of performance, such as preaching,

213 Ibid., 61.
214 Ibid., 62.
215 Ibid., 63.
216 Ibid., 62–63.

hymn singing, communal prayers, but I suggest a Bible study based on biblical resources for healing.[217] The curriculum for this Bible study can be divided into three stages in light of Calvin-Herman's three typologies, and I will suggest specific activities for each stage and explain how they serve to fulfill a pedagogical goal of each stage.[218]

The first stage's pedagogical goal is to encourage "comfort women" to understand the reality of God's sovereignty in the world and the truth of God's unconditional love on them, so that they can restore a sense of safety and trust in God. In order to accomplish this goal, a leader of the Bible study first prepares a big picture to represent God with a particular emphasis on *embracing arms* and *receptive ear*. Then, the leader encourages participants to write down their petitions to God on distributed sticky notes and to post their petitions on God's embracing arms or receptive ears. The leader then prays all petitions in a form of litany and the rest of participants will respond to each petition by saying, "God of mercy, hear our prayers." This activity is designed to encourage "comfort women" to acknowledge the true character of God who actively listens to their stories and unconditionally loves them. In the assurance of safety and trust in God the trauma healing of them can be initiated.

After establishing safety and trust in God, the pedagogical goal in the second stage is to allow "comfort women" to express their frank emotions about their traumatic event without any negative judgment on their expression, so that they can break the voicelessness of their *Han* – the deeply internalized and suppressed trauma. In this stage the leader creates a hospitable environment in which "comfort women" can express their lamentation, as the

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[217] This Bible study can be led by a leader and facilitated by some lay members who can support "comfort women" for reading the Scripture and writing prayers. This Bible study has to open to only those who *voluntarily* choose to take the class. Before starting actual session, it would be better to have chances to build a personal relationship between "comfort women" and lay helpers, so that "comfort women" can share their emotions and stories without feeling shame.

[218] In this section, I will not develop a full curriculum, but just suggest some activities which can be used in each session.

palmist vehemently cries out his/her lamentation, by allowing them to directly speak up in public or to write down on a paper. Specifically, for those who speak up in public, the leader and lay members has to be trained with empathetic (or active) listening skills, so that "comfort women" can get the assurance that their stories are actually being heard. Since their *Han* has been accumulated for the past half-century, their language could be very caustic and revengeful. In this activity the listeners should not negatively criticize their expressions, but just admit what they are. Without this process, the Korean church can *never* expect their healing: it has to listen, listen, and listen their fury again throughout the process of healing.

The last stage's pedagogical goal is to transform the disrupted imagination of "comfort women" by letting them be interwoven into their daily life, so that the vicious harmfulness of their traumatic event can be alleviated. Jones points out the last stage of trauma healing often takes a lifetime to enact, so it is impossible to fulfill the goal in one session.[219] As well as a lifelong process, it is also not a linear, so we have to acknowledge that sometimes they need to go back to the first or second stage. Hence, the last stage's goal has to be fulfilled by lifelong education along with repetitive liturgical practices, such as singing hymns of thanksgiving or prayers of thanksgiving. As an education activity, the Korean church secures a land in the suburbs and allows "comfort women" to take care of their own vegetable garden. As God gives the whole creatures life and takes care of them, "comfort women" can have a sense of God's omnipresence in nature. As they cultivate their own garden, they can cultivate their capacity to integrate into everyday life. A leader would explain theological meanings of gardening: 1) the beauty of nature as a hallmark of *Immanuel*, 2) hope for new life, and 3) thanksgiving to God the Creator.

[219] Jones, *Trauma and Grace*, 62.

