

History and theology of Korean pentecostalism:
Sunbogeum (pure gospel) pentecostalism

History and theology of Korean pentecostalism:
Sunbogeum (pure gospel) pentecostalism

An attempt to research the history of the largest congregation in church history
and the theology of its pastor Yonggi Cho

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MISSION - Missiologisch onderzoek in Nederland / Missiological research in the Netherlands

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Preface

For a simple Korean Pentecostal Christian to write a doctoral dissertation at a Dutch university is a real venture. I thank the Lord for His grace that has enabled this project to come to an end after all. Due to the limitation of both my own knowledge and time, this work has always been vulnerable.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAOG	The American Assemblies of God
AOG	Assemblies of God
CGI	Church Growth International
CLSK	Christian Literature Society Korea
ChT	Christianity Today
DPCM	Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements
EAJTh	East Asia Journal of Theology
EB	The New Encyclopedia Britannica
GPH	Gospel Publishing House (AAOG)
IRM	International Review of Mission
ITI	International Theological Institute (Yoido Church)
KAOG	The Korean Assemblies of God
KNCC	Korean National Council of Churches
KICCS	Korean Institute of Christian Culture Studies (KCCRI/ Soong Sil Uni., Seoul)
PE	Pentecostal Evangel (AAOG)
SAG	Sinang-Gye Magazine (Yoido Church)
SH	Seonghoe Magazine (KAOG)
SBG	<i>Sunbogeum</i> Magazine (KAOG Seminary)
SBPC	Seoul Book Publishing Company (ex-YPC, Yoido Church)
STAPP	Systematic Theology: A Pentecostal Perspective
WCC	World Council of Churches
WThJ	Wesleyan Theological Journal
YPC	Yeongsan Publishing Company (Yoido Church)

Glossary of Korean Terms with Chinese Characters

- Bogeum* (복음: 福音). the Gospel.
- Bur* (불). fire, brightness or sun.
- Burgeoan* (불거안). The first king of *Silla* (57 B.C.) was called *Burgeoan*.
- Buru* (부루: 夫 付). Chinese transliteration of Korean word *Bur*. The son of Dangun (the founder of the Ancient *Choseon*) was called *Buru*.
- Cheondogyo* (천도교: 天道教). Heaven Way Religion. the developed form of *Donghak*.
- Cheonje* (천제: 天帝). heaven emperor.
- Cheonju* (천주: 天主). heaven lord.
- Daejonggyo* (대종교: 大宗教). the Great Religion . They worship Dangun.
- Do* (도: 道). way or truth.
- Donghak* (동학; 東學). Korean national religion founded in the 19th century among the grass-roots. an Eastern learning/religion.
- Eum-Yang Ohaeng* (음양오행: 陰陽五行). the dual principle of negative and positive, and five elements of fire, water, wood, metal, and earth. It was the principle to explain the formation of all things and changes in them.
- Gangsinmu* (강신무: 降神巫). A man or woman who has become a shaman through spirit possession.
- Gi* (기: 氣). spirit or breath.
- Gwanseeum-Bosal* (관세음보살: 觀世音菩薩: *Kuan-um* bodhisattva). the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy.
- Han* (한: 韓). This corresponds to Korea in its ethnic, cultural and racial connotation. The original linguistic meaning of *Han* is one, wholeness and greatness.
- Han* (한; 恨). the unsolved resentment of Koreans.
- Hananim*. or *Haneunim*. one god in heaven. pure Korean word for one god in heaven.
- Hinayana* Buddhism. Orthodox and closed Buddhism.
- Hongik-Ingan* (홍익인간: 弘益人間). broad benefit to human beings.
- Hsin* (심: 心). mind or heart.
- Hwarangdo* (화랑도: 花郎徒). the Flower Youth Corps organized for the discipline of youth in the Silla Dynasty.
- I Ching*. the Book of Changes. the non-Confucian classic.
- Josa* (조사: 助事). lay assistant teacher or preacher.
- Li* (리: 理). reason or principle.
- Maeseo-in* (매서인: 賣書人). colporteurs.
- Mahayana* Buddhism. syncretic liberal Buddhism in Far East countries.
- Minjung* (민중: 民衆). the masses.
- Mubyeong* (무병: 巫病). shamanistic disease.

Mugyo (무교: 巫敎). shamanism.
Okhwang-Sangje (옥황상제: 玉黃上帝). precious emperor above.
Osunjeol (오순절: 五旬節). pentecost. the feast of fifty days.
Pungryu (풍류: 風流). wind flowing or elegant and poetical.
Sangje (상제: 上帝). above emperor.
Seon-in (선인: 仙人; *Chen-jen* in Chinese). a spiritual man or a perfected man.
Seong-San (성산: 聖山). Bo-Hwan Park's Christian name which means holy mountain.
Sesubmu (세습무: 世襲巫). a man or woman who has become a shaman by inheritance.
Silhak (실학: 實學). Practical Science.
Silhak Sasang (실학사상: 實學思想). the Thought of Practical Science.
Simryeong Buheung Seonghoe (심령부흥성회: 心靈復興聖會). the holy meeting of spiritual revival.
Sindansu (신단수: 神檀樹). the god altar tree.
Sun (순: 純). pure, genuine; (순: 順) obedience; (순: 筍) bamboo shoots; (순: 殉) martyrdom; (순: 旬) ten days; and (순: 蓴) a watershield plant.
Sunbogeum (순복음: 純福音). pure Gospel.
Sunbogeum Shinhakgyo (순복음 신학교: 純福音 神學校). Full Gospel Theological Seminary.
Taegeuk (태극: 太極). *Tai Chi* in Chinese. the primal beginning. It is composed of 'the negative principle in nature like dark or female' (음: *Eum*: 陰: Chinese *Yin*) and 'the positive principle in nature like light or man' (양: *Yang*: 陽: Chinese *Yang*).
Tien Ming (천명: 天命). heaven's decree. the mandate of heaven.
Wonbul-Gyo (원불교: 圓佛敎). the Circle Buddhism developed in Korea in early 20th century

1. Introduction

1.1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The story of church growth in Korea is no longer unknown to the Christian world. Recently, the situation in the Korean Protestant churches has been reported as follows: 170 denominations; 47,810 church congregations; 430 Christian organizations; 210 mission organizations; 184 Theological Colleges and Seminaries; and 521 prayer houses.¹ The number of Korean overseas missionaries in 2003 amounted to 11,614 working in 170 countries sent by 140 missionary organizations. It means that the number of missionaries increased almost 125 times in 24 years. Numerically speaking, Korea takes second place in the sending of overseas missionaries after the U.S.A.²

Compared to its short history of slightly over a century, the Protestant church in Korea has experienced a big revival. The reason for this can be mainly sought in theological, religio-cultural and socio-political spheres.³ These form the context in which the Korean church experienced its spiritual awakenings. Observing its history from this viewpoint, we can make out three stages (see figure 1), each with its own main ignition factor. These three stages are generally categorized by Korean theologians as ‘pentecostal movements’ (see 1.5). However, we can especially distinguish the revival after the Korean War (1950-1953), which corresponds to the period of Pure Gospel [*Sunbogeum*: in Korean: 순복음; in Chinese: 純福音] movement.⁴

The first revival broke out in Wonsan city in 1903 and came to a head in Pyongyang city in 1907 (see the map of Korea). This movement has played a major role in shaping the characteristics of the Korean churches.⁵ It started with Bible study and prayer meetings under the leadership of evangelical missionaries from North America. The spiritual form of the faith at this phase is compared to the authoritative and powerful God the Father of the Trinitarian God. Through this movement, Korean believers experienced an exodus out of the traditional religions.⁶

¹ *Kookmin-Ilbo Daily News* (Seoul), January 6, 1995.

² Esther Koo, Korea Research Institute for Missions (KRIM/ Seoul), August 28, 2003. In 1979, Korea sent 93 missionaries by 21 missionary organizations.

³ Yung Han Kim, “A Short Consideration on Cause-Analysis about the Quantitative Growth of Korean Christianity,” in *Korean Christianity and Faith*, edited by Yung Han Kim, Seoul, 1988, pp.23-71, passim; Ig-Jin Kim, “Korean Pentecostalism,” MA dissertation at King’s College, 1994, pp.100-102.

⁴ Boo-Woong Yoo, *Korean Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology*, Frankfurt am Main, 1988. pp. 206-220. Yoo writes that the growth of the Korean Protestant church in 1970s and 1980s is miraculous. The main reason for that is the unique nature of two pentecost-people crusades (1974 and 1980) and the pentecostal character of the Korean church, he argues.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 69; Tong-Shik Ryu, “Korean Church and the Holy Spirit Movement,” in *A Study on the Pentecostal Movement*, Seoul, 1982, pp. 9-21. Ryu says that the important characteristic of the Korean church is the Holy Spirit movement (p.20).

⁶ Kyong Bae Min, “Theology of Present Korean Church,” in *Korean Christianity and Faith*, ed. by Yung Han Kim, Seoul, 1988. pp. 123-126. Min writes that the Christian phenomenon in Korea has two features: evangelicalism and emphasis on the Holy Spirit (p. 123). He compares the faith form in the

A second wave of pentecostal revival arose about two decades after the first one, set in motion by the Methodist minister Yong-Do Yi (1901-1933), who committed himself to the flame of God's love. He was an indigenous pentecostal martyr. Even though his contribution to Christianity has remained an unsolved theological problem up to now, his influence on the Korean church cannot be passed over. His spirituality featured a mystical pentecostalism of the suffering Son of God, on which the oppressed Koreans under the Japanese Imperialism could model their faith.

These two events, together with many other revival meetings, have not only solidified the foundation of Korean churches in general but have also bequeathed to them their spiritual character. But they have developed neither their own theologies nor influential organizations.⁷ The first two stages were indigenous 'pentecostal' movements. If we interpret pentecostalism in a narrower sense, they were spiritual movements which fall within a category of evangelicalism. They had neither recognized manifestations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit nor the definite and settled doctrines of so-called classical pentecostalism. The Pyongyang revival has no report about speaking in tongues or prophecies.⁸ In the period of minister Yong-Do Yi, the phenomena of praying in strange tongues and prophecies were reported by some observers, but such spiritual gifts were not officially recognized by Korean churches at that time. Such hitherto unknown experiences disappeared as minister Yong-Do Yi passed away.⁹

A third pentecostal revival developed in Korea, this time not as a revival meeting as in the previous two examples, but as a new doctrine introduced by foreign classic pentecostalism. The importance of this movement is that it expands and influences Korean Christians continuously by way of filling them with the Holy Spirit. Having been introduced in 1928, this third movement grew slowly for two and a half decades, without a solid organization under the oppression of Japanese

Holy Spirit of the three revivals in Korea to each person of the Trinitarian God respectively. The early movement was dominated by faith in God the Father who has control over the universe. The second revival (1930s) was characterized by faith in the suffering Son and the third movement after the Korean War adhered to faith in the Holy Spirit; we can hardly see any modern Asian countries which had an expansion of Christianity as a national "movement" as in Korea. Especially, when we consider that of the neighbouring countries like China and Japan, we find remarkable differences.

⁷ Deok-Hwan Kim, *The Foundation History of Korean Church Denominations*, Incheon, 1986. 3 vols. 2: 91-106. 3: 203-212. Yong-Do Yi's followers who were rejected by Presbyterian and Methodist denominations formed their own, pure Korean denomination, *Yesu Gyohoe* (Jesus Church). In 1984, this denomination had 22 congregations, 34 pastors and 2,474 members.

⁸ John Stetz who was the first AAOG missionary to Korea wrote to the author (1.4.1996) saying, "... the history of the Pentecostal movement in Korea ... I believe that it started in the Presbyterian church in Pyongyang, North Korea back in 1909. But the Presbyterian missionaries did not believe in the baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues ... so they tried to squelch it thinking that it was extremism and not the work of the Holy Spirit. But in 1909 and 1910 there was a mighty move of the Holy Spirit which spread all over Korea and into China. One Presbyterian missionary in Korea told me about a group of Koreans who had a Pentecostal experience in the south east section of Korea and that even in 1954 when he spoke to me they were still speaking in other tongues. This was in the vicinity of Pohang and further up the coast." This is the only report that the writer has heard about the spiritual gift which was mentioned in connection with the Pyongyang movement. Missionary Stetz does not seem to be so well informed of the Pyongyang revival as to prove it, but it is interesting to note. Those who were speaking in tongues might be the inheritors of the second pentecostal movement.

⁹ Jong-Ho Byeon, *The Complete Collection of Yong-Do Yi (CCYY)*, Seoul, 1993. 10 vols. 2: 157-159, 4: 54-56.

Imperialism, the established churches and the Korean War (1950-1953). Thereafter, the American Assemblies of God acted as an agent to help organize a denomination in 1953. When this Korean Assemblies of God opened the Bible School in Seoul on 10th May 1953, they picked Full Gospel Theological Seminary [*Sunbogeum Shinhakgyo*; 순복음 신학교; 純福音神學校] as the designation of the school. “Let us preach only the Full Gospel” was the slogan to take the designation *Sunbogeum*. That was the official/formal birth of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism in Korea.¹⁰

Thus *Sunbogeum* became familiar to Koreans as the name of a new spiritual movement instead of the official designation, the Korean Assemblies of God. It was settling down as an indigenization (see 1.5) of classical pentecostalism in Korean soil. This time, the pattern of the spiritual movement was characterized as faith in the Holy Spirit after the ravages of the Korean War and the following process of economic growth since the 1960s.

This third stage of *Sunbogeumism* has not only solidified its pentecostal teaching but has also resulted in its becoming the fastest growing church in Korea. It has been planting churches in the whole of South Korea and among Korean emigrants in the world. The statistics of the Korean Assemblies of God in January 1995 shows: 30 districts in the whole of South Korea; 1,045 congregations; 2,585 pastors, among whom 1,360 are trainee-pastors; 1,175,621 members, among whom 183,465 children are included; 166 intercultural missionaries have been sent out.¹¹

Among the several pentecostal groups,¹² only *Sunbogeum* church, which is an heir to the earliest classical pentecostalism in Korea, has influenced the growth of the Korean churches and made a marked impact on world evangelization. It was ignited by foreign missionaries but it was developed by Korean pentecostals on Korean soil. However, it has not severed itself from the established churches and from the universal pentecostal movement. The tension between indigenism and universality in *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism calls our attention to a theological problem.

It is common knowledge that Korean Christianity has deep roots in the shamanistic spirituality of Koreans which is syncretized with Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism (see 1.5). But *Sunbogeum* seems to be especially suited to this spiritual soil of Koreans. Because of the phenomenological resemblance between the pentecostal worship meetings and the shaman rituals and because of the similarity between the prosperity gospel of *Sunbogeumism* and the blessing-oriented shamanism, the *Sunbogeum* movement has been suspected by some theologians of

¹⁰ Yo-Yeol Choe, interview, January 20, 1995 in Bucheon, Korea. Pastor Choe is the first graduate of *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary (1955). He added that the name *Sunbogeum* began to win a reputation at the time when Yonggi Cho founded *Sunbogeum Jungang Gyohoe* (Pure Gospel Central Church) at West Gate, Seoul, in early 1960s. See 6.2.

¹¹ There are about 550 pastors of KAOG who are ministering in churches in North America and in Europe (*The Directory of KAOG 1995/6* and *Kookmin-Ilbo Daily News* (28. 3. 1996)); The number of missionaries is from 1997.

¹² Gyomunsa, *Korean Church Growth in 100 Years*, Seoul, 1993. p. 200. There are six other pentecostal denominations besides the KAOG. The sum total of all other groups reaches slightly over 100,000 members with 1,140 congregations. The figure is not definitive.

being blended with shamanism.¹³ For all that *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism has secured its place as an influential church among the Protestant churches in Korea, its theological assessment is still left unfinished. Moreover, considering its vision for world mission and its practical impact on world evangelization, we are called upon to reflect how indigenized Korean pentecostalism can be related to universal Christianity in an intercultural context.

With regard to these considerations, I think that it is important to study *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism to locate its identity under the aspects of indigenosity and universality. The indigenous aspect implies its contextuality and the universal aspect has to do with its theology.

The object of this study, therefore, is to investigate the context and texture of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism so that we may evaluate its cultural indigenosity and theological interrelatedness.¹⁴ It may shed more light on the world mission and Christian theology.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

Concerning the methodology for this study, I use historical, phenomenological (comparative), and systematic-theological methods. These three methods support one another: the first and the second methods are descriptive and analytical, the third one is normative. Each method will be used in accordance with the character of the chapters. First, the historical method will be applied to Parts I and II which deal with the socio-political, religious and Christian history of Korea and the sketch of the *Sunbogeum* movement. Second, the phenomenological method will be used to Parts II and III: the *Sunbogeum* movement, as a distinguishing phenomena, will be

¹³ Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*, Reading, MA, 1994. pp.213-241. Cox writes about Korean pentecostalism, specially about Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church, as a kind of test case using a principle which he had established through worldwide exploration of pentecostal types of Christianity. This principle is that a growing church today possesses two capabilities: first, it must be able to include and transform certain elements of existing religions which still influence the cultural subconscious; second, it must also equip people to live in changing societies where responsibility, inventiveness and skills are indispensable. The first capability in Korea, according to him, is that Korean pentecostalism “absorbs huge chunks of indigenous Korean shamanism.” Korean pentecostalism is combined with shamanism, he thinks. He argues this from information given about worship meetings at Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church. The second capability in Korea is explained by the organizational genius of pentecostals, he says. The national organization and training of Korean mass evangelization campaigns prepared Korean pentecostal Christians to be mission-oriented believers so that it caused them and Korean economics to bring about prosperity according to Peter Drucker’s theory of “nonprofit enterprise brings profit in the modern knowledge society.” He refers to the ideas of Boo-Woong Yoo (*Korean Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology*) and Hyun Kyung Chung (“shamanistic dance event” in Canberra for the 7th W. C. C. general assembly in 1991) who stand on the side of liberation and *Minjung* theology. It is hard for us Korean evangelicals to come to a full appreciation of his thought except its ethical warning for Korean pentecostalism because he is not well enough informed about Korean churches. His liberation theology, on its part, may render serves to Christian churches by his attempt to bridge the concern for liberation common to both liberation theology and pentecostalism. We shall discuss this problem in Part III.

¹⁴ However, we start to introduce Korean people, religions and churches in chapters 2-4 as general information.

compared with other phenomena in Korean church history and theology. Third, I will apply the systematic-theological method to Part III. *Sunbogeum* theology will be researched systematic-theologically.

1.3. STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

This study has four parts. Each part will be further divided into several chapters. Part I will cover the study of the context of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism. We shall consider three aspects: namely, modern Korean socio-politics, Korean religions and Korean church history. These aspects are expanded in three chapters so that we may throw light upon the marked characteristics of Korean culture which have prepared the way for the *Sunbogeum* movement.

Part II deals with the history of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism. Three chapters are allocated to this. I describe its birth and its initial history in chapter 5. This section covers the period from 1928 to 1952. We shall see how classical pentecostalism was planted and began to push out new shoots in Korea during this time. Chapter 6 covers the history of classical pentecostalism in Korea as an organization, the *Sunbogeum* church. The focus of the description for the rapid growth of *Sunbogeum* church in this period will be on the support of the American Assemblies of God and the person of Pastor Yonggi Cho. In chapter 7, I will deal mainly with the role of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism inside and outside Korea. The reality of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church will be researched with interest because it is a living testimony of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism.

Part III covers the theology of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism. I will research its doctrines. In a sense this will be a discussion about *Sunbogeum* systematic theology. Its views on the Bible, the Trinity, Christology, pneumatology, missiology, ecclesiology, ethics and eschatology will be discussed respectively in each chapter. In the section on the Trinity, angelology, demonology and anthropology will also be treated. Chapter 8 will be the core of this part in which I will deal with the nature of *Sunbogeum* faith. It is generally represented by the doctrinal formulation of Pastor Yonggi Cho: the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation. The philosophy and methodology of *Sunbogeumism* will be especially highlighted because these are the most distinguishing features of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism.

Part IV corresponds to the conclusion of this study, which will contain an evaluation and future prospects.

1.4. SOURCES

The main sources for each chapter will be introduced in its introductory section. Here, I only present the general principle which will define the sources for the whole study. Sources for this study are divided into primary sources, secondary sources and general literature.

1.4.1. Primary Sources

Primary sources are those which originate from *Sunbogeum* pentecostals. I get them by the following means:

The first way is to consult books, such as collections of preachings, essays, dissertations and Biblical teachings. *Church History of Korea Assemblies of God* (1993) edited by the International Theological Institute which is established at Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church and *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing* (1983) by Yonggi Cho are the main primary sources for the history and theology of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism. The second way is to consult the assembly documents and periodicals of the denomination. The *Minutes* of the general assembly, magazines of both the denomination and the seminary students, and the denomination newspaper are counted in this category. The third way to primary sources is via personal contacts, interviews, personal observations and the writer's own experiences. The fourth way is to get information through fragmentary sources like weekly church news, articles outside *Sunbogeum* publications, letters, brochures and leaflets.

1.4.2. Secondary Sources

Secondary sources are those publications and articles which deal with *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism outside *Sunbogeum* church. For referencing the history of *Sunbogeum* movement, *Dream Your Way to Success: The Story of Dr. Yonggi Cho* (1980) by Nell L. Kennedy, *Put ... Shoes on His Feet* (1989) by Arthur B. Chestnut and *Pentecostal Evangel* (1951-1994, passim) of the American Assemblies of God are the main secondary sources for the historical part. For critical views, *A Study on the Pentecostal Movement in Korea* (1982) edited by the Korea Christian Academy, *Korean Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology* (1988) by Boo-Woong Yoo, *The Seduction of Christianity: Spiritual Discernment in the Last Days* (1985) by Dave Hunt and T.A. McMahon, *Verfuehrerische Lehren der Endzeit* (1991) by Albert Betschel and "A Report of the Result of Study over Yonggi Cho's Pseudo-Christianity" by the 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination in *Church and Faith* (Seoul, 1993-1996, passim) are used as the main sources.

1.4.3. General Literature

The sources for references about Korean culture, pentecostalism in general and theology including missiology belong to this category. About Korean culture, *A New Comment on Korean History* (1967/ 3 rev. ed., 1994) by Gi-Baek Yi and *Korean Church History* (1972/ 2 rev. ed., 1994) by Kyong Bae Min are the sources most often referred to. For the latter part, *The Pentecostals* (1969/ 1988) by Walter J. Hollenweger, *Korean Christian Culture Theology* (1992) by Yung Han Kim, *Systematic Theology: A Pentecostal Perspective* (1994) by Stanley M. Horton and *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the 19th and 20th Centuries I* (1995)

and *II* (1997) by Jan A.B. Jongeneel are most frequently used. Several publications of Jürgen Moltmann are referred to as for criticisms for *Sunbogeum* theology.¹⁵

1.5. TERMINOLOGY

Some technical terms which will be used in this study need to be clarified in advance.

Korea. When I refer to contemporary Korean Christianity, I generally signify South Korea. However, when I deal with the ethno-cultural background of Koreans, Korea signifies the whole of Korea. Sometimes, the title Morning Fresh (*Choseon*) will be used to name Korea, it being the oldest designation for Korean national identity. North Koreans still use *Choseon* to designate Korea. Korea and *Choseon* can be used interchangeably.

Han. In this project I shall use the word to denote two different concepts. We can distinguish between them either by placing the Chinese character in parenthesis next to the word, or from the context of the passage. Firstly, *Han* (한: 韓) corresponds to Korea in its ethnic, cultural and racial connotation. The original linguistic meaning of *Han* is one, wholeness and greatness. Its personification is *Hananim* or *Haneunim* (one god in heaven). The other *Han* (한: 恨) expresses the unsolved resentment which Koreans have accumulated in their hearts. This symbolic word for Koreans, especially for Korean women, is understood to be related to shamanism. *Minjung* theology takes this *Han* to be an important issue (8.2.3).

Pentecostalism. This theological system was started by Charles Fox Parham at the turn of last century (1.1.1901) at Topeka, Kansas. Generally, this is called classical pentecostalism. Its theological foundations are established on the twofold doctrines: first, the second experience of being baptized with the Holy Spirit after salvation; second, the speaking in tongues as the initial sign for Spirit baptism. Its worldwide movement followed when William J. Seymour opened the Azusa Street mission in Los Angeles in 1906. Neo-pentecostalism since the 1960s, the Third Wave since the 1980s, and spiritual awakenings like the Pyongyang revival (1907) are included in a broader sense of pentecostalism. *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism is a movement and a theological system which has been developed in the Korean Assemblies of God since 1953. It belongs within classical pentecostalism. In its literal sense, it means 'pure Gospel' pentecostalism.

Indigenization and *syncretism.* As Korean pentecostalism and the writer belong to the circle of exclusivism, this project uses the terminology indigenization with the classical sense of 'Christianizing the people within the framework of non-Christian life by the Gospel so that transformation of the essence of traditional religio-cultural structure follows as a concomitant phenomenon.' It is a spiritual transformation of the people and culture. Terminologies among accommodation, inculturation, syncretism, contextualization and indigenization, this project prefers to adopt the term indigenization. However, the problem of 'theologically responsible syncretism' (Walter J. Hollenweger/ 8.2.3) will be left open.

¹⁵ Jürgen Moltmann, *Der Gekreuzigte Gott* (1972), *In der Geschichte des dreieinigen Gottes* (1991) and *Der Geist des Lebens* (1991) are most frequently referred to.

2. Modern history of Korea

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Korea, which is believed to trace back its origin to the early part of the third millennium B.C., belongs to the group of three East Asian countries.¹ It has, together with China and Japan, a common cultural heritage. The group's centre was China. Although these three countries had a common cultural background for a long time² each had originally developed its own cultural identity. The outstanding feature of Chinese culture was that the Chinese developed it by themselves without foreign influence, creating philosophy, a social order and religion which were purely Chinese,³ whereas Korea and Japan received Chinese culture over many centuries. However, Korea, the northern border of which lies adjacent to China, had been more closely related to Chinese socio-political development than Japan has. Korea not only remained under the influence of Chinese culture but also was related to it as a tributary state through history.⁴ But Japan has developed into an object-oriented nationalistic island state since the 13th century. It has positively accommodated Western technology, education and science, but not Christianity, since the latter part of the 19th century.⁵ It has become a unique non-Western industrial country that participated in colonialism. Japan began to affect the fate of modern Korea in a practical way through its colonialization.

In this chapter we shall observe the modern history of Korean people as a background of Korean pentecostalism. Accordingly, we do not go through the details of the history but illuminate its modern history by the angle of pentecostalism. This chapter has three main sections: *Choseon* Dynasty opened to the world powers (2.2); Japanese Colony (2.3); and Korea after the Second World War (2.4).

The main sources for this chapter are: *An Outline of National History* (1976) by A Society for the Education of National History; *The History of Korea: Compared to World History* (1975/ 18th ed., 1991) by Jin-Cheol Kang, Man-Gil Kang and

¹ The general development of Korean history can be summarized as follows: tribalism (ca. 2,333 -1,000 B.C.); the Ancient *Choseon* (ca. 1,000-108 B.C.); the Ancient Triangular State (57 B.C.-A.D. 668); the Unified *Silla* (668-936); the *Goryeo* Dynasty (936-1392); the *Choseon* Dynasty (1392-1910).

² Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, *East Asia 1: Great Tradition*. Trans. into Korean by Hae-Jong Jeon and Byeong-Ik Ko. Seoul, 1964/9 ed., 1977. pp.11-18; "China" in *EB*, 1983, 4: 270, 10: 667. The main inhabitants of these three ethnic groups are of Mongoloid stock. Both Korean and Japanese languages belong to the Altaic language family while Chinese belongs to Sino-Tibetan.

³ Paul E. Kaufmann, *China Yesterday: Confucius, Mao and Christ*. Hong Kong, 1980. pp.31; Only Buddhism was introduced from outside.

⁴ The Ancient *Choseon* was overthrown by the Chinese *Han* Empire and this set up four Chinese commandaries in northern part of Korea (108 B.C.-A.D. 313). When the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty and Manchurian Ching ruled over China, Korea was put under their powers as well. It became a "son-in law" country to Yuan (1259-1350) and was under the intervention of Ching (1636-1895). Korea was invaded by Japanese pirates and military forces from the first century B.C. from time to time. In the 16th century (1592 and 1596), Korea was overrun by Japan.

⁵ John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig, *East Asia 2: The Modern Transformation*, translated into Korean by Hae-Jong Jeon and Du-Gi Min. Seoul: 1969/5 ed., 1974. pp. 209-238.

Jeong-Bae Kim; and *A New Comment on Korean History* (1967/ rev. 1976/ sec.rev.1994) by Gi-Baek Yi.

2.2. CHOSEON DYNASTY OPENED TO THE WORLD POWERS (1876-1910)

The situation of Korea (the dynasty was called *Choseon*) in the last quarter of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century was complicated. There were internal disturbances and external struggles for concessions from the world powers. In this section we observe how Korea was confronted with such a great epoch in its history and was going to be modernized, on the one hand, and to lose its independence by the powers, on the other.

There were three types of modernization in Asia: autonomous and nationalistic modernization like Japan; semi-colonialistic modernization like China; and colonialistic modernization like Korea and India.⁶ Japan was successful in modernizing and it became an imperialist state on an equal status with the Western imperialistic countries. Japan was forced to open its door to America from the middle part of the 19th century and rapidly built a modern industrialized socio-economic structure after the model of the Western world, especially from the Meiji Restoration.⁷ However, China, which had begun to have contacts with the Western world and was forced to open her doors to them earlier than Japan had, was slow to accept Western modernism owing to her sympathy for her own great tradition as well as her anti-Western movement.⁸ Compared to successful Japanese modernization, China failed and was left to the Western privileges. Having been closely related to China throughout its history, Korea shared her fate with China. Korea was even the last one among these three countries to come into contact with the Western world. It still remained a hermit country to the Western world, while Japan experienced total renovation. Politically, Korea remained secluded until Japan forced it to conclude a treaty of friendship in 1876. Now, the role of the Chinese in Korea was not only going to be replaced by the Japanese but the latter also intensified their role in Korea under the pretext of modernization of Korea and establishing East Asian peace. This was followed by the commercial treaties with America and the Western powers from 1882. Korean 'modernization' was thrust forward in this way.

We sketch here the contemporary situation in Korea when it was involved in the open-door policy (1876) under several aspects which had been developing for the previous one or two centuries. First, the Thought of Practical Science, *Silhak Sasang* [실학사상; 實學思想], which had originated both from observation of the incompetent ruling class as well as the inappropriateness of Neo-Confucianism and from the impetus of Western culture through China, and establishing itself as an

⁶ Jin-Cheol Kang, Man-Gil Kang and Jeong-Bae Kim, *The History of Korea Compared to World History*, Seoul, 1975/ 18 ed., 1991, p.pp.150-152.

⁷ John K. Fairbank et al., *ibid.*, pp.285-322. Meiji Restoration began in 1868.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.143-207, 363-437, 730-747. *passim*. China lost the Opium War (1840-1842) against the British and signed the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. China was officially opened to the Western world. Other Western powers soon followed to sign treaties with China. China with a huge territory and population under Manchu's (Ching) incompetent government experienced turmoils during the latter half of the 19th century. The general structural change of Chinese society began from the first decade of the 20th century and formed the republic (1912).

ideological/cultural movement.⁹ This new thought was in character both nationalistic (different from the universalism of Neo-Confucianism), modern (different from past-oriented Neo-Confucianism), and partisan in siding with the people (different from the leadership principles of Neo-Confucianism). The methodology of this movement was based on proving the facts (critical) and was therefore related to the opening of the door to Western modernism into Korea.¹⁰ Second, Roman Catholicism spread among the ruined nobilities and lower classes centering around the Seoul area who were confronted with tradition as well as persecution (see 4.2). Third, the centralization of power by the relatives of the royal family led to political disturbances throughout the 19th century in Korea. Farmers suffered heavily under such a situation. The number of drifting farmers increased and people revolted against the government and ruthless officials frequently.¹¹ Fourth, an Eastern Religion, *Donghak* [동학; 東學] was formed by Je-Wu Choe to establish social ethics and also to counteract Western knowledge and Catholicism. Its doctrine was the religious syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism, shamanism and some ideas of Catholicism. The ineffectiveness of traditional religions provided Korean farmers with a religious vacuum into which a new national religion could penetrate,¹² developing into a religious as well as a social reform movement among farmers in the southern area.¹³ Fifth, there was a constant request for commercial trade by the Western powers. Having traded only with China until then, Korea was even invaded by Westerners.¹⁴ Finally, under these circumstances modern thought was beginning to take hold among Korean people through the process of both the collapse of the aristocratic class system and the developing of business capital and popular literature as well as humanistic arts. However, having known the tragedy of China after its defeat in the Opium War, the Korean (*Choson* Dynasty) government still regarded strict isolationism as the best policy.

Regardless of such an isolationist policy, an opening was being prepared. Not only was the idea of opening to the Western modernism growing among pioneers but also the dictatorial isolationist, Daewon-Gun (the father of King Gojong), was removed from power (1873). Japan took advantage of this opportunity. Even China, which was not ready for armed conflict with Japan, invited Korea to conclude a treaty with Japan. According to the conclusion of a treaty of friendship between Korea and Japan in 1876, Chinese suzerainty over Korea was rejected (Korea as an independent state)¹⁵ and Japan secured rights to carry on trade through the three main Korean ports. The result of this ‘forced opening’ was that Korea began to enter

⁹ The leading spiritual principle of *Choson* Dynasty (1392-1910) was Neo-Confucianism which was shifted from Buddhism after 1,000 years in Korean history. See 3.3.2.

¹⁰ Jin-Cheol Kang and et al, *ibid.*, pp.136-138.

¹¹ Gi-Baek Yi, *A New Comment on Korean History*, 1967/ 3 rev. ed., 1994, pp.324-335. Small scale uprisings were frequent. The most famous revolts were Gyeong-Lae Hong’s rising (1811) and Jinju People Revolt (1862).

¹² Kyoung Jae Kim, *Christianity and the Encounter of Asian Religions*, Zoetermeer, 1994, pp.96-103.

¹³ Gi-Baek Yi, *ibid.*, *Donghak* was founded around 1860 by Je-Wu Choe, who was beheaded in 1864 by the government on a charge of deluding the world and deceiving the people. But it spread among farmers.

¹⁴ Gi-Baek Yi, *ibid.*, pp.344-348. A British merchant ship firstly requested trade in 1832. French and American warships were defeated by the Korean army in 1866 and 1871 respectively.

¹⁵ This measure was only a means to an end of driving out China from Korea.

the international arena. But it was to face the problem of exposing itself without its own capability of exercising political autonomy.

No sooner had it concluded the treaty than the Korean government tried to carry forward the policy of enlightenment. It sent inquiry-committees to Japan and China and planned a reform of the administrative structure, especially the military organization. As in the case of China, the opposition party, the Neo-Confucian and anti-Westernization conservatives, retaliated. Now, Korea became a battleground for the conservatives (Neo-Confucianists) who were backed by China, and the reformists (those who followed the idea of Westernization) who were supported by Japan. The treaties with the Western world since the year 1882 were concluded through the good offices of China (*Ching*) because it wanted to restrain Japanese monopolization over Korea through such measures. Under this situation Korean national consciousness was developing and this consciousness would be translated into actions like the Eastern Religion movement, the royal troops (righteous army) movement and the enlightenment movement.¹⁶ During this time, Protestant missionaries came into Korea (1884).

This competition over Korea between China and Japan came to an end as China lost the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) which broke out on Korean territory on account of the controversy over Korea, brought about by the uprising of the Eastern Religion (*Donghak*) in 1894. This revolt manifested the Korean masses' desire for reform of corrupt politics as well as their protest against unjust social status. Its influence swept over the whole of the southern part of Korea and reached even to the northern Hamgyeong-Do and Pyeongan-Do.¹⁷ As waning Korea was not able to put down this farmers' riot, it called on China for help. Japan also sent forces in order to protect its residents in Korea. The old 'Great-China' failed. As China practically lost its influence over Korea, Japan demanded Korea forcibly to make a reform about domestic administration. This Reformation of Gabo (1894) was significant in the process of Korean modernization while it also played the part of preparing for the capitalistic invasion of Korea by Japan.¹⁸ Japan even assassinated the Queen of Korea (Min) who was anti-Japanese and wanted to establish a pro-Russian government in her palace (1895).