### 6.3. The Korean Church's practices for Doing Apology

From practices of acknowledgement which I suggested above, the Korea church would realize its negligence to care "comfort women" and to value their intrinsic worth as daughters of God who are created with *Imago Dei*. While Korean Buddhists have actively advocated the human rights of "comfort women" from 1990s, Korean Christians' participation in supporting them is relatively deficient. In 1992, Korean Buddhists established the first permanent residential facility called House of Sharing (*Nanum-ui-Gip*, in Korean) to provide a number of needy survivors with a permanent shelter; in February 1996, it is moved to the brand-new facility containing two residential wings, two offices, recreation room, Buddhist sanctuary, and the *first* Japanese Military Comfort Women History Museum (*Ilbongun "Wianbu" Yeoksakwan*, in Korean) in Korea.[220] Though Korean churches recently pay an attention to the issue of "comfort women", they have historically neglected an active caring of "comfort women" with *agape* and failed to treat them justly with due respect for their intrinsic worth as daughter of God who are deserved to be loved by God and fellow-human beings. The Korean church has been complicity in the Korean society's patriarchal oppression causing social indifference and condemnation on "comfort women" by keeping silent about this issue.

Hence, before requesting an official apology from Japanese government, the Korea church itself has to initiate its official apology. This apology contains two kinds of apologies: 1) vicariously confessing its guilt concerning the forced sexual slavery during World War II and 2) confessing its guilt to neglect the obligations to exercise *agape* and justice toward daughters of God. As the German Confessing Church published the Stuttgart Confession of Guilt In October 1945, the Korean church would first vicariously confess its guilt. The German Confessing Church confessed:

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[220] Soh, *The Comfort Women*, 93.

> [W]e accuse ourselves for not witnessing more courageously, for not praying more faithfully, for not believing more joyously and for not loving more ardently. Now a new beginning is to be made in our churches.[221]

Though the German Confessing Church does not directly involve Nazi's war crimes, it exemplified the virtue of vicarious confession. Since apology addresses social ignorance of victim's suffering and endorses full restoration into the community, the restitution of the human rights of victims can be initiated by the apology. [222] Though the violation of human rights of "comfort women" – the forced sexual slavery – has to be primarily readdressed by Japanese government, the Korean church's vicarious apology at least bestows assurance upon them: they are no longer alone, but numerous Korean Christians stand with them.

As well as the vicarious apology, more importantly, the Korean church has to confess its guilt of having ignored "comfort women" and neglected its obligation to care daughters of God. "Comfort women" have been stigmatized as ethically fallen women in Korean society throughout the history: they are often condemned as a prostitute, though it is not the truth. They have suffered from physical abuse at comfort stations, psychological trauma, economic hardship, spiritual devastation after the tragedy. Until some women's organization made their stories in public in 1990s, they were totally marginalized from the dominant society. Then, what did the Koran church for these women? They are also equally created by God with God's image and from this intrinsic value, they are deserved to be loved by God and other creatures. However, how did the Korean church treat them? Indeed, it failed to exercise *agape* toward daughters of God. It treated them unjustly. Though its negligence of obligations, it distorted the true nature of God who bestows unconditional *agape* upon the whole creatures indiscriminately. In other words, the Korean church has to make apology before "comfort women" and God.

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[221] De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 109.
[222] Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 205.

### 6.3.1. The National Sorry Day for "Comfort Women"

For developing concrete ways of apology for the Korean church we can get helpful lessons from the establishment of the National Sorry Day in Australia. The first National Sorry Day was held on May 26, 1998 in Sydney by the National Sorry Day Committee (below NSDC), not-for-profit civil organization which advocates for the rights of the Stolen Generations.[223] The term Stolen Generations refers to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who "were forcibly moved from their families as children by past Australian Federal, State and Territory government agencies, and church missions, from the late 1800s to the 1970s" under the name of cultural assimilation.[224] As consequences of separation, the Stolen Generations 1) experienced total isolation from their family, community, and culture, including their own languages, 2) lived under harsh conditions, and 3) were vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation.[225] In order to acknowledge and remember those who have been influenced by the government's policy of forcible removal, the NSDC set up the day of apology for the tragedy of the Stolen Generations. As well as the NSDC, numerous civil societies led various activities of apology: for example, the 24, 763 apologies to Australian aboriginal people were electronically made at the internet site, Apology Australia.[226] From the request of the NSDC, the Australian Parliament finally passed a motion in 2010 recognizing May 26th as National Sorry Day, and as a day to be commemorated annually for achieving greater healing for the Stolen Generations. [227]