While Russia also adopted a policy of advancing southwards through the Korean peninsula, friction with Japan over Manchuria and Korea was unavoidable,

¹⁶ A Society for the Education of National History, ed., *An Outline of National History*, Seoul, 1976, p.246.

¹⁷ Gi-Baek Yi, *ibid.*, pp.369-375. *Donghak* movement was an uprising by the followers of the anti-western as well as anti-nobility religious and reform movement as we have already mentioned. As this organization attacked a corrupt official by force, there was a military engagement between these peasant-soldiers and the military forces. Some of the main principles of their ideas for reform (for example: the abolition of social status; burning of slave documents; and permission of remarriage for widows etc.) were adopted by the subsequent Gabo Reformation.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp.376-381; A Society for the Education of National History, *ibid.*, pp.268-283. The general principle for this reformation by Japan was presented to the Korean King Gojong on 3rd July 1894. As this demand was rejected by the Korean government Japan forced the king to reconstruct the cabinet (23.7.1894) so that the reform demand would be accepted (26.7.1894). The war between China and Japan broke out during this period (25.7.1894). The reformation covered to the realms of politics, economics and society. Especially, reform of social matters like breaking down the social status, abolition of torture, prohibition of early marriage, allowance of remarriage for widow and simplification of clothes etc. showed a great social change.

which led to the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Contrary to world expectation, Imperial Russia lost. Through the mediation of Theodore Roosevelt, the Treaty of Portsmouth was concluded, by which Russia had to recognize Japan as the dominant power in Korea. Japan also acquired rights to advance into Manchuria, thus securing a bridgehead for invasion of the continent. America and Great Britain, who wanted to protect the southward advancement of Russia, had already endorsed Japan's supremacy over Korea before the end of the Russo-Japanese War.¹⁹ Having been recognized by world powers as holding superiority over Korea, Japan was free to conclude the *Ulsa* Protective Treaty with Korea in 1905, through which Korea was deprived of the right of diplomacy. In two years (1907), king Gojong had to abdicate his crown to the last king Sunjong and the Korean army was dissolved. Around this time the activities of the righteous army reached their climax: in 1908, there were 1,976 engagements between Japanese army and 'Korean righteous army' in Korea.²⁰ At last, the *Choseon* Dynasty came to an end on Korea's annexation to the Japanese Empire in 1910.

2.3. JAPANESE COLONY (1910-1945)

As we have observed in the previous section, Korea was following the pattern of modernization through the sequential process of the advancing of the Western imperial powers, forming nationalistic fronts against them, and gradual social reforms under colonialism.²¹ We can divide the period of Japanese Imperialism in Korea into three phases according to the method of its reign. The first phase coincided with the military government (1910-1919). An army general was nominated to rule over Korea with full powers directly under the emperor. Japan needed a rigorous military government in Korea mobilizing military police in order to be able to rule the resisting Koreans. Uniformed government officials and school teachers wore a sword at their sides. All political activities were prohibited. Newspapers had already been suspended just before the annexation. More than 50,000 patriots were arrested in 1912 while more than 140,000 who seemed to be uncooperative to colonial government were taken into custody. At the same time, the Japanese began to make inroads into the countryside lands, industrial sector and the money market. In 1917, the industrial output of Japanese in Korea amounted to more than ten times that of Koreans.²² On account of economic exploitation, a large number of Koreans emigrated into Manchuria (about one million lived there around 1919) and thousands of farmers became slash-and-burn-farmers. A remarkable development of Koreans in this period is found in the fields of both education and Christianity which played an important role in inspiring the national consciousness of Koreans. Until the annexation, there had been about 3,000 private schools in Korea. Having been

¹⁹ Gi-Baek Yi, *Ibid.*, 392-396. A Society ..., *ibid.*, p.294. It was a prelude to the division of Korea after World War II by the foreign powers.

²⁰ Gi-Baek Yi, pp.403,404. The righteous army already broke up in 1895. But when the army was dissolved, they joined the farmer-army and fought against Japanese army more systematically than before. However, they could not change the overall situation.

²¹ Jin-Cheol Kang, et al., *ibid.*, pp.150-151.

²² Gi-Baek Yi, *ibid.*, pp.400-417.

suffered under colonial government, these private schools that still existed took the lead in national education and prepared the ground for the forthcoming national movement. The Protestant church in Korea especially influenced Koreans around this time in the realms of public welfare service (medical service), education, and raising the national consciousness. Jae-Pil Seo, Sang-Jae Yi and Chi-Ho Yun, who were among the most prominent leaders of contemporary Koreans, were pious Protestant Christians. Spreading the Bible also played an important role for such missions.²³ In due time, the independence movements inside and outside Korea (organized independence movement activities took place in America, on Hawaii, in Japan, in China and in Manchuria) crystallized into a national independence demonstration on 1st March, 1919. The declaration of self-determination of peoples by Woodrow Wilson in 1918 lighted the fuse. This movement was organized centering around three religious leaders (Seung-Hun Yi as the representative of Christianity, Byeong-Hyi Son as the representative of Eastern Religion and Yong-Un Han as the representative of Buddhism) and thirty-three representatives of all Koreans including the above-mentioned three religious organizations signed the declaration of independence.²⁴ A peaceful demonstration broke out all over the country but the colonial government put down it by force: 7,509 were killed; 15,961 wounded; and 46,948 were arrested.²⁵ Just after this March Independence Movement (1919), Korean leaders formed a provisional government in Shanghai, China.

The second phase was that of so-called cultural administration (1920-1936). On account of the Koreans' national independence movement, there was a shift towards an appeasement policy: instead of military police, a civil police force was substituted; Koreans were also promised employment as officials in the government-general; an increase in educational institutions as well as institutions for advanced learning was promised; a free press and freedom of assembly were to be recognized and several newspapers were actually launched. But all such measures turned out to be nothing but the means for further colonialization of Korea. During this time Korea became the source of food (rice) supply and a commodity market for Japan. Resistance from the Koreans continued. The army for national independence fought against the Japanese army and police in Manchuria. The activities of the fighters for national independence increased in China. In the country, two demonstrations against colonialism (1926 and 1929) broke out. The latter was called 'Gwangju Student Movement' and it gave rise to a national student rally.²⁶ In the early part of 1930, there arose a feeling of crisis among Koreans resulting from the development of Japanese militarism. In such a situation, there was a great revival in the Korean Protestant church under the leadership of Methodist preacher Yong-Do Yi who was a mystical/spiritual evangelist (see 4.3.2.1).

The third phase was that of erasing Koreans' national identity (1937-1945). This was the period of the Second World War which had in one sense already begun, as the conflict between Japan and China broke out in 1937 near Peking. Japan again

²³ *ibid.*, pp.417-426. See 4.3.1.4.

²⁴ Of the 33 leaders, 15 were Christians, 14 were Heaven Way believers (*Cheondo Gyoin*), 1 was Buddhist and 3 were non-religious men.

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp.436-438.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.440-470. During 1929 and 1930, those schools that participated in the movement reached 194 and 54,000 students took part.

opened the Pacific War against the United States by attacking Pearl Harbour in 1941, and Korea also became its first victim. Under the slogan of national mobilization for the war, colonialism forced Koreans to take part in the war as if they were Japanese. It wished to transform Koreans into Japanese. Things which were traditionally Korean in character (language, names, Korean history, Korean news papers etc.) were prohibited. About 2.6 million forced labourers were mobilized in Korea and 720,000 for Japan and Southern Pacific Islands. Thousands of young Koreans were drafted to the war for Japan and numerous young women were conscripted as comfort girls for the soldiers. Koreans were forced to worship at the emperor's shrine. Conservative Korean Protestant Christians especially suffered on account of refusing to worship at the shrine even though religious activities were generally suppressed. As Koreans suffered under this third period of Japanese imperialism, both their nationalism and their modernism were growing.

2.4. KOREA AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1945ff)

In this phase of half a century, South Korea developed into an active participant in the global village. However, the tragic division of the Korean peninsula caused Koreans on both sides to make national unification as their preordained task in this period. In this section we are going to sketch Korean (mainly South Korean) socio-political development in three phases: the phase of national dissension and Korean War; the phase of authoritative regime and national instability; and the phase of national movement for economic/industrial development.

The first phase (1945-1953) was the period of jubilation, confusion and pain for Koreans. As Japanese Imperialism in Korea was terminated in 1945 not by Korean's own capability but by the military power of the United States, the follow-up measures for Korea also depended on the allied forces. In addition, the sudden end of the war as well as the colonial oppression of the exchange of information did not allow Koreans to provide for a competent political body which would take over the formation of a Korean government. Among various political parties and social organizations, the nationalist party and communist party operated as two representatives. During such confusion, the northern part of Korea was occupied by Russian soldiers (August 1945) and the southern part by American soldiers (September 1945). Korea was being divided up into north and south by the 38th parallel of latitude. The cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States (the allies of World War II) had already commenced and they were no longer able to cooperate on Korea. The United States brought this matter to the United Nations while the Soviet Union opposed it. Eventually, South Korea held a general election for the first time under the supervision of the United Nations (10.5.1948). Seung Man Rhee was soon elected to the presidency and the government was established (15.8.1948). In North Korea, a communist government was set up making Il-Seong Kim as the head under Soviet direction (9.9.1948). The partition was established. During that time of social disorder before 1947, ca. 800,000 northern civilians moved to the south.

North Korea strengthened military forces under totalitarian communist rule while South Korea was plunged into political confusion under the influence of

democratic ideas. South Korea was unprepared for North Korea's total attack in June 1950 (Korean War). It was a fratricidal all-out war. The United Nations Security Council declared that this invasion was a breach of the peace and called upon the member nations to render every assistance. For the first time since its organization (24.10.1945), sixteen nations engaged in this war to drive out the communist army in cooperation with South Korea. For the northern part, the People's Republic of China sent soldiers for 'human wave' tactics (a total of 1,2 million Chinese were engaged in the war by the end of 1952). With a total of about 4 million war casualties and the destruction of 43 per cent of Korean industrial facilities, this war was called off following the armistice between the United Nations and the communist army. It left 10 million separated families behind.²⁷

During this phase of partition and hostilities, Christianity in Korea experienced a great loss through persecution (North Korea) and schisms (South Korea), on the one hand, while, in South Korea, Christianity began to experience new growth after independence from Japan and through migration of North Korean Christians fleeing from communism. In addition to this, missionaries from various movements including pentecostalism entered Korea in this period.²⁸

The second phase (1953-1963) featured the authoritarian rule of president Rhee and the two following revolutions. He held a strong anti-communism/anti-Japanese policy while finances and defence of the country were depending on American aid. The constitution was revised several times illegally with the intention of granting him the life-long presidency. The new emerging financial groups, which were formed in conspiracy with the government, monopolized the commodity market. The presidential election in 1960, which was a plain rigged election where Rhee also ran for the presidency for the fourth time, caused students to break out against the injustice of the ruling party. Rhee resigned under such unavoidable circumstances. Most conservative Christians in Korea supported Rhee for his presidency because he not only was a Christian but also granted unrestricted religious freedom.²⁹ During the political disorders of the second republic (1960-1961), military revolution broke out in May 1961. The leader, major general Chung Hee Park, who assumed the reins of the government for the next 18 years, justified his action as follows:³⁰

Our history has been dotted with bearing with insults and bitter tears. We cannot help feeling deep lamentation, indignation and dishonour. Our politics since liberation from Japanese colonialism has failed. In 1961, more than half of the public revenue was dependent on the American counterpart fund ... Independence! There is no way to get freedom from poverty except by establishing a self-support economy ...

In this period, the Korean church had grown continuously even though it produced sectarian movements. The Korean pentecostal movement also took place in this period.

²⁷ Gi-Baek Yi, *ibid.*, pp.479-481. Jin-Chel Kang, et al, p.255. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15ed., 1983, vol.10, pp.513-514.

²⁸ See more information at the sub-section of 4.3.2.2.

²⁹ Byeong Seo Kim, *Korean Society and Christianity*, Seoul, 1995, p.160.

³⁰ Chung Hee Park, *The Nation, Revolution and I*, Seoul, 1963, pp.21-81, *passim*.

The third phase (1964ff) was characterized as the period of growth in prosperity by Koreans themselves through economic revival and industrialization. The leading political party in this period, the third republic of military regime whose head was president Chung Hee Park, had analysed the resources of Korea and came to the conclusion that Korea should shift from an agricultural country to an industrial country following the example of Japan. Thus, a planned economy was carried out in a military fashion. Because it became an industrial country through such a measure, an anticipated democratic society in Korea was not established. The socio-pathological phenomena in Korea which originated in such a newly developed industrial culture led to ecological problems (overpopulation, environmental pollution, housing shortage and traffic jams), socio-psychological problems (various kinds of malpractices through psychic overload) and the problems of urbanization and social structure (social strata of inequality like the gulf between rich and poor; antidemocratic and inhuman rule of society through bureaucracy or minor elites; and a chaotic and immoderate way of life).³¹

During the past three decades, South Korea has established its position in the world. The symbolic event for this was the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988. Korea has changed from a poor and agricultural country into a middle class industrial one. The per capita gross national product (GNP) increased from 87 U.S. dollars in 1960 to 10,000 dollars at the end of 1995. In this phase, Korean churches have also expanded. The pentecostal type of spiritual movement has played the main role in the revival in Korea. According to Byeong Seo Kim, having ridden the waves of Korean economic revival and industrialization of this period and grown, the Korean church is not only a miniature edition of Korean society but it also has the same problems that Korean society has.³² As the seventh republic commenced in 1993, civil government was restored. Re-unification of the country seems to be within the limits of possibility.

2.5. CONCLUSION

We evaluate the history of modern Korea according to each of the above subsections.

The first period of time is connected with the opening to the world (1876-1910); it was marked by the struggle of the world powers to gain the upper hand in Korea. Keen competition took place among China, Japan and Russia, who all thought that Korea was an important place for their countries from the strategic point of view. Koreans' preparedness for receiving Western modernism had been developed to some extent by men of foresight without influencing the royal government to lift the ban on it until it was forced to open up. At the same time, there was a trend for socio-political reform being developed by Korean farmers who had been disillusioned with traditional Neo-Confucian philosophy as well as corrupt officials who followed its principles. Therefore, the Korean situation in the last quarter of the 19th century had fallen into a great confusion both through internal unrest and external

³¹ Byeong Seo Kim, *ibid.*, pp.107-130.

³² *Ibid.*, pp.79-84. See 4.3.2.3.

oppression. In this situation, the Japanese forced an open-door policy to Japan in 1876. Protestant missionaries to Korea could take advantage of the involuntary opening of doors to the Western powers that followed. Japanese annexation in 1910 took place after their defeat of the Chinese and the breaking of Russian links to Korea through a power struggle. The Anglo-American side already recognized Japanese supremacy over Korea at that stage. Thus the rule of Korea at that time was put in the hands of world powers, while the Koreans were learning the significance of their autocracy in the modern world.

Under Japanese colonialism (1910-1945), Korean modernization began to take place in the form of a positive struggle against colonialism. As Korean's national conscience grew, their desire for independence produced a sense of native homogeneity, an example of which was The March Independence Movement in 1919. From the time that Japanese military imperialism opened the War between China and America, Koreans were forced to renounce their identity. During this time, despite being limited in their activities, Korean Christians not only grew in numbers but also played an important role both in modernization and in the move to independence.

The postwar period (1945ff) was characterized by further misfortunes for Koreans through national dissent, a fratricidal war fought by conflicting ideologies and the industrialization of South Korea through a military regime. The separation of Koreans at this time was carried out by the world powers according to the rules of world politics. The military revolution and its planned economic development was an expression of the cohesive power of South Koreans who recognized the importance of autocracy through achieving economic independence. Having succeeded in changing from a poor and agricultural country to an industrial one in a short period of time, South Korea has especially exposed the typical problems of a modern capitalistic society. In this period of half a century, South Korean churches have experienced a great revival, taking advantage of socio-economic shifts. The pentecostal type of spiritual movement has been the main factor in their development. Even though the desire of both Koreas for reunification has not yet been realized, an atmosphere for unification is developing.

3. Modern history of Korean religions

3.1. INTRODUCTION

As most Korean traditional religions had been established before Korea's opening to the Western world (1876) and their religious essence has continued to exist one way or another in these modern days, we will sketch their religious substance and then survey their phenomena in the modern times as the background for pentecostalism. When we divide up the history of the main Korean religions, what we may call the prehistoric and early age was the period of original ethnic religion: *Hananim* (one god in heaven) faith and shamanism. During the time of the fifth to the fourteenth centuries, Buddhism was the leading religion. In the period of *Choseon* Dynasty, from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, Confucianism was dominant. However, all these religions in Korea were syncretic with other religions and when they lost their dominant power their religiosity were still deposited in the lowest stratum of Korean society. Nowadays Christianity has the greatest influence on Korean society. Koreans, therefore, have neither a longstanding state religion like the Islamic world and Western European countries, nor have they wholly lost their ancient shamanistic religiosity. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to see how the religiosity of Koreans in the shamanistic as well as syncretistic religious climate prepared the religious background for pentecostalism in the twentieth century. At the same time, theological discussion about the problem of contextualization/syncretism between Korean pentecostalism and traditional religions, especially shamanism, will be reserved in this chapter because we will deal with this in chapter 8.

This chapter is divided into three parts: traditional religions of Korea (3.2) dealing with *Hananim* faith and shamanism; foreign religions in Korea (3.3) about Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism; and modern folk religions (3.4). Because modern folk religions have little to do with providing the religious background for pentecostalism, we only introduce them very briefly.

The main sources for this chapter are *The Christian Faith Encounters the Religions of Korea* (1965) by Tong-Shik Ryu; *Christianity and Korean Thought* (1964) by Sung Bum Yun; *Christianity and the Encounter of Asian Religions* (1994) by Kyoung Jae Kim; *the Traditional Religious Thought and Christian Thought: centering around Shamanism* (1993) by Yung Han Kim; and "Religions and Religiosity in Korea: Problems of Presentation and Interpretation in Publications in German, English and French"(article, 1988) by Rudolf Kranewitter.

3.2. KOREAN TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS

When we discuss Korean traditional religions, we are actually dealing with Korean religiosity because these religions did not have complete sets of religious elements

of cult, doctrine, and organization.¹ Consequently, there are different kinds of ways to study them and different interpretations for them. For example, in studying the foundation myth of Ancient *Choseon*, which offers an important clue in tracking the original Korean religiosity, scholars take different views according to their standpoints.² Here, we briefly present the two representatives of Korean traditional religious elements: *Hananim* and shamanism.

3.2.1. *Hananim (One God in Heaven)*

Traditionally, the Koreans have been accustomed to the word and concept of *Haneunim* or *Hananim* (pure Korean word for one god in heaven).³ Conservative Christians in Korea tend to use the word *Hananim* while liberalists and Roman Catholics prefer to *Haneunim*. The author takes the word *Hananim*. The Chinese equivalents for it can be ‘heaven emperor’ [천제: *Cheonje*: 天帝], or ‘above emperor’ [상제: *Sangje*: 上帝], or ‘heaven lord’ [천주: *Cheonju*: 天主], or ‘precious emperor above’ [옥황상제: *Okhwang-Sangje*: 玉黃上帝]. Generally, there are three views on *Hananim* according to the scholars. The first view is that it is the original unique Korean faith in a heavenly god (from an ethno-cultural, etymological, and religious perspective). The second view says that it is the highest god of shamanism (from a religio-sociological perspective). The third view is that it is the heliolatry of primitive Korean animism (the view of historians). The first and the second views are not entirely different in their recognition of one highest heavenly god. Besides, Kyoung Jae Kim thinks that the second view is the expression of the fusion of *Hananim* faith and shamanism.⁴ The first view awakes our interest because of associations between the original Korean religious tradition and Christianity. Here, we present some instances which bear testimony to the first view.

First, some foreigners who studied the faith of traditional Korean religions subscribe to this view. Homer B. Hulbert, who was a missionary in Korea for a time, described Korean religious belief in 1906 as follows:

Strange to say, the present religious notion which the Korean possesses today is the belief in *Hananim*, a being entirely unconnected with each of the imported cults and as far removed from crude nature worship ... pure Korean counterpart of the Chinese word ‘Lord of Heaven.’ He is entirely separated from and outside the circle of the various spirits and demons that infest all nature.⁵

¹ Rudolf Kranewitter, “Religions and Religiosity in Korea: Problems of Presentation and Interpretation in Publications in German, English and French,” in *The Task and Prospect of Korean Study*, vol. 2. Seongnam City, 1988, p.347.

² Kyoung Jae Kim, *Christianity and the Encounter of Asian Religions: Method of Correlation, Fusion of Horizons, and Paradigm Shifts in the Korean Grafting Process*, Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, Zoetermeer, 1994. P.70. There are many ways to study it: from a religious point of view; from an ethno-cultural perspective; from a religio-social perspective; and from a historical point of view; opinions differ as to whether these two traditions (*Hananim* and shamanism) belong to religions or not.

³ *Hananim* has more emphasis on *Hana* which means one and great while *Haneunim* more on heaven (*Haneul*).

⁴ Kyoung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.59-73.

⁵ Homer B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (1906), p.404. Re-cited by Kranewitter, *ibid.*, p.375.

Missionary Gale, who worked in Korea for seventeen years, studied the belief of Koreans and formulated thus, "... Korean talks of God. He is *Hananim*, the One Great One ... so he is the Supreme Ruler for whom there is no image or likeness in heaven or earth or under the earth."⁶ The first missionary to Korea, Horace G. Underwood, asserted in his lectures at New York University in 1908 that "the earliest religion (of China, Japan, and Korea) was a monotheism and that the universal tendency of all peoples in religion which lacks divine revelation and assistance is downward and not upward."⁷ Rudolf Kranewitter asserts that *Hananim*, the God of Heaven, is not to be put into the pantheon of shamanistic spirits. Korea has an unbroken tradition of a belief in a God of Heaven, he argues, and illustrated this with many examples. He concludes that "the belief in *Hananim* provides the necessary link between the old Koreans' way of thinking and the Christian concept of God ..."⁸

Second, some Korean theologians share this view, the leading figure here being Tong-Shik Ryu, who stated that the characteristics of the Korean religious mind are 'one, wholeness, greatness, and rightness' (한: *Han*) and its personification is *Hananim*.⁹ He explained this in connection with 'wind flowing or elegant and poetical' [풍류: *Pungryu*: 風流], which is, according to him, the substance of *Han*. He traced this idea from the record of the Unified *Silla* in the 7th century by Chi-Won Choe, which says, "There is a mysterious 'way or truth' [도: *To*: 道] in our country. It is called *Pungryu* (風流) ... It really includes the three religions (Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism) in itself and enlightens mankind ..."¹⁰ He further traced the origin of *Pungryu* as follows: *Pungryu* may be the transliteration of the original Korean word for 'fire, brightness or sun' (불: *Bur*) into Chinese when the Koreans did not possess their written language; the son of Dangun (the founder of the Ancient *Choseon*) was called *Buru* [부루: 夫付: Chinese transliteration of Korean word *Bur*]; the first king of *Silla* (57 B.C.) was called *Burgeoan* (불거안); these *Bur*, *Buru*, and *Burgeoan* share the same root with *Burkhan*, a Ural-Altaic word which means heaven god. Therefore, *Pungryudo* implies that they had faith in a heaven god, he argues.¹¹ Sung Bum Yun also suggests that the Koreans originally adopted a concept of god (*Haneunim* or *Hananim*), but lost it and tended towards polytheism. He applies the degeneration theory of God to the Korean *Hananim* faith. At the same time, he tried to find the *a priori* of Korean culture which shares the same truth with Christianity in order to help Christian truth become established in

⁶ James S. Gale, *Korea in Transition*, New York, 1909. Reprinted, Seoul, 1983. pp.78-79.

⁷ Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918. Reprinted in Seoul, 1983, pp.269-270. He also suggested the points of contact between the Eastern religions (Taoism, Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism) and Christianity.

⁸ Kranewitter, *ibid.*, p.377. There are also different views of foreigners. For example, the missionary to Korea Allen C. Clark saw *Hananim* as the head of the Koreans' shamanistic pantheon and Frits Vos took *Hananim* as the first and foremost god of many gods, spirits, demons, and ghosts (Kranewitter, p.349).

⁹ The ending *-nim* is added to a person (the substantives) to show an honorable title to godhead.

¹⁰ Bu-Sik Kim, *Samguksagi*, 1/4, King Jinhung. A.D. 1145. Transtated by Byeong-Do Yi, Seoul, 1983/13 ed.,1994.

¹¹ Tong-Shik Ryu, *Pungryudo and Korean Theology*, Seoul, 1992, pp.10-35, 111. He asserts also that *Pungryudo* is the Korean religious expression of syncretism with other religions.

Korean culture.¹² Kyoung Jae Kim follows their views. He argues that *Pungryudo* is the archetype of religious mind of Korean [*Han*: 韓] people. He further writes, “The difference between *Pungryudo* and shamanism is that the former is essentially pan-en-theistic based on monism while the latter is basically polytheistic based on animism and dualism.”¹³

Third, the ancient Koreans’ sky worship for thanksgiving may support this view. “The core of sky worship was to unite *Hananim* and humans. To accomplish this, they drank, sang, and danced day and night. Singing-dancing-falling of spirit was characteristic of old Koreans,” writes Ryu.¹⁴ Regarding the similar phenomena of these feasts to shamanistic rituals, Kyoung Jae Kim argues the original purpose of those rites was communal thanksgiving to the sky god, which was different from the blessing-seeking shaman rituals. Ryu thinks that those sky worships were the practices of *Pungryudo*.

Fourth, the concept of god, which was expressed by *Hananim*, is attested to among Ural-Altaic peoples as well as among the Chinese. To have faith in heaven-god was not unique to the ancient Koreans. Some claim that the Chinese were also monotheists in the ancient world.¹⁵

Fifth, the foundation myths of the ancient Koreans bear some relations to this view. The Dangun-myth, *Buyeo*-myth, *Goguryeo*-myth, Kim-myth, and *Gaya*-myth all have certain references to heaven.¹⁶ In chronological order, the Dangun-myth comes first and it particularly arouses our interest in connection with *Hananim* faith.¹⁷

Sixth, many aspects of the Korean people have been woven together by the concept of *Hananim*. For example, Korean folk religions like Heaven Way Religion [천도교: *Cheondogyo*: 天道教]¹⁸ and The Great Religion [대종교: *Daejonggyo*:

¹² Sung Bum Yun, *Christianity and Korean Thought*, Seoul, 1964, pp.46-55.

¹³ Kyoung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.61-73 (cited from p.62).

¹⁴ Tong-Shik Ryu, *ibid.*, p.62.

¹⁵ Kranewitter, *ibid.*, pp.365, 375-376. Mongolians and Chinese had faith in one god in heaven; C.H.Kang and Ethel R. Nelson, *The Discovery of Genesis*, St Louis, 1979, pp.14-21.

¹⁶ Iryeon, *Samgukyusa* (Remaining History of the Ancient Three Kingdoms), 1/1, ca. 1280. Translated by Seong-Bong Park and Gyeong-Sik Ko. Seoul, 1993; Bu-Sik, Kim, *ibid.*, 1/1, 13/1.

¹⁷ Iryeon, *ibid.*, 1/1. The story goes like this. Once upon a time, there was *Hwanin* [환인: 桓因: Chinese transliteration of *Hananim* or *Haneul* (sky, heaven)]. His son *Hwanung* wanted to rule the human world. Father *Hwanin* acknowledged his desire and found *Taebaek* mountain where his son could rule by the principle of ‘broad benefit to human beings’ [홍익인간: *Hongik-Ingan*: 弘益人間]. Then, *Hwanung* came down with 3,000 (followers) to the top of *Taebaek* Mountain under the ‘god altar tree’ [신단수: *Sindansu*: 神檀樹]. He called (the place) the city of god. This is the heaven-king *Hwanung*. He controlled and educated the human world managing 360 affairs of human beings such as corn, life, disease, punishment, goodness and evil etc., commanding wind, rain, and cloud. At that time, a bear and a tiger were living in a cave. They always prayed to *Hwanung* to become a man. He gave each of them a stock of divine wormwood and 20 heads of garlic and said, “If you eat these and do not expose yourselves in the sunlight for 100 days, you will become humans.” Only the bear succeeded. This bearwoman found no mate. She asked *Hwanung* if she could have a baby. *Hwanung* transformed himself for a moment into a man and married her. Between them a boy was born. This was Dangun. In the 50 years’ reign of *Yo* (Chinese legendary king), he became king at Pyongyang and called the name of the state *Choseon* (in 2,333 B.C.). He moved the capital city to *Asadal* and ruled for 1,500 years. When *Kija* was inaugurated as king of *Choseon* by the Chinese Tiger King *Mu* of *Chu* Dynasty, he retired to *Asadal* and became a mountain god. He was 1,908 years old.

¹⁸ This was the changed designation for Eastern Religion (2.2).

大倮教, they worship Dangun] established their doctrinal bases on the concept of *Hananim*. The Korean national anthem, which has been sung by Koreans since 1948, has the words, "... may our nation long live with the help of *Haneunim* ..." The Koreans sing and chant to Him without taking offence. In this case, *Haneunim* has nothing to do with shamanism. Regardless of defining the religious meaning, the Koreans have used *Hananim* or *Haneunim* which is different from other god(s) or spirits, from ancient times until now.

When the Bible was translated into Korean, the Biblical God was translated as *Hananim* according to the conceptional synonym. To do this, the substance and meaning of traditional *Hananim* was reoriented by those of *Jahweh* because the former was totally ambiguous on the Biblical concept like the Creator God, Trinity, God's redemption through incarnation, God's holy love and resurrection. However, it served as an effective container or point of contact to receive Biblical God.¹⁹

3.2.2 Shamanism

It is commonly known or assumed that the prototype of Korean primitive religion is shamanism. Further, it is not rare for this deep-rooted folk religion to be practised among contemporary Korean grass-roots. Even if it developed into a more definite form among the northern Asian peoples, it is a pan-cosmic phenomenon. Seong-II Kim claims that it is a degenerated form of *Jahweh* worship,²⁰ which is a similar view to that of Kyoung Jae Kim who thinks *Hananim* faith was fused with shamanism.²¹ Korean shamanism deals with a large number of deities: from heavenly god to sundry evil spirits. It worships mighty and good gods to invoke blessings or to drive away misfortunes which are caused by evil spirits. In its cosmology, this world and the other world are distinguished on the one hand but are connected on the other hand. An unhappy dead spirit is believed to wander around this world and to bring disasters. Nevertheless, it neither has the idea of the Creator God nor the Biblical sense of the kingdom of God.

Today, the number of shamans in Korea is increasing in accordance with the change in the system of values in modern Korea. In other words, Korean society has begun to show the tendency that shamanism should be regarded as a cultural phenomenon. Hence, breaking with the long history of low and humble class shamans, recently some college graduates have become shamans. In the early part of the 19th century, there were 2,600 shamans and in 1930, the number amounted to 12,380. But in the early 1990s, there were almost 200,000.²²

Korean shamanism is said to have originated from Siberian shamanism and functions through possession, trance, and ecstasy. The term shaman in Tungus-Manchuria means excited man. In Chinese-Korean, we call shamanism *Mugyo* [무교: 巫教]. The Chinese character 巫 is explained as follows: the top bar (一) implies the heaven or spirit (the transcendental world); the bottom line (一) implies man or earth (the empirical world); the vertical line connecting these two horizontal

¹⁹ Yung Han Kim, *Korean Traditional Religious Thought and Christian Thought: centering around Shamanism*, a separate volume of collection of essays no.23, Soong Sil Uni., 1993, pp.285-286.

²⁰ Seong-II Kim, *World History Opened by the Bible*, Seoul, vol.1, pp.233-240.

²¹ Kyoung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.66-73.

²² Gil-Seong Choe, *Understanding of Korean Shamanism*, Seoul, 1994. pp.62-68, 202-218.

lines (|) stands for medium between heaven and earth; the two men on both sides (人 人) stand for dancing men.²³

Through the course of history, two ways were opened for people to become shamans in Korea. The first way is to be taken ill with shamanistic disease [무병: *Mubyeong*: 巫病] and become a shaman. We call this ‘a man or woman who has become a shaman through spirit possession’ [강신무: *Gangsinmu*: 降神巫:]. This disease occurs mostly in women. The other way is to become a shaman through hereditary transmission. It is called ‘a man or woman who has become a shaman by inheritance’ [세습무: *Sesubmu*: 世襲巫], which is a social status and a priestly shaman. There is no spirit possession in *Sesubmu*. The former is the more original form of shamanism which is related to Siberian shamanism. But, as Korean society changed into a dynamic modern urbanization, *Sesubmu* dwindled while *Gangsinmu* prospered.²⁴ Gil-Seong Choe, who is a specialist in shamanism, mentions that the thriving of *Gangsinmu* in modern Korea seems to have to do with the growth of the modern Korean church. He argues that the expansion of the Korean church which depends on the Holy Spirit movement has the same form of mystical character as shamanism.²⁵

There are three main types of shaman rituals. The first is *Gibok-Je*, through which they supplicate property, long life and peace. The second is *Chibyeong-je*, through which it is believed that evil spirits are driven out and diseases are healed. The third is *Songnyeong-je*, through which grudges of the deceased will be satisfied and the spirit of the deceased will be sent to the world beyond. In such rites, a Korean shaman functions as a priest, medicine-man, prophet, and entertainer. She or he usually has three divine articles to accomplish them: small bells, a drum, and a mirror.

Shamanism is more of a grass-roots religious phenomenon than Buddhism. It has neither sacred books nor temples. Shamans simply live among the masses [민중: *Minjung*: 民衆]. Shamanism is more humane in its character than Confucianism. While Confucianism has a strong man-centered and family-oriented structure (ancestor worship), shamanism is woman-centered (70 % of shamans are women) and has an interfamily-measure of healing (rituals for any malevolent spirits). Because of these facts, shamanism in Korea is related to the resentment [*Han*: 恨] of Korean women and *Minjung*. This *Han*, which does not exist in Chinese and Japanese societies, is a complex mental situation of yearning, frustration and mild hostility of Korean *Minjung*.²⁶ Because of this, it is called *Minjung* religion by some Korean liberal theologians.

The phenomenal aspects of shamanism can best be compared to those of pentecostalism because both are connected with spiritual dynamism among the

²³ Eliade, *Shamanism*, 1964, pp.266-274. Re-cited from Kyoung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, p.68.

²⁴ Gil-Seong Choe, *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp.202-204, 268, 305-310.

²⁶ Sang Chan Paek, *The Han and Korean Illness: Where We Stand and Where We Should Go*, Seoul, 1993, pp.15-19. In contrast to the Chinese and Japanese, the psychological phenomenon of the Koreans is characterized with the feeling of *Han*. This static *Han* is kept by Koreans through adapting to their fates or endurance of sufferings. This *Han* causes various kinds of pathological phenomena, Paek argues.

masses in modern Korea. First, the number of shamans has grown rapidly in modern Korean society. Second, *Gangsinmu* (mainly spirit-possessed women) increased relatively. Third, a shaman is a mediator between the transcendental world and the empirical world by means of spirit-possession. Fourth, shamans perform their rituals in ecstasy accompanied by singing and dancing. Fifth, a shaman supplicates blessing, healing, and spiritual peace. Sixth, shamanism flourishes among grass-roots and those possessed by *Han* (恨). This reality arouses a sort of suspicion that *Sunbogeum* church might be a syncretism of Christianity and other shamanistic spirituality (see 8.2.3).²⁷ To answer this question Jeong-Geun Pak published a book in justification of pentecostalism in 1970.²⁸

The issue from a missiological perspective is to observe how shamanistic religiosity will serve as the soil for Christian Gospel and how its traces can be transformed into Biblical thought. Regarding this Yung Han Kim suggested a view that there is a formal correspondence between the characteristics of shamanism and those of Christianity.²⁹

3.3. IMMIGRANT RELIGIONS IN KOREA

Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Islam, and Christianity were introduced into Korea as foreign religions. In this section, we deal with the first three religions which were introduced and fused with each other and with traditional religions. Islam is not discussed because it not only came recently into Korea but also its influence in Korea is minute. Christianity in Korea will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.3.1. Buddhism

Buddhism came into Korea through China. Buddhism in China contributed to enriching Chinese original culture, but it could not change it entirely. Rather, the Chinese transformed it into a ‘Chinese form of Buddhism.’ In China, monastical and anti-social Buddhism was transformed into a Buddhism which served society and supported the state by syncretizing with Chinese ideas. The Chinese received

²⁷ Boo-Woong Yoo, “Response to Korean Shamanism by the Korean Pentecostal Church,” in: *IRM* 75/297 (January 1986): 70-74; idem, *Korean Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology*, 1988, pp.205-227; Sang-Chan Han, *Beziehungen zwischen dem Schamanismus und dem Verständnis des Heiligen Geistes in der protestantischen Kirche in Korea: Religionsphänomenologische und Missions-theologische Untersuchung*, diss. at Hamburg Uni., 1991. Ammersbek bei Hamburg, 1991. pp.129-175. Yoo tried to elucidate the relation between *Sunbogeum* movement and shamanism. But he could only compare the similar phenomena of both sides. Han followed the same step. Their problems were that they were not able to grasp the core of *Sunbogeum* theology. For example, Han writes as follows: “Die Essenz des Evangeliums ist für sie (Charismatiker und Pfingstler) die Krankenheilung und die Austreibung der bösen Geister durch Jesus ...”(p.135) or “Der Kernpunkt der Versöhnung Jesu Christi ist nach Cho (Yonggi) die Krankenheilung und der Hauptinhalt seiner Versöhnungslehre”(p.139).