The NSDC's initiation to establish the National Sorry Day is quite encouraging for

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[223] National Sorry Day Committee INC., "Who Is the National Sorry Day Committee?", http://www.nsdc.org.au/about-us/who-we-are/who-is-the-national-sorry-day-committee (accessed March 15, 2013).
[224] National Sorry Day Committee INC., "The History of the Stolen Generations," http://www.nsdc.org.au/stolen-generations/history-of-the-stolen-generations/the-history-of-the-stolen-generations (accessed March 15, 2013).
[225] Australian Government, "Sorry Day and the Stolen Generations," http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/sorry-day-stolen-generations (accessed March 15, 2013).
[226] Ibid.
[227] National Sorry Day Committee INC., "The History of National Sorry Day," http://www.nsdc.org.au/events-info/the-history-of-national-sorry-day (accessed March 15, 2013)

the Korean church's possibility to set up the day of apology. The Korean church can confess its guilt of complicity with the wider society in social indifference and condemnation on "comfort women" by designating the day of apology. In order to draw the boarder acknowledgement, it would be better to collaborate with Korean civil organization, specifically the Korean Council. For the selection of date, I suggest every March 8th, International Women's Day for a couple of reasons: 1) the Korean Council highly regards this day as an important day of advocating women's human rights – for example, the Butterfly Fund was declared in March 8th, 2012; 2) for the Korean church, March 8th usually falls in the season of lent – the season of remembering Christ's suffering and acknowledging our sins. If the Korean church and leading NGOs together establish the official day of apology, we can expect that Korean government will officially commemorate this day as a national day as the NSDC and other civil organizations did in Australia.

### 6.3.2. A Liturgy of Apology for "Comfort Women"

If the Korean church sets up the official day of apology on the International Women's Day, its sincere apology can be realized through liturgical practices. For the following section, I will suggest the Korean church's liturgy for the day of apology based on my reflection on the Act of Repentance (below Act) performed at the UMC General Conference on May 4, 2000. The Act was designed to confess sin of white racism against the historical black Methodist denominations and to strive for reconciliation between the white UMC body and the black Methodist denominations.[228] Likewise, the goal of the Korean church's liturgy to 1) vicariously confess its guilt concerning the forced sexual slavery during World War II and 2) directly confess its guilt to neglect the obligations to exercise *agape* and justice toward "comfort women" as daughters of God, and 3) heal wounds of their *Han*.

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[228] Scott Haldeman, "Help Our Unbelief: The 'Not Yet' of Rites of Reconciliation," *Liturgy* 23, no. 4 (October 2008): 36–37.

The Act consists of three major sections: Opening Ritual, General Confession, and Sending with Charge and Blessing.[229] The Opening Ritual contains 1) Introduction, 2) Welcomes of Guest, 3) Gathering Song, 4) Opening Sentence, 5) Hymn, 6) Introduction to the Symbols (the plumb line, salt, and sackcloth and ashes), 7) Silence, and 8) benediction.[230] For the opening ritual I suggest that a presider would wear sackcloth in order to symbolize the Korean church's sincere attitude. The presider briefly introduces the meaning of the day and ritual. Welcomes of "comfort women" are very important: the presider has to covey sincere gratitude for participating in the ritual and carefully name each woman. For the gathering song, I choose a *Min Joong* (a Korean term means common people) song, *Like A Rock* (*Ba Wi Che Rum,* in Korean) which has been used for the opening song in the Wednesday Demonstration in front of the Japanese embassy for 20 years. Here is my translation of lyrics.