²⁸ Jeong-Geun Pak, *Defending of Pentecostal Truth*, Seoul, 1970, pp.18-34. The contents of this book were originally written in *Sunbogeum* magazine from 1964.

²⁹ Yung Han Kim, *ibid.*, pp.284-296.

Mahayana Buddhism and developed it further.³⁰ This Buddhism was directly related to Korean Buddhism.

Therefore, Korean Buddhism was characterized by *Mahayana* Buddhism which was adopted in China, Japan, and Vietnam as well. As we see, these East Asian countries are more open to Christianity than those Southeast Asian countries where orthodox and closed *Hinayana* Buddhism dominates. At the same time, because of its doctrinal openness (liberal and universal), *Mahayana* Buddhism could easily be syncretized with other religions or philosophies. The consequence was that it spread easily at first but it gradually lost its influential power in China and in Korea. Such a Buddhism was well accommodated by the shamanistic religiosity of Koreans, so that Korean Buddhism developed into a kind of shamanistic and syncretistic Buddhism. The Flower Youth Corps [화랑도: *Hwarangdo*: 花郎徒] of *Silla* Dynasty was a good example of this. Young nobles were chosen to follow the way of ‘the Wind Flowing’ (*Pungryu* or *Hananim* faith) as well as the teachings of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. Another example of *Mahayana* Buddhism in Korea was the practice of constant invocation of the name ‘the Buddah of Unlimited Light’ (*Amitabul* or *Amitabha* Buddha) and ‘the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy’ [관세음보살: *Gwanseeum-Bosal*: 觀世音菩薩: *Kuan-um* bodhisattva]. It was the practice of Pure Land Buddhism, which taught that humans reach salvation (are reborn in the pure and happy land of *Amitabha*) not by individual efforts or good deeds but by faith in the grace of the *Amitabha* Buddha. Although *Amitabha* stayed in the Western Land (Pure Land), he, at the same time, existed among believers so that he might help them in whatever way they desired. *Kuan-um* was also believed to turn up under many appearances to help them in this world.

Syncretic Korean *Mahayana* Buddhism lost the spiritual support of the people at the end of the 14th century (*Goryeo* Dynasty). However, its religious idea deeply infiltrated into Korean spiritual life. The doctrine of such liberal and spiritual Buddhism had common phenomenal characteristics with Spiritual Christinity.³¹

3.3.2. Confucianism

Confucianism did not have ideas like revelation, salvation, redemption, signs and wonders, eschatology, and the Kingdom of God. It taught the full cultivation of the intrinsic nature of humans so that they may arrive at becoming persons of virtue. It was human-centered and in this respect, it had a common feature with *Mahayana* Buddhism. On the other hand, so long as it had the idea of the mandate of heaven (*Tien Ming*), veneration for the founder, and sacrifices to spirits, it was in the realm of religion as well.³²

Confucianism began to be taught around the 4th century in Korea. Until the introduction of Neo-Confucianism in the 13th century, Chinese literature and exegesis of classical Confucianism were mainly taught as the principles of socio-

³⁰ Fairbank, Reischauer, and Craig, *East Asia 2: the Modern Transition*, 1969/ 5 ed., 1974, translated into Korean by Hae-Jong Jeon and Du-Gi Min, vol. 2. pp.167-222. passim.

³¹ cf. Yung Jae Kim, *A History of the Korean church*, Seoul, pp.39-42.

³² “Discussion on Heaven and Man,” vol. 1 (*The Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean*), pp.126-156 of *The Four Books in the series of The Four Books and Three Classics of Ancient China*, interpreted by Dong-Hwan Lee, Seoul, 1972,

politics. But Neo-Confucianism during *Choseon* Dynasty (1392-1910) was different. It was a philosophical and religious doctrine searching after the essence of human mind and the principle of the universe. Even though it was influenced by *Zen* Buddhism and Taoism in China, it generally rejected the imported Buddhism and heretical Taoism. It also re-interpreted *Tien* of ancient times into a metaphysical *Li* (reason or principle). In China, Neo-Confucianism developed two tendencies. The first one was the rationalistic *Li* (理: reason or principle) school. It developed in *Sung* Dynasty. The another one was the idealistic *Hsin* (心: mind or heart) school. It developed in *Ming* Dynasty. The former towered above the other. At first, Korea received the *Li* school.³³

Neo-Confucianism adopted the idea of ‘the dual principle of negative and positive, and five elements of fire, water, wood, metal, and earth’ [음양오행: *Eum-Yang Ohaeng*: 陰陽五行]. It was the principle to explain the formation of all things and changes in them. It was borrowed from the non-Confucian classic *I Ching* (the Book of Changes) to express the dualistic doctrine of *Li* and *Gi* (氣: spirit or breath). The totality of *Li* was symbolized as ‘the Great Ultimate or the Primal Beginning’ [태극: *Taegeuk*: 太極: *Tai Chi* in Chinese]. It is composed of ‘the negative principle in nature like dark or female’ [음: *Eum*: 陰: Chinese *Yin*] and ‘the positive principle in nature like light or man’ [양: *Yang*: 陽: Chinese *Yang*]. Five elements (*Ohaeng*) are the phenomena which follow according to the Great Ultimate. Originally, this *Eum-Yang* was a complementary unit, distinguished but never separated. These two are one, and at the same time this one is two. *Eum* includes *Yang* and vice versa. The *I Ching*, unlike Plato, made no implicit connection between Being (Good) and Becoming (Evil).³⁴ It is a point of interest that this philosophical symbol became the emblem of the Korean national flag in 1883. “The *Taegeuk* symbol is significant to Korean people because it represents their collective ethos ... it grows out of nation and represents national consciousness.”³⁵ Here we might find a ‘comparative’ thought between the *Eum-Yang Ohaeng* idea and the methodology of Korean pentecostalism. As the principle of *Yang* and *Eum* is taken to be positively materialized through five elements in this world, the latter positively claims to realize the word of God not only in saving souls but also in bringing material blessing (see chapter 8 and chapter 15). This resemblance in the way of thinking might furnish another ground for the rapid pentecostal development in Korea.

³³ Logically speaking, Korean nationality seems to be closer to the mind-heart school, but this school not only developed later, but also made little of learning while Koreans were eager to learn. But, later, as *Silhak* (Practical Science) prevailed and the *Li* school declined, some Korean scholars preferred mind-heart school.

³⁴ Jay G. Williams, “Return to the Roots,” in *Ching Feng* 34/1 (January 1991):3-15; cf. Man-Seong Nam, “The Explanation of the Book of Changes,” vol. 3 (*The Book of Changes*) of *The Three Classics* in the series of *The Four Books and ...*, Seoul, 1972, pp.16-35. Sang-Gap Han, “The Principle of the Philosophy of the Book of Changes and Contemporary Meaning,” loc. cit., pp.362-394.

³⁵ Jeong-Yeong Lee, “Korean *Taegeuk* Thought: A Paradigm for New Science,” in *Korean Studies, Its Tasks and Perspectives*, Seongnam City, 1988, vol. 2, p.297; Some explain that Koreans were able to endure *Han* (恨) because they knew the evil would wane some day according to the principle of *Taegeuk* which showed the changes of unbalanced situations and eternal harmony.

We are going to turn our attention to the radicality of Korean Confucianism and the understanding of 'mind' in Eastern thought. It is interesting to notice that Korean society possessed the Confucian tradition deeper than China and Japan. James Huntley Grayson writes:³⁶

Although Confucianism originated in China, it never had the overall impact on Chinese society that Neo-Confucianism had on Korean society. In Japan, Confucianism was primarily a concern of the ruling elite and the associated scholarly class. It is only in Korea that we find a society in which the predominant political, cultural, and social influences were, and are still to an extent, Confucian.

It may be due to the ethnic and cultural differences of those countries. When the missionaries first came to Korea, they made the following comparisons: "Whereas in China the cast of mind is commercial, giving us a nation of merchants, and in Japan it is military, giving us a nation of warriors, in Korea it is literary, giving us a nation of scholars."³⁷ Some argue that Koreans are a mystic, religious and personal nation while the Chinese are a rational and reasoning nation.³⁸ China as a continental nation with many cultural factors was surely hindered from developing into a Confucian monolithic society while Korea as a small unitary society could achieve it. This Korean social background is said to have influenced the development of Korean churches into Bible-studying Christianity.

The understanding of mind (心: *sim* in Korean and *hsin* in Chinese reading: mind or heart) arouses our concern. There is no distinction between heart and mind in Confucian or Neo-Confucian ideas. They neither separated the psychological aspect and physical aspect of humans, nor postulated the body as an opposite moral concept from the mind. Humans were regarded as whole beings. The statement that "*hsin* (mind or heart) is not subjectivism for it is in correspondence with *hsing* (nature), the essential nature of the self which in turn is a reflection of heaven" shows an example of Confucian anthropology.³⁹ Such a perception of mind should have influenced Koreans to receive the Gospel by emotional stimulation rather than by applying reason to its theology. Again, there is little doubt that the effectiveness of revival meetings and the problem of schisms in Korean churches were partly caused by the Confucian tradition of anthropology.

It is interesting to note that some *Silhak* (Thought of Practical Science)⁴⁰ scholars began to criticize the *Li* (reason) school and had a tendency to adopt the

³⁶ Grayson, *ibid.*, p.274; Michael C. Kalton, "Neo-Confucian Studies Phase II: The Future," in *Korean Studies, Its Tasks and Perspectives*, vol. 2, p.270. Seongnam City, 1988; Reischauer and Fairbank, vol.1, pp.545, 554.

³⁷ Horace G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, Rep., Seoul, 1983, pp.45-48. Some other observations are made to the effect that Koreans are not as slavishly bound by superstition, old religions, and traditions as the Chinese, nor so imitative and ambitious as the Japanese. Also, the creativity of Koreans is mentioned: the first suspension bridge; the first iron-clad vessels; the first breech-loading cannon in the world; and the Korean alphabet.

³⁸ Jeong-Bae Lee, "Toegye's *Ching* Philosophy and Kant's Theological Epistemology" in *Korean Studies ...*, vol. 2, p.314.

³⁹ Peter K. H. Lee, "Christian Spirituality in a Chinese Religious Context," in *EAJTh* 3/1 (April 1985), p.29; Yong-Chan Ro, "A Non-dualistic Approach to the 'Human Nature' (*hsing*) and the 'Mind-Heart' (*hsin*): A Korean Confucian Reflection," in *Korean Studies ...*, vol. 2, p.240.

⁴⁰ See 2.2.

hsin (mind-heart) school. This subjectivistic mind school was closer to the spirit of *Silhak* that had *Minjung* and practical life at heart than the *Li* school. It is also interesting that in the period of *Silhak*, there appeared scholars who favoured a return to the worship of the ancient 'above emperor' or *Tien* (Heaven) instead of following atheistic and metaphysical *Li*.⁴¹ Such a new idea played a part in accommodating Christianity as it was first introduced into Korea as a part of Western science (4.2).

Even in the latter part of the 20th century, Confucian heritage like ancestor worship and filial piety shapes the ethical values of Koreans in general. This heritage functions more as a social tradition than as a religious factor where Confucianism, Buddhism and shamanism co-exist with a syncretistic reality.⁴²

3.3.3. Taoism

Taoism is more religious than Confucianism. The Taoistic idea (religious Taoism) is rooted in ancient folk customs. It was older than the philosophical Taoism which was set out by Lao-tzu (6 century B.C.) and Chuang-tzu (ca. 355 B.C.- ca. 275 B.C.). Taoism was introduced from China a little later than Buddhism.⁴³ But, in Korea, it could neither formulate doctrine nor play a role as a leading religion. According to its characteristics, it was syncretized with Buddhism, Confucianism, and shamanism. It spread among *Minjung* (the common people).

It shared with Confucianism the same ideas about man, society, the ruler, heaven, and the universe which stemmed from the ancient tradition prior to either Confucius or Lao-tzu. But, Confucianism took the concept of personal Above Emperor or *Tien* (Heaven) while Taoism denied this and advocated an explanation of the universe according to 'the Way' (*Tao*: 道). Lao-tzu thought that *Tao* pre-existed *Shang Ti* (Above Emperor). According to Taoism, *Tao* cannot be defined in words. It is metaphysical nothingness, but it is the only substance and the great principle that enables everything to be created and changed.⁴⁴

The basic concept of Taoism is to gain harmony between microcosmic man and macrocosmic universe, of which *Tao* is the principle. Therefore, it belongs to the category of natural religions. Taoists teach a man how to become 'a spiritual man or a perfected man' [선인: *Seon-in*: 仙人: *Chen-jen* in Chinese]. They practise mystic religious means like breath control, meditation, gymnastics, and dietetics. They also experience certain kinds of miracles. Seon-Ju Kil, who was the leading figure of the early Korean Protestant church and started morning prayer meetings for the first time, had been a prominent Taoist before his conversion (4.3.1.4). The Taoist spirit, which is mixed with other folk religious phenomena, has not entirely faded away among Koreans.

⁴¹ Myeong-Jong Yu, *The History of Korean Thought*, Daegu, 1993, pp.445-533. Baekho, Danong, and Dasan (Yak-Yong Jeong) were the best examples.

⁴² The author was grown up by a Buddhist family that practised ancestor worships and shaman rituals. Such a practice was taken as a matter of course by village people. Christianity reacts differently.

⁴³ cf. Yeong-Ja Im, "Hermit Attire of an Ancient Tomb of *Goguryeo*," in *Korean Taoism and the Thought of Taoist*, ed. by the Society of the Thought of Korean Taoism, Nr. 3, p.105. Seoul, 1991.

⁴⁴ Gang-Su Yi, *The Study of Taoist Thought*, Seoul, 1984, pp.46-77.

3.4. MODERN FOLK RELIGIONS

Modern Korean folk religions started as Je-Wu Choe (1824-1864) established Eastern Religion [동학: *Donghak*: 東學] in 1860.⁴⁵ Then, in 1901, Jeungsan (1871-1901) founded *Jeungsan-Gyo*. The Great Old Religion [대종교: *Daejong-Gyo*: 大宗教], which was founded by Cheol Na (1864-1916) in 1909 and the Circle Buddhism [원불교: *Wonbul-Gyo*: 圓佛敎], which was founded by Jeongbin Pak (1891-1943) followed them. These are the representatives of modern Korean Folk religions.⁴⁶

They are syncretic Korean religions mixed with Buddhist, Taoist, Confucian, shamanist, and even Christian beliefs. Je-Wu Choe insisted that *Hanulnim* (*Hananim*: god in heaven) descended upon him. Jeungsan said he was the heaven emperor who came down to this world. *Daejong-Gyo* is also called *Dangun-Gyo* because the believers worship the three gods of the ancient *Choseon* foundation myth (*Hwanin*, *Hwanung*, and *Dangun*). For *Wonbul-Gyo*, the symbol *Won* (circle or round) can represent the same origin and nature of all things.

Tong-Shik Ryu formulated the features of Korean new religions as follows: first, the idea of eschatology⁴⁷; second, the idea of new world on earth; third, the idea that Korea will be the centre of the world; fourth, the idea of syncretism; and fifth, the idea of an incantatory mysticism.⁴⁸

3.5. CONCLUSION

The Koreans originally had a certain religious concept known as *Hananim* (one god in heaven). This has been explained either as being traceable back to the *Jahweh* faith of Semitic descendants (degeneration theory), as the highest deity of shamanism, and as universal evidence of the general revelation of God. This *Hana-nim* faith is said to have been fused with shamanism and later immigrant religions without losing its identity. Therefore, Korean religiosity has been formed since ancient times through religious syncretization and the traditional shamanistic religiosity of Koreans is still alive in one way or another.

As an organized religion, the liberal *Mahayana* Buddhism firstly appeared on the scene as a dominant religion of Koreans. This Korean Buddhism had been developed through a mutual interaction with the traditional shamanism. This syncretic Buddhism held the religious role while Confucianism functioned more as a socio-political principle until the former was replaced by Neo-Confucianism. Syncretic Buddhism lost the support of the people at the end of the fourteenth century. Neo-Confucianism played somewhat religious role but it was more philosophy than religion. Taoism in Korea has been handed down by a form of syncretism with Buddhism, Confucianism, and shamanism. Modern folk religions

⁴⁵ This religion changed its name to the Heaven Way Religion (*Cheondo-Gyo*).

⁴⁶ Hong-Cheol Kim, "The Thought of Taoism Manifested in New Korean Folk Religions: Centering around *Jeungsan-Gyo*," in *Korean Way of Development in Taoist Thought*, Seoul, 1989, p.311.

⁴⁷ The *Wonbul-Gyo* does not subscribe to this idea.

⁴⁸ Tong-Shik Ryu, "General Introduction of Korean Folk Customs and Religions," in *Thought of Korean Folk Customs and Religions*, Seoul, 1979, pp.24-30.

which arose since the intervention of the Western/foreign powers, disclose the characteristics of both syncretism with traditional religions and looking forward to a new world on earth, making Korea its centre. Here, we find that religions in Korea, both traditional as well as immigrant religions, show a strong tendency of syncretism.

This religious background must have influenced Christianity when it was introduced. The traditional *Hananim* faith and shamanism seem to have greater impact on Christianity. Next chapter will refer to how and why they have influenced Korean Christianity.

4. Modern history of Korean Churches

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Korean Churches started in modern times. The Roman Catholic Church was first introduced into Korea just about two centuries ago while Protestant missionaries entered the country one century thereafter. Significantly, the Koreans had already paved the way for both Catholic and Protestant organized missions before these reached Korea. Protestantism in Korea was virtually planted by American missionaries and it was well adapted to Korean religiosity. Bible studies and prayer meetings called forth the Pyongyang revival in 1907 and the revival meeting has been a tradition of Korean Protestant churches ever since. The socio-political situation also affected Korean church development. In this chapter, we shall observe Korean church history with focus on the Protestant church and with emphasis laid on the reasons for and the development of the revival movements.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section (4.2) deals briefly with the Roman Catholic Church. The second section (4.3) is allotted to the history of Korean Protestant churches. In the third section (4.4) Christian sects in Korea are dealt with. The main reference books will be as follows: *Wild Fire: Church Growth in Korea* (1966) by a missionary to Korea, Roy E. Shearer, who described only the Korean Protestant Church focusing on the Presbyterian Church; *Korean Church History* (1972), which was formulated from the viewpoint of the Korean church by Kyong Bae Min; *A History of the Korean Church* (1992), which was written from the viewpoint of the relations between theology and the church by Yung Jae Kim; and *A History of Korean Church* (1993) by Sung Joon Kim who wrote with the experience of more than half a century.

4.2. ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (1794ff)

Since the time of open-policy to the Western world (1876), the Roman Catholic Church in Korea has become an open religion after one century of secret religion under persecutions. We look back at its early history first. There is no positive evidence to suggest that the Nestorian Church, which flourished in the period of the mid-seventh century to the mid-ninth century in China, was introduced in Korea.¹ For the first time, Christianity came in touch with Koreans during the Japanese invasion (1592-1597).² Thousands of Korean captives, who were taken to Japan, were converted there. Some of those are said to have kept their faith when they

¹ Yung Jae Kim, *A History of the Korean Church*, Seoul, 1992, pp.36-46.

² Kyong Bae Min, *Korean Church History*, Seoul, 1994, pp.34-41. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) came to Japan in 1549 and many Japanese were converted at first. In this invasion, several generals and thousands of their followers were Catholics. Therefore, a Portuguese priest accompanied them as a chaplain. He did not have contact with Koreans.

returned to Korea.³ However, the mission to Korea via Japan was still a closed door. The missionary door was opened via China. Various Korean delegations to Peking brought back Catholic books, which were studied by retired or exiled scholars as Western knowledge, and regarded as Heaven-Lord study, Heaven study, or holy study. For some time they considered it to be practical philosophy, but finally, they found religion in it and became believers. In 1783, Seung Hun Yi was sent to Peking by those who were interested in Christianity so that he could investigate the new religion in depth. Next year, he confessed his faith and was openly baptized by a Jesuit priest in Peking. When he returned to Korea as the first baptized Christian, he baptized two Koreans (1784). This was the official start of Roman Catholicism in Korea. In 1785, they began to hold worship meetings in Seoul and organized their own church. In 1794, when the adherents counted about 4,000, Mun-Mo Ju, a Chinese priest, entered Korea, followed by a French priest came 1837. The entire mission was carried out secretly. Persecution began in 1785 on account of their refusal to endorse ancestor worship. Systematic persecutions followed one after the other in 1791, 1801, 1839, 1846, 1866 (great persecution), and 1869.⁴ In 1865, one year before the great persecution, the number of believers amounted to 23,000. During this persecution, almost 8,000 believers were killed and nine out of twelve French priests were martyred.⁵ Even though Korean Confucian government persecuted early Roman Catholics in Korea, the Confucian view of the world, its concepts such as above emperor, *Tien* (Heaven), the Mandate of Heaven, and reverence to Heaven rendered services for a pre-understanding of the Christian concept of God, the Kingdom of God, God's providence, and the fear of God (3.3.2).⁶

The Roman Catholic Church in Korea began to grow from the 1880s onwards, owing to the open policy of the Korean government. By 1900, ten priests had been ordained. Later, the first Korean bishop, Gi-Nam No, was consecrated in 1942 and the first Korean cardinal, Su-Hwan Kim was appointed in 1968. Like its Protestant counterpart, the Korean Roman Catholic Church has experienced the most rapid numerical growth in the world since the mid-seventies of the twentieth century, for which there are several reasons. First, the Protestant church revival affected the self-awareness of Catholic believers so that many Catholics evangelized as well. Second, the liberalism and ecumenism of the Second Vatican Council caused Catholics to become involved in the problems of social justice and human rights. Consequently, it gained credibility in the eyes of young people and intellectuals. And third, the Catholic Church has recently become inculturated through predominantly native clergy and identification with the joys and tears of the Koreans so that the church is no longer distant from the people.⁷ In the year of the bicentennial ceremony of the

³ Yang-Seon Kim, *History of the Korean Church*, Seoul, 1972, p.29. Kim writes that over 7,000 Korean captives in Japan were converted to Christianity; Sung Joon Kim, *A History of Korean Church*, Seoul, 1993, p. 29.

⁴ 400 were martyred in 1791. The Chinese priest Ju was martyred in 1801 after 6 years' secret ministry. Three French priests were included among 113 martyrs in 1839. The first Korean priest Dae-Geon Kim was beheaded in 1846.

⁵ Min, *ibid.*, pp.61-95.

⁶ Yung Han Kim, *Korean Christian Culture Theology*, Seoul, 1992, pp.497-521.

⁷ Buchmeier Francis X. S. J., "The Catholic Church in South Korea: Social Involvement and Church Growth," in *Pro Mundi Vita: Dossiers* (January 1986): 2-28.

Korean Catholic Church (1984), pope John Paul II was invited to South Korea and 103 Koreans were consecrated by him as blessed martyrs. In this year, Korean Catholics were counted as 3,047,857 believers with 1,071 parish churches and 2,657 congregations, 1,743 priests, 12 colleges and universities and 8 theological seminaries.⁸ From the early part of the 1970s, the charismatic renewal movement began among Catholics in Korea and Catholic charismatics numbered 350,000 around 1990.⁹

4.3. PROTESTANTISM (1884ff)

There is no connection between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant mission in Korea. European Protestant missionaries knocked at the door and began to sow the seed. Then, American missionaries opened the door, harvesting and planting as well. According to the perception of Koreans, it seems that Koreans were willing to receive a pure Gospel, namely, the American revival type of evangelicalism rather than the European territorial and national type of Christianity.

We discuss here the development 'from mission field to independent church' according to the expression used by the Dutch missionary leader Hendrik Kraemer.¹⁰ The first part (4.3.1) deals with missionaries/missionary societies from abroad and the second part (4.3.2) with independent Korean churches.

4.3.1. *Korea as a Mission Field: Foreign Missionary Societies (1884-1912)*

In this section we shall observe how foreign missionaries began to sow the seed of the Gospel and harvest its fruits in the early phase of the Korean mission. It covers the period from the beginning of the foreign missions to Korea until the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church which was formed in 1912.

4.3.1.1. *Prehistory: European Missionaries (1875-1884)*

The German missionary Karl F. Gützlaff (1803-1851) who served the Netherlands Missionary Society visited the Korean west coast by merchant ship in 1832 for one month. In 1865, an English missionary to China, Robert J. Thomas (1840-1866), was martyred at Pyongyang: the American merchant ship which he took was burnt by Korean soldiers and sunk.

Two other Scottish missionaries, John Ross (1842-1915) and John McIntyre who were stationed in Manchuria, actually embarked on a Korean mission. In 1875, they met two Koreans who were interested in the Gospel. The missionaries learnt the Korean language from them and began to translate the Bible into the Korean language, *Hangeul*. They published thousands of copies of the Gospels and the

⁸ Gyomunsa, *Korean Church Growth in 100 Years*, Seoul, 1993, pp.214-215. The number of believers does not correspond with the number written on p.225 of this same book. The difference might be understood as the number with children or without.

⁹ The Catholic Charismatic Renewal Committee, *Handbook of Charismatic Renewal in Korea*, Seoul, 1986, pp.7-24. Quoted from Young Hoon Lee, "The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea: Its Historical and Doctrinal Development," Ph.D. dissertation by Temple University, 1996, pp.171-173.

¹⁰ Hendrik Kraemer, *From Mission Field to Independent Church*, The Hague, 1958.

whole New Testament in the period between 1882 to 1887. These Bibles and other tracts were distributed by colporteurs (賣書人) among diaspora Koreans in Manchuria and in the northwestern part of Korea. In a few years, more than 100 Koreans were baptized in Manchuria by the Scottish missionaries. In 1883, hundreds of Bibles were distributed by colporteurs in Pyongyang and in Seoul. Through the translation of the Bible and the work of colporteurs, Christianity was introduced from Manchuria to Korea.¹¹

At that time, in Japan, Su-Jeong Yi was converted to the Christian faith. In 1885, he published 1,000 copies of Mark's Gospel. In the same year, the first resident missionaries to Korea brought this Bible into Korea. In this way, the Korean Bible had existed before American missionaries reached Korea and became residents. As Korean Catholics had done one century before, so the Protestant believers worshipped God by themselves in West-Gando of Manchuria (1884), at the frontier city of Uiju (1883), and in the village of Sorae (1884).

4.3.1.2. *American Missionaries in Residence (1884ff)*

The first resident missionary Horace N. Allen (1858-1932), a doctor of medicine, entered Korea on 20th November 1884. He was sent by the American Northern Presbyterian Church. However, the real Korean mission was started by the Northern Presbyterian Missionary Horace G. Underwood (1859-1916) and the Northern Methodist Missionary Henry G. Appenzeller (1858-1902). They came in through Japan on 5th May 1885, followed by other missionaries from the various churches.

The Protestant missionaries commenced their enterprise differently from the advanced Roman Catholic mission. They started medical treatment and education according to the demand of the government and with its permission. At the same time, they began to evangelize cautiously and actively. When the missionaries opened schools and hospitals, they cooperated with the King and Queen who gave financial help and encouragement. The Underwood family became friends of the royal family. Such indirect investments helped much to consolidate the early Korean missions. Literary work was also active from the very beginning. The easy Korean *Hangeul* was effectively used in printing the Bible and Christian literature. Which was distributed by the colporteurs. By 1892, they had distributed 578,000 copies of the Bible and in the period between 1895 to 1936, more than 18 million Bibles were distributed.¹² Korean churches began as 'the churches of the Bible.' This can be understood by the research of the previous chapter that Confucianism, which prefers to literary and scholarly character, had been deeply rooted in Korean society (3.3.2).

¹¹ Man-Yeol Yi, "Study on Colporteur," in *Korean Christianity and National Consciousness*, Seoul, 1991, pp.109-200. passim. Yi asserted that the main body of the establishment of early Korean churches was made up of colporteurs. They went around the entire land selling Bibles as well as evangelizing and teaching people. During the period of 1908-1940, the colporteurs of the British and Foreign Bible Society (B.F.B.S.) distributed 85% of all the Bibles which were sold by that society in Korea. (p.152). In Asia, "people in no other country more welcome the Bibles and colporteurs than people in Korea." (p.156). In some areas, 70% of all new converts were the results of the colporteurs' work. A large number of churches were founded by them. Many of them became pastors later.

¹² Yung Jae Kim, *A History of Korean Church*, Seoul, 1994, p.80; Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, p.174. Of the numbers of the Bibles distributed in Korea in the 1890s, it is said, "In Korea they distributed in 10 years the same number that they distributed in China in 50 years." (Quoted from the Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol.92-93, p.242).

Underwood secretly baptized one convert in 1886. In the following year, Appenzeller also baptized one of his students. In 1887, Underwood undertook the first missionary journey, visited Sorae Village and baptized seven villagers. Underwood established the Saemunan Presbyterian Church in Seoul in September 1887 with fourteen members, although only one member was converted by him, the rest becoming believers through the mission of Ross.¹³ One month later, Appenzeller also opened the Jeongdong Methodist Church in Seoul. These missionaries had been able to establish churches in the two and a half years since they arrived in Korea. However, the official permission for missionary work was given in 1898 for the first time.¹⁴

4.3.1.3. *Background of the American Missionaries (1884ff)*

The spiritual background of the early American missionaries to Korea was the aggressive evangelicalism of Charles Finney (1792-1875), the holiness movement of the 1860s, and the revival movement of Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899). Furthermore, about 88% of all missionaries to Korea before 1983 were Americans. American Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries took charge of almost 80 % of the Korean population and more than 70 % of all land when they divided it up as mission territory.¹⁵ The American influence on Korean churches can be estimated. Their basic theological concepts can be formulated according to several main points: the authority of God; exclusivism; Biblical basis; and revivalism.¹⁶ Accordingly, they emphasized personal evangelism, Bible study, prayer, caring for women and poor people, and Sabbath observance and self-discipline (prohibition of drinking and smoking). Such a theological trend must have found a welcoming soil under Korean masses who lived by the morality of formality-oriented Confucianism and by a shamanistic spirituality.

At the same time, they adopted their missionary policies at the early stage of the Korean mission. The first and most important policy was to accept the teaching of John Nevius (1829-1893): the principle of self-supporting; self-governing; and self-propagating churches. He had been already working in China as a missionary of the American Northern Presbyterian Church. Having been invited to the missionaries' conference in 1890 by seven young and inexperienced Presbyterian missionaries in Korea, who had read his book about church planting in the mission field, this veteran missionary explained his principle. His emphasis was on teaching solely from the Bible. His principle was not so successful in China, but it played an important role in the development of Korean churches.¹⁷ The second policy was that

¹³ Roy E. Shearer, *Wild Fire: Church Growth in Korea*, Seoul, 1966/ 9ed., 1992, p.47.

¹⁴ Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, pp.123-130.

¹⁵ Man-Yeol Yi, "Korean Christianity and American Influence," in *op. cit.*, pp.445-493.

¹⁶ Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.147-156; Ig-Jin Kim, "Korean Cultural Identity and American Missionary Concepts." This article was presented at the European Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Association (EPCRA) Conference 95 (July 10-14) at Mattersey Hall, England.

¹⁷ Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, p.66. Nevius published *The Planting and Development of Missionary Church*, NY, 1899; Leo Oosterom, *Contemporary Missionary Thought in the Republic of Korea: Three Case Studies on the Missionary Thought of Presbyterian Churches in Korea*, Utrecht-Leiden, 1990, pp.30-32. Some critical sides arose, too. The Nevius plan resulted in the lack of "profound social analysis of the mission field as well as critical evaluation of its efforts nationwide." Also it could not see the long-term effects of the plan because of aiming for visible success. The development of an extreme form of congregationalism and the divisions of the Korean church may have been partly caused by it; Kyong

of co-operation among the missionary societies. In 1893, the Presbyterian missionaries organized the Presbyterian Council which could serve as a presbytery for the whole of Korea. In that year, they divided up the mission territory in Korea so that they might evangelize Korea without rivalries and frictions among missionaries. The third important policy was to adapt their activities to government policy. Accordingly, they first opened hospitals and schools.

There are different approaches between the European Roman Catholic Mission and the American Protestant Mission in their early phases in Korea. The difference between them was due not only to the different historical situations, but also to differences in their faith. The latter ignited Korean religiosity and turned it into a national movement.¹⁸ First, most pioneer Catholics were learned Koreans while the early Protestant faith found its adherents among the humbler classes. Second, the Catholics did not teach the Bible enough while the Protestants spread the Bible.¹⁹ Third, the Catholics tried to take advantage of political and military capabilities of world powers as factors for missionary enterprise while the Protestants tried first to meet the conditions of the Korean government.²⁰ Fourth, the early Catholic missionaries lived together with Korean believers and established the unity of the church while the Protestant missionaries lived separately and evangelized fervently, on the one hand, and trained Koreans so that they could evangelize and lead the Korean churches, on the other.²¹

4.3.1.4. *The First Revival in Korea (1903-1907)*²²

When Christianity was introduced in Korea, society was passing through the greatest cultural transition in Korean history after the introduction of Chinese culture (together with Indian Buddhism) in the fourth century A.D.²³ It was also a process of the nation's pangs of childbirth, with the period of fifteen years (1895-1910) corresponding to its climax. Only missionaries showed their sympathy for Koreans in the trials of that time even though official American policy stood by the Japanese. In that situation, Korean believers as well as evangelical missionaries had no choice but to depend upon God. The 'Korean Pentecostal Movement' (1907) was prepared in this way.

Bae Min, *ibid.*, pp.195-201. The principle of Nevius was first advocated by Henry Venn, the secretary of the Church Missionary Society of London. Venn emphasized that missionaries should concentrate on lower class people so that they would turn into citizens, who can support themselves.

¹⁸ Masahiko Sawa, "Christian Identity in Japan: Self-Discovery through Encounter," in *The Japan Christian Quarterly* 44/1 (Winter 1978): 85-92. The Japanese church is similar to early Catholicism in Korea. It is a middle-class intellectual church and has never approached being a mass or people's movement.

¹⁹ Bong-Hui Kim, *The Study of Korean Christian Literature: 1882-1945*. Seoul, 1987, pp.19-29. The Catholics mainly published books about doctrines, rituals, and catechisms. For the first time in 1892, they published Four Gospels, 10 years later than the Protestants' Bible.

²⁰ Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, pp.68-108.

²¹ Chin-Hwan Kim, *The History of Korean Church Revival Movement*. Seoul, 1993, pp.85-88; Nak-Jun Paik, *Korea Protestant Church History: 1832-1910*. Seoul, 1973, p.53.

²² cf. Forthcoming Utrecht University dissertation by Chang-Ki Lee, "The Revival Movement in Korea (1903-1907): A Historic and Systematic Study."

²³ Shin-Hwan Kwak, "Catholicism and Catholics Seen from Confucianism," in *Theology and Thought*, Nr.14 (1994/12): 84-104. When the *Choseon* Dynasty ended (1910), Confucianism as the national ideology collapsed as well (100). Now, Western culture began to be established in Korea with the Protestant missions as focal points and without organizational (national) opposition. See 4.2.