> Let us live like a rock
> Though storms are rough
> Temptation is sweet
> Live like a steadfast rock
> The thing is shaken by wind
> Is reed having a shallow-root
> The rock deeply rooted in the land
> Stand firmly
> We all together don't submit to despair
> Awakening ourselves in the pain
> Let us live like a rock
> The cornerstone of liberated world

For the opening sentence, I select Jonah 3:4-10: it represent repentance of the whole people of Nineveh, proclaiming fast, putting on sackcloth, and sitting in ashes. This Scripture express the repentance of Korean Christians who have neglected *Han* of "comfort women." Then, I choose the Korean-English Hymnal 332, *One Thing I of the Lord Desire,* as the hymn. This hymn confesses our sin and asks God to purge the sin with water and fire. After singing

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[229] Ibid., 37.
[230] Ibid.

hymn together, the presider introduces the meaning of each symbol. I suggest a bowl of clean water instead of the plum line which is not familiar with Koreans; as well as water signifies the purification of sin, it is the crucial liturgical object in Korean shamanistic tradition. After having a time of silence to reflect the Korean church's sinful act, the presider concludes the opening ritual with the benediction that reminds meaning of three symbols: 1) purified by clean water; 2) "cleansed by ashes"; 3) "salted and ready for mission."[231]

The General Confession consists of three parts: Lament, Petition for Forgiveness, and Resolve to Amend.[232] This part in the Act includes a series of historical stories about the results of white racism in American Methodism to sustain injustice toward black Methodist denominations, such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ), and the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (CME).[233] For the part of lament, three phases of *Han* of "comfort women" would be heard: 1) *Han* from being born as a daughter in the patriarchal family – being deprived of rights of self-fulfillment and education and even sold by the family; 2) *Han* from being "comfort women" during World War II by Japan; 3) *Han* from living as survived "comfort women" – the present Japanese government's official denial of acknowledgement/apology and social ignorance and commendation from the Korean society and Church.

The petition for forgiveness can be ritualized by a litany of confession. A leader and the whole congregation solemnly confess the Korean church's sin and seek God's forgiveness. Here is the litany.

> Leader: From the deepest reaches of survivors' memories, they have shared with us their stories of suffering from our church's indifference and sloth to neglect our daughters of God.

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[231] Ibid.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Ibid.

**People: We apologize for the pain and suffering that our indifference and sloth have caused. We are aware of their Han in the patriarchal oppression in our society. For this we are truly and humbly sorry.**

Leader: Survivors have shared the personal and historic pain that they still bear, and have been vulnerable yet again.

**People: To those individuals who were physically, sexually, and mentally abused during war, we offer our most sincere apology. You did nothing wrong. You were and are the victims of evil acts that cannot under any circumstances be justified or excused.**

Leader: We know that many within our church will still not understand why each of us must bear the scar, the blame for this tragedy produced by Japan. But the truth is, we also participate in producing that tragedy, and therefore, we must also bear our responsibility.

**People: Our responsibility includes praying more, actively struggling against injustice, ardently advocating the human rights of "comfort women", and love them as equal children of God.**

Leader: We are in the midst of a long and painful journey as we reflect on the cries that we did not or would not hear, and how we have behaved as a church.

**People: We seek God's forgiveness and healing grace. As we travel this difficult road of repentance, reconciliation, and healing, we commit ourselves to work toward ensuring that we will never again neglect to love children of God who are deserved to be loved. We will never again treat children of God unjustly. We pray that you will witness the living out of our apology in our actions in the future.**[234]

As the resolution section in the Act has an opportunity to hear responses of black Methodist denominations' representatives, "comfort women" have an opportunity to speak their responses to the Korean church's apology.[235] After the hearing of them, the presider (or leader) announces words of grace and assurance.

> Forgiving One, your love is higher than the starry heavens.
> Merciful One, your kindness is deeper than the ocean.
> Righteous One, let each of us be the transformation of your love and kindness into energy for speaking the truth, and for reconciling with one another.[236]

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[234] In light of issue of "comfort women", I modified a litany of confession based on the 1998 apology in a "Liturgical Suggestions" for "Toward Truth and Reconciliation: A Worship Service" of the United Church of Canada. See The United Church of Canada, "Resources for Congregations: Toward Truth and Reconciliation Worship Service," http://www.united-church.ca/aboriginal/schools/resources/trservice (accessed March 16, 2013).