In 1895, when the Japanese mob murdered the Queen of Korea (1851-1895) in her bedroom, confusion and panic struck with the hundreds of dwellers within the palace walls.²⁴ Even the King was seized with fear at that moment because he could be the next victim. The war between the two great neighbours (1894-1895) on Korean soil left desolation, especially in the northwestern territory. Pyongyang City was not only war-devastated, but also stricken by cholera. The missionaries devoted themselves to healing the sufferers and comforted the King with their love. Christianity, America, and the missionaries became believable to Koreans. The door to the Gospel was opened wide. The first harvest in the mission fields began after this Sino-Japanese war.²⁵

Even though the revival started in 1895, significant results did not come until later. Assuming that evangelicalism of the missionaries laid the theological foundation for the revival, we can pick out prayer and Bible study as the most important practical factors for the revival. In Korea, these two elements cannot be separated, and we observe the revival centering on these two elements from the first. First and foremost, to pray fervently to God characterized the revival, which arose in Wonsan City in 1903. Parallel with Pyongyang latitudinally, this harbour is located on the east coast and at that time had 3,000 houses. The believers of Wonsan kept their own triple principle: “pray fervently, evangelize hard, and study the Bible earnestly.”²⁶ The constituent members of the church, namely 80% of the congregation, had immigrated from the northwest into this city. Many of these immigrant believers were converted from their prodigal lives and were bold in witnessing and praying.²⁷ Besides, a Canadian missionary A. F. Robb, an untrained Canadian farmer and private missionary M. C. Fennwick, and a Canadian medical missionary Dr. R. A. Hardie (Wonsan belonged to Canadian mission territory), were especially fervent in their prayer. Therefore, the revival at Wonsan was not without cause. In 1903, when they had an interdenominational (Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist) conference, Dr. Hardie was blessed first. Lillias H. Underwood (the wife of Underwood) wrote:

In the latter part of 1903, a remarkable revival began in Wonsan. The writer has always believed that this was the first of a wonderful shower of blessings which some 3 years later fell upon the whole national church of Korea. Dr. Hardie, who then lived in Wonsan, tells how two Christian women had been praying daily for an outpouring of

²⁴ Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, 1918/ rep. 1983, Seoul, p.147.

²⁵ Horace G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, 1908/ reprinted in Seoul, 1983, pp.134-150. Missionary Underwood divided up the early mission history into 4 periods: the first 5 years (1885-1890) was the confirmation of the receptivity of Koreans; the next period (1890-1895) was that of missionary enforcement; the third period (1895-1900) was the beginning of the large harvest; the fourth period (1900-1905) was that of large harvest and great ingathering. The main circumstantial ground for the growth of the third period was the consequences of the war, he said. In 1907, there were 56 clerical missionaries, 15 male and female physicians, 35 single ladies, and 53 missionary wives in Korea. In 1895, there were 20 church members in Pyongyang and 73 baptized persons in the adjacent province. Only 4 church buildings were ready in that whole area. In 1899, they had 2,232 members, 153 self-supporting churches with 7,433 adherents. In connection with the Seoul missionary station, there were 105 meeting places, 1,102 members, and 2800 adherents. The revival was remarkable.

²⁶ Taek-Bu Jeon, *The Faith Mountains of Natives*, Seoul, 1993, pp.132-205. passim. He described how the fires of the first revival (1903-1907) and the second one (1930s) were ignited at Wonsan. That harbour city was the meeting place of those who would be used for lighting the fire, he says.

²⁷ Roy E. Shearer, *ibid.*, p.200.

grace, and how meetings were arranged for. He was asked to prepare to lead the missionaries in some weeks of Bible study, but, as he tried to make ready, he himself was convicted with deep and overwhelming grief and repentance for coldness and shortcomings. He openly confessed before both the Korean church and missionaries, and begged for their prayers. Others were overcome with like conviction and repentance until all missionaries and the native Christians had received a baptism as of fire. The story of the thrilling experiences of Wonsan spread all over the country.²⁸

When they had such a conference in the spring of 1904, Missionary Robb, Gye-Eun Jeon, and Chun-Su Jeong were also moved by the Spirit. When they prayed together, it sounded like a wailing cry coming from a mourner's house. These two Koreans preached boldly on the street.²⁹ Missionaries and Korean Christians from various places began to pray for revival. During the next two years, all over the various missions, "many had moved to most unremitting prayers for the gift of the Spirit and there was a feeling everywhere that a blessing was coming ... there is little doubt that the beginning was there in that little missionary community in Wonsan, perhaps brought through the prayers of those good two women."³⁰ The revival at Wonsan should be ascribed to those people who were especially devoted to prayer.

Having heard of the revival at Wonsan, Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries in Pyongyang invited Dr. Hardie in August 1906 to lead a conference for a week. During the conference, the Spirit showed them "nothing but the baptism of God's Spirit in mighty power could fit them and Korean brethren for the trying days ahead."³¹ They agreed to pray for a great blessing, especially at the winter Bible classes for men. Not only were Koreans and missionaries praying, but also home churches in America prayed.³²

In September 1906, Reverend Howard A. Johnson from New York visited Korea. He introduced the revivals of India and Wales in Seoul and in Pyongyang. The response in Pyongyang was different. When Johnson asked the congregation in Pyongyang if there was anyone who would bring about the revival in Korea by the power of God as in Wales, only Seon-Ju Kil (1869-1935), who was the elder and 'lay assistant teacher or preacher' [조사: *Josa*: 助事] of the church, raised his hand. Kil and the congregation began to pray fervently to have that kind of revival in Korea. Elder Kil began an early morning prayer with Elder Park. That became a tradition for Korean churches. At four o'clock in the morning they prayed for the revival and the winter Bible classes of 1907. After two months, several hundred people (600~700) gathered at 4:30 to join the prayer meeting. The revival was already there.³³ In this way, Kil played an important role in the Pyongyang revival.

²⁸ Lillias H. Underwood, *ibid.*, pp.223-224; Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, p.110. Missionary in China Miss M. C. White and Scandinavian Allianz missionary to China F. Franson visited Wonsan and stimulated them, too.

²⁹ Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, p.266; Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, p.111.

³⁰ Lillias H. Underwood, *ibid.*, pp.224-225.

³¹ William Newton Blair, *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed*, 1910. Reprinted with Introduction by Bruce Hunt, Edinburgh, 1977, p.66.

³² Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.111-112.

³³ In 1906, there were signs of baptism with the Spirit in various places already. It was the effect of the Wonsan revival. There were reports of revivals in Jaeryeong (northwest area), Mokpo (southwest area), and Gaeseong (central area). During the meetings, people repented in agony and were filled with joy. They witnessed their filling in the Spirit.

He had been a Taoist for ten years before he was converted. Here is one aspect of his old religious practices:

One of the Taoist set seasons is a hundred days of prayer, the object being to keep recollection constantly on the go; to keep awake, not to fall asleep once in all that time. If successful, assuredly you will find God. Such was Kil's understanding. Various ways and means were resorted to keep awake; pouring water on the head, for example, or placing a block of wood on it, like a flat hat, so that a nod of sleep would drop it on the floor with a bang to awaken the sleeper. What a labor! Through rain, and snow, and nights of starvation, all for just one thing ... to find God. They had heard, these three (with two special friends), that God had been found by men of other nations, and so they too would seek until they found Him. Kil was the leader, tremendously in earnest.³⁴

He had various experiences as a Taoist together with fasting, praying, and meditation. Now, as a new creature in God, he used his Taoistic discipline to express his Christian faith. In one way or another, Taoist spirit influenced Christianity. As Kil led a meeting in Seoul just after the Pyongyang revival, "He seemed to pray all night and then speak three or four times a day, led here and there by the hand, and never seemed to be tired. His words were like a prophet's risen from the dead, none could withstand them."³⁵

The other factor in the revival movement was Bible study. It was started by Underwood in Seoul in 1890 with seven believers. Next year, the mission society laid down a Bible study programme in its regulations. A men's class, a women's class, and a mixed class were organized, taught by missionaries and Korean assistant lay preachers. Praying, counselling, and evangelization activities were also carried out. In 1904, more than half of all believers (60%) attended one or more of such classes. In 1907, there were 800 Bible classes and almost 50,000 persons attending them in the Northern Presbyterian Mission district. This number was double the number of baptized believers, which means that many believers attended more than one class.³⁶ The Confucian tradition in Korean society might have influenced Korean Christians so that they read the Bible more and become Bible-believing Christians (3.3.2).

Let us briefly look at the course and the effect of the Pyongyang Pentecost. Scattered missionaries gathered at Pyongyang as usual in 1906 around Christmas and New Year's Day. They prepared the forthcoming Bible class. But, that year, they had no heart for social gatherings, holding a prayer meeting each evening instead. A two weeks' Bible class was opened from January 6th 1907. It was the Northern Presbyterian Mission programme. About 700 Christians attended from all parts of the northern lands. During the day, they had Bible classes and in the evening a revival meeting. The strongest men from all the churches were present as well, a gathering of about 1,500 men. On Saturday night, a number of believers confessed their lack of love for others, especially for the Japanese. They went home with confidence that their prayers were being answered. An eyewitness, the Missionary

³⁴ James S. Gale, "The Blind Pastor of Korea: A True Story for Young and Old," in *PE* (February 8, 1930): 8, 9. He was partially blind at the time of the Pyongyang revival.

³⁵ idem, *Korea in Transition*, Seoul, 1983, pp.214-215.

³⁶ Roy E. Shearer, *ibid.*, pp.60-61.

William Newton Blair, reported in his book *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed* as follows:

On the following Sunday night, they had a strange experience. There was no life in the meeting. The church was crowded as usual, but something seemed to block everything. After the sermon a few formal prayers were offered and we went home weary as from a physical contest, conscious that the devil had been present, apparently victorious.³⁷

They redoubled their earnestness in their prayer: "Let everything be forgotten but just to pray."³⁸ On Monday at noon, the missionaries met and cried to God. They were bound in the Spirit and refused to let God go till He blessed them. God began to work on Monday night (January 14th, 1907). Missionary Blair writes:

That night it was different. Each felt as he entered the church that the room was full of God's presence. Not only missionaries but Koreans testify to the same thing ... After a short sermon, Mr. Graham Lee took charge of the meeting and called forth prayers. So many began praying that Mr. Lee said, 'if you pray like that, all pray,' and the effect was indescribable – not confusion, but a vast harmony of sound and spirit, a mingling together of souls moved by an irresistible impulse of prayer. The prayer sounded to me like the falling of many waters, an ocean of prayer beating against God's throne.³⁹

The meeting went on till two o'clock a.m. with confession, weeping, and praying. On Tuesday night, more missionaries together with Methodist missionaries attended. As missionary Blair prayed and called on God, it seemed as if "the roof was lifted from the building and the Spirit of God came down from Heaven in a mighty avalanche of power upon us. I fell at Kim's side and wept and prayed as I had never prayed before ..."⁴⁰ The Korean Pastor K. C. Pang, who was present, told Missionary Gale, "We were under a mysterious and awful power, hopeless – missionaries as well as natives."⁴¹ The conference agenda terminated that night.

This movement spread out to the schools and churches in Pyongyang. Little children were in no way exempt. When the Spirit of God moved, man did not need to make anything happen under compulsion. Even the leading missionary Underwood did not participate in it. He was in America at that time. Those who experienced the power of God returned to their homes in the country taking the pentecostal fire with them.⁴² The Methodist mission held a training class for preachers and Christian workers soon after this in Pyongyang. The experience was repeated. Some missionaries and Korean ministers like Dr. Hardie, J. L. Gerdine, and Seon-Ju Kil held revival meetings throughout the country. It became like a nation-wide movement. Further, it influenced the churches in Manchuria (1908) and in China (1910).⁴³

³⁷ William Newton Blair, *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed*, 1910. Reprinted with Introduction by Bruce Hunt. Edinburgh, 1977, p.70.

³⁸ James S. Gale, *ibid.*, p.204.

³⁹ William Newton Blair, *ibid.*, p.71.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.73.

⁴¹ James S. Gale, *ibid.*, p.207.

⁴² Blair, *ibid.*, p.75.

⁴³ Gale, *ibid.*, pp.215-221. Two Chinese elders in Mukden, Manchuria, heard of the revival in Korea. They visited Seon-Ju Kil and the leaders after the Pyongyang revival. They reported the news in

Even though not all agree on the achievements of the Pyongyang movement, the Gospel took firm root in Korea and the spirituality of Korean churches was shaped through it. The formation of a single presbytery of the four Presbyterian churches in 1907 was the result of its influence. Sung Joon Kim formulated its results as follows: believers were renewed from within; believers and missionaries were reconciled; the Bible study programme (later revival meeting) was established in the church; co-operation between denominations was enforced; plans were made for foreign missions (to Japan, China, Manchuria, and Vladivostok in Eastern Russia from 1907); the strengthening of the Bible school; and the one million souls for Christ movement was organized.⁴⁴ Liberal and progressive circles have some different views on the revival movement.⁴⁵

As the movement began to wane in 1909, the united missionary council called forth a nation-wide evangelistic campaign in the autumn of that year. They adopted a slogan 'a million souls for Christ' in one year from 1909 to 1910. It was the first organized national movement of Korean Christians under the missionaries' leadership. American revivalists were invited. Several millions tracts and 700,000 copies of Mark's Gospel were distributed. Thousands of believers prayed daily for it and many thousands of unbelievers were invited to the meetings and many of them confessed their faith. However, most of them did not remain in the church. The result was different from what they expected. It left them with the lesson that well-organized human efforts which do not wait for God's participation fail in heavenly business.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it was a natural consequence of the fact that the Korean church was growing through a series of revival and evangelization efforts of this kind. In 1910, the number of all Protestant Christians reached 167,000.

Mukden. A Canadian Missionary called Goforth from Honan (northern part of middle China) had also visited Korea around that time and gave an account of the movement to the church at Luoyang. "At once, similar phenomena took place. In Mukden, in Fakumen (northwest of Mukden), and in Hailuncheng the same fervent prayer happened and repentance ... It is unprecedented and striking in China."; Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, p.279; cf. Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 6, pp.343-344.

⁴⁴ Sung Joon Kim, *A History of Korean Churches*, Seoul, 1993, pp.86-90.

⁴⁵ Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, pp.270-281; Gwang-Seon Suh, "Intellectualism and Anti-intellectualism of Korean Church," in *Christianity in Korean History*, Seoul, 1985, pp.287-288. Some criticisms are mentioned. First, the revival was used as a means for the de-politicization of Korean Christians. Second, it caused Korean churches to be anti-intellectual. Third, the factional and individual piety of Korean churches is based on it; Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.118-119. Kim argues against the view of de-politicization saying that a revival movement cannot be artificially manipulated. It can only be performed by the Holy Spirit beyond human control. It was an instance of such movements that broke out in European Protestant churches and mission fields from the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century, he argues.

⁴⁶ Sung Joon Kim, *ibid.*, p.89. Roy E. Shearer, *ibid.*, pp.63-64. Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, pp.298-299. Boo-Woong Yoo, *Korean Pentecost*, pp.89-93. The positive valuation of it: the Gospel was preached all over Korea; the absorption of interest in the campaign maintained peace during the trying years of annexation to Japan; the increase of the people's evangelizing zeal and the establishment of this tradition.

4.3.2. *Independent Korean Churches: the Korean Presbyterian Church and Other Korean Churches (1912ff)*

As an after-effect of the Pyongyang revival, a presbytery was constituted by the Presbyterian churches in accordance with the general assemblies of four Presbyterian churches (North and South of America, Canada, and Australia) in September 1907. It was composed of 33 missionaries and 36 Korean elders. On that evening, this presbytery ordained seven Korean candidates who had graduated from the theological seminary. They adopted the articles of confession which were standard in the Indian Free Presbyterian Church.⁴⁷

The first independent Korean church started in 1912. The General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church was formed with seven presbyteries, having 44 missionaries, 52 Korean pastors, and 125 elders. Even though Underwood was elected as the superintendent and Blair as the treasurer in the assembly, they always were ready to cooperate with Korean leaders. Since 1915 Koreans took the position of superintendent. The Northern and Southern Methodist Missions opened a united Bible school in 1907. They also formed a single Methodist denomination in 1930. Other denominations also began to form their own organizations: the Baptist church in 1906; the Holiness church in 1910; and the Anglican Church in 1910. Then these churches began to be independent in cooperation with missionaries.

In the following sub-section we deal with Korean independent churches in three successive periods of time: the Korean Churches under Japanese imperialism; the Korean Churches under communism; and the development of Korean Churches after the Korean War.

4.3.2.1. *The Trial of Independent Korean Churches under Japanese Imperialism (1912-1945)*

As Japanese Imperialism annexed Korea in 1910, it took all necessary measures to deal with Korean churches because it realized that these churches as nation-wide organizations in Korea were the main agents of national consciousness. Nevertheless, Korean churches did not lose their basic liveliness. Christians took the leadership of the March First Independence Movement of 1919. Kyong Bae Min summarized four spiritual reasons for this. First, Christians believed that unrighteousness would be punished by God. Second, they acted according to the nature of Christianity which promotes freedom and justice. Third, it was the expression of the power of Christian ecumenism and unity. Fourth, the church was a unique circle where people did not give up their hope.⁴⁸ Because of this independence movement, Korean churches suffered a loss of life and property within their country and in Manchuria.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.128-129. The presidency was occupied by a missionary, but most offices were allotted to Koreans. The Korean Presbyterian church had 789 churches, 7 pastors, 53 elders, and 70,000 members (19,000 baptized). The creed was adopted from the 12 articles of the Indian Free Presbyterian Church in 1904. It tends towards Calvinism.

⁴⁸ Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, pp.339-341.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, pp.345-349. For example, Korean Presbyterians suffered arrest (4,140), death (47), imprisonment (1,642), and destruction of church buildings (12). Moreover, Korean churches in Manchuria and Gando area suffered more from Japanese punitive forces: in the Gando area, 3,469 were killed (many

From the mid-1920s, Korean churches were confronted with internal and external problems.⁵⁰ The inner problems were composed of three aspects. One was the rampancy of ecclesiastical authority and formalization of the churches. The second was the beginning of theological controversy between conservatives and liberals. The third aspect was the shaking-up of the leadership of Korean churches. Some tried to form independent indigenous Korean churches. Therefore, missionaries began to retreat from active evangelization to working indirectly. The external problems were composed of four aspects. The first was the oppression by Japanese Imperialism, which displayed its rule over Korea by enforcing Shinto shrine worship. It schemed to make the Koreans its imperial subjects and forced them to worship at the shrine as its faithful subordinates. Even though the full-scale enforcement for believers started around 1935,⁵¹ Korean churches had already sensed the increasing oppression by imperialism. The second aspect was the threat of communist activities. In 1925, the *Choseon* Communist Party and *Goryeo* Communist Youth Association were organized. Communists propagated against Christianity and persecuted it in Manchuria. The third was the attack of atheistic and secular thought combined with natural science and human knowledge. The fourth aspect was the economic difficulties of the Korean churches when the Koreans suffered both from Japanese plundering and from poverty. We can see three countermeasures that took place in Korean Churches to cope with the difficult situation. Firstly, they organized evangelization in the periods of 1919-1921 and 1929-1932.⁵² Secondly, they engaged in social works like the enlightenment of the farmers and the campaign for temperate living and Young Men's Christian Association activities. Lastly, they also engaged in the new type of revival movement introduced by Yong-Do Yi (1901-1933).

The position of the Methodist Reverend Yong-Do Yi in the Korean Church still remains an unsolved theological problem.⁵³ However, it is clear that his ministry shook and awakened the Korean churches. In spite of the ministries of Seon-Ju Kil and Ik-Du Kim (1874-1950), and regardless of the evangelization efforts and the increase in the number of believers in general, the Korean Church in the period of 1920-1930 was "like a baby that has to walk through the storm alone."⁵⁴ We have already observed the reasons for this. In a word, the spiritual atmosphere of the Korean churches at that time was seized with stagnation and uneasiness. However,

of whom were Christians); 170 were arrested; 3,209 houses were burnt down; and 36 school buildings and 14 church buildings were burnt.

⁵⁰ Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.177-229; Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, pp.369-440; Roy E. Shearer, *ibid.*, pp.75-91; John K. Fairbank et al., *East Asia* 2, pp.578, 672-682.

⁵¹ See the third phase of 2.3.

⁵² Sung Joon Kim, *ibid.*, pp.115-117. Seon-ju Kil and Ik-Du Kim played the most important role in the revivals. But, Kil's ministry peaked in the 1910s and Kim's in the early part of the 1920s; Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, As Kim healed various kinds of sick people through his ministry, he was misunderstood and attacked from the beginning of the 1920s by Japanese police, communists in Gando, popular anti-religious movements, and even by intellectuals of the *Namdaemun* Church where he was pastor. Therefore, his activity as a revivalist shrank in the 1930s (Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*).

⁵³ We discuss this in section 4.4.

⁵⁴ Kyong Bae Min, "Morphologic Study about Yi Yong-Do's Mysticism," In *The Complete Collection of Yi Yong-Do* (CCYY), ed., by Jong-Ho Byeon, 10 vols. Seoul, 1993, vol.9, pp.11-38. It (1910-1930) was the period of the most spiritual loss of the Korean Church (p.13) or the stage of the weakest progress of the Korean Church (p.14); Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.180-188.

Yong-Do Yi had taken up a special position. When he was a theological student in 1927, he wrote in his diary as follows (February 9):

The Korean Church must have a revival. It does not have prayer, personal evangelization, enthusiasm, love, courage, gratitude, praise, cooperation, Bible study, a truth-seeking heart, service, and family prayer. It has chattering, gossiping, criticism, only thinking of money-gathering, idleness, arguing and conflict, cowardice, fear, complaint, uneasiness, worry, dissolution, greed, selfishness, and anxiety in the family.⁵⁵

When he was ministering as a revivalist in 1930, he wrote in his diary (February 20):

Modern Christians request ‘a strange Jesus’ and modern pastors preach a strange Jesus. If the true Jesus comes, He has no choice but to be killed. They killed the true Jesus after all. Instead, according to the demand of sin, they propagate the demon. Woe to the modern church! The Jesus that they request is a Jesus of the flesh, a Jesus of honour, a Jesus of wealth, and a Jesus of height. The Jesus that Jesus wants is the Jesus of Spirit, the Jesus of the humble, the Jesus of poverty, and the Jesus of the low. Do you need Jesus? Seek Jesus of the Son of God, not the Jesus of humans that you have manufactured. Do not try to adapt Jesus to your mind, but adjust yourself to Jesus.⁵⁶

He criticized the Korean churches where fundamentalism reigned, also attacking professional revivalists, lifeless Western churches, and the sense of superiority of missionaries. His revival method was centered on prayer and experience that was different from Seon-Ju Kil and Ik-Du Kim, who concentrated on Bible teaching. He used to say that real Christians should be “crazy” for Jesus and die for Him. When he prayed he often sank into self-effacement and prayed for several hours. He did not prepare his sermons because he only preached when God gave messages to him. We find his spirituality that can be compared to the spiritual performance of Korean shamans (3.2.2). Thus he kindled the shamanistic spirituality of Koreans, and Korean Christians were enraptured over his ministry for several years.

Through his mystic faith-revival-movement, a “matured form of Christian mysticism held the position as a decisive factor to shape the pious form of Korean Protestant Christians.”⁵⁷ He opened a new horizon in the Korean churches: from the traditional fundamentalist evangelicalism of the missionaries to a form of experiential and indigenized Christianity. Consequently, his spirituality and revival method were more successful in touching the shamanistic spirituality of the Koreans than the previous fundamentalism. At the same time, it contained the dangerous element of falling into heretical spiritualism.

His influence on Korean churches, regardless of right or wrong, may be formulated as follows. First, he introduced a new type of revival meeting in Korean churches, which was followed by most revivalists after the 1945 liberation. It was prayer-centered and experiential. Second, he brought about a “prayer boom” all over the land. Third, he awoke Korean churches from idleness and factionalism. Fourth,

⁵⁵ Yong-Do Yi, *Diary of Reverend Yi Yong-Do*, in *The Complete Collection of Yi Yong-Do*, vol. 3, p.21.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.87.

⁵⁷ Seung Hwan Cha, “The meaning of Christian Mystic Movement in 1920-1930: Centering around Popular Religious Movement of Yi Yong-Do,” in *Yi Yong-Do and Korean Church Reform Movement*, ed. by Chung-Won Yi, Seoul, 1995, pp.169-170.

many young people entered the ministry through his service. Fifth, he influenced Koreans to form an indigenized Korean church. Just before his death (October 1933), Jesus Church was organized by those who followed him. Sixth, his faith represented the form of the suffering Korean Church underwent under Japanese imperialism: Christian martyrs under Japanese persecution were influenced by him.⁵⁸ Most of all, from the point of view of “prayer boom” and experiences in God, he contributed to the preparation of a spiritual legacy for *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism in the future.⁵⁹

The Japanese government in Korea began to force Korean schools to visit and worship Shinto shrines from the 1930s, propagating it not as a religious act but as a national patriotic ceremony. The Methodist Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Canadian United Presbyterian mission decided to comply. Under compulsion from Japanese police, the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church decided to worship there in September 1938. But most laymen and leaders who had a conservative and reformed faith refused to do so.

Japanese imperialism attempted to make all Korean church organizations one single system around the time when Japan attacked the Pearl Harbour (1941). Missionaries had to leave Korea until 1942. Some parts of the Bible (for example, the Old Testament and Revelation of John) and some hymns were revised or their use prohibited in church. Small denominations were dissolved until 1943. At last, in July of 1945, all Korean churches were unified under the title ‘Japanese Christian Church *Choseon* Denomination.’ This happened just three weeks before the end of the war.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Jong-Ho Byeon, ed., *The Complete Collection of Yi Yong-Do*, 10 vols. Chung-Won Yi, ed., *Yi Yong-Do and Korean Church Reform Movement*, Seoul, 1995. Kyong Bae Min, *Korean Church History*, pp. 440-448. Boo-Woong Yoo, *Korean Pentecost*, pp.106-127. Tong-Shik Ryu, “Korean Church and the Holy Spirit Movement,” in *A Study on the Pentecostal Movement in Korea*, ed. by Korean Christian Academy, pp.9-21, Seoul, 1982. Chin-Hwan Kim, *The History of Korean Church Revival Movement*, pp.136-156; Methodist, Kijang Presbyterian Church, KAOG, and *Minjung* theologians generally recognize Yong-Do Yi’s contribution to the Korean Church regardless of his mistakes, while conservative Presbyterian theologians hold him to have brought more disadvantages than advantages.

⁵⁹ When Jong-Ho Byeon took the lectureship at the *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary (1966-1979) he introduced Yong-Do Yi as a model for pentecostals.

⁶⁰ Seok-Hi Han, *Japanese Occupation and Religious Policy in Korea*, trans. by Seung-Tae Kim. Seoul, 1990, pp.75-160; Myeong-Gwan Ji and Sochon Kyuchi, *The Material about the Relation History between Korea-Japan Christianity: 1876-1922*, trans. by Yun-Ok Kim and Gyu-Tae Son, Seoul, 1990; Kurata Masahiko, *The Persecution History of Japanese Imperialism over Korean Christianity*, Seoul, 1991, pp.32-62. The Japanese church had a greater tradition of liberal tendency than the Korean church. The National Christian Council of Japan decided to worship State Shinto in 1936. The Japanese government-general in Korea wanted to use Japanese Christianity to cultivate Koreans. The Congregational Association Church of Japan acted upon it. That church began to evangelize in Korea from 1911. In 1919, before the independence movement, it had 150 congregations with 14,387 Korean members in Korea. But, it adapted itself to governmental policy. When the government stopped its financial support, it lost most of its members. Here are the statistics. In 1921, it had only 2,955 members and in 1940, it had 560 Korean adherents. Its basic idea for Korean mission showed how it sided with the imperialism. The motivation for its mission was explained as follows. First, Korea had been traditionally not an independent country. Second, the annexation of Korea to Japan was an act of God who realizes righteousness. Third, Japan can evangelize Korea best because the Japanese shared the same culture with Koreans. Fourth, although political annexation brought Korea economic development, only Christian edification would change Koreans into subjects of the Emperor. Fifth, even if there were twice as many Christians in Korea as in Japan, those believers became Christians from ulterior motives like political reasons and worship of the powerful (the Western powers) or they

4.3.2.2. *Communism (1945-1953)*

Communism was introduced in 1920s. It did not develop into a physical threat to the church in Korea itself owing to imperial militarism. But, the Korean churches in Manchuria suffered, and many pastors and believers were martyred by Korean communists there. However, real persecution by communists set in after the liberation from Japan in 1945. From the time the Russian army occupied the northern part in August 1945, Christian leaders there tried to engage in politics so that they might not only check the establishment of a communist government but also help believers to maintain their Christian lives. In September 1945, Reverend Ha-Yeong Yun and Reverend Gyung-Jik Han organized 'the Christian Social Democratic Party' in Pyonganbuk-Do. Elder Man-Sik Jo and Reverend Yun-Yeong Yi set up 'the *Choseon* Democratic Party' in November of the same year. But they existed only several months because of the Communists' oppression. To oppose and break up the North Korean churches, the communist party formed the North *Choseon* Christian League as a political puppet organization in November 1946. This organization was arranged by ex-Reverend Yang-Uk Kang, the secretary of Il-Seong Kim. Reverend Sang-Sun Pak was appointed as chairman.⁶¹ The League threatened to arrest and drive out all those who did not participate in it. Christians in the North took either the way of persecution and martyrdom, of coming to South Korea, of going underground, or of submitting to the League. From 1947, the church in the North began to have martyrs. Next year, the political regime nationalized church property. Many believers were included among those almost two million refugees⁶² who moved down to South Korea through the war. The socialized Christian League has lasted ever since in North Korea as an official religious organization.⁶³

4.3.2.3. *Expansion, Schisms and Theological Developments in the Independent Korean Churches (1953ff)*

In this section, we survey three points of expansion, schisms and theological development of Korean churches since the cease-fire of the Korean War (1953). First, we deal with the expansion of Christianity in Korea. After the war, the number of Korean Protestant believers increased almost twofold in each decade (see figure 1). The evangelist Reverend Chin-Hwan Kim believes that "the hearts of Korean people were more open to receive the Gospel after the Korean War than any other previous time in Korean mission history."⁶⁴

were the lowly people and unemployed. Therefore, they needed new teachings. Despite a minority of Japanese Christians who had sympathy for the Korean situation, the majority of Japanese Christians who formed public opinion conformed to imperialism.

⁶¹ Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.230-237.

⁶² Nell L. Kennedy, *Dream Your Way to Success: the Story of Dr. Yonggi Cho and Korea*, Plainfield, NJ, 1980, p.72.

⁶³ Heung Soo Kim, *North Korea Church History since the Liberation*, Seoul, 1992, pp.20-34. North Korea has a temporary provision which permits freedom of religion. It is a makeshift. The communist party was convinced that it could not hold on to its regime without dealing with the churches because of the great number of believers in North Korea. The communists oppressed churches with all possible means like persuasion, plots, and raising internal troubles in the churches. After the war, 350 pastors were martyred or disappeared.

⁶⁴ Chin-Hwan Kim, *ibid.*, p.217.

At the same time, heretical groups, which made inroads into the contemporary state of despair, were prevailing. This age also produced Elder Un-Mong Na (1914-....), who rendered great services to indigenization and the Holy Spirit movement in Korean churches in the 1950s.⁶⁵ He corresponds more to the Korean pentecostal revivalist than Yong-Do Yi. But, as his faith was mainly based on the Bible and experiences without theological training, his influence decreased.⁶⁶ Un-Mong Na's case is a noticeable example how Korean traditional religions and Christianity encounter positively, on the one hand, and cannot harmonize, on the other hand.

In the 1950s, expectancy for the future life and eschatology were the chief subjects taught to believers bearing post-war hardships. In the 1960s, hope, active work and duty were preached to Koreans as economic development broke out after the military revolution. Furthermore, the *Sunbogeum* church of Yonggi Cho took fire and gave impetus to this movement. In the 1970s, through mass evangelization campaigns, Korean churches began to expose their united resources and their influence on society. *Minjung* theology appeared in this decade. In the 1980s, Korean churches grew with the vision of world mission.

Korean churches are seen to have expanded riding Korea's wave of modernization as the sociological study of religious phenomena shows (see 2.4). Byeong-Seo Kim's analysis shows that the shamanistic, conservative, formalistic and depending-upon-the-Spirit religiosity of the Korean Church and its modernity (capitalistic and economic system that is activated by industrialism) could mutually interact with Korean modernization. Hence, he also pointed out the problems of the Korean Church which were caused by its business-style competition and blessing-seeking faith. He regards the Korean Church as an edition of Korean society in miniature. Max Weber's theory which deals with the relation between the development of religion and society was taken as an example for this explanation.⁶⁷ Making the mass evangelization campaigns in the 1970s as the period of explosion

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, pp.214-219.

⁶⁶ Un-Mong Na, *The Holy Spirit that I Experienced and Its Movement of a Half Century*, Seoul, 1990/ 2 ed., 1995. He entered Yongmun Mountain in 1940 alone to seek the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy. In 1942, he heard God's voice to tell him to repent and saw a vision there. He was dramatically converted to Christianity. Soon he began to preach. He was trained through Bible study and prayer. He was persecuted by imperialism and communism. From the early part of the 1950s, his ministry at the mountain began to be known. He was invited by churches in the cities from 1952 (during the Korean war). In his ministry, experiences such as healings, speaking in tongues, and falling into a trance broke out. He taught the filling with the Spirit as the second experience after salvation. In August of 1954, almost 30,000 gathered at the prayer house in Yongmun Mountain. He founded the prayer house in 1947 and Gideon Theological School in 1956 in that mountain; Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp.268-269. Korean churches watched him with suspicion because he tried to harmonize Confucianism and Buddhism with Christianity. In the 1960s, he was rejected or declared as a heretical Bible teacher by most denominations; Deok-Hwan Kim, *The Foundation History of Korean Church Denomination*, Incheon, 1991, vol.3, pp.129-143. Na was ordained a pastor in 1979 by the International Pentecostal Holiness Church. Most pastors in it graduated from his theological school. This denomination has 348 churches and 70,000 members; Un-Mong Na is the first indigenous Korean pentecostal leader. Even though he does not accept tongues as the initial sign of baptism with the Spirit, he accepted and mentioned the gifts of the Spirit. His ministry brought abundant fruit and the denomination that he founded follows the right track. Nevertheless, his somewhat inharmonious mixing of theology with traditional doctrines (for example, he advocates a spiritual prison after death like purgatory and takes Confucius and Buddha as God's prophets), makes him unpopular in Korean churches.

⁶⁷ Byeong-Seo Kim, *Korean Society and Christianity*, Seoul, 1995, pp.13-103. *passim*.

of the revival movement, the Korean Church was able to reach about 25% of Koreans in 1990. It appeared as a church which missionizes.

The relation between shamanistic religiosity of Korean people and such a revival in Korea can be traced by Yung Han Kim's idea of formal correspondence: shamanism contains the idea of divine spirit and heaven god which finds a point of contact with the Jahweh concept in the Bible; there is the idea of a world beyond this one in shamanism, whose point of contact is the idea of Heaven in Christianity; it has the idea of supplicating for blessing to the divine spirits, which is comparable to the blessing of God in the Old Testament; it has the idea of sincerity and prayer, which can be the equivalent of prayer and devotion in Christianity; it seeks blessing here and now, which is comparable to the teaching of Christianity which takes a serious view of life and blessing in this world; it has a fatalistic idea of life, death, fortune, and misfortune depending upon a transcendental divine power which is comparable to God's transcendental power and authoritative guidance for Christians; it employs singing and dancing, which are comparable to the joy of Christianity in becoming reconciled with God; and it has the idea of mystic salvation through suffering, which corresponds to the suffering of the cross and the glory of the resurrection.⁶⁸

Secondly, we pay attention to the schisms in this period. The first schism in the Korean Church had already started in the 1910s.⁶⁹ However, the real divisions in Korea sprang up in the 1930s out of theological issues of conservatism and liberalism. Until 1959, the Korean Presbyterian Church was fundamentally formed into four groups (Kosin, Kijang, Tonghap, and Haptong) for basically theological reasons.⁷⁰

Since 1960, only the Haptong group has been the subject of divisions. In 1960, Daesin and in 1962 Hoheon separated themselves. But the dissension since 1979 has been like the splitting of an atomic nucleus. The main reasons were not theological issues, but issues concerning the theological seminary and ecclesiastical authority. In 1995, there were 112 organized denominations under the name of the Presbyterian Church in Korea.⁷¹ The Confucian heritage like putting stress on formality and party strife among Neo-Confucian scholars must have prepared soil for the Korean churches to develop into schisms.

The Methodist Church split in 1953 owing to a problem with the election of the general bishop, but was re-united. In 1962, one part separated from the main body. The Holiness Church also split into a conservative group and a progressive group in 1961. The Assemblies of God split in 1981 and were reunited in 1992 as well. For

⁶⁸ Yung Han Kim, *Korean Traditional Religious Thought and Christian Thought: centering around Shamanism*, a separate volume of collection of essays no. 23, Soong Sil Uni., 1993, pp.285-286.

⁶⁹ Yeong Gwan Park, *A Historical Christian Faith in the Korean Church*, Seoul, 1981, pp.40-52; Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, pp.402-417. The reasons for this can be formulated as follows. First, the influence of some Canadian missionaries and liberal theology from Japan gave rise to confrontation in the conservative Korean Church. Second, there was an attempt to establish a pure indigenous church freeing itself from foreign missions. Third, there was an attempt to harmonize Christian faith and scientific knowledge. The Korean Church had not reached sufficient maturity at that time. Fourth, some tried to overcome denominational factionalism and found an ideal church. However, those attempts did not so much affect the Korean Church in general.

⁷⁰ Il-Hyeong Maeng, "A Study on the Schism and Agreement about Korean Presbyterian Church." Master degree dissertation at Yonsei University, 1992. p.68.

⁷¹ Christian Life, ed., *'95 Directory of Korean Church*, Seoul, pp. 7-37.

all that, there exist main denominations in each group (the Presbyterian, Methodist, Holiness, and Pentecost), and recently, discussions about uniting the denominations among those that share the same theology have become an issue.

Finally, we refer to theological developments in this period under discussion. The theology of the Korean Protestant Church was dominated by conservatism and subjective faith until the mid-1920s. Then, two tendencies made their appearance, as we have already discussed. Until the 1960s Korean theologians had only introduced Western theology but after that liberal and progressive theologians began to discuss indigenous theology in the 1960s (mainly Methodist scholars) and *Minjung* theology in the 1970s (mainly Kijang scholars).

At the same time, each denomination began a period of self-examination in the middle of the 1970s, each carrying out a reappraisal as to its possible one-sidedness. Conservatives began to talk about Christian responsibility in society, while liberals began to realize that their theology caused them to remain relatively small and weak churches.⁷² Until that time, Americanized fundamentalistic evangelicalism played the main role in Korean theology. As reformed theology, it put emphasis on dogmatic theology, which was mainly applied to God's providence and predestination centering on soteriology. Therefore, God's sovereignty was not fully developed in their denomination and doctrine with the result that they neglected the wider cultural lives of believers. In other words, they neglected the hermeneutic function and cultural theology in reformed theology.⁷³ Evangelical theologians also discuss Korean indigenous theology, but, they try to transform the traditional culture according to Biblical principles. Yung Han Kim suggests a transformative cultural theology, first seeking religious and cultural equivalents to Christianity in the traditional religions and culture and then christianizing them.⁷⁴ Today, in North Korea, the Christian League is pursuing the harmonization of Christian faith and the autonomy thoughts of Il-Seong Kim. It tries to produce an ideological theology.⁷⁵

Preparing for the 21st century, Korean theologians make *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda* a principle in order to propose new guide posts in an ever-changing world. This trend offers pentecostal theology, especially *Sunbogeum* theology in Korea, an opportunity to display its ideas more freely.

⁷² Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, 319-322. Evangelical Tonghap and Haptong began to pay attention to *missio dei* whereas Kijang reflected on its theology. Kijang could not achieve the church growth as Haptong and Tonghap did; Ui-Hwan Kim, "Korean Church Revival History and Prayer Movement," in *The Holy Spirit and Prayer: A Spiritual Program for the Pastors*, Seoul, 1995, pp.136-152. Yung Jae Kim, *ibid.*, pp. 320, 356-358. Church growth complies with theology. The Methodist Church in Korea which took an open attitude towards theology is falling behind the Presbyterian Church in church growth. The statistics of 1991 show that Presbyterians number ca. 7.5 million in all and Methodists ca. 1.5 million in all. The growth rate from 1964-1975: Haptong 66.8%; Holiness 50%; Tonghap 26%; Methodist 29%; and Kijang 8.6%.

⁷³ Yung Han Kim, *Hanguk Kidoggyo Munhwa Sinhak (Korean Christian Cultural Theology)*, Seoul, 1992, pp.136, 283, 378-379; Jong-Ryeol Kim, "God-Centered Ministry and Korean Church Innovation," in *The Report of 4th Theological Seminar for National Pastors* by KICCS, 1996.2.26-3.1. P.69. Korean Church, which follows American Fundamentalism instead of European Reformed Theology, has "only dogmas but not theology," he argues.

⁷⁴ Yung Han Kim, *ibid.*, pp.460-461.

⁷⁵ Heung Soo Kim, *ibid.*, pp.192-223. Today, in North Korea, several churches are officially open and the majority of believers are known to meet as house churches; the Open Door Mission Society assumes that there are about 140,000 believers in North Korea (*Kookmin-Ilbo Daily News*, 11.10.1996).

4.4. CHRISTIAN SECTS

Today, there are about 92 Christian sectarian groups in Korea. The total of followers amounts to 180,000. Almost 35 persons fancy themselves to be the re-incarnated Jesus or Jesus at His second coming and 12 claim to be god.⁷⁶ Heretics originate either from rationalism (liberalism) or from mysticism. Rationalistic heretics are generally beyond discussion because they pose as theologians while mystical heretics do become an issue.⁷⁷

The main mystical heretics in Korea have their origin in the 1930s. Under Japanese oppression and ecclesiastical lukewarmness, there not only arose Yong-Do Yi's spiritual revival meetings, but also moral perfectionist (Mr. Guk-Ju Hwang) and counterfeit prophecies (Mrs. Myeong-Hwa Yu, Mr. Jun-Myeong Han, and Mr. Nam-Ju Paek). Especially, Guk-Ju Hwang and Nam-Ju Paek fell into religious adultery, which implies the typical analogy between religious trance and sexual ecstasy.⁷⁸ Such activities were suppressed until the end of the Korean War (1953), but then, they broke out. The Unification Church of Seon-Myeong Moon (1920-....), which was organized in 1954, and the Revival Society of Jesus Evangelization of Korea by Tae-Seon Park (1917-1990), which was organized in 1955, are the best examples.⁷⁹

Here, we are concerned about the view that Yong-Do Yi (1901-1933) was the root of the Korean heretical movement. Yeong Gwan Park writes, "Mr. Yong-Do Yi fell from insane mysticism to the idea of an interchanging spirit-body, which brought forth mixed-adultery."⁸⁰ But, most scholars and especially Jong-Ho Byeon, who devoted his life to vindicating Yong-Do Yi's ministry, denied that his mysticism became the direct root of Korean heretics. Today we know that he had nothing to do with promoting the principle of mixed-adultery, which originated from Guk-Ju Hwang and Nam-Ju Paek. Nevertheless, Yong-Do Yi made the mistake of having fellowship with those who had been excommunicated, which was why he was also rejected by the church. His heart and intention were too good to do any harm, but he lost the balance of his God-given-reason. He was a man deceived, but not deceiving.⁸¹ Yet, he might have deserved indirectly to be called the father of Korean mystical heretics.

⁷⁶ Myeong Hwan Tahk, *The Research on Christian Cults*, Seoul, 1986/ 27ed., 1994, pp.61,117.

⁷⁷ Yung Jae Kim, "Religious Pluralism and Universal Salvation," in *Report of the 9th Seminar on Christian Culture and Theology: Korean Church and Heresies*. 1994. 10. 24-26 by KCCRI, pp.18-29; Yung Han Kim, "Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy," in loc. cit., pp.5-6. Yung Han Kim names liberalistic heretics in Korea as follows: religious pluralism; universal salvationism; exterminationism of spirit and body; pantheistic *Minjung* theology, and syncretistic indigenous theology.

⁷⁸ Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, pp.434-448.

⁷⁹ Myeong Hwan Tahk, *The Research on Christian Cults*, Seoul, 1986/ 27th ed. 1994, pp.98-105, 125-184.

⁸⁰ Yeong Gwan Park, *The Two and Four Major Cults*, Seoul, 1976, pp.30-36, 130-133; *idem*, *A Historical Christian Faith in the Korean Church*, Seoul, 1981, pp.78-86. Park also writes, "Yong-Do Yi developed a system of insane mysticism ... Baek-Mun Kim followed his principle ... Seon-Myeong Moon and Tae-Seon Park imitated Kim's principle."; Myeong Hwan Tahk, who was the expert on Korean new religions and Christian heretics wrote: "It seems that Christian new religions were quite a lot influenced by Minister Yong-Do Yi's mysticism." (*The New Religions in Korea: Christian Groups*, vol. 1, 1992, p.36). But, he also claimed that according to the new studies, he hardly believed that Yong-Do Yi was the origin of the mixed adultery (*The Research on Christian Cults*, 1994, p.101).

⁸¹ Kyong Bae Min, *ibid.*, p.444.

Korean heretics mixed the teaching of the Bible with traditional Eastern thought, and then produced their own structures which are expressed through shamanistic spirituality. Koreans, who were familiar with shamanism, were vulnerable to such syncretism.⁸² Having pursued mystical trance without thoroughgoing repentance and theological discretion, Korean mystical heretics were entrapped in the snare of the cunning dark power. All such problems display a syncretistic religious climate in Korea discussed in previous chapter.

4.5. CONCLUSION

We conclude this chapter with eight remarks.

First, it is worth noticing that both Catholicism and Protestantism started missionary work among the Koreans before the missionaries entered Korea. Above all, the Bibles in easy *Hangeul* and the colporteurs made great contributions to paving the way for the Protestant missions in Korea.

Second, the Korean Protestant Church was established by American missionaries who were well accepted by the Koreans in the period of transitions and afflictions. The puritanic and evangelical faith of those Americans was more suitable to Korean religiosity than the earlier Roman Catholic and European types of Christianity so that Christianity quickly could spread as a movement in the land and could become instituted.

Third, Japanese Imperialism certainly obstructed the growth of Korean churches. However, it was not able to destroy them but rather served as a stimulus, forcing them to depend only on God and pray persistently. Communism's ruin of the churches in North Korea eventually became the mainspring for driving out believers from the northern part to the south. The revival of South Korean churches after the Korean War was caused by this to no small degree.

Fourth, the Korean Church revivals are basically attributed to fervent prayer and devoted Bible study. The first revival in the northern part of Korea (1903-1907), which became manifest through these two activities, played a decisive role in planting and indigenizing Christianity in Korean soil. This revival gave birth to a spiritual movement with the lapse of time (1930s), which emphasized the filling with the Spirit more than Bible study. Such a transformation has prepared the ground for both the following pentecostalism and for mystical sects after the Korean War.

Fifth, the Korean Church continued growing after the 1960s when economic development was pushed ahead by the military government. Material prosperity (development) did not choke the spiritual life. On the contrary, the church expanded

⁸² For example, the Unification Church inductively applied the creation account of the Bible (God created man and woman) to the nature of God so that it developed a god, composed of positive and negative dispositions (both sexes), which corresponds to *Yin-Yang* of *Tai Chi*. It explains creation, the fall and salvation according to the process of giving and receiving between the two dispositions. Tae-Seon Park has also confused Biblical truth with spiritualized materialism. According to him, the main theme was that of stained blood. As Eve ate the forbidden fruit, her pure blood was contaminated. Man can be saved by the blood of Jesus, who gave his blood into Park's mouth. By this, his blood became pure, he claimed. That event is filling in the spirit according to his version. He almost behaved as if he were the Holy Spirit.

on the waves of prosperity. This phenomenon in Korea can be interpreted less as a secularization process than as a dynamic relation between religion and society. Nevertheless, problems associated with being a modern capitalistic society emerged from Korean Christianity in this period.

Sixth, the birth and growth of mystical heretics might have partly originated in emotional revival meetings. However, the real reasons for them lay in the search for heroic mysticism without thorough repentance and theological discernment in Korea, where a syncretic religious atmosphere, partly comprising shamanistic spirituality, was still powerful at grass-roots level.

Seventh, theological polarity of conservatism and liberalism caused unavoidable schism in most denominations. Yet, according to the principle *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda* of the Reformation, each theological party began to give up its extreme attitude.

Eighth, the Korean religious background which is syncretism of both the traditional religions and the immigrant religions has had impact on the development of Korean churches positively and negatively. Syncretism with Christianity, that holds the definite canon (the Bible), meets with resistance differently from other religions.

5. Birth and early history of pentecostalism in Korea (1928-1953)

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Classical pentecostalism was introduced in the early dawn of the twentieth century by Holiness evangelist Charles Fox Parham (1873-1929) who advocated that xenolalic tongues are the proof of Spirit baptism.¹ This doctrine gave birth to the Azusa revival (1906) through his student William Joseph Seymour (1870-1922) and further to the organization of the American Assemblies of God (1914). Korean classical pentecostalism is related to this lineage.

In this chapter we are mainly going to describe how classical pentecostalism was introduced into Korea by unofficial foreign women missionaries and how it was planted in its Korean situation² by early Korean pentecostal leaders. This period, which was characterized as an era of affliction for Koreans and Korean Christianity under imperialism and communism, was only a preliminary stage for the real development of Korean pentecostalism (*Sunbogeum*), which would spring up after the formation of a denomination and the advent of Yonggi Cho.

This chapter is divided into four main sections. In the first section (5.2) we sketch the development of pentecostalism as a worldwide movement. The second section (5.3) will deal with the introduction and establishment of pentecostalism in Korea before the Second World War. The third section (5.4) will deal with Korean pentecostalism during the war period. In the fourth section (5.5), we are going to observe its developments in the post-war era including the period of the Korean War.

The main reference works are the following three books: *The History of Korean Pentecostal Movement* (1972) by Jong-Ho Byeon; *Korea Assemblies of God 30 Years History* (1981) edited by the Korean Assemblies of God;³ and *Church History of Korea Assemblies of God* (rev., 1993) edited by the International Theological Institute at Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church. In addition, letters, brochures and interviews which were held with those people who were involved in or related to *Sunbogeum* movement are used.

¹ Stanley M. Burgees and Gary B. McGee, ed., *DPCM*, pp.1988/ 9ed., 1996, pp.660-661.

² In this period, the Korean situation hindered Christian activity so that Korean spirituality was not fully exposed to pentecostalism.

³ The material for this history was mainly collected by Deok-Hwan Kim from various sources, which were lost during the schismatic period of the denomination (1981-1991). Because Hong Heoh, one of the early leaders (5.3.2), lived at that time Heoh's sources might have given more weight as material (cf. 5.3.3.1; 5.3.3.4; 6.2.6.3).

5.2. PENTECOSTALISM AS A WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT

We describe the history of the origin and development of pentecostalism briefly in this section. The outset of pentecostalism is related to Parham's pentecostal events in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century. However, to trace its origin is not simple.

According to the view of Walter J. Hollenweger, there are five historical roots for the pentecostal movement: black oral tradition; Roman Catholicism; evangelicalism; critical theology; and ecumenism.⁴ Donald W. Dayton arrived at the conclusion that pentecostalism is rooted in the Wesleyan theological tradition, namely his understanding of soteriology with the two branches of justification and sanctification. Other origins, including the Roman and Anglo-Catholic doctrine of confirmation (the separation between the reception of the Spirit and water baptism), Puritanism and Pietism were already included in the theology of Wesley, Dayton argues.⁵ Pentecostals generally accept that the Wesleyan emphasis upon holiness, or so-called Second Blessing, "prepared the way theologically for the advent of the pentecostal movement of the late 19th and 20th centuries."⁶ Even though Wesley was reluctant to use the term 'baptism in the Holy Spirit' in relation to the sanctification (Second Blessing), some of his followers, especially John Fletcher wanted to call this event 'the baptism in the Holy Spirit' and encouraged people to rely upon the Holy Spirit more. Once begun, the idea of subsequent blessing and the evangelization movement of the Methodists influenced other groups and denominations. Radical Methodists openly witnessed to their experience of signs and wonders which had been manifested in secret before.

In the period of Enlightenment, Calvinistic Puritanism, Lutheran Pietism, and Wesleyan Methodism influenced each other and developed into a new spiritual movement for the common goal of revival and world evangelization. For them, a godly life was more important than orthodox doctrine. The revival in the new world (North America) also helped the expansion of this spiritual trend. It developed further in the 19th century, which was the period of the Protestant mission movement and evangelization. The Methodist holiness movement was a strong motor for this Christian expansion.

The Scottish Presbyterian minister Edward Irving (1792-1834) played an important role in developing pentecostal teaching, adding to Wesleyan ideas. He believed that the power and gifts of the Holy Spirit were to be manifested in the whole church until the *parousia*, not withdrawn after the infant church as Augustine and Calvin had suggested. He even predicted "a global outpouring of the Holy Spirit and expressed the opinion that this would lead to a breakdown of ecclesiastical and

⁴ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Charismatisch-pfingstliches Christentum: Herkunft, Situation, oekumenische Chancen*, Goettingen, 1997, pp.13-14.

⁵ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, Grand Rapids, 1987, pp.35-54.

⁶ David Allen, *The Unfailing Stream: A Charismatic Church History in Outline*, Tonbridge:Kent, 1994, p.78; ITI, ed., *Church History of Korea Assemblies of God*, Seoul, 1987/rev., 1993, p. 58; However, we need to pay attention to the other interpretation of the roots of pentecostalism. It is the approach of the pentecostals, who claim to go back to the origin, the New Testament patterns of doctrine, experience, and practice. In other words, they find the origin of pentecostalism in the Bible, nowhere else (David A. Womack, *The Wellsprings of the Pentecostal Movement*).

denominational barriers.”⁷ His thought found support in the ideas of Methodist preacher William Arthur (1819-1901) and Baptist preacher Charles H. Spurgeon (1834-1892) in England.

After the Civil War in the U.S.A. (1861-1865), there appeared a tendency for Wesleyan entire sanctification to be called the baptism in the Holy Spirit. The Methodist laywoman, Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874), who emphasized crisis experiences as entire sanctification instead of the Wesleyan view of gradual sanctification, made a great contribution to preparing for the birth of pentecostal movement.⁸ From the last decade of the 19th century, the expression ‘pentecostal’ was commonly used by those who were involved in the holiness movement in America. Towards the end of the 19th century, the two streams of holiness and divine healing (the latter became a movement led by John Alexander Dowie) tended to converge. Around that time, there also emerged a ‘third blessing’ movement (conversion as the first blessing, sanctification as the second blessing, and baptism with fire and the Holy Spirit as the third blessing) among holiness circles. Charles G. Finney (1792-1875), who was more dramatically baptized in the Holy Spirit than Wesley, and Reuben Archer Torrey (1856-1928), who was the co-worker of Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899), stressed that the second blessing or baptism in the Holy Spirit was a baptism of power and not of sanctification.

In this way, the interdenominational holiness movement was especially expanded by evangelical circles in the latter part of the 19th century (for example, the Keswick movement in England, *Gemeinschaftsbewegung* in Germany, and the evangelization campaigns of Finney, Moody, and Torrey in America). By the end of that century thousands of believers were seeking the power of the Spirit by which the primitive church experienced. Except for the initial evidence of speaking in tongues, basic pentecostal doctrine was embodied by the evangelical holiness circles in the 19th century, summarized as a four-fold Gospel (Christ as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King).⁹

From the time Parham claimed *glossolalia* as the scriptural evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, classical pentecostalism was born (1.1.1901). He began to preach divine healing, baptism in the Spirit, and the imminent return of Christ. Since late 1903 this outbreak gained thousands of converts according to his new teaching. However, its world-wide movement was ascribed to the Azusa revival of Los Angeles in 1906 which was led by Parham’s former student and black evangelist William Joseph Seymour (1870-1922). Astounding healings and dramatic conversions were reported together with baptism in the Spirit. Visitors began arriving from all over North America, Europe, and as far away as China. “By 1908,

⁷ David Allen, *ibid.*, pp.80-92, quoted from p.91.

⁸ Charles Edward White, “Phoebe Palmer and the Development of Pentecostal Pneumatology,” in *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, vol.23 (1988):198-212.

⁹ Donald W. Dayton, *ibid.*, p.106. This four-fold Gospel was advocated by the Presbyterian founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, A. B. Simpson. The pentecostals later changed ‘Sanctifier’ to ‘Baptizer in the Spirit’ taking 3 other items like that; Vinson Synan, *In the Latter Days*, 1991, translated into Korean by ITI, Seoul, 1995, pp.46-79; David Allen, *ibid.*, pp.93-106; Charles E. White, “Phoebe Palmer and the Development of Pentecostal Pneumatology,” in *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, vol. 23 (1988):198-212. Mrs. Palmer played an important role in shifting Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification to pentecostal pneumatology.

only two years later, this surging movement had taken root in over 50 nations.”¹⁰ As the movement gained more adherents, various organizations were formed and pentecostalism settled down as a worldwide movement.

5.3. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PENTECOSTALISM IN KOREA (1928-1939)

Even though it has not been fully confirmed, we generally accept that Miss Mary C. Rumsey (an American) came in 1928 to Korea as the first pentecostal missionary. This indicates that classical pentecostalism was introduced into Korea 22 years after the outbreak of the Azusa revival. It reached Korea rather late compared with China (1907) and Japan (1913). In addition, this decade of the pre-war period was an unfavourable time for Korean Christianity as we have already discussed in a previous chapter (4.3.2.1). Internal problems (formalization of the churches, theological controversy, and shaking-up of the leadership of the churches) and external problems (Japanese oppression, communist threat, the attack of atheistic and secular thought, and economic difficulties) restrained the liveliness of Korean churches at that time. It is understandable that Yong-Do Yi's inner-burning mystical revival should have taken place then. Other missionaries, who had been actively working in Korea, were to retreat from their leading positions because of both Japanese oppression and, to some extent, indigenization of the Korean Church which had been achieved. As Japanese troops finally took action in July 1937 near Peking, World War II actually began two years before Hitler's attack on Poland. Then Japanese imperialism planned to amalgamate all churches in its territory into a liberal Japanese Christian Church, organizing this in 1939. In the same year, Gi-Cheol Ju (1897-1944), who became the representative of Korean martyrs under imperialism, was removed from his pastoral position. Pentecostal women missionaries, such as Mary C. Rumsey, were confronted with these developments and forced to leave Korea in 1939.

Therefore, the first epoch of pentecostal mission in Korea promised a poor harvest. Nonetheless, the women missionaries, who privately planted pentecostalism in Korea, carried out their tasks with maternal delicacy and apostolic faith.

In this section we deal with the first missionary activities, Korean pentecostal pioneers, the establishment of congregations and the *Choseon* Pentecostal Church, the relation between the pentecostals and the other churches, and the pentecostal congregation in Japan.

5.3.1. *The Activities of Foreign Missionaries*

Classical pentecostalism was introduced into Korea by Western women missionaries. They came all from the U.S.A., Australia and European countries. I begin to describe the biography and work of Miss Mary C. Rumsay at first.

¹⁰ Douglas J. Nelson, "The Black Face of Church Renewal: The Meaning of Charismatic Explosion, 1901-1985," in *Faces of Renewal: Studies in Honour of Stanley M. Horton, Presented on his 70th Birthday*, ed., by Paul Elbert, Peabody: MA, 1988, p.175.

5.3.1.1 Mary C. Rumsey (1928-1939)

In a field report of American Assemblies of God we read as follows:

As early as 1928 there were missionaries from both England and U.S. preaching the message of Pentecost in Korea. At about this time, Miss Mary Rumsey went to Korea where she served for many years as an unofficial representative of the Assemblies of God. When World War II broke out Miss Rumsey had to leave Korea.¹¹

The retired missionary John Stetz (1922-....), who was the first long resident American Assemblies of God missionary to Korea, wrote: "In 1927 two single women arrived from Australia. Then Mrs. Mildred M. Basseby came from England. Mary C. Rumsey came from New York."¹² Taking this information into consideration, we are not sure if Rumsey had come to Korea as the first missionary. However, she is generally known to Korean pentecostals as the first and most important pentecostal missionary to Korea at the beginning.¹³

Mary C. Rumsey was called Om Seh (嚴世) by her Korean name. In her letter, she introduced herself as the missionary of 'Korea Mission of the Pentecostal Church.'¹⁴ She was probably born at Cortland, New York around 1885.¹⁵ Even though the dates of her birth and death were not known, she seemed to be in her forties when she entered Korea. Her father was a carpenter. She lost her mother early in her life and was brought up by her maternal grandmother. By profession a nurse, she sang as a chanter at a Methodist church in a suburb of New York. Having heard of the revival in Los Angeles, she went there. She was filled in the Spirit and witnessed speaking in other tongues. At the same time, she heard the missionary calling of the Holy Spirit, saying, "Go to Korea."¹⁶ It seemed that she had been familiar with Korea as a mission-field before she was called by God. Especially, the first American Presbyterian missionary to Korea, Horace G. Underwood, introduced Korea so vividly that the interest in Korea as a mission field increased among many Americans who were interested in missions.¹⁷ Then she studied at the Rochester Bible Training School in New York which was founded by

¹¹ *Field-Focus* (April 1978), AAOG Division of Foreign Missions.

¹² John Stetz, "History of the Korean Assemblies of God," a brochure, 1974, p.2.

¹³ This information about the early women missionaries to Korea is unknown to Korean sources. There is no report about the activities of these ladies except Miss Rumsey. Stetz said he had only heard about Miss Rumsey. The author has not exerted all possible efforts to research on these ladies except Miss Rumsey because the role of the other ladies was not so compellingly related to the object of this dissertation.

¹⁴ Mary C. Rumsey, letter to AAOG missionary secretary, Noel E. Perkin (18. 4. 1939 /AAOG archives).

¹⁵ Margaret E. Carlow, letter to David Womack of Foreign Missions Department of AAOG (28. 10. 1969 /AAOG archives). In this letter Carlow who was AAOG missionary to Japan answered Womack that Rumsey seemed to have been born there and was sent to Korea by a rich member of the assembly who bought a property at Cortland.

¹⁶ KAOG, ed., *Korea Assemblies of God 30 Years History*, Seoul, 1981, pp.28-33.

¹⁷ Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, Seoul, 1983, pp.106-118, 212-214. Underwood told the story of the open door, the receptive people, the ardent character of their Christianity, their faith in prayer, their love of the Bible, and their gifts. He introduced them before the church, in pulpits, in universities, in theological seminaries, at various conventions, and at the general assemblies during his visit to America (2 years from 1891 and 1 year from 1901). He made his main address in New York when he was in America and he should have directly and indirectly affected the young Miss Rumsey.

Elisabeth Baker (the daughter of a Methodist minister) in 1906.¹⁸ Then she joined the Elim Faith Home and Missionary Society which was run by the same founder of the Bible school.¹⁹ After a long time of preparation, a door was opened to her. She found a financial sponsor who was a wealthy man in her Methodist church.²⁰ Thus she was able to come to Korea through Japan in March 1928. This was about two decades after the Los Angeles revival and her calling by God. She took up her residence at Shi (施) Hospital in Seoul. It was the first hospital that was founded by the Methodist missionaries. At that time, most Methodist missionaries took their dwelling places there. She even met Dr. R. A. Hardie, who was the leader of the Wonsan revival (1903). It is obscure why she stayed there. We presume that she did so because of her Methodist background and the ever-increasing Japanese oppression.

No sooner had she arrived at her residence than she knelt down and prayed: "My dear God! I have come here, far-away to Korea, according to your command. Please, let me fulfill your will in this land."²¹ Then she visited the office of the Central Church of the Salvation Army. There she won over Hong Heoh (1907-1991). He could speak English well and was going to resign his position as an office worker. He received pentecostalism through her and was baptized in the Spirit. She acquired him as her interpreter and co-worker.

The situation in Korea in those days was as bad as possible for a new movement that propagated tongue-speaking and divine healing. At that time, Yong-Do Yi's mystical revival movement (1929-1933) was sweeping over Korean Christians as well, but there is no evidence that they influenced each other. Jong-Ho Byeon (1904-1983) briefly dealt with this problem.²² Byeon wrote that "Miss Rumsey should have only watched Yong-Do's revival with her hands and feet tied up without embarking on her own missions."²³ He could only speculate that Yi and Rumsey (both were Methodists) influenced one another to some extent. However, we know that his influence on early Korean pentecostalism was greater than on other churches. One piece of evidence for this was that the publication of the

¹⁸ Gary B. McGee, "Three Notable Women in Pentecostal Ministry," in *Assemblies of God Heritage* 6/1 (Spring 1986): 3-12. Elisabeth Baker with her four sisters founded a mission home in Rochester, New York in 1895. Having visited India in 1898, she had a vision for mission and started a periodical (*Trust*) in 1902, Elim Tabernacle and the Rochester Bible Training School in 1906. She also went to Los Angeles to seek the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Miss Rumsey trained at this school. The date of her study is unknown.

¹⁹ Elim Faith Home and Missionary Society, a testimonial and certificate for Mary C. Rumsey (14. 12. 1934 / AAOG archives). It introduced Rumsey as a travelling missionary and promoted funds for her. However, it seemed that this organization did not have any binding force upon Rumsey or she broke with it and sought to join AAOG.

²⁰ KAOG, *ibid.*, p.29. His name was Denverd (the spelling might be not correct).

²¹ KAOG, *ibid.*, p.31.

²² Jong-Ho Byeon, *The History of Korean Pentecostal Movement*, Seoul, 1972, pp.90-92. Byeon was changed and captivated by Yi's ministry and followed him with the conviction that Yi was the model of a true Christian. He decided to devote his life to vindicating Yi. For this purpose he studied theology and religious science in Japan. Having served as a lecturer at theological seminaries and universities and as pastor, he was invited to the lecturership of Full Gospel Theological Seminary of KAOG (1966-1979). He left *The complete Collection of Yi Yong-Do*, 10 vols. (1993); Byeon did not have any contact with Rumsey at that time.

²³ Byeon, *ibid.*, p.91.

collection of Yong-Do Yi's diary in 1934 by Byeon, which was not generally accepted by Korean Christians, was read by the early pentecostal leaders.

The success of Rumsey's missionary work can be ascribed to her consciousness of calling, the gifts of the Spirit that were bestowed upon her, and her love for Koreans. Hong Heoh reported that she used to demonstrate the revelation (guidance) of the Spirit. For example, one day she unexpectedly asked him to accompany her to visit a person. He later realized that it was God who revealed to her that a woman lay seriously ill. They prayed together for the sick woman and when she laid her hands on her, the woman was immediately healed. In another case, she visited a family with him, which was dying of hunger. She gave them a gift of money, then the mother asked her, "How did you know of our situation?"²⁴

One difficulty for her in Korea was organizational structure and leadership. It was not easy for her to set up an organization recognized by law. Rumsey and other women missionaries worked side by side each following her own way. We can point to several reasons for this. First, Rumsey and other single ladies entered Korea as private/independent missionaries. Except Rumsey they came through their own consciousness of calling and with their own resources without sending from any mission organizations or churches. Second, there was no male missionary who could lead the mission society. Third, women missionaries were not trained as missionaries, although Rumsey had received training to some extent. Even though Rumsey had once joined the Elim Society in New York, she was free to follow her own project. She began to realize that the best way to solve the problem and to fulfill her calling was to be a part of the American Assemblies of God,²⁵ which explains why she corresponded with their missionary secretary. She applied for an official missionary appointment and consulted with him about the leadership problem by letters. He answered her (23.3.1939), saying that she should visit the headquarters and explain the situation in Korea before they granted a missionary appointment.²⁶ About the leadership problem he wrote, "The question of who should hold the permit for work in Korea has been one of the points of controversy, and I think this could be more readily cleared up with you when you have an opportunity to visit with our Missions Committee."²⁷ Rumsey was never able to become an official missionary of the American Assemblies of God because she had to leave Korea soon (October 1939). Instead she wrote a letter to him in May 1939 as follows:

After the visit of the brethren from Japan, when we met and talked over things, as I very much wished to do from the first, we dropped the misunderstanding and differences, the others came and apologized and we have gone on in fellowship harmony. There is now no controversy. We all continue to work under the same paper and one of the sisters continues as acting lead (rather than as real one which we should have as I wrote you, as

²⁴ KAOG, *ibid.*, p.115

²⁵ She visited and had contacts with AAOG missionaries in Japan. Through these communications she became more aware of the situation. AAOG Missionary in Japan, Norman Barth, recommended Rumsey to be accepted by the Missions Committee in America because he recognized her work.

²⁶ Noel E. Perkin, letter to Mary Rumsey in Korea (23. 3. 1939 / AAOG archives).

²⁷ *ibid.*

that is required). But there is no controversy as to who should hold office. I much prefer that someone else do so, as I always have. Up to now we are able to go on working.²⁸

Those pentecostal ladies had controversy over the leadership, disagreement in opinions, and misunderstandings among them. Such lack of unity undoubtedly diminished the effectiveness of their missionary work.

One significant fruit of her work was the establishment of *Seobingo* congregation. Rumsey and Hong Heoh began to gather children and to teach the Bible at a rented house on the outskirts of Seoul in 1932. This developed into a congregation. Around that time she visited Japan to discuss Korean missions with the American Assemblies of God missionaries. On that occasion, she met Seong-San Park who was trained at the Bible school in Nagoya. She invited him to take care of the congregation and he came back in 1932. Later she also helped Heoh to found another church. In 1938, the first three Korean pastors were ordained at her quarters (mission centre). In October 1939, she left Korea on account of Japanese oppression. When she left, there were six pentecostal congregations with 173 members. She could not come back to Korea, and became unknown to Korean pentecostals thereafter.

5.3.1.2. *Other Women Missionaries (1930-1939)*

When the author called the retired missionary John Stetz, he said: „It is significant that ladies were first in Korea. They were called by God.“²⁹ As has been the case in most spiritual movements in church history, women have also played important roles in the pentecostal and charismatic movement.³⁰ So it is with the Korean pentecostal mission. Stetz was informed by Rumsey. He listed ten women missionaries who were in Korea before the Second World War: Miss Mary C. Rumsey (U.S.A.); Mrs. Gladys Parson (U.S.A.); Mrs. Elfreda Offstead (U.S.A.); Mrs. Elsie Merdith (England); Mrs. Lily Vessey (England); Mrs. Mildred M. Bassey (England); Miss Lindquest (Norway); Miss Stevick (Norway?); and two single ladies from Australia.³¹

The situation in China and Japan was quite different. In China, pentecostal missionaries had already entered in August 1907. Even though women missionaries and the wives of the missionaries played important roles there, the leading posts

²⁸ Mary C. Rumsey, letter to Noel E. Perkin (12. 5. 1939 /AAOG archives). The visit of ‘the brethren from Japan’ is unknown. It might be one of these two events: in 1930, Yumiyama (and some Japanese or missionaries) visited Korea to evangelize and help Rumsey to organize churches (Ito’s letter to the author on 7.5.1997); in 1938, pastors from England and America visited Korea (through Japan) and they ordained 3 Korean pastors.

²⁹ John Stetz, international telephone interview to Rancho Cucamonga, CA (30. 10. 1995). He was the second AAOG missionary to Korea. He stayed in Korea 24 years. He gave the author some critical information about the early stage of Korean pentecostal church.

³⁰ Stanley M. Burgess et al., *DPCM*, 1988. pp.893-899; Barbara Cavaness, “God Calling: Women in Assemblies of God Missions,” in *Pneuma* 16/1 (Spring 1994):49-62. Woman’s role in spiritual movement has been recognized, especially in evangelist and missionary work. However, it is pointed out that women’s role in leadership has been generally discouraged.

³¹ Stetz, letter to the author (15. 11. 1995); Yo-Yeol Choe, telephone interview in Seoul (26. 2. 1996). Pastor Choe told the author that those ladies were met by Hong Heoh at the Salvation Army and they did not stay long in Korea. This information might be a point to be considered but it does not match with other sources.

were taken by male missionaries.³² In Japan, Carl F. Juergensen landed in 1913 with his wife and children as the first pentecostal missionary family. More missionaries followed of both sexes.³³ We cannot trace any obvious reason as to why only women pentecostal missionaries worked in Korea before the War. The first reason may be that ever-increasing Japanese oppression hindered male missionaries from coming to Korea.³⁴ The government-general would pay less attention to women who visit sick people or gather children together and teach them. The other reason may be that the relatively new pentecostal churches in their home lands were not prepared to send trained missionaries to a remote region like Korea.³⁵ Somehow or other, God called some dozen Spirit-filled women from the Western world to send them to Korea, the land of *Han* (resentment) and woman-dominant shaman.