[235] Haldeman, "Help Our Unbelief," 38.

[236] I took words of grace and assurance from "Liturgical Suggestions" for "Toward Truth and Reconciliation: Worship Service" of the United Church of Canada. See The United Church of Canada, "Resources for Congregations: Toward Truth and Reconciliation Worship Service," http://www.united-church.ca/aboriginal/schools/resources/trservice (accessed March 16, 2013)

After the words of grace and assurance, the final hymn follows: the Korean-English Hymnal 508, *More Like Jesus Would I Be*. This hymn encourage us to imitate Jesus Christ who hears even the raven's cry and care the little one with love and peace. While the final hymn is sung, salt is passed to each participant as a sign to perverse the commitment to exercising *agape* and justice.[237] After the final hymn, the whole ritual of the Korean church's apology concludes with benediction by the presider and sending with a recessional song. For the recessional song, *Like A Rock* would be selected again.

### 6.4. The Korean Church's practices of Supporting Forgiveness

Forgiveness is clearly victims' prerogative; the appropriate time, the place, and the words of forgiveness will be chosen by them.[238] Hence, the Korean church *should not coerce* "comfort women" to forgive Japanese government, armies, human trafficker, and their patriarchal family who produced the tragedy and their *Han*. We have to wait and pray for them to gratuitously present forgiveness to their offenders. However, there is still what we can do for enabling forgiveness other than waiting and praying. Zehr and Philpott contend:

> The experience of justice is a basic human need. Without such an experience, healing and reconciliation are difficult or even impossible…A full sense of justice may, of course, be rare. However, even "*approximate justice*" can help… For example, when an offender has not been identified, or refuses to take responsibility, *the community can play a role in providing an experience of justice*. They can truly hear and value victims, agreeing that what happened was wrong and listening and attending to their needs.[239]

> When victims have received acknowledgement, apology, and reparations, they are more willing to exercise the restorative will to forgive. The six practices work together[240]

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[237] In the Act, the salt was passed in order to preserve unity in Christ. See Haldeman, "Help Our Unbelief," 39.
[238] De Gruchy, 179.
[239] Emphasis in mine. Howard Zehr, *Changing Lenses : a New Focus for Crime and Justice / Howard Zehr.* (Scottdale, Pa: Herald Press, 1990), 188–189.
[240] Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*, 198.

Even though Japanese government does not acknowledge their guilt and refuse to take responsibility, the Korean church still can play a role in providing experience of approximate justice for "comfort women." Based on their intrinsic worth as daughters of God who bear *Imago Dei* – the potential to receive and/or give *agape,* to treat them justly means exercising *agape* toward them. Only when they are first loved by God and fellow creatures, they can also love God and others. Receiving *agape* first is the presupposition for forgiveness of others. Since *agape* and justice is not antithetical, doing practices of restorative justice – acknowledgement, apology, and reparations – is a concrete way of bestowing *agape* on "comfort women." When they are loved and cared by the Korean church through concrete practices which I suggested above, their restorative will to forgive can be fostered. When Korean churches treat, care, and nurture them as equal children of God, when Korean churches struggle for restoring justice and their human rights, when Korean churches are willing to be with them, forgiveness and reconciliation may take place.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter I suggest some possible practices of the Korean church for 1) encouraging acknowledgement, 2) implementing reparations, 3) doing apology, and supporting forgiveness. Each practice which I suggested does not stand alone. Rather, they help one another to heal wounds of "comfort women" and to enable them to restore the right relationship with the Korean church, Korean society, and Japanese government. Also, we have to acknowledge that one successful practice does not guarantee to fully heal their wounds and resolve their *Han.* For example, trauma healing needs repetitive hearing of their lamentations; they need to continually affirm the sense of being loved (or cared) by receiving the just treatment for practicing the virtue of moral courage – forgiveness. In other words, the Korean church has to continually develop possible practices of reconciliation and steadily

implement developed practices for restoring the right and just relationship between “comfort women” and Japanese government.