To Korean pentecostals, fragmentary information concerning the first five women in Stetz's list is imparted. Gladys Parson, who belonged to a church of the American Assemblies of God and has ministered in many places all over the world,³⁶ came to Korea in 1930 as a private missionary, staying only about two years in Korea. Around that time (1930), Elfreda Offstead came to Korea from America. These two ladies financially helped Bu-Geun Bae to establish the second pentecostal congregation and paid the rent for the church building. Parson left Korea in 1933; there is no trace of Offstead after this point.

Elsie Merdith and Lily Vessey entered Korea from England in 1933 at the invitation of Parson.³⁷ The former was the principal of a girls' high school in London while the latter was a manager of a department store. They mainly paid the rent for the church building while Bae evangelized. They were also known as people who had come to Korea because of a calling by God. As the Japanese forced all missionaries to leave Korea, Merdith and Vessey also left Korea in 1940. The congregation soon scattered after their departure because of both the lack of finance and the Japanese persecution.

³² Blanch Appleby, "Report on China Pentecostal Missions," (1922 / AAOG archives).

³³ Foreign Missions Department of AAOG, "Japan," a brochure (1960).

³⁴ Arthur B. Chestnut, *Put ... Shoes on His Feet*, Tulsa, OK, 1989, p.94. In the mid-1950s, when Chestnut (AAOG missionary) came back from Korea, he met some pastors in the States who would confess that "They had been called by God to Korea, but had not obeyed." It seems that they did not want to risk their lives in Korea; Stetz, "History of Korea Assemblies of God," p.3. Stetz also mentioned that from 1942 to the Korean War several AAOG young people were called by God to Korea but many of them disobeyed the call.

³⁵ Margaret E. Carlow, *ibid.* AAOG missionary in Japan, John Juergensen, had "a burden for Korea and wanted to go, but finances were not available to open the field before World War II"; Korea was sometimes known as a part of Japan during its occupation.

³⁶ Chestnut, letter to the author (17. 6. 1997). He mentioned that they knew each other for a long time but he had no knowledge of her having been in Korea. However, he said that she could have very well been there because she has ministered in many places all over the world. He also said, "She has had a very profitable ministry and a well anointed ministry." Neither he nor the AAOG has her present address.

³⁷ It seems that Mrs. Parson met those two English ladies in England because she travelled around the world as a private missionary. It also looks as if there were three groups at least among the missionaries: Rumsey; Parson and Offstead; and Merdith and Vessey. If that is the case it was not only for the purpose of more effective work but also because of their disunity. Among the photos that were taken at that time, no photo shows these women all at one place. If these ten ladies had become one and prayed intensively for evangelization, the result might have been different. In the history of Spiritual movements we often see the characteristic of individualism.

In 1939, there were eleven pentecostal pastors (leaders) in Korea.³⁸ Four Koreans (Hong Heoh, Seong-San Park, Bu-Geun Bae, and Elder Seung Hak Baek), Rumsey, and the two above-mentioned English ladies were included. Four other women who were present at that time cannot be identified, but they probably included four of the following six women: Elfreda Offstead; Mildred M. Basse; Lindquest; Stevick; and two Australian ladies.

These women assisted at the birth of classical pentecostalism in Korea. God was able to use them for launching the Holy Spirit movement in Korea in this most disadvantageous situation. When they left, pentecostal congregations were also closed. Even though it is estimated that those early pentecostal missions in Korea were not successful as far as the number of the adherents goes,³⁹ we have no hesitation in claiming that these ladies succeeded in ploughing the land and sowing pentecostalism in Korean soil.

5.3.2. *The Service of Indigenous Leaders*

One missionary strategy is to produce indigenous leaders as soon as possible. The pentecostal women missionaries, however, did not start any training schools, because those ladies were not adequately trained to teach others.⁴⁰ But there were three Koreans, three pillars, who had been trained at other institutes and who contributed to the establishment of pentecostalism in Korea at the early stage. In October 1938, these three pentecostal leaders were ordained to the ministry through the good offices of Mary C. Rumsey. The ordination was held at the missions centre of *Choseon* Pentecostal Church (Rumsey's dwelling place) and carried out by five visiting pentecostal ministers from England and America.⁴¹ These three Korean pastors were characterized in their ministries in the following ways: Park as a man of leadership, Heoh as a man of administration, and Bae as a man of gentle prayer. Let us briefly observe their lives, and sketch the characteristics which came to the fore in their ministries.

Park played the role of leader, whereas Heoh was the administrator. Therefore, I discuss them in the order: Park, Heoh, and Bae, although Heoh and Bae are older than Park.

³⁸ ITI, ed., *Church History of Korea Assemblies of God*, 1987/ rev., 1993, p.154. The source was cited from the record of the *Choseon* government-general. In 1940, there were only four leaders, which indicates that seven missionaries were driven out during that one year.

³⁹ Jong-Ho Byeon, *ibid.*, p.98. Before the dispersion (1942), there were less than 200 adult converts and six churches according to the source of the government-general; we may point out some reasons why pentecostalism in early Korea did not expand to a greater extent as follows: first, the ever-increasing oppression from imperialism; second, the lack of unified organization; third, weakness in women's leadership; and fourth, the negative policy of the homeland churches.

⁴⁰ At the beginning of Protestant missions in Korea, missionaries opened public schools at first in accordance with the requirements of the Korean government. This was a missions policy. But in 1901, the Presbyterian Council decided to open a theological school. In the case of the Holiness Church, which was introduced in 1907, it opened a Bible school in four years (1911).

⁴¹ KAOG, *ibid.*, p.41. Jong-Ho Byeon, *History ...*, p.94. The names of three of the visiting ministers were Carter, Sangmura, and Merdith (these are the re-transliteration of English from Korean). It seems that because of the situation at that time, the ceremony was held in some kind of secrecy.

5.3.2.1. Seong-San Park (1908-1956)

Seong-San Park (1908-1956) was born to a pious and poor Presbyterian family as the only son among four children in Gunwi-Gun, Gyeong-Buk District. Two years after his birth, Korea was annexed to Japan, so that he as well as the other two leaders grew up under Japanese colonialism. He graduated from the missions high school in Daegu city and took part in the social enlightenment campaign for a while. At the age of seventeen, he married the daughter of *Gunsu* (the magistrate of the county), which was an unusual event in those days.⁴² In 1928, he crossed over to Japan to study. Next year, in Nagoya, while still barely making a living, without registration at the college and disappointed at his colonial identity, he encountered a young missionary who was preaching on the street. Having heard his message, he reflected on his own conventional and incompetent Christian life. Then he followed the missionary to the Japanese pentecostal congregation which was founded by the American Missionary, John Juergensen. Through him he was converted to pentecostalism. Around that time he changed his original name Bo-Hwan to Seong-San (성산: 聖山) which means ‘holy mountain.’⁴³ He gave up his plan to study at college, and instead trained under Juergensen at the Bible school of his church.⁴⁴ A little later, Bu-Geun Bae joined the school in the same way as Park. These two Koreans taught *Choseon* Sunday School children in that congregation.⁴⁵

During that time, Rumsey visited Juergensen to discuss Korean mission and met Park and Bae as well. She asked Juergensen, who was interested in Korean mission and favoured Park, to send them back to Korea when they had finished their school. In December 1930, “when the Holy Spirit was poured out on Yumiyama’s church”⁴⁶ in Tokyo, Park also corresponded with Yumiyama who was running the Holy Spirit Theological Institute in his church in Tokyo. Later, these two Koreans went to Tokyo and studied for two weeks at that institute. Having returned to Korea in 1932, Park became pastor to *Seobingo* (서빙고) congregation until it was delivered to the Holiness Church and he founded five more congregations.⁴⁷

⁴² That union became a lasting regret to his father in law on account of the marriage between the two different social standings. But the younger brother of his wife helped Park’s ministry at *Seobingo* Church and became a Presbyterian minister.

⁴³ Jeong-Suk Park, international telephone interview to Seoul (18. 2. 1998). She (80 years old) is the younger sister of Seong-San Park. He received this name when he prayed at the mountain in Japan, she said.

⁴⁴ Akiei Ito, letters to the author (26. 11. 1996 and 7. 5. 1997). Juergensen was the only son of the first AAOG missionary to Japan, Carl F. Juergensen. John founded a pentecostal congregation as well as a Bible school in Nagoya in 1929. This school was a private Bible school which was not known to the council. The Japanese AOG does not have any record of the school, but it produced three Korean pentecostal leaders (two pastors and one elder) in its early days. A picture of the Bible school students (KAOG, *30 Years*, p.31) indicates that a dozen young people seem to have studied there. It did not last long as Juergensen died young in 1938.

⁴⁵ Japan Assemblies of God, ed., *30 Years History of Japan Assemblies of God*, Tokyo, 1979, p.179. KAOG, *ibid.*, p.31. In that Nagoya Church, the *Choseon* Bible Church, which might have been a pentecostal congregation, was set up. These two Korean students took care of Korean children (about 30 in number) in that church in 1932. There is no record who was the pastor of the Korean congregation. According to the letter of Bong-Jo Kwak (1996), “Seong-San Park began his ministry in Nagoya.” It is not clear if this was the Sunday school class or pastoring of the congregation.

⁴⁶ Akiei Ito, letter (26. 11. 1996).

⁴⁷ Before World War II, *Heukseokdong* and *Yeonso* congregations; after the War *Yeonsin* Saints congregation, Busan congregation, and the West Gate congregation at the Bible school; Akiei Ito, *ibid.*

The First American Assemblies of God Missionary to Korea, Arthur B. Chestnut (1919-....) wrote about Park as follows:

He was the one who had written to us about the needs of the people. He was the spiritual father for most the groups of the Pentecostal believers. Later I learned that he had given himself to the task of helping keep faith among the few churches in the southernmost part of South Korea...That man had been a walking message for God ever since the beginning of the war. He often wept openly when telling me about some of the problems and situations in the places he had visited.⁴⁸

In his letter, Chestnut called him 'the oldest and strongest.'⁴⁹ Actually, he was one year younger than Bae. But his great stature and leadership seemed to make him look older. Sang-Ho Kim said that Park was a respectable pastor. Being a man of broad-minded,⁵⁰ he was constantly concerned about social affairs and the poor even though he was too busy saving souls to devote himself to such diaconal works.

It seems that his leading role was hindered to some extent by his fellow worker Hong Heoh who was good at English and close to the missionaries.⁵¹ It was Park who wrote to the secretary of foreign missions of American Assemblies of God, asking for help for Korean pentecostal churches and poor people.⁵² He fulfilled his duty as the father and leader of the founders of early Korean pentecostalism. As the denomination began to encounter various problems, he devoted himself to solving them and it seems he was exhausted by his efforts. He suddenly died after having been in bed for three days at the age of full 49 years old (20.3.1956). His son is pastor of the Korean Assemblies of God.

5.3.2.2. *Hong Heoh (1907-1991)*

He was the son of a Salvation Army officer. He took the Bible correspondence course as he was working at the office of the Central Salvation Army Church. When Rumsey asked him to help her to establish a pentecostal church in Korea, he acceded to her request.⁵³ Having conquered the problem of doctrinal differences through Bible study with Rumsey, he actively participated in the spreading of pentecostalism. As he was good at English he acted as interpreter for her and other early missionaries, acting as a bridge when classical pentecostalism was first being

Ito interviewed Yumiyama (96 years old) to ask about the Korean students at the request of the author. Ito said, Yumiyama told him that two Korean students came to Tokyo in 1934 and they studied two weeks in his institute. Yumiyama also told him that Rumsey took these two Korean students back to Korea after their two weeks' study. It seems that Yumiyama confused the dates owing to his advanced age. Reliable sources say that Park came back to Korea in 1932 and Bae in 1933.

⁴⁸ Chestnut, *Put ...*, p.80.

⁴⁹ idem, letter (16. 10. 1995).

⁵⁰ Sang-Ho Kim, interview at Osan-Li International Fasting Prayer House, Korea (27. 2. 1996). Pastor Kim is one of the oldest pastors of KAOG.

⁵¹ See chapter 6.

⁵² Seong-San Park, letter to Noel Perkin, n.d. Re-cited from *PE* (October 28, 1951); Jae-Ju Park, interview (26. 2. 1996). He is the son of Park and the pastor of KAOG. He does not remember much of his father's early ministry but he told the author that his father wrote to AAOG for help for Korean churches; Chestnut, *ibid.*, p.80.

⁵³ KAOG, *ibid.*, pp.114-115. He had been highly indignant about the discriminative treatment between Americans, Japanese, and Koreans in the Salvation Army office. That was the main reason that he was going to resign the post. At that time Rumsey visited the office and asked him to help her.

introduced into Korea. We may say about his character as a man of leadership that he was independent (according to missionary Stetz) and well acquainted with administration.⁵⁴

He pioneered three congregations: *Seobingo* congregation (with Rumsey), *Yeonhijang* (연희장) congregation, and *Nambu* (남부) congregation.⁵⁵ Later, Heoh invited missionary Chestnut to take up lodgings in the upper room of his house in Yongsan. Then in this house Heoh set up *Nambu Church*. The Korean Assemblies of God as well as its Bible school was also started in this place.

He was elected as the secretary and financial manager in the inaugural assembly and three years later as the general overseer of the denomination. Later he became the one who caused a division in the denomination, which was the first schism (1957). He reorganized *Daehan Osunjeol Gyohoe* (대한오순절교회: Great *Han* Pentecostal Church) and opened a new theological seminary. It was not so successful and Heoh had a difficult time. But he rejoined with his followers (1972). In 1975, at the age of 68, he was invited to become pastor of *Suncheon* Pentecostal Church. Then he took care of the congregation (about 300 adults and the same number of Sunday school children) as a man of firm teaching and attentive consideration.⁵⁶

5.3.2.3. *Bu-Geun Bae (1906-1970)*

Bae was born as the first son of a non-Christian family in Chuncheon City. He was converted to Christianity at a mission school. In 1928, he also crossed over to Japan to study. Having been baptized in the Spirit by the ministry of John Juergensen in Nagoya, he visited the same Bible school as Park. Having returned to Korea, he founded churches and acted as a pastor. His soul was burning for the salvation of souls. He was an outstanding person in evangelizing through personal contacts. As the denomination was organized, he became the supervisor of the Bible school dormitory in Seoul and taught the Bible class to the students. He founded *Songam* congregation in Eungam-Dong while working for the school. His son is pastoring a Korean Assemblies of God Church in Los Angeles.

Missionary Chestnut wrote about Bae thus: “He was a quiet person, but always so willing to help others. He was so much like a jewel box, of a precious kind of quietness. One always wanted him around.”⁵⁷ Juergensen, who was his Bible school teacher in Japan, praised him saying, “a great apostle who does not preach without praying.”⁵⁸ Sang-Ho Kim said that he was a man of few words who tried to act only

⁵⁴ Sang-Ho Kim, interview (27.2.1996); Jeong-Ryeol Pak, interview (5.3.1995). Pak said Heoh was a noble-minded, honest, and affectionate man.

⁵⁵ Jeong-Suk Park, *ibid.* interview. She said Heoh worked with missionaries in establishing congregations. Chestnut referred to this when he said that he and Heoh together opened *Nambu* congregation in 1953. It seems Heoh was acting more as an interpreter than as a pioneer to the congregation.

⁵⁶ Maeng-Yeop Ji, interview at Suncheon (17.1.1998). Mrs. Ji (80 years old) joined this church in 1961. According to her, Heoh had run a farm for several years before he was called to this church. He had no children of his own when he passed away.

⁵⁷ Chestnut, letter to the author (16. 10. 1995); John Stetz, letter to the author (15. 11. 1995). Stetz said Bae “had a speech impediment.”

⁵⁸ KAOG, *ibid.*, p.112.

by the grace of God during the schism.⁵⁹ After the schism, he alone of the foundation trio remained in the denomination because Heoh had left to organize another group and Park had already passed away. When he died in 1970, the representatives of both parties (those who remained and those who had left), attended his funeral ceremony and agreed to reunite. This bore fruit in two years.

5.3.3. *The Establishment of Pentecostal Congregations and the Choseon Pentecostal Church (1932-1939)*

The name of the Korean pentecostal organization changed from *Choseon Pentecostal Church* (조선오순절교회: *Choseon Osunjeol Gyohoe*/ 1933-1950), through Great *Han* Christian Pentecostal Church (대한 기독교 오순절교회: *Daehan Gidogyo Osunjeol Gyohoe*/ 1950-1953), to Christian Great *Han* (한) Holy Assemblies of God or the Korean Assemblies of God (기독교 대한 하나님의 성회: *Gidogyo Daehan Hananimui Seonghoe*/ 1953ff).⁶⁰ *Choseon*, *Daehan*, or *Korea* are the same designation for Korea. While the Japanese called Korea *Choseon*, which was the ancient name for Korea, Koreans preferred to the name *Daehan* (Great *Han*) after liberation in 1945.

As the first two pentecostal congregations were set up until 1933, *Choseon Pentecostal Church* as an organization (denomination) started. This framework, as well as the second one, was more one of collaborative relations without legal binding force. However, they contributed to laying the foundations of the Korean Assemblies of God. In this section we deal with the individual congregations first and, thereafter, with *Choseon Pentecostal Church* as the body (denomination) which united these separate congregations.

5.3.3.1. *Seobingo Congregation (1932-1939)*

The first congregation was *Seobingo* (서빙고) congregation. Rumsey rented a house on the northern riverside of the River Han in *Seobingo-Dong* of Yongsan, on the outskirts of Seoul in 1932. Hong Heoh helped her to gather children and to teach the Bible to them. As the group grew, Seong-San Park was invited to lead it.⁶¹ It was the first pentecostal congregation in Korea.

This *Seobingo* was a fishing village. People were far remote from the knowledge of Christianity and were actually opposed to the Gospel. Moreover, the traditional religious atmosphere (shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism) had

⁵⁹ Sang-Ho Kim, *ibid.* interview (27. 2. 1996).

⁶⁰ The first two organizations were called *Gyohoe* (교회: Church), which were also used to designate congregation in Korea. Therefore, to avoid confusion, we will use the word congregation for the designation of independent gathering and use the word Church for the organization (denomination) of united congregations.

⁶¹ Jeong-Suk Park, *ibid.* interview (18. 2. 1998). She said Seong-San Park pioneered the church when he came back from Japan. According to her Rumsey helped him while Heoh as interpreter accompanied her. According to the *30 Years History* of KAOG (pp.33-34) and *Pentecostal History* of Byeon (pp.92-93) Heoh and Rumsey began this church and invited Seong-San Park. The author follows the original theory because Jeong-Suk Park's single witness is not enough to change the previous view. Jeong-Suk was the member of this church. One part of the building was used for the meeting and the other side was used for the dwelling place for Seong-San's family, she said.

deep roots in their environment. Other churches (Presbyterian, Methodist, and Holiness) which were already established in the inner city failed to establish their churches in this village. Therefore, *Seobingo* Village was a challenge for the pentecostals to pioneer their congregation.

The congregation grew under the strong leadership of Seong-San Park and the prayer of Mary C. Rumsey. Park began to preach the Full Gospel to helpless Koreans. He claimed that „the evidence of the baptism in the Spirit is *glossolalia* and a desirable Christian faith is to participate in social affairs.“⁶² According to him, pentecostal faith was to believe in the realization of the description of the Acts: *glossolalia*, divine healing, and power. He taught that these gifts were only given to those who were baptized in the Spirit.

The established churches reacted against the pentecostal preaching. However, it attracted some prominent saints of the time, one of whom Hye-Yeol Lee. She not only was a student of Ihwa Professional Women’s College but also the only daughter of nobility. Her parents were astonished at her prayer in other tongues at night. They demanded her to choose either the college or the church. She gave up the college and faithfully served the Lord in this church. Later she became the daughter-in-law of Chang-Geun Song, who was one of the leaders of the early Presbyterian Church. Another example was Dong-Eeop Kim.⁶³ This man and his family were invited by Park and Rumsey to come from Japan to help with their congregation. He went to Japan as a boy and eventually became one of the first two Korean pilots, even attaching a sticker to his plane which said, “God is love.” He also obtained a driving licence. In Korea, he became the talk of the people. He and his Japanese wife were enthusiastic Pentecostals, and were extremely helpful to the congregation. His wife was its accompanist.

This congregation grew by positive evangelization activity. One day, when Park was evangelizing and beating a drum on the street with his evangelization team, he was attacked by a libertine of the village. He was wounded and needed two months of treatment. In 1934, the congregation grew to 70 adults and 200 children.⁶⁴ Around that time, it moved to another place (Dongbingo-Dong) because Rumsey could not manage to pay the rent.⁶⁵ They had the first baptismal ceremony at the River Han in 1934. Next year, they had twelve members in its leadership committee. A united baptismal ceremony with two other pentecostal churches was held in 1936. In two years, the first elder, Seung-Hak Baek, was ordained in the congregation.⁶⁶ In October 1938, one month after the passing of the act of worshipping at Shinto

⁶² KAOG, *ibid.*, p.34. Most pentecostals did not pay attention to social affairs. Park was ahead of his time.

⁶³ Jeong-Suk Park, *ibid.* interview. Later, Kim was ordained to the elder at Busan Pentecostal Church.

⁶⁴ KAOG, *ibid.*, p.41. It seems that this number was the total attendants at the meeting and it is not clear how many of them were really devoted to the church.

⁶⁵ *ibid.* The congregation was still dependent upon the missionary in the matter of finances. This corresponds neither with the Presbyterian Nevius policy nor with the prosperity of Korean *Sunbogeum* church, which was to come later.

⁶⁶ John Stetz, “History ...,” p.3. Stetz wrote that Baek studied at the same Bible school in Japan with Seong-San Park; some of the leaders of other denominations (the Holiness Church as well) attended Baek’s ordination, having previously opposed the pentecostal church; Jeong-Suk Park, *ibid.* interview. Jeong-Suk said Baek was a leading figure of the village and was converted to Christianity through this church. According to her it is almost impossible that Baek studied at the Bible school in Japan.

shrines by the Presbyterian general assembly, Seong-San Park was ordained with two Korean colleagues as minister of *Choseon* Pentecostal Church (denomination).

This congregation once numbered 100 adults and 250 children. As Japanese oppression increased, it received a severe blow. Pentecostals, standing in the tradition of fundamentalistic Biblicism, did not compromise with worshipping at the shrines. Such an extremely small group was the first target of Japanese persecution. After Rumsey's departure (October 1939), it was not able to survive on account of financial deficit and Japanese oppression.

5.3.3.2. *Suchangdong Congregation (1933-1939)*

The second pentecostal congregation, *Suchangdong* (수창동) congregation, was founded in 1933. Parson and Offstead helped Bu-Geun Bae with finances in establishing it. It was located near the Sajik Park in Seoul. While Bae evangelized by visiting houses, preaching on the streets, and leading revival meetings, these ladies paid the rent.

Two English ladies, Merdith and Vessey, were invited by Parson in the early part of the 1930s. The American ladies did not stay long with them, and the English ladies took over the task. Once they had gatherings of about 60 adults. The congregation decreased as the restriction on missionary activity and regulation of Christianity increased.

5.3.3.3. *Choseon Pentecostal Church (1933-1939)*

In 1933, when the *Seobingo* and *Suchangdong* congregations were formed, the *Choseon* Pentecostal Church (조선 오순절교회) was set up as a denomination. Just under ten women missionaries and three trained Korean leaders developed it further. However, as we have already observed, there were internal obstacles (failure to form a binding organization) and external obstacles (expiration measures introduced by Japanese militarism which were aimed at extinction) that hindered the early Korean pentecostal movement from mobilizing all its resources.

The *Choseon* Pentecostal Church (denomination) mostly flourished during 1937 and 1938. In this period, there were six congregations and 173 members. Then, pentecostalism began to decrease.⁶⁷

5.3.3.4. *Other Pentecostal Congregations (1935-1939)*

The trained Korean leaders, Park, Heoh, and Bae, pioneered more congregations. In 1935, Heoh set up *Yeonhijang* (연희장) congregation at Buk-Ahyeon-Dong. Seon-Myeong Moon, a representative of Korean hereticism, was said to have once belonged to this *Yeonhijang* congregation in his teens.⁶⁸ Around that time, Seong-San Park started *Heukseokdong* (혹석동) congregation at Heukseok-Dong across the River Han. It had about 30 adult members, and was a branch of *Seobingo*

⁶⁷ KAOG, *ibid.*, pp.41-42. The total number (173) of denomination seems to be less than in previous reports (see 5.3.3.1 and 5.3.3.2). It may be that this number, which was registered under the Japanese Colonial government, was the number of truly devoted or baptized members of all Korean pentecostals while the previous reports might have been the number of total attendance.

⁶⁸ Yeong Gwan Park, *The Two and Four Major Cults*, Seoul, 1977, p.34.

congregation.⁶⁹ These four congregations (*Seobingo*, *Suchangdong*, *Yeonhijang*, and *Heukseokdong*) were the most important congregations of *Choseon* Pentecostal denomination before the Second World War, which settled down in an organized way. Bae soon opened *Danginli* (당인리) congregation at Dangin-Li around 1938. The sixth was the *Yeonso* (연소) congregation, which was founded by Park at Yeonsinnae-Jang, Seoul. All six of these congregations were started in the western and southern outskirts of Seoul from 1932 to the expulsion of the missionaries (1939-1940). The last two congregations seem not to have developed into regular congregations.

5.3.3.5. *Korean Pentecostal Congregation in Japan (1933-1939)*⁷⁰

Around the time that *Choseon* Pentecostal Church (denomination) was founded in Seoul (5.3.3.3), a Korean pentecostal congregation began to gather also in Osaka, Japan. The Korean pentecostal pastor, Bong-Jo Kwak (1908-....) founded this in 1933. This congregation was the *Choseon* Jesus Pentecostal Congregation (조선 예수교 오순절교회: *Choseon Yesugyo Osunjeol Gyohoe*). Because Kwak and his congregation acted as a bridge for the introduction of classical pentecostalism into Korea, we will pay a little more attention to the background of this congregation.

Classical pentecostalism was introduced by way of two routes into Korea. The first route was the women missionaries as we have already observed (5.3.1) and the other one was that of the Korean elites who were converted to pentecostalism in Japan by missionaries. The second route was also that of two missionaries and their two Bible schools in Japan. The American John Juergensen in Nagoya trained Seong-San Park and Bu-Geun Bae as we have already observed (5.3.2). Another independent and private pentecostal missionary in Osaka, Leonard W. Coote, trained Bong-Jo Kwak (1908-....), Seong-Deok Yun (1894-1981), Seong-Hwan Kim (1916-1975), Gil-Yun Kim (1909-1968), and Heon-Geun Park (....-1950). As the leader of the second group, Kwak founded a Korean pentecostal congregation in Osaka in 1933, which eventually exerted an important effect upon the second pentecostal movement in Korea after the Second World War (1945).

I briefly sketch the biography of Coote so that we may better understand the later development and the problem of early Korean pentecostalism. Coote, an Englishman, came to Japan to get a position in a business in 1913. Later he was born again and also had the experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit. He started his missionary work in 1918 in Yokohama. After the Kanto Earthquake (1923), he moved to Ikoma (生驅), Nara to start a Bible school. He also started evangelism in Osaka, Kyoto, and Nara. Under his ministry, the above-mentioned Koreans were

⁶⁹ Jeong-Suk Park, *ibid.* interview. According to the *30 Years History* this church was founded by Hong Heoh (p.42). It is more probable that it was founded by Park instead of Heoh and Rumsey. Rumsey could have helped financially.

⁷⁰ As far as we can see, there seemed to have been three Korean pentecostal congregations outside Korea in Japanese territory until the end of World War II. The first congregation was set up at John Juergensen's church in Nagoya. The second and the most important congregation was founded in Osaka by Kwak. This congregation is the main target to be dealt with in this section. The third congregation was set up by John Stetz, who later became the second AAOG missionary to Korea, in the Marianas Islands during the last year of the War. The story of the third church will be dealt with at 6.2.1.

saved as well and converted to pentecostalism. They were also trained by him. He had fellowship with the Juergensen family at first as Pentecostals, but but when Coote “became an adherent of the new issue (Unitarian-oneness doctrine), the Juergensens discontinued the fellowship.”⁷¹ As the American Assemblies of God was troubled by the ‘Jesus Only Movement’ in its beginning (1914-1916), later the Korean Assemblies of God had the same schismatical troubles which occurred in relation to Coote’s students. Coote claimed to baptize “in the name of Jesus Christ according to the Bible (Acts 2:38) because he thought that to baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is none other than to baptize in the name of Jesus Christ.”⁷² However, neither Coote nor his Korean students denied the Trinitarian doctrine. Coote founded his own group, called United Pentecostal Church, and established another Bible training centre at San Antonio, Texas in 1944, which is known today as the accredited and interdenominational International Bible College. Later, he helped to establish a third Bible school at Daejeon, Korea, with his former student Kwak, who had separated from the Korean Assemblies of God. He did not belong to any organization but devoted himself to evangelizing the world as a pentecostal with an apostolic, interdenominational, and Jesus-centered spirit.⁷³

Bong-Jo Kwak was the central figure of the Korean pentecostal congregation in Osaka. As most of the Korean leaders in those times were conversant with Chinese Classics (for example, Bu-Geun Bae, Seong-Deok Yun, Seong-Hwan Kim, and Gil-Yun Kim as pentecostals), he became a scholar in the field of Chinese literature. Having finished his three years’ course under Coote, he started the Korean congregation in Osaka. He joined in Coote’s evangelization and taught at that Bible school as well.⁷⁴

This congregation grew to number about 100 adults and 100 children.⁷⁵ In 1933, Kwak was ordained to the ministry by Coote’s missions. In August 1933, Seong-Deok Yun was converted to pentecostalism during Coote’s evangelization campaign. He helped Kwak’s ministry as an elder and studied at the same Bible school on Kwak’s recommendation. Seong-Hwan Kim, Gil-Yun Kim, and Heon-Geun Park soon followed in the steps of Yun.⁷⁶ In this way The Ikoma Bible School and this congregation produced Korean pentecostal leaders alongside the Nagoya School. Another important contribution of this congregation to the establishment of Korean pentecostalism was realized through Ja-Sin Park (See 5.5.2.3).

⁷¹ Ito Akie, letter (26.11.1996).

⁷² Bong-Jo Kwak, letter to the author (n. d., 1996). Kwak (89 years old) lives in Los Angeles. He is the only person with whom the author could have contact among the early leaders.

⁷³ Mrs. Soh, international telephone interview, in Beaverton, Oregon (6.6.1997). She is the second daughter of Kwak and the wife of Pastor Gyo Min Soh (KAOG); “International Bible College: 1997-1998 Catalogue,” San Antonio, Texas, n.d. In this catalogue the college’s vision is formulated as, “Our eternal purpose is to know Jesus Christ, to be like Him, and to make Him known; Bong-Jo Kwak, *The Trinitarian Doctrine*, Pasadena, CA, 1990.” passim.

⁷⁴ Gyo-Min Soh, international telephone interview (13. 6. 1997). Soh is the son in law of Kwak. Alone among the early Pentecostal pioneers Kwak wrote five booklets. He was an intellectual man.

⁷⁵ Mrs. Kwak, interview over international telephone in Los Angeles (18. 5. 1997).

⁷⁶ Mrs. Soh, *ibid.* interview (6. 6. 1997). Bong-Jo Kwak, letter (n. d., 1996). Mrs. Soh thinks that those elders in that church might not have been official students even though they were trained under Coote and learned from Kwak.

5.3.4. Rejection of Pentecostalism by Mainline Churches

The mainline churches in Korea had already experienced a confrontation with the Holiness Church (at that time the Oriental Missionary Society) which in 1907 began to evangelize in Korea. They sang hymns on the streets of Seoul: beating the drum; blowing bugles; and proclaiming the Gospel under the banner of 'Full Gospel to the Orient.' The Presbyterians and the Methodists rejected its Full Gospel (salvation, holiness, healing, and second coming). They made a mock of its evangelization mode.⁷⁷ Because the Holiness Church, at that time, preached divine healing, it not only became a public issue owing to accusations of its promoting superstition as a heresy, but also it became the focus of other churches' censure.⁷⁸

A similar phenomenon was now repeated as classical pentecostalism was introduced. By an irony of fate, the Holiness Church also warned against this new pentecostal movements, in fact they both originated from the same roots. The Korean Holiness Church was directly derived from the International Holiness Union and Prayer League (1897) which also was a spiritual matrix of classical pentecostalism.⁷⁹ Although both parties claimed the Full Gospel, *glossolalia* became an issue for the Holiness Church.

Speaking in other tongues did not become generally known in Korean churches at that time. One reason that the Korean churches rejected Yong-Do Yi was that they disagreed with his ministry in which (during prayer time) unknown utterances sprang up once in a while. It was only "a meaningless and crazy speaking which corrupts the church."⁸⁰ Now, speaking in other tongues was presented as a dogma by pentecostals. The other church-goers made cynical remarks against it saying, „unknown utterances are mad talk and foolish talk.“ Hence, pentecostals were called the 'glossolalia sect' or 'theatrical people.'

5.4. KOREAN PENTECOSTALISM DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR PERIOD (1939-1945)

At the end of the 1920s militarism increased in Japan. Imperialism launched its aggression in East Asia through the Manchurian incident (September 1931). The Manchu puppet state was set up next year. Because Korea, the colonized land of Japan, is located between Manchuria and Japan, it became caught up in militaristic activity. In this period all social activities were put on a war footing. Christianity, which confessed the Supreme Heavenly King, was confronted with Japanese militarism, which idolized its emperor as supreme and made the sword its means of

⁷⁷ Deok-Hwan Kim, *The Foundation History of Korean Church Denomination*, 1985, vol.1, pp.285-287.

⁷⁸ Imperialism controlled any heretic movements or shaman rituals which might cause social disorders; Kyong Bae Min, *Church History*, p.399. The Presbyterians experienced divine healings through Ik-Du Kim's ministry in the early 1920s. They discussed changing the constitution at the general assembly which followed the theory of cessation after the Apostolic era.

⁷⁹ Jong-Nam Cho, *Theology of John Wesley*, Seoul, 1993, pp.197-306; KAOG, ed., *30 Years History...*, p.115. It seemed that only the Holiness Church officially mentioned pentecostalism as a heretical group while other churches did not officially mention it. It was the problem of the church members; See 5.2.

⁸⁰ Jong-Ho Byeon, *The Complete Collection of Yi Yong-Do*, 10 vols. Seoul, 1993, vol. 3, pp.54-55.

accomplishment. Thus Christianity was to be either altered (compromise) or smashed (persecution). In this section we sketch the sufferings of the *Choseon* Pentecostal Church (denomination) in the period from the banishment of pentecostal missionaries (1939) to the end of the Second World War (1945).

5.4.1. *Banishment of Foreign Missionaries (1939-1940)*

Japanese nationalism ventured to usurp the essence of Christianity and Japanize it. To accomplish this endeavour, it had to drive out all missionaries, most of whom were opposing Shinto worship. In October 1940, the American diplomatic minister ordered all missionaries to leave Korea. It seems that seven pentecostal women missionaries left Korea during 1939 and 1940. Other American missionaries, who continued to remain in Korea, departed from Korea in June 1942.

In October 1939, Rumsey had a farewell worship meeting at *Seobingo* congregation. She left Korea through Incheon Harbour by ship with “the resentment of unfulfilled Korean mission.”⁸¹ In the memorial picture of this meeting, we can still see a cheerful atmosphere with about 40 children and about the same number of adults. Soon after that, Merdith and Vessey (1940) had the same farewell meeting at the same place.⁸² This time only about a dozen adults and the same number of children were in the picture. In it, we can recognize that there was less cheerfulness than before. There are no reports about other missionaries’ departures.

5.4.2. *Suffering of the Korean Pentecostal Leaders (1939-1945)*

When the Japanese oppression increased from the latter part of the 1930s, Korean pentecostal leaders had to decrease their religious activities. Seong-San Park opened a Christian bookshop in the central part of Seoul for both evangelizing through literature and for making a living since he could not act as pastor to the congregation.⁸³ He made friends with several leaders of both Presbyterian and Methodist churches. Through such fellowship he spread the image of pentecostalism. Several people who were converted to Christianity through Park became members of the parliament. Hong Heoh was selected as the person in charge of evangelization by the *Choseon* Pentecostal denomination in 1942 and held this position only for a short period.⁸⁴ He tried to take care of scattered pentecostals during the time when there were no congregations (1942-1945). But his strenuous exertion was limited because he fell seriously ill (tuberculosis) during that time. Bu-

⁸¹ KAOG, *ibid.*, pp.46, 144.

⁸² *ibid.*, pp.47, 144. The date of their departure is uncertain: it may fall in the period of 1939-1940.

⁸³ Jong-Ho Byeon, *Pentecostal History*, pp.91-92. Byeon wrote that Park already ran the bookshop in the winter of 1936. This was probably right because Park called his family to Seoul to fulfil the eldest son’s duty to his family and the members of his family, especially his wife, could run the shop while Park was engaged in the ministry.

⁸⁴ KAOG *ibid.*, pp. 115, 145. It seems that he was chosen and registered with the imperial government as a leader of a religious body. It was only a religious policy of imperialism. Because no pentecostal missionaries were in Korea, the imperial government might have arranged to have a registered representative of that group according to its pseudo-religious policy. In this year the Korean pentecostal denomination as well as its congregations were dispersed by the same policy. In 1941, there were four congregations.

Geun Bae had to earn his living as a pharmacist from 1942. In 1944, he moved into the country. For about three years both these Spirit-filled pentecostal leaders and laymen were worshipping God in their hearts and praying constantly for the liberation without any organized religious activities.

Entirely separated from these leaders, on the small Gageo Island in Jeolla Namdo (Sinan-Gun Heuksan-Myeon), Seong-Deok Yun, who had received pentecostalism from missionary Coote at Osaka, Japan, took refuge there, avoiding the eyes of Japanese police around the year of 1937. He secretly worked for three years and gathered about 30 believers. But the group was destroyed by Japanese police. Then he went to Mokpo City to serve a Holiness Church.⁸⁵ After the liberation he went to Gwangsan-Gun (a part of Gwangju today) to establish congregations.

5.4.3. *Persecution and Dispersion of Choseon Pentecostalism (1939-1942)*

As the war escalated, Japanese imperialistic administration began to control religious activities. We deal with the persecution and dispersion of Korean pentecostal congregations in general as well as one denomination especially.

5.4.3.1. *Persecution and Dispersion of Pentecostal Congregations (1939-1942)*

Seobingo congregation, which was the first and the most stable one, was the first to be lost. From the time that Rumsey was forced to leave Korea in October 1939, it soon fell into fatal difficulty on account of financial deficit and Japanese oppression. In 1940, this church was passed over to the Holiness Church.⁸⁶ As the latter was forced to close in 1943, pentecostals scattered. Some returned to the other churches while others continued to have worship meetings in their houses.

Suchangdong congregation was also closed in 1940 on account of financial deficit after Merdith and Vessey had left Korea.⁸⁷ Japanese oppression as well as the war situation presumably also played their part.

Other four small congregations (*Yeonhijang*, *Heukseokdong*, *Danginli*, and *Yeonso*), which had been founded on the initiative of Korean leaders between 1935 and 1938, existed until 1942 when the *Choseon* Pentecostal denomination was forcibly dissolved by Japanese imperialism.⁸⁸ These four congregations, which were

⁸⁵ The police persecuted him suspecting him of campaigning for the independence movement with the group. His previous record as an independence campaigner seems to have made them suspect him. The Holiness Church was dispersed in 1943 but at that time it still existed.

⁸⁶ KAOG, *ibid.*, p.145. The Holiness Church also preached the Full Gospel. It made the pentecostals feel closer to the Holiness Church, which was more stable than pentecostalism in Korea; Mrs. Soh, international telephone interview to Beaverton, Oregon (6.6.1997). She told the author that this congregation was stolen instead of 'delivered' by a student of the Holiness Theological Seminary. According to her, it had invited the Holiness theological student as an assistant pastor (there was no pentecostal theological school yet) under Seong-San Park, who was running the bookshop as well, and he registered the church as a Holiness Church by a shrewd trick. It may not be entirely impossible during that state of disorder, but there is no evidence of it; Jeong-Suk Park, telephone interview to Seoul (18. 2. 1998). Mrs. Park is Seong-San Park's sister. She says that it is true that the congregation was registered with the Holiness denomination but there was no trick, she says.

⁸⁷ KAOG, *ibid.*

⁸⁸ There is no record about the last two congregations. It is not clear if the latter four churches did not financially depend upon the missionaries. When the Second World War ended, no pentecostal churches were found in Seoul. As Heoh gathered scattered pentecostals at *Nambu* Church at Yongsan, Seoul, some of those pentecostals, especially from the *Seobingo* congregation, returned to it.

in their infant stages without any active leaders, were wholly scattered. They were not able to attend other existing churches because of their apostatized practices.⁸⁹ At a time when many conservative Christians left the churches and began to have group meetings or sought remote villages to practise their faith,⁹⁰ the Korean pentecostals also scattered.⁹¹

5.4.3.2. *Persecution and Dispersion of Choseon Pentecostal Church (1942)*

Choseon Pentecostal Church (denomination) suffered as one section of conservative Korean Christianity and the history of its suffering was not peculiar to the other conservative churches. At the same time, there are only scraps of information about its suffering. Therefore, we will consider it in connection with other Korean churches, especially with small denominations.

From the beginning to the end, the imperial regime sensed that Christianity was its ideological enemy both in Japan and Korea. As a countermeasure to this, it devised the measures of appeasement (presenting Shinto as a national ceremony instead of a religion), oppression of the churches, and amalgamation of Korean churches into a united Japanese church. It succeeded in Japan because most Japanese churches tended to believe that emperor worship could be accepted by the Christians as the performance of their national obligation. The conservatives in Japan did not have many differing approaches.⁹² In Korea, however, the amalgamation of churches and religions was only accepted in one way or another by the Catholics, the Methodists, the Canadian missions as well as the Confucianists and the Buddhists. Even though the Presbyterian general assembly passed the ordinance under compulsion in 1938, not more than 10 % of all Presbyterian Christians ever attended the shrines.⁹³ Therefore, the majority of Korean Christians did not bow down. The result was that conservative Presbyterians and small groups like the Holiness Church, the Baptist Church, the Salvation Army, the Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Pentecostal Church became the targets of Japanese persecution.

The imperial government distributed questionnaires, which were to be answered, signed, and sealed, to all the leaders of the churches so that it might hunt up the anti-Shintoists. The contents were as follows: "First, is attending Shinto

⁸⁹ Here are some examples. After the Pearl Harbour attack (December 1941), respectful salutation to the Japanese flag hanging on the wall, bowing down in the direction of imperial palace in Tokyo, and national ceremony of praying for victory in the war etc. were included in the official worship meetings. The Old Testament and some parts of the New Testament were prohibited as well as some hymns. Christians were forced to serve imperialism rather than God.

⁹⁰ Sung Joon Kim, *A History of Korean Church*, Seoul, 1993, pp.159-160; Kyong Bae Min, *Korean Church History*, p.488. They gathered at homes or travelled to meet like-minded persons. Anti-Shintoist leaders and missionaries encouraged them.

⁹¹ Jeong-Suk Park, *ibid.* interview. Park says she sometimes attended the Sunday evening worship meeting of a Presbyterian church with other pentecostals during that time.

⁹² Kurata Masahiko, *The Persecution History of Japanese Imperialism over Korean Christianity*, Seoul, 1991, pp. 39-59. *passim*. Their Biblical bases for it were Romans 13 and the theory of two kingdoms (Augustine, Luther).

⁹³ Charles Allen Clark, in *The Presbyterian*, n.d. Re-cited from *PE* (January 17, 1942). Missionary Clark wrote that less than 10 % of 400,000 Presbyterians ever visited the shrine. The total number of the Methodists was about 60,000 at that time. (cf. Gyomunsa, *Korean Church History in 100 Years*, 1993, pp.200-201); Sung Joon Kim, *ibid.* Most of the official organizations of Korean churches affirmed worship at the Shinto shrines during the period of February to September 1938. But most pastors and the believers opposed worshipping there.

worship national ceremony or religious ceremony? Second, Which is higher, the heavenly son-goddess or Jesus Christ? Third, Which is the first, the state or religion?" In such a way, about 2,000 persons were arrested and imprisoned in the summer of 1940 and about 50 were martyred before the liberation.⁹⁴

The *Choseon* Pentecostal Church as well as small denominations, which had radical conservative doctrines, could not accept the imperialism of the questionnaires. The Salvation 'Army' was changed to the Salvation 'Group' and a Japanese was installed as the head of it. The Baptist Church, the Holiness Church, and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church were dissolved by force in 1943 because of their emphasis on the Second Coming of the Christ. The Jehovah's Witness was persecuted in Japan and in Korea on account of his anti-war sentiment and the unique *Jahweh* doctrine. The Anglican Church also kept entirely silent under the jurisdiction of the Japanese. In such a situation the Pentecostal Church was not permitted to survive.

There was another reason that small groups suffered severely. From 1937, the Japanese Church began to try to integrate the Korean Church into the Japanese Church according to state policy. All international organizations like the Korean Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, and the World Sunday School Union were forcibly joined to Japanese organizations cutting them off from international relationships. Then there was a proposal that those denominations that had more than 10,000 members should unify and committee members be selected from them.⁹⁵ The *Choseon* Pentecostal Church had only four congregations with fewer than 100 members in 1941. Therefore, it was little worth consideration by the imperial government. In 1942 it was dispersed.⁹⁶

5.4.4. *Changes in Relations between Pentecostalism and the Mainline Protestant Churches*

Under the severe persecution of imperialism, the religious scene in Korea changed. Conservative Christians, who calmed down, were willing to keep their faith together with scattered pentecostals. Furthermore, considering the fact that most pentecostals had been converted from other churches, it is not strange to hear that some pentecostals used to attend Presbyterian churches during that time. It is probable that even though the relations between the pentecostals and other churches were not much increased, they all had no other choice than to keep peace with one another.

5.4.5. *Korean Pentecostals in Japan (1939-1945)*

As the war developed into a full-scale war, the Japanese imperial government laid its persecutory hand upon the Korean pentecostal congregation in Japan as well.

⁹⁴ Sung Joon Kim, *ibid.*, p.169; Kyong Bae Min, *Korean Church History*, 1994, pp.478-511; Yung Jae Kim, *A History of the Korean Church*, 1992, pp.202-229.

⁹⁵ They eventually succeeded in uniting the Korean Church with the Japanese Church in July 1945, several weeks before the Japanese surrender.

⁹⁶ Jessie Wengler, letter to Fred Vogler (6.5.1941/ AAOG archives). Japanese AOG decided not to join the Japanese Church Union because it had come to the conclusion that "it was not the will of the Lord for pentecostals to join it."

Since succeeding in uniting Japanese churches in a 'one church organization' in 1941, it not only commanded the Korean pastor to preach only in Japanese but also to install a small Shinto shrine in the church and to bow before it. Otherwise the church was to be closed. Kwak and the congregation had no other choice than to close it. Hence this church lasted about ten years. As Kwak left Japan in 1943, congregational life ended.⁹⁷

5.5. POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS IN KOREAN PENTECOSTALISM (1945-1953)

The liberation from Japan (15.8.1945) brought the Koreans not only freedom but also disorder. Politically the North and the South became divided. From the early part of 1946, communication between them was hindered by the communists. Under American military administration, there was political chaos in South Korea. The Korean War broke out (1950-1953), and the Korean Church was also plunged into confusion. The Presbyterian church could not solve the conflict between anti-Shintoists who had suffered and those who had tolerated it. Torn by theological controversy, Kosin and Kijang denominations broke away in this period. The Methodist Church also split into two groups but it was later able to reunite. All these political and religious struggles were the phenomena that occurred in the rehabilitation process.

After the liberation, in such a turbulent situation, classical pentecostalism was unable to re-form at once as an organization while all other churches devoted themselves to rebuilding their churches without delay.⁹⁸ This was because the previous pentecostal leaders were too deeply involved in earning their livings to embark on their ministry immediately. At the same time, the number of the devoted pentecostals was not so great as to gather and start any organization at once. However, a new movement, which was influenced by another missionary in Japan, Leonard W. Coote, started in Jeolla-Namdo District, in the southwestern area of Korea. This was the second pentecostal movement which broke out in Korea after the Second World War. Three groups of Korean leaders without any foreign missionaries took part in this movement: new leaders from Japan who belonged to the Osaka (Japan) Korean pentecostal congregation and were trained by Leonard W. Coote; woman evangelist Gui-Im Park (1912-1994) who received pentecostalism through the line of Osaka congregation; and the previous three leaders (Park, Heoh, and Bae).

For classical pentecostalism, this period can be characterized in five ways. First, it was the period of Korean leaders who pioneered new churches and founded a new pentecostal organization by themselves, because after the liberation there were no foreign pentecostal missionaries in Korea for seven years (1945-1952). Second, it was the period of a country-wide revival that had started in southwestern Jeolla-

⁹⁷ Kwak does not remember the exact date when he returned from Japan, but the most probable date will be 1943. His daughter also agreed that this will have been the most likely date.

⁹⁸ Except for the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, the Holiness Church (1945), the Salvation Army (1945), the Baptist Church (1946), and the Anglican Church (1946) all began to rehabilitate their organizations.

Namdo. This revival further affected pentecostal development in Korea.⁹⁹ Third, it was ignited not by previous leaders in Seoul but by the leaders from other origins. Fourth, it was a movement which took place under an unfavourable post-war situation (1945-1950) and during the Korean War (1950-1953). Fifth, it was the period of the introduction of the American Assemblies of God. This event was related to the Korean War.

In this section we deal with the history of the second wave of classical pentecostalism in Korea which expanded in the southwestern area after the liberation and discuss the effects it had according to the five points noted in the previous paragraph.

5.5.1. No New Foreign Pentecostal Missionaries (1945-1952)

There was no pentecostal missionary in Korea from the end of the Second World War until 1952. Other denominational missionaries returned to Korea soon after the end of the War. Even such small churches as the Salvation Army, the Baptist Church, and the Anglican Church sent their missionaries to Korea a few years after this War to rebuild their work.¹⁰⁰ We can point out two reasons why no pentecostal missionaries entered Korea soon after the War. First, the Korean situation was very insecure. Second, no pentecostal missions had become firmly established in Korea until that time, and this second point was the real reason. In Japan and China, pentecostal missionaries soon began to work after 1945. Because only private women missionaries had been in Korea without any organizational background before the Second World War, no mission organizations were in charge of the scattered Korean pentecostals.

5.5.2. Korean Pentecostal Leaders

We observe the lives of Korean leaders who are crucial in this period (1945-1953). I categorize Korean leaders into three groups: the previous three leaders; the new leaders; and Gui-Im Park. Having been introduced the biographies of the old leaders (5.3.2), I only sketch their activities in this period while the biographies and the works of both the new leaders and Gui-Im Park will be described in this section.

5.5.2.1. Three Old Leaders

We observe the lives of the former trio in this period. After the liberation from Japan (1945), Seong-San Park was not immediately entirely free to rebuild pentecostal congregations in Seoul on account of his contribution to the bookshop and the confusion in Korean churches and society. But he began to act as an intermediary, in cooperation with Heoh and Bae, to encourage scattered pentecostals and to bring them together. Around that time pentecostalism was kindled in the southwestern Jeolla-Namdo District (Gwangju, Suncheon, and Mokpo area). At last, in January 1950, he was able to found the *Yeonsin* Saints congregation in Seoul. But this

⁹⁹ For example, in 1995, in Gwangju there are more KAOG churches (38 in number) than in the much bigger cities in Busan (34 in number) or Daegu (11 in number), which are located in southeastern area (Gyeongsang-Do).

¹⁰⁰ Kyong Bae Min, *Korean Church History*, Seoul, 1972/ 2nd rev. ed., 1994, pp. 519-521.

congregation was scattered in five months because of the Korean War.¹⁰¹ The first pentecostal conference, which was held at Suncheon City in April 1950, was to be mostly ascribed to his efforts. Park took the chair at this conference, devoting himself as a leader of the movement to the foundation of Korean pentecostalism.

Hong Heoh was physically weak but also spiritually delicate. He could not embark on a new ministry after 1945. It seems that he was only able to take care of the scattered pentecostals in the Seoul area. He also joined the pentecostal organization at the time of its inception in 1950.

Bu-Geun Bae moved to a village in Gapyeong-Gun, which was close to his home town, Chuncheon, in 1944. After the liberation, he began to visit people to bring the Gospel. At that time, he met American Assemblies of God chaplain, John R. Elrod (1918-1992), who was stationed at the American compound in Chuncheon City. Bu-Geun Bae received dozens boxes of Bibles from him and distributed them in Gapyeong District. Just as a congregation was being formed, the Korean War broke out. He moved down to Daegu and helped Du-Nyeon Kim to found the Daegu congregation. He stayed faithfully in this movement, the Korean Assemblies of God, until his death (1970) as one of the founding members.

5.5.2.2. *New Leaders*

After the Second World War, pentecostalism in Korea was first shaped by the leaders who came back from the Osaka Pentecostal congregation in Japan. In addition to this, several women who had received pentecostal faith through this congregation, contributed to the revival in the southwestern area. We introduce a few representatives of the second pentecostal movement in Korea. We put them in the order of the importance of their ministries instead of following their chronological ages.

Bong-Jo Kwak was born in 1908 at Geoje Island at the southern end of the peninsula. He became a Christian at fourteen, the first in his clan. He was good at Chinese literature. At the age of nineteen, having played a pivotal role in the church, he crossed over to Japan to satisfy his intellectual appetite. In Osaka, he was converted to pentecostalism through Coote's ministry. He became his student at the Ikoma Bible School which was run by Coote. Not only did Kwak establish the Osaka Korean pentecostal congregation (5.3.3.5), but he also trained pentecostal leaders in that congregation. As an intellectual man, he was a good Bible teacher. His reasoning mind was systematic and discriminating. Among the early Korean pentecostal leaders, Kwak was the only one to write several books: *The Pentecostal Truth: Pneumatology* (1970); *An Essay on the Trinity* (1990); and Bible explanations on the Song of Solomon, the Romans, and the Book of Job.¹⁰² As the denominational seminary of the Korean Assemblies of God was set up, he was in charge of selecting the lecturers. Because he was a student of Coote, he followed the line of baptizing only in the name of Jesus Christ. This became an issue and he left

¹⁰¹ KAOG, *ibid.*, p.58. In several months this church had about 80 children and 25 adults. It seems that those who had once belonged to pentecostal churches until their dispersions (1942) returned to this church. In June they spread again.

¹⁰² Bong-Jo Kwak, *An Essay on the Trinity*, Pasadena, CA, 1990. p.32.

the denomination. Thereafter, he founded congregations and established another denomination.¹⁰³

Seong-Deok Yun (1894-1981) grew up in a poor family at Muan-Gun, near Mokpo City. As a bright boy, he learned Chinese literature. In his early twenty years, he became a Christian through the village church. For more than a decade, he devoted himself to evangelization and the independence movement. In 1932, he crossed over to Japan to fulfill his desire of studying and earning money. Next year in Japan, he was converted to pentecostalism by Coote's tent evangelization. On Bong-Jo Kwak's recommendation, he studied at Coote's Ikoma Bible School. Yun came back to Korea around 1937 (5.4.2). He emphasized uncompromising faith which had to bear fruit in daily life, strongly advocating a self-supporting attitude. He lived in a simple way. On Sundays, if he found anyone asleep during the preaching, he drove him out and continued preaching. As he had studied with Coote, he also baptized in the name of Jesus, but this did not cause any trouble for him. Since Kwak had left the denomination on account of the baptismal issue, he was a halfhearted man in the organization. Yun was reluctant to team up with missionaries. Living in solitude in the countryside, he gave his life to taking care of three congregations, scouting for disciples and training them. He trained many church leaders; his ministry yielded 27 pastors and thirteen pastor's wives.¹⁰⁴

Seong-Hwan Kim (1916-1975) was born to a distinguished family at Muan-Gun, Jeolla Namdo. He was also educated in Chinese literature. In 1931 he crossed over to Japan with his wife. Having worked hard he got a management position at a trading company in Osaka. One day his wife visited a goblin shrine and was possessed by an evil spirit. Every night she went out in the deep of the night to shriek and dance on the street. The Japanese neighbours asked him to leave the village or to expel her. The young Kim fell ill, too. In this situation he heard a message that God can heal her. He visited the village church with his wife and the goblin (spirit) was driven out by the pastor's prayer. His wife was restored to her normal mental state, and they accepted the Gospel through this healing experience. Having heard of this story, Bong-Jo Kwak and Seong-Deok Yun visited him and invited him to study at Coote's school. He came back around the end of the Second World War. One thing noteworthy in his ministry was the manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit. His wife was also endowed with such gifts to some degree. He spread pentecostalism in Mokpo area after the War. Because of his background, which was related to Ikoma School, he was not active in the denomination from the schismatic time. His two sons are pastors of the Korea Assemblies of God.

Gil-Yun Kim (1909-1968) came from the same district as Bong-Jo Kwak, Geoje Island. He took lessons in Chinese literature and finished the primary school. He crossed over to Japan in 1934. Then he was converted to Christianity at Kwak's congregation at Osaka, having fallen into a critical situation with economic distress and problems with his view of life. He served the Lord as a deacon at this

¹⁰³ Mrs. Kwak, international telephone interview to Los Angeles (13. 6. 1997). She says: "He founded almost 40 congregations around Gwangju, Yeosu, and Suncheon area." It seems that she counts all the congregations which were founded by the Bible school students of his new organization since 1958. The congregation at Namwon, which was founded by him, grew to a congregation of 1,000 adult members. All other congregations that were said to have been founded by him were not in KAOG.

¹⁰⁴ Yeong-Jun Hong, telephone interview to Gwangju, Korea (21. 9. 1997).

congregation. Having experienced the Spirit, he studied at Coote's school, returning to Korea in the latter part of the War. He pioneered a pentecostal congregation in his home village, although his ministry was not so prominent as other early pentecostal leaders. Both he and Seong-Hwan Kim were ordained by the Korean Assemblies of God in 1956. His son is the pastor of a Korean Assemblies of God in America.

The martyr Heon-Geun Park also attended Osaka Korean pentecostal congregation. He studied at Coote's Bible School as well. After the liberation, he came back to Korea and served as an elder at a Presbyterian congregation in Daejeon City. Then he was called to become pastor of Suncheon pentecostal congregation by Gui-Im Park in 1949. We will describe his martyrdom at 5.5.4.1.

5.5.2.3. *Gui-Im Park (1912-1994)*

In this sub-section we observe one more prominent pentecostal evangelist of this time. Whereas the above-mentioned people were men, she is a woman: Gui-Im Park (1912-1994). Viewed in the light of pentecostal revival, her ministry was superior to that of any other pentecostal leader of the first and second pentecostal waves in Korea. She was especially endowed with the gifts of the Spirit. It seems that her own healing experience prepared the way through which mighty manifestations of the Spirit took place. Her only daughter, Jeong-Ja Mun, tells about her mother's healing story as follows:

My mother could not have any baby after I was born. Having been suffered for several years on account of a lump in her abdomen, she was pronounced dead of an ovarian cyst at last. We lived at Nonsan at that time. She went to her parents' home in Mokpo to have an operation, which had little possibility of success. There, her younger sisters persuaded her to ask God to be healed instead of being operated. With their help, she fasted three days and prayed. She could see all her sins. She repented thoroughly. In three days she felt as if she were afloat in the air and she was entirely healed. Then she began to bring the Gospel to other people and to lead the family worship meeting. "Because God saved me I should serve Him," she said.¹⁰⁵

When she was healed, she devoted her life to God. They said that she was also baptized in the fire of the Spirit through the Holiness Church evangelist Seong-Bong Lee in 1943.¹⁰⁶ After her baptism in the fire, she was confirmed in her belief that she was called by God to serve Him. However, she prepared herself and waited until the 1945 Liberation and her baptism in the Spirit (1947).

We sketch the channel of Gui-Im Park's baptism in the Spirit. It was in Osaka Korean Pentecostal congregation that Ja-Sin Park¹⁰⁷ was saved. She introduced

¹⁰⁵ Jeong-Ja Mun, interview in Gwangju (15.1.1998). Gui-Im was born in Mokpo as the first child of nine children, seven girls and two boys. Her parents heard the Gospel through the missionaries and sent their children to the church. Her younger sisters were more enthusiastic in faith than her in the early days. Her two brothers were just believers while the seven girls, including Gui-Im, served the Lord prominently.

¹⁰⁶ Through this fire baptism, she seemed to have become a strong believer as well as an active server of the Lord.

¹⁰⁷ Jong-Ho Byeon, *ibid.*, pp.99-100. Park was a woman of rare personal beauty and talent. She had been noted as a distinguished girl but was married to a wealthy man, who was wanting in character. Because of her unhappy married life she was almost ruined. Around that time she followed her husband to Osaka, Japan because he opened a business there. She was saved and changed entirely.

pentecostal faith to her mother in law, Bok-Deok Lee, in Haenam, Jeolla-Namdo. This wealthy lady was faithfully serving a Presbyterian church there. Having experienced the Spirit, she began to preach the miracles of tongues, prophecy, and healing, causing a stir in that area. Eventually, she and her followers were expelled from her church. They opened a house meeting. Then Mrs. Pyo, who was blessed in that meeting, opened her own house in Mokpo for meetings.¹⁰⁸ At one meeting Gui-Im Park was baptized with the Spirit (July 1947). Park led the Holy Spirit movement extensively around Suncheon and Gwangju area as a pentecostal evangelist until the mid-1970s, and was invited by other denominations to lead revival meetings. She did not write down her sermons before she preached. She said, “It is difficult to preach if there is no anointing.”¹⁰⁹ Sometimes she danced during her preaching.¹¹⁰ Her ministry was shaped through constant prayer and Bible reading. Many days she did not sleep in bed but stayed all night in the church to pray.

Gui-Im was the only woman leader in the organization of the Korean Assemblies of God (1953). She followed Heoh at the separation of the denomination (1957), even though she had relatively good relationships with missionaries. From then on, her ministry in the Korean Assemblies of God diminished. Her activity was restricted in Jeolla-Namdo area centering on Gwangju. She helped her son-in-law and pastor of Gwangju pentecostal congregation. In 1977, she moved to a Kijang Presbyterian congregation in Gwangju following her daughter (Jeong-Ja Mun) and served the Lord there by leading the house-cell groups.¹¹¹ Her influence was greater than that of Rumsey and Bok-Deok Lee but less than that of Ja-Sil Choe, the mother-in-law of Yonggi Cho.¹¹²

5.5.3. *New Pentecostal Congregations and Organization (1945-1950)*

In 1945, the end of the Second World War brought freedom. Leaders of the pentecostal movement used it to exert influence on their countrymen. This was the second pentecostal movement (see figure 2) in Korea. We only deal with those congregations that were founded until the organization of the second denomination (9.4.1950). Four new congregations were founded in this period: one in Seoul and three in Jeolla-Namdo area. Because the congregation in Seoul which had been

She wrote to her mother in law (Bok-Deok Lee) confessing all her previous sinful life and constantly begged her to receive the pentecostal faith until she finally accepted it.

¹⁰⁸ There is no record about the time when all this happened. Considering the related circumstances, we suppose that this occurred around the last part of Japanese colony and the following period. It seems that such women’s prayer meetings were more tolerated than organized ecclesiastical activities.

¹⁰⁹ Jeong-Ja Mun, *ibid.* interview.

¹¹⁰ Hun-Ha Cho, interview at Suncheon (16. 1. 1998).

¹¹¹ Jeong-Ja Mun, *ibid.* interview. Her son-in-law, KAOG pastor Seong-Suk Kang, later studied at Hanshin Theological Seminary of Kijang denomination, which was a liberal seminary. Sometimes she had difficulty with him in ministry-related matters. When Pastor Kang passed away in 1974, her daughter Jeong-Ja Mun, who studied pentecostal theology at KAOG seminary, took care of the congregation for about one year. Then she gave it up because, having five children, the demands on her were too great. They invited another KAOG pastor. There was disharmony between the new pastor and her. Jeong-Ja Mun founded a new congregation and moved to the Kijang denomination with it. Kui-Im Park followed her.

¹¹² Jeong-Ja Mun, *ibid.* interview; Jeong-Ryeol Pak, interview at Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church (5. 3. 1996). Pak, who was a favourite with her, said that she was a prominent revivalist

founded by Seong-San Park (January 1950) scattered on the invasion of North Korea (June 1950) the real movement took place in Jeolla-Namdo area. The Korean leaders of Osaka Pentecostal congregation, who had returned to Korea and watched for an opportunity to preach the Gospel in their home country,¹¹³ and several women in Korea, who had received pentecostalism through the line of this congregation, played the main roles in this second pentecostal movement. The second denomination was organized with four congregations.

5.5.3.1. *New Pentecostal Congregations (1945-1950)*

Seong-Deok Yun studied three years under Coote in Japan and then he was ordained by his teacher.¹¹⁴ After the liberation (see 5.4.2), he settled down in a small farming village, called Jinwol, in Gwangsan-Gun to the southwest of Gwangju in 1945, founding *Jinwol* congregation in the same year. In 1948 he baptized 25 people and continued to evangelize in that area.

Seong-Hwan Kim founded *Mokpo* congregation in the summer of 1948. Having studied under Coote in Japan, he came back to Korea toward the end of the War. He began to evangelize in Mokpo city. As the *Mokpo* congregation was founded in 1948, he experienced the fact that God's hand was with him and that the gifts of the Spirit (healings, visions, tongues, prophecy, and interpretation of the tongues) were manifested. His ministry expanded further in Mokpo, Naju, and Muan-Gun.

The leader of the old trio began to work elsewhere. In January 1950, Seong-San Park established *Yeonsin* Saints Congregation (연신신도교회: *Yeonsin Sindo Gyohoe*) in Seoul. However, this congregation scattered as the Korean War broke out in June of the same year.

5.5.3.2. *Suncheon Pentecostal Congregation (1948 ff)*

Suncheon Pentecostal Congregation (순천오순절교회: *Suncheon Osunjeol Gyohoe*) at Suncheon City played the leading role in establishing Korean pentecostalism after the liberation. In 1948, it was founded by the apostolic woman evangelist, Gui-Im Park. It had as its pastors early leaders like Heon-Geun Park, Bong-Jo Kwak, Bu-Geun Bae, and Hong Heoh.

Having been filled in the Spirit since July 1947, Gui-Im Park visited Suncheon, in autumn of the same year, to evangelize as well as to check on her younger brother's safety under the fractional activities of communists.¹¹⁵ Before long she met Mrs. Yang, who was the wife of an elder of a Presbyterian congregation and baptized with the Spirit in that city. Although Gui-Im Park did not have theological training (completing only four years' of primary school), she nevertheless opened a prayer meeting at her brother's house with Mrs. Yang. Signs and wonders accompanied her ministry.¹¹⁶ It is reported that evil spirits were driven out; that diseases

¹¹³ They were the natives of southwestern and southern areas. At the same time, it was more difficult to start a new movement in the capital city than in rural districts around the end of the imperialism.

¹¹⁴ KAOG, *ibid.*, pp.53-55, 116-117.

¹¹⁵ In 1948, there was a communist revolt in Yeosu and Suncheon area.

¹¹⁶ Yeon-Hui Kim, interview at Suncheon (17. 1. 1998). She related how her mother Ae-Sun Park was healed of an incurable growth on her neck by Gui-Im's prayer. When Gui-Im met her mother for the first time, she directly told her mother, "Your well-being is due to the grace of your father. You were

like paralysis, mental disease, heart disease, gastroenteric disorder, neurosis etc. were healed; and that guidance of the Spirit through visions or dreams was with her. Sometimes she could read the hearts or lives of other people.¹¹⁷ For all these things, she and her followers were excommunicated from the Presbyterian Church. In spite of the persecutions by the other churches,¹¹⁸ they founded a congregation in 1948. On account of persecution and a need to find more space to accommodate their growing congregation, they had to move three times in their search for a suitable place. In 1948, this Suncheon congregation used the designation ‘pentecostal’ [오순절: *Osunjeol*: 五旬節] for the name of a congregation for the first time in Korea. Even though it was already used by the Korean pentecostal congregation in Osaka Japan (1933-1943)¹¹⁹ and by the first denomination for its denominational designation (1933-1942),¹²⁰ no Korean pentecostal congregations had ever used *Osunjeol* for the designation of their congregations. In this second movement, only Gui-Im Park still used the designation ‘pentecostal’ while others called their congregations according to the regions without the designation ‘pentecostal.’ She hung up a signboard saying ‘Suncheon Pentecostal Congregation’ (순천 오순절교회: *Suncheon Osunjeol Gyohoe*) according to the manifestation through an angel in her dream.¹²¹

In Spring 1949, this congregation grew to become a community of about 200 adults and 150 children. In November 1949, she invited Heon-Geun Park to help her with her activities. Elder Park mainly preached while Gui-Im visited people and brought the Gospel to them. Next year (9.4.1950), the first Great *Han* Christian Pentecostal Convention (대한 기독교 오순절대회: *Daehan Kidoggyo Osunjeol Daehoe*) was held at this church. As Gui-Im Park was called to a more apostolic and evangelistic ministry, she left to pioneer another congregation in Gwangju (1952).

In 1957, *Suncheon* Congregation was split into two congregations. In line with the schism of the denomination, the mainline *Suncheon* Pentecostal Congregation (순천 오순절교회) followed the line of Heoh (*Daehan* Pentecostal Church)¹²² whereas *Suncheon* Gospel Congregation (순천 복음교회: *Suncheon Bogeum Gyohoe*) under the leadership of woman pastor, Yu-Jeong Kim, remained in the Korean Assemblies of God. The two diverging congregations did not get on well with each other, becoming even involved in litigation. After the reunion of the

taken ill because you bore a grudge against God,” she said. Her mother repented and she was healed through Gui-Im’s prayer. Gui-Im had a house meeting also in her mother’s house, Yeon-Hui said.

¹¹⁷ Jeong-Ja Mun, *ibid.* interview. Sometimes, people were afraid of Gui-Im because she was aware of the secrets in their hearts, she said. According to her, some diseases were healed immediately through her ministry, but more often through Park’s constant prayer over one or two months.

¹¹⁸ Because Jeolla Province, where Suncheon belongs, was the area of American Southern Presbyterian mission territory, most of the congregations were Presbyterian; KAOG, *30 Years ...*, p.125. Some time before, the Methodist Church failed to found a congregation at one place in Suncheon because of Presbyterian opposition.

¹¹⁹ See 5.3.3.5; 5.4.5.

¹²⁰ See 5.3.3.3.

¹²¹ KAOG, *ibid.*, p.125.

¹²² Suncheon Pentecostal Congregation, ed., *Church Outline: 1994*, p.6. At that time, the 4th pastor, Ok-Bae Woo was pastor of this congregation. He and one party wanted to stay with Heoh while another faction led by Yu-Jeong Kim wanted to stay with KAOG. When Kim moved out of the congregation, about 70 members followed her to found *Bogeum Gyohoe*.

denomination in 1972, they both stayed in the Korean Assemblies of God, but the former still keeps its position out of the general union of 1997. Today, these two congregations are stable medium-size congregations.

5.5.3.3. *The Second Pentecostal Organization (1950)*

In this way, the second pentecostal movement in Korea, centering on the obtuse-angled triangle region of Gwangju, Mokpo, and Suncheon (see figure 2) was founded after the 1945 liberation. This was also the period in which the Korean leaders were strengthening the unity of Korean classical pentecostals. As the new movement spread, the leaders, especially Seong-San Park, felt that they had to gather kindling coals to make a fire. It was indispensable for them to maintain their existence. Their efforts resulted in the convention, which in fact was more of a revival meeting than a convention. Such a convention has proved to be an effective tool which can be used to put life into a movement or an organization. It is also noteworthy that the first pentecostal convention was held just before the Korean War. We will now observe how the first convention was held and an organization was formed

The old trio, Seong-San Park, Bu-Geun Bae, and Hong Heoh, took the initiative of gathering together all pentecostals. Park especially toured in the country to persuade the pentecostal leaders to take part in an act of solidarity.