# CONCLUSION

> I would like to become *hope* for those who suffer from injustice like me…
> Our children should live in the *peaceful* world…
> – Anonymous Korean "comfort women" testified in War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul, South Korea

There is a dividing wall of hostility between "comfort women" and Japanese government. In the ongoing conflict, "comfort women" have been wounded by the collective violence of 1) the past war crime and the present injustice of Japan and 2) sexism, social indifference, and condemnation in the Korean patriarchal society. For healing their wounds and restoring the right relationship between two parties (or three parties, if we include the Korean church as another offender), I particularly focused on an agency of the Korean church in the process of reconciliation. In the first and second chapter, I intended to give the Korean church a strong and sound theory of reconciliation, so that it could understand the necessity of compatible relation between *agape* and justice in the age of peace-building. Nurturing *agape* transforms justice from liberal justice – mere fairness and strict punishment – to restorative justice – restoring the right relationship. Restorative justice is the indispensable part of *agape*, and it also prevents *agape* from lapsing into injustice. Both nurturing agape and restorative justice shared a moral vision of restoration of the right relationship – bringing down the dividing of walls of hostility in the world of injustice and violence. With the shared vision, they work in tandem to bring forth reconciliation – actual embrace or just peace – between alienated groups.

After having a clear understanding of reconciliation, in the third chapter, I tried to persuade the Korean church to become an agent of reconciliation between "comfort women" and the Japanese government. I explored the richness of Christian languages of reconciliation in Christian tradition: 1) the Christology and Ecclesiology of Barth and Bonhoeffer and 2) the Pauline theology interpreted by Volf and Lederach. Both Barth and Bonhoeffer defined the

nature of the Church as a new community of being reconciled and the ministry of the Church as a vicarious representation of Christ's reconciliation in the world. Both Volf and Lederach explored the social meaning of reconciliation in the Pauline theology. Volf argues the interrelation between vertical and horizontal dimensions of reconciliation in Paul's life and theology: being reconciled with God intrinsically leads to being reconcile with others. Lederach depicted Christ as an exemplar who makes a new relationship between alienated groups and defined the central mission of the Church to resume Christ' ministry of reconciliation in the world.

In the rest of chapters I primarily focused on developing possible practices of the Korean church in order to facilitate the process of reconciliation between "comfort women" and Japanese government. In the fourth chapter I first explored the social context and location of "comfort women." The critical issue of the matter of coerciveness generates the ongoing conflict between two parties; indeed Japanese government's denial of acknowledging the forceful sexual slavery sustains *Han* of "comfort women." However, we found that their *Han* has been sustained by the patriarchal oppression in Korean society: 1) *Han* from being born as a daughter in a patriarchal family and 2) *Han* from living as surviving "comfort women" in a patriarchal society. From the examination of their social context, I highlighted that the Korean church has to resolve their *Han* and heal wounds from *Han* in the process of reconciliation.

In the fifth and sixth chapters I suggested four practices of the Korean church – acknowledgement, reparations, apology, and forgiveness – for healing wounds of "comfort women" and restoring the right relationship between them and the Korean church, Korean society, or Japanese government. For encouraging acknowledgement, I suggested to use and support available resources of the Korean Council and to implement a comprehensive plan of interviewing and collecting testimonies of surviving "comfort women" as the Guatemalan

church conducted the Recovery of Historical Memory Project. For implementing reparations, I suggested educational programs for trauma healing as rehabilitation based on biblical and spiritual resources of conversation between Calvin's commentary on Psalms and Herman's trauma theory. For doing apology, I proposed a vicarious confession of sin for the past and present injustice of Japan. As well as the vicarious confession, the Korean church has to confess its guilt to neglect care for "comfort women", daughters of God who deserve to be loved. Hence, I suggested to set up the National Sorry Day for them on International Women's Day (March 8th), which usually falls on the season of lent, from the lesson from the National Sorry Day in Australia. I then developed the order of liturgy to confess the Korean church's sin based on my reflection on the Act of Repentance (below Act) performed at the UMC General Conference on May 4, 2000. Finally, for supporting forgiveness, I stressed that the Korean church should not force "comfort women" to forgive Japanese government. First of all, "comfort women" have to be loved by others, at least by the Korean church, and the sense of being loved can be fulfilled by restoring their deprived rights through practices of reconciliation listed above. This sense of being loved (or cared) may contribute to make a hospitable environment in which "comfort women" might exercise their prerogative and the virtue of moral courage – forgiveness.

Without *hope*, it is impossible for the Korean church, including me as one of Korean Christians, to facilitate the process of reconciliation between "comfort women" and Japanese government. In the last summer in 2012, I myself was discouraged by hearing a cruel act of conservative Japanese. A conservative Japanese drove a stake beside the peace monument in front of Japanese Embassy in Seoul, South Korea. A sentence, "*Dakesima* is Japanese territory", was written in the stake.[241] When I heard this news, I felt so bad and doubted the

[241] *Dock-do* (*Dakesima* in Japanese) is a controversial island between Korea and Japan. It locates in east of *Ullungdo* in East Sea, South Korea. It has been a Korean territory historically, but some conservative Japanese

possibility of reconciliation between "comfort women" and "Japanese government (or the Japanese). On the other hand, after the terror, I visited the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul with youth members at Sunlin Methodist Church, and I saw the testimonies of surviving "comfort women." As I stated in the epigraph, an anonymous "comfort women" said that she want to become a symbol of hope for those who suffer from injustice like her. In the midst of collective violence of Japanese government and Korean (patriarchal) society, she never gives up her hope. Her testimony empowered me to have hope; even though it seems to be impossible, we have to continually and steadily struggle for justice, reconciliation, and peace.

Along with this testimony, I found another source of hope during a discussion with the Sunlin youth members after visiting the museum. One of members said:

> I am angry about Japanese and Korean government. But I am more angry about myself. I was so indifferent to this issue of "comfort women"…Thank you for bring me here to let me know about "comfort women"

Her anger against herself represents a repentance of her indifference toward "comfort women" and serves as a precondition for struggling for justice and peace. After visiting the museum, many of youth members also participated in the Wednesday Demonstration several times, and they voluntarily invited their friends for this demonstration. From these experiences I could find hope again for the potential of the Korean church and reconciliation between "comfort women" and Japanese government.

However, we have to make sure that hope for reconciliation is not mere wishful thinking or utopian longing. Rather, hope involves both "developing a common vision for the future" and "seeking to make that vision a reality."[242] In other words, hope is "the sense of

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claims that it belongs to a Japanese territory after the colonization of Korea by Japan. A stake on the peace monument and a sentence, "Dakesima is a Japanese territory," represent conservative Japanese' fervent nationalism and anti-Korean sentiment.

[242] De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 209.

possibility that generates and sustains moral agency" – it empowers us to act![243] If the Korean church bears a *responsible* hope, it has to maintain a dynamic tension between the reality of *Han* of "comfort women" generated by the collective violence of Japan and Korea and the sense of possibility for future reconciliation.[244] Without glossing over the reality of injustice, the Korean church has to act in order to incarnate the moral vision of healing wounds of "comfort women" and restoring the right relationship between them and Japanese government; make it happen in this world! When the Korean church *practice*s this responsible hope for reconciliation, it would contribute to create a new and peaceful community beyond the dividing wall of hostility between two alienated groups.

[243] Ellen Ott Marshall, *Though the Fig Tree Does Not Blossom: Toward a Responsible Theology of Christian Hope* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006), xiii-xiv.
[244] Ibid., xiv-xvi.

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