The first Pentecostal Convention (after the dissolution in 1942) was held on the 9th April 1950 at *Suncheon* congregation. It was two months before the outbreak of the Korean War and that date was the last day of a nine-day evangelistic campaign of 'Save the Nation,' sponsored jointly by all the churches in Korea. Seong-San Park presided over this convention. The pastor of *Suncheon* congregation, Elder Heongeun Park, preached at the convention. Hong Heoh, Seong-Deok Yun, Seong-Hwan Kim, and Gui-Im Park also attended. About 200 laymen were gathered. The convention was significant in the sense that Korean pentecostals were able to gather at one place worshipping God. They organized the Great *Han* Christian Pentecostal Church (대한 기독교 오순절교회: *Daehan Gidoggyo Osunjeol Gyohoe*). It was the second pentecostal organization in Korea. However, this organization as well as the previous *Choseon* Pentecostal Church (1933-1942) was more a fellowship organization without juridical constitution. Nevertheless, this new organization functioned as a denomination in the same way as the first organization (*Choseon* Pentecostal Church) had done. At this time there was no discussion about forming the juridical denomination.¹²³ They only decided to have another convention in the future, but the second convention which was planned for 1951 was cancelled because of the Korean War (25.6.1950).

5.5.4. *The Impact of the Korean War (1950-1953)*

The period of five years between the end of the Second World War and the outbreak of the Korean War (1945-1950) was a time of disorder. Nevertheless, pentecostalism woke up and grew sufficiently to establish an organization (1950). Then the Korean

¹²³ The author heard this from the missionary Chestnut who attended at the third convention. It seems that the Korean leaders at that time were not able to set up a juridical organization by themselves.

War broke out. However, the brief overrunning of South Korea by the communists during the Korean War (June-September 1950) did not so totally damage Korean Christianity as systematic oppression by Japanese imperialism had done. The main reason was that the battle line came to a deadlock along the 38th parallel from April 1951 to the armistice (July 1953),¹²⁴ which meant the life in South Korea was somewhat stabilized. Therefore, despite the difficult situation, pentecostalism continued to grow. At the same time, this war provided the movement with several favourable factors: Christian activities were more concentrated in the southern area owing to evacuation to the south; strengthened solidarity among pentecostals through martyrdom and persecution by the communists; and the introduction of the American Assemblies of God. We describe the movement in the period of the Korean War, practically until the time of the establishment of the Korean Assemblies of God (8.4.1953).

5.5.4.1. Pentecostal Martyrs (1950-1953)

The author has been able to hear several tales about the Korean pentecostal martyrs. After his first visit to Korea, the Field Secretary for the Far East of the American Assemblies of God, Howard C. Osgood, wrote an article (3.8.1952) in which he stated that "A Bible woman is thought to have been killed. Nothing has been heard from her."¹²⁵ This was a reference to a pentecostal woman. Another episode was related by Jeong-Suk Park, the younger sister of Seong-San Park. According to her, a Jungang University student was saved at the *Heukseokdong* pentecostal congregation in the 1930s. After theological training, he entered the ministry. When he was pastor of a village congregation, he was heard to have been martyred, probably during the Korean War. He was from Gyeongsang-Do Province and she remembers his name as Mr. Gwon. She says she keeps his picture.¹²⁶

These two narratives have not yet been confirmed. But Heon-geun Park's martyrdom during the Korean War has been well documented. As the pastor of *Suncheon* congregation, he was martyred in the latter part of September 1950. Seong-San Park wrote in a letter as follows:

When the Communists withdrew from the town they shot more than a hundred democrats, two of whom were Christian leaders. When the Communists were about to begin shooting, Elder Park ran out to the front and witnessed of the love of God, saying, 'Repent, all of you, and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ,' boldly pounding the Communists' table. Thus, he became the first to be shot. He shouted 'Hallelujah' with joy and satisfaction on his face. It was a glorious martyrdom!¹²⁷

¹²⁴ During that time negotiations for a cease-fire continued between the United Nations and the communists.

¹²⁵ Howard C. Osgood, "A Brief Visit to Korea," in *PE* (3. 8. 1952). He also mentioned the death of Heon-Geun Park.

¹²⁶ Jeong-Suk Park, *ibid.* interview (18. 2. 1998). She does not know if he was a KAOG pastor.

¹²⁷ Seong-San Park, letter to John Young Sohn at Army Language School at Monterey, California. n.d. Quoted from *PE* (28. 10. 1951); Heon-Geun Park was called to become the pastor of Suncheon Church in November of 1949 while he was serving the Lord at a Presbyterian church in Daejeon after the liberation.

Because no male was bold enough to approach to the scene, women of the congregation held the funeral. His three small daughters were to be cared for in a Christian orphanage. For the pentecostals it was a big sacrifice at that time, since he was a charismatic leader. Through his ministry *Suncheon* congregation grew into a congregation of almost 300 members. After the occupation of the city by communists, he did not stop visiting his people and encouraging their faith. He was arrested by the security officers of the communist rulers and imprisoned at the Suncheon police station, where he was severely tortured by them. This happened before they had to retreat because of the arrival of the Korean army.

5.5.4.2. *Development of the Congregations and Organization of Pentecostalism (1950-1953)*

We deal with two aspects in this sub-section: the foundation of the new congregations and their organization in the period of the Korean War.

First, we deal with the new congregations. I begin with the old trio. Seong-San Park moved to Busan as the War broke out. He travelled the country to take care of scattered pentecostal believers and the congregations. "He had been a walking message for God ever since the beginning of the War."¹²⁸ Some pentecostals, who had formerly lived in the Seoul area, had also taken refuge in the southwest and southeast parts of Korea,¹²⁹ where he organized the *Busan* congregation in November 1952.¹³⁰ This congregation was the first pentecostal congregation in Busan, the second biggest city in Korea. This congregation has been firmly established as a strong congregation up to the present.

Hong Heoh began to gather some of the previous *Seobingo* congregation in his house with the help of the first missionary Chestnut, who had taken up his residence on the second floor of his house in the early part of 1953. This became the *Nambu* (남부) congregation at Hangang-Lo, Yongsan in Seoul. After half a year, several people were baptized by Chestnut because Heoh was "very weak physically and was hesitant to attempt this ministry alone."¹³¹ At this congregation, the Korean Assemblies of God was organized in 1953 and the Bible school was opened here, too. The congregation moved to Hangang-Lo 2 Ga in 1966 and again to Heukseok-2 Dong in 1987. Today this congregation is a well organized medium-size congregation.¹³²

When the war broke out, Bu-Geun Bae also moved down to Daegu and helped Du-Nyeon Kim to found the *Namsandong* (남산동) congregation in Daegu around 1952. Bae became its pastor. In 1953, it had four Spirit-baptized, six water-baptized,

¹²⁸ Chestnut, *Put ...*, p.80.

¹²⁹ Howard C. Osgood, "A Brief Visit to Korea," in *PE* (3. 8. 1952). He was the first Field Secretary for the Far East of AAOG.

¹³⁰ Chestnut, *Put ...*, p.79; KAOG, *ibid.*, p.247. The exact date of his founding *Busan* Church was November 27, 1952. When Missionary Chestnut arrived at Busan in early autumn of 1952, he could not find any pentecostal church. Park was only taking care of some refugee pentecostals there. He greatly helped scattered pentecostal people during the war and the church in Busan was organized after Chestnut's arrival. Owing to this kind of situation, the foundation date of congregation varies sometimes.

¹³¹ Chestnut, *ibid.*, p.107.

¹³² KAOG, ed., *KAOG 1997 Yearbook*, Seoul, 1997, p.293. (1.5. 1997).

26 persons attending services, and 59 Sunday school children. This was the first pentecostal congregation in Daegu, the third biggest city in Korea.¹³³

Apart from the early trio, the new leaders who had been connected with the Osaka pentecostal congregation in Japan continued evangelizing and founding congregations in Jeolla Province and on Geoje Island. Gui-Im Park, who was also known as ‘hail’ (우박: *Wubak*) Park, a name which was imparted to her in a dream,¹³⁴ moved to Gwangju and pioneered a congregation in Gwangju City in 1952. Today, *Gwangju* congregation has grown into to a huge congregation of more than 10,000 members and is the largest Christian congregation in Jeolla Province. This *Gwangju* congregation started when the wife of a medical doctor (Mrs. Gwang-Sin Cha), who had been suffering from an incurable disease, was healed by the prayer of Gui-Im Park.¹³⁵ Her two younger sisters (woman evangelists Sun-Deok and Jeong-Rye) helped her. As a prominent woman evangelist, she founded two more congregations in Gwangju: *Daeseong* (대성, 1956), and *Deoklim* (덕림, 1962) congregations. The third congregation has also grown into a congregation of 800 adult members.¹³⁶

Serving *Jinwol* (진월) congregation since 1945, Seong-Deok Yun founded *Seochang* (서창) congregation in 1953 and continued to evangelize. In three years he founded his third and last consecutive congregation, *Unli* (운리) congregation in the vicinity (today these areas belong to Gwangju City). For several years, he took care of these three congregations.¹³⁷ When the latter two congregations became independent, he remained at *Jinwol* congregation as pastor.

After the opening of *Mokpo* congregation in 1948, Seong-Hwan Kim continued to evangelize during the Korean War. Through his ministry, following congregations were opened soon after the armistice: *Songjuk* (송죽) congregation and *Jangbu* (장부) congregation at Muan-Gun, and *Daeseo* (대서) congregation at Naju City. His wife also helped him in his ministry through her gifts of the Spirit. Although the neighbourhood rejected his ministry at first, they later began to acknowledge these congregations through the changed lives of their members. For some time, he took care of these four congregations while he was resident in Mokpo. Thus Kim led the movement in the Mokpo area, especially accompanied by *charismata*.¹³⁸

Gil-Yun Kim founded a congregation at his birth place, Geoje Island, in 1953. When he came back from Japan around 1943, not only the Japanese but also his family and the village people persecuted him. Hence he could not start on his ministry at once. After the liberation he served the Lord as an assistant pastor of two

¹³³ The congregation was scattered after Bae moved to the theological seminary in Seoul. In Daegu, the Presbyterian church is especially strong and the people are conservative. This might be a reason that the congregation did not last.

¹³⁴ Jeong-Ja Mun, *ibid.* interview.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*

¹³⁶ The second congregation became a Presbyterian church. It was stolen by a co-pastor while Park was working on the building of the third congregation.

¹³⁷ Yeong-Jun Hong, interview in Gwangju (13. 1. 1998). After the worship meeting at *Jinwol*, Yun walked to *Unli* which took ca. 40 minutes to lead the worship. Thereafter, he walked to *Seochang* congregation, which also took about 40 minutes, to lead the meeting.

¹³⁸ Byeong-Ho Kim, telephone interview in Gwangju (15. 1. 1998). He is his son and is pastor of KAOG; Woo-Sul Kim, interview in Mokpo (19. 1. 1998). Elder Kim helped Seong-Hwan Kim with his ministry from the beginning.

Presbyterian congregations and a pentecostal congregation (Seong-Deok Yun's *Jinwol* congregation) until he pioneered the *Geoje* Central congregation (거제중앙: *Geoje Jungang*) in 1953.

Bong-Jo Kwak did not lose the chance to preach the Gospel. Having left Japan, Kwak went to Manchuria to act as pastor to the Korean congregation there because he could not embark on pentecostal evangelization at his native place. In Manchuria, he took charge of a Presbyterian church and it had a revival under his leadership. In February 1952, he was called to be the pastor of *Suncheon* Pentecostal Congregation after Pastor Heon-Geun Park had been martyred by the communists. During this ministry he founded a congregation at Namwon City, Jeolla-Bukdo in 1953.

In this way, the pentecostal movement continued during the Korean War. At the establishment of the Korean Assemblies of God during the War (8.4.1953), eight congregations were officially recognized (Suncheon, Kwangju, Mokpo, Busan, Daegu, Seoul, Jinwol village, and Geoje Island) even though some others were being formed. After the Armistice Agreement (July 1953), 18 congregations were already located in South Korea.¹³⁹

Second, we observe how the organization became further strengthened during the Korean War. The planned second pentecostal convention in 1951 was cancelled. However, in 1952 the pentecostals were able to hold the second meeting as the battle line had settled along the 38th parallel since April 1951. The *Suncheon* congregation hosted the meeting again from the 29th April to the 4th May 1952. However, the number of those attending was less than half of those at the first convention. Seong-San Park again presided at the meeting and Bong-Jo Kwak, the pastor of that church, preached.¹⁴⁰ The third convention was planned by the leaders and held in the same year (5.10.1952), just after the American Assemblies of God missionary, Arthur B. Chestnut, had entered Korea. The Korean pentecostals were cheered up by his presence. The convention was also held at *Suncheon* congregation¹⁴¹ and was a meeting about the same size as the first convention. Chestnut preached about God's provision for His church and they were blessed in the baptism with the Holy Spirit. But he did not speak of the evidence of speaking in unknown tongues because such a thing was an unclear concept to most of those people, he wrote.¹⁴² The people received both him and what he said without question. The convention lasted for about three days.¹⁴³

In this way the *Daehan* Pentecostal Church (denomination) developed in the war situation in the southern part of Korea. Unlikely Rumsey and other private

¹³⁹ KAOG, *Minutes*.

¹⁴⁰ Bong-Jo Kwak cannot call the details of the meeting to mind owing to his advanced age. Only a picture of the attendance remained (KAOG, *ibid.*, p.68); *PE* (3. 8. 1952). The exact date of the conference is described in a letter from the leader of Korean pentecostal group to missionary Howard C. Osgood.

¹⁴¹ Chestnut, *Put ... Shoes*, pp.91-96. He described travel in Korea at that time. He travelled together with about 10 persons from Busan to Suncheon; KAOG, *ibid.*, p.74. This source says that it was held at Gwangju instead of Suncheon. Considering the details of the travel, we think it was probably held at Suncheon.

¹⁴² *ibid.*, p.95.

¹⁴³ Chestnut, interview over international telephone (25.6.1997). He does not remember its exact length, but thinks it lasted about three or four days. Considering the length of the second and the third conferences, we imagine that the first one also lasted for at least several days.

women missionaries, Chestnut began to work as a representative of the American Assemblies of God. Thus, a denominational organization was formed next year (1953) following on the preliminary arrangements through the conventions.

5.5.4.3. *The Involvement of the American Assemblies of God (1952)*

Even though the missions department of the American Assemblies of God had received information about the Korean Pentecostal Church through its unofficial missionary, Rumsey, it did not do anything about Korean Pentecostalism until the Korean War. The entry of the American Assemblies of God in connection with this War took place in two ways. The first way was the entry of the chaplains. The second way was that God called a missionary in Japan to Korea who had been praying for the war-suffering Korean Christians.

Three American Assemblies of God chaplains entered Korea during this War: Frank R. Griep, Dudley Q. Boyd, and John R. Elrod (1918-1992). The first two moved along the battle line¹⁴⁴ while Elrod was both at the front line and at the rear. Korean pentecostalism had especially to do with Elrod. He had already served in Korea as a chaplain from August 1946 to July 1948 when Korea was under military government. During that time he and his family stayed in an American compound in Chuncheon. Elrod and his wife were very interested in finding pentecostals in Korea. Mrs. Elrod said: "We made friends with many Koreans. Hong Heoh helped us."¹⁴⁵ At that time, Chaplain Elrod gave Bu-Geun Bae dozens of boxes of Bibles, which were distributed in Gapyeong District (5.5.2.1). For a period of almost one year he and Hong Heoh led worship meetings together. Not only was he involved in leading the worship meetings for the American soldiers, but also Mr. and Mrs. Elrod regularly visited orphanages. They also invited middle school boys and girls (about 120 in number) to the military chapel in order to teach them English and to open Bible classes. When his two years' term was over they went back to America.

As the Korean War broke out, Mr. Elrod came back for one year (September 1950-September 1951), serving the soldiers and establishing contacts with Korean pentecostals again. During this time, he introduced the situation of Korean pentecostals to the American headquarters and encouraged Heoh to come into close relations with the American Assemblies of God. When Elrod left Korea, he promised the Koreans to ask his denomination to establish the Assemblies of God denomination in Korea.

Through his intermediary effort, the Field Secretary of the Far East of the American Assemblies of God, Missionary Howard C. Osgood (1899-1992),¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ "Our Chaplains in Korea," in *PE* (4. 2. 1951). The two chaplains held worship meetings at the front line. They reported that many soldiers received the Gospel. This magazine did not report anything about Elrod's work except his presence in the vicinity of Japan.

¹⁴⁵ Mrs. Constance Elrod, interview over international telephone call (25.6.1997) and letter (7.8.1997). She wrote to the author that they were impressed with the spirituality and holy living of so many people in Chuncheon. Elrod sponsored John Young Sohn, who was Elrod's interpreter, to come to America when they left in 1948. This man was further helped by Elrod in America to study at the Central Bible College (AAOG) at Springfield. He later played the role of bridge between Seong-San Park and AAOG.

¹⁴⁶ Glenn Gohr, "Pioneer Missionaries to China Still Active in Springfield," in *A/G Heritage* (Fall 1988). The Osgoods were sent to China on December 4, 1929 as AAOG missionaries. They stayed there until 1942, then returned to the States because of the Chinese-Japanese War which broke out in 1937. They went to China again (1946-1949). They had to leave China again when the communists took it over. In

briefly visited Korea on Easter Day of 1952. He met Korean pentecostals, especially the leaders. He reported that around 60 persons out of about 200 pentecostal people in Korea had received baptism in the Holy Spirit. He also noted that “the morale of the believers (pentecostals) was at a low ebb, but the people were encouraged by my visit. They pleaded with me to send a missionary who could remain with them.”¹⁴⁷ His response to the visit was expressed as follows:

But though the outlook for the pentecostal group may not seem bright, I do not see how we can turn our back on these people with their fine background of pentecostal teaching. With such a substantial number calling to us, and with the desperate need of the war-torn country knocking at the doors of our conscience, how can we do anything else but enter Korea with the Gospel at once?¹⁴⁸

Having received the report and the recommendation of Osgood, the Foreign Missions Department at Springfield commissioned Arthur B. Chestnut, who had been in Japan for two years as a single missionary, to go across to Korea to lay the foundations of the Assemblies of God. This man, Chestnut, was directly called by God as well when he was praying for Koreans in Japan. It was the summer of 1952. He wrote:

One time when I was alone before God in my room, I began asking Him to help the Christians in Korea. Suddenly He seemed to place a certain pressure on my back, as I was kneeling. Then He asked me, “Why don’t you go?” There was no long discussion or promise given.¹⁴⁹

Thus missionary Chestnut entered Korea in the early autumn of 1952 and the American Assemblies of God was introduced into Korea. No sooner had Chestnut come in Busan, Korea, than he called in five leaders of Korean pentecostals. After talking for a while he remarked that “the only thing I could think of doing was to plan a big meal for them.”¹⁵⁰ He also began to realize that the existing pentecostal churches were of a strong character and the harsh conditions in the country caused people to hold on to their faith even tighter. He appreciated the determined faith of those Koreans who pray in the church as early as five o’clock in the morning.¹⁵¹

1950 he was appointed the first field secretary for the Far East. He stayed in Hong Kong, Manila, Tokyo, and Taipei to train national workers. During that time he was asked to visit Korea by the Missions Department in Springfield.

¹⁴⁷ Osgood, *ibid*

¹⁴⁸ *ibid*.

¹⁴⁹ Chestnut, *ibid.*, p.77.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.79.

¹⁵¹ The situation now seems to be different from the time when Osgood first visited about half a year earlier. Three reasons may be suggested for the difference: first, Osgood only visited Korean pentecostals to see their situation, while Chestnut entered as a resident missionary. The reaction of a small group (Korean pentecostals), who not only needed God’s help but also sought practical missionary support should have been different. Second, Osgood was able to see their general outward situation in a short period while Chestnut could observe them and communicate with them to find out their faith life in general. Third, the Korean War situation was more stable six months later. Therefore, Koreans began to restore their normal life as time passed.

It was January¹⁵² of 1953 when Chestnut moved to Seoul to take a room at Heoh's house. The house was also used for the gathering of *Nambu* congregation. It became a provisional mission centre. Chestnut wrote: "Then the Korean leaders would gather in Seoul at a given moment to worship, visit, and encourage each other. We would always have meals together."¹⁵³ The only American pentecostal missionary in Korea at that time was able to give them a little help as well as to forward some refuge supplies to them. In this way the opportunity was ripe for forming a denomination.

5.5.5. *Ongoing Rejection of Pentecostalism by the Mainline Protestant Churches*

Pentecostals began to evangelize again among members of other denominations as the Japanese retreated from Korea after the Second World War. Then the discord between pentecostalism and other churches in Korea exposed. We can point to three causes of these problems.

The first one was that under the last stage of Japanese reign any Christian activities were hindered and pentecostals as well as other churches were only struggling for their existence. All remained quiet. And yet, even the difficult situations after the Second World War and during the Korean War furnished Christians with many more opportunities to become involved in religious issues. Hence, the established churches had occasion to reject a new movement.

The second aspect was that this new movement in Jeolla-Namdo province after the Second World War, which was accompanied with women and various gifts of the Spirit, was marked by a loud pentecostal colour. It was a matter of course that such an intense drive was to be confronted by the mainline order. The early movement in Seoul with Rumsey, Park, Heoh, and Bae was more moderate in pentecostal character than the second one.

The third aspect was that the pentecostal movement in Korea had not yet taken shape as an official organization. There existed neither theological institutes nor missionaries. Therefore, the surrounding Christians, who belonged to the established churches, rejected pentecostal phenomena while the established churches did not officially or theologically mention pentecostalism yet.¹⁵⁴ Other missionaries were no exception to this. When the first American Assemblies of God Missionary to Korea, Arthur B. Chestnut, came to Korea during the Korean War (1952), he met an American missionary who was not happy to see him. Chestnut wrote of the situation as follows:

He was part of an agreement among missionaries that none would give assistance to any pentecostal missionary entering Korea. More than that, they had agreed not to help any of the people of this faith. There was food and clothing, of its kind, for the refugees. These supplies had been shipped in by the United Nations to be distributed by

¹⁵² Chestnut, interview over international telephone (25.6.1997). In his book, he wrote it was spring.

¹⁵³ idem, *Put ...*, p.107.

¹⁵⁴ KAOG, *30 Years ...*, p.115. At the early stage in Seoul, the Holiness Church only mentioned through its denomination magazine, *Hwalcheon*, that a sectarian group, pentecostalism, had entered and warned against it.

the churches. But pentecostal people had to find their help through friends in other churches.¹⁵⁵

That missionary spoke against pentecostal experience in his church. When Chestnut heard it through Korean pentecostals, he only responded: “Just watch and wait. If this is of the Lord, it will succeed. If not, it will fail: no one can fight against the Holy Spirit.”¹⁵⁶ Even though the denomination and the theological seminary were set up in 1953, and the official recognition as a church was approved, reviling of pentecostal phenomena by the surrounding believers, continued for a while.

As we said before, the early stage of the second movement was rejected by the surrounding Christians, especially, the ministries of the untrained women leaders like Bok-Deok Lee and Gui-Im Park. They and their followers were excommunicated from their churches and opened their own congregations. Sometimes, the worship meeting was interrupted by the youths of the established churches. Seong-Hwan Kim, whose ministry was also attended with Spiritual gifts, was rejected at first. The ministries of the leaders who practiced pentecostalism moderately were hardly ever rejected. Because Korean Christians had generally been evangelically oriented, so long as pentecostals did not display too much emotionalism, they seemed to have been tolerated by the established churches.

When the pentecostals were rejected, they did not counterattack. They had only to pray and to wait for the hand of God. In a spiritual realm, such rejections by the mainline churches against a new movement often cause its expansion instead of destroying it. Since the organization of the Korean Assemblies of God in 1953, the straight rejection by other churches seemed to diminish and to fade away because pentecostalism began to be accepted as a gift of God by other denominations.¹⁵⁷

5.6. CONCLUSION

We conclude this chapter with five observations.

First, in the pre-war period, it is noteworthy that only private/independent women missionaries entered. They had both advantages (being more suited to work under imperialism) and disadvantages (having a leadership problem). Three Korean leaders of this time, two of them were converted from Presbyterianism to pentecostalism in Japan by Juergensen and the other one was converted from the Salvation Army by Rumsey in Seoul, established congregations with the help of these women in the suburbs of Seoul. They formed a co-operative *Choseon* pentecostal church. The Osaka Korean congregation, which would exert an

¹⁵⁵ Arthur B. Chestnut, *Put ... Shoes on His Feet*, Tulsa, OK, 1989, pp.81-82; idem, letter to the author (16. 10. 1995). He wrote, “People, refugees were starving to death every day. The military relief supplies were given to the churches for distribution, so that if one was not a part of the Methodist or Presbyterian or Holiness churches, they could get no distribution. Such was the pitiful testimony put forth by these churches. However, Christians of these churches would get some for their neighbours. The pentecostals wanted to be able to have their own supplies.”

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.82.

¹⁵⁷ Sang-Ho Kim, *ibid.* interview (27. 2. 1996); However, personal rejections by some surrounding Christians have continued, even until now.

important effect upon the post-war Korean pentecostalism, was flourishing in Japan at this time.

Second, in the war period, missionaries were banished by Japanese imperialism and the Korean pentecostal church was dispersed in both Korea and Japan. In such times of suspension of religious activities, the discord between pentecostals and other Christians disappeared. Pentecostals kept their faith privately.

Third, in the post-war period, the second pentecostal movement broke out in the southwestern area through the leaders and the influence of the previous Osaka Korean congregation. It was the period of Korean leaders without foreign missionaries. Missionary Coote was the origin of this lineage and it was the third source that contributed to the establishment of early Korean pentecostalism. The role of women, especially that of Gui-Im Park, and the manifestations of Spiritual gifts gave the movement a more markedly pentecostal flavour. Accordingly, the rejection by other Christians was intensified. In the period of the Korean War, pentecostalism continued to grow even though it suffered by dispersion and martyrdom.

Fourth, when we compare the Korean pentecostalism of these three periods with one another, we find the roles of women, both foreign missionaries and Korean lay people, to be an important factor for the growth of Korean pentecostalism. Also we can notice that most leaders of the first and second generation, except Hong Heoh, received their pentecostal faith in Japan through missionaries while they were pursuing success and prosperity there. They were the young elite of Korean society. The rejection by other Christians continued from the pre-war period to the post-war period, except for the war period itself. There are not only continuous phenomena but also discontinuous aspects. The first pentecostal movement was ignited in Seoul by missionary Rumsey while the second one was started by Koreans in the southwestern countryside. While the imperial persecution eventually dispersed the Korean pentecostal church, the Korean War not only failed to hinder its development but also increased its solidarity so that it was able to call conventions and to establish an organization.

Finally, the movement was not so flourishing in this initial period. The reasons for that can be considered from both an internal and an external point of view. Internally, it was neither successful in forming a legitimate organization nor in establishing a training school. Externally, the socio-political situation was unfavourable.

6. Birth, rapid growth, stabilization and integration of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism (1953-1972)

6.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we describe the birth, growth and indigenization of Korean pentecostalism in Korea (*Sunbogeum* pentecostalism) in two decades (1953-1972). The three most important factors that formed *Sunbogeumism* in this period were the support of the American Assemblies of God (missions and theological aspect), the activity of Yonggi Cho (leadership aspect), and the receptivity of Korean religiosity (socio-cultural aspect).

From the time that the armistice between the United Nations and North Korea was signed in July 1953, the South Koreans began to enjoy freedom for the first time in many decades since the Japanese interference (1876). The modernization of Korea began to be realized in the true sense of the word by Koreans themselves. Christianity also began to be fully active for the first time in two centuries since its introduction. Classical pentecostalism in Korea also began to flower at this time, finding the right supporter, the right personality, and the right soil. Since 1961, through military revolution and regime, Korean society has experienced a wide spectrum of changes resulting from rapid industrialization and economic revolution. Such a situation provided Korean pentecostalism with an opportunity to flourish in it.¹

Even though pentecostal theology was introduced through missionaries, it was fully developed by Korean pentecostals in Korean soil. We call this *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism. While American pentecostals planted pentecostalism in Korea through theology, organization, and finances, the Koreans received them and tried to re-produce an 'original pentecostalism' according to Biblical principles.

The topics that we describe in this chapter are as follows: the history of the forming and solidifying of the Korean Assemblies of God; the roles of Americans and Yonggi Cho²; and diffusion of pentecostalism in Korea and the securing of its position among Korean churches. To describe them, we divide this chapter into four parts, following the chronological order: the birth of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism (6.2); Ja-Sil Choe and Yonggi Cho as leaders of the *Sunbogeum* movement (6.3); the rapid growth and stabilization of the *Sunbogeum* movement (6.4); and the integration of the *Sunbogeum* movement (6.5).

The main reference sources for this chapter are the articles of the *Pentecostal Evangel (PE)* of the American Assemblies of God; the *Minutes* of the Korean Assemblies of God General Assembly; *I Was the Halleluja Lady* (1981) by Ja-Sil Choe; letters, interviews; and the three books referred to in the previous chapter.

¹ See 4.3.2.3.

² We describe his mother in law, Ja-Sil Choe, as well because she also played an important role in forming Korean pentecostalism.

6.2. BIRTH OF *SUNBOGEUM* PENTECOSTALISM (1953-1958)

Classical pentecostalism was sown in Korea by women missionaries as well as by early Korean leaders. It was established as a denomination by the support of the American Assemblies of God (1953). But, it became a national movement through the pioneering of a tent church by Yonggi Cho (1958), who played the main role in forming *Sunbogeum* movement. While the designation *Sunbogeum* (Pure Gospel) was adopted for the designation of the theological school at the inaugural general meeting, its spirituality had begun to be formed by Ja-Sil Choe and Yonggi Cho when they were studying at the seminary (1956-1958).

In this section we first deal with the roles of the American Assemblies of God in the formation of Korean pentecostalism because it made a great contribution to its early development. Then the establishment of the Korean Assemblies of God in this early stage will be discussed how it met with trials that were caused by both outer and inner factors. Finally I discuss how *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism was born through Korean way of prayer, American pentecostal campaigns in Korea and the founding of Yonggi Cho's tent church.

6.2.1. *The Role of the American Assemblies of God*

Korean Protestantism is seriously influenced by American missionaries. The same must be said about the Korean Assemblies of God: it was dependent upon the American Assemblies of God in setting up the organization and catching fire in the early pentecostal revival. Because the Korean pentecostal leaders had grown up under Japanese colonialism, it seems that they were not trained to exercise the authority to form a denomination and lead it.³ At the same time the socio-political situation was unfavourable for Koreans to establish it. Therefore, having keenly felt the necessity of an organization, Koreans alone could only have a convention but were not able to set up a denomination as we have already observed in the previous chapter. At this point, the American Assemblies of God committed Arthur B. Chestnut to set up a denomination in Korea. When these two elements (the desire and the authority) met, the Korean Assemblies of God was born. The roles of Americans in forming it are apparent in two ways. The first was the various missionaries that were believed to have been called by God to Korea and the other was its authoritative support.

We first introduce the early missionaries. Mary Rumsey is known as a person who was called by God, as we have already observed in chapter 5. The story of the first missionary, Arthur B. Chestnut, is as follows. He once prayed to God when he was in the Bible school in Seattle that "he would go where no one else wanted to go and he wanted to have ability to love the unlovely and to go on until the least person of the last house in the smallest hamlet ..."⁴ Later, he worked in Hawaii and Japan each for several years and finally he was called to Korea (see 5.5.4.3). The second

³ Japan Assemblies of God, *30 Years History of Japan Assemblies of God*, Tokyo, 1979, pp.44-45. In the Japanese case, when they formed the denomination in 1949, the chairman (general superintendent) and the two members of the board of directors were all Japanese. American missionaries were only selected for the members of the representative committee.

⁴ Arthur B. Chestnut, *Put ... Shoes on His Foot*, Tulsa, OK, 1989, p.34.

missionary of the American Assemblies of God, John Stetz, reported in a different way. He was a soldier in World War II. His last three years in the army were spent on the Marianas Islands about 2000 km southeast of Korea. Stetz received permission to preach to 3,000 Koreans (men, women and children) who had been brought there by the Japanese as plantation farmers. About 40 Korean Christians attended. He began to love these Koreans much and they loved him. After the war, all were to leave the island. Stetz wrote how God called him at that time:

Several asked me to go to Korea to be a missionary. I answered through the interpreter that if it were the will of God, I would gladly go to Korea. Then the last person to bid me farewell was an old grandmother, perhaps about 70 or 75. She took my hand that I stretched out to shake hands and kissed it with tears trickling down her cheeks, she begged me to go to Korea as a missionary. I was about to call the interpreter to explain to her as he did to the others, when the Holy Spirit came over me ... like holy anointing oil from head to foot. So without waiting for the interpreter to come, I said in broken Korean, "I go *Choseon* (Korea)." She understood and there appeared a big smile on her face.⁵

Missionary evangelist Louis P. Richards wrote that he and his wife were called by God to go to South Korea in November 1953. They soon entered Korea and worked for four years as faith missionaries⁶ before they were appointed as denominational missionaries by the American Assemblies of God.⁷ John Hurston said that he was called by God to Korea as he accompanied Ralph Byrd in carrying out evangelistic campaigns in 1958. During that time, he became greatly burdened for the evangelization of Korean large cities.⁸ Except for these pioneering missionaries, there was no specific calling by God to Korean pentecostal missions.

The systematic support of the American Assemblies of God began when it sent its missionaries to Korea. Stetz formulated its purpose and scope as follows: "The Assemblies of God officially began to establish a mission work in Korea in 1952 to help the Korean people financially, socially, and spiritually."⁹

The primary contribution of these Americans to the development of Korean pentecostalism can be summarized as follows. First, it confirmed pentecostal faith through authoritative organization and theology. This was accomplished by helping in setting up the Korean denomination and the theological school. Second, it established and maintained friendly relations between American pentecostals and Korean pentecostals. Its missionaries introduced Korean situations to Americans and asked them for help with prayer and material aid. At the same time they reported the result in Korea to them. Third, it held evangelization campaigns and started new churches through the missionaries. Tent meetings and literature distribution were used as their good means. Fourth, it took advantage of the contemporary Korean

⁵ John Stetz, "History of the Korea Assemblies of God." A brochure, 1974, p.3.

⁶ Faith missionary means that that a missionary goes to missions by faith differently from those missionaries who are sent by mission organizations. It is a similar word to private missionary.

⁷ Louis P. Richards, letter to AAOG (9. 6. 1974/ AAOG archives).

⁸ KAOG, *30 Years ...*, pp.132-133. Yonggi Cho was mostly influenced by these two (Richards and Hurston).

⁹ Stetz, "Brief Outline of Korean Assemblies of God." A brochure, 1961, p.1.

situation. For example, it sent relief goods,¹⁰ founded orphanages, opened the ministry to the deaf, used the building materials of the ‘Armed Forces Aid to Korea’ (AFAK) to construct the church buildings, and brought the Gospel to the American soldiers in Korea. Even ‘being American’ was an important means of doing anything at that time because Americans were generally accepted as patrons of Korea. The enthusiastic pentecostal missionaries took advantage of this situation. In this period Chestnut, the Stetz family (1954), Richard L. Johnston and his family (1957), and the Peterson family (1958) were sent to Korea. However, Chestnut left Korea in 1955.

6.2.2. Inaugural General Meeting (1953)

The Korean pentecostal leaders had a strong desire to have their own national organization like other denominations. But some leaders took a cautious attitude towards establishing an organization because the pentecostals would only follow the guidance of the Holy Spirit. These people were afraid of forming a ‘human organization.’ Nevertheless, necessity held the upper hand. There was a purpose in having it. First, they could have united power. Second, they could be better accepted by other churches through the official doctrine and the organization. Finally, they could have legitimate help from the American denomination as well as from the relief goods.

Chestnut arranged the inaugural general meeting. On the 8th April 1953 Chestnut, seven Korean leaders (Hong Heoh, Seong-San Park, Bu-Geun Bae, Bong-Jo Kwak, Seong-Deok Yun, Seong-Hwan Kim, and Mrs. Gui-Im Park), and four laymen¹¹ gathered at Hong Heoh’s house in Yongsan, Seoul. The agenda of that day was as follows. At ten o’clock Chestnut opened the meeting while Heoh interpreted.

First, the constitution and by-laws were easily adopted because they were adapted from the American ones. Chestnut wrote that it did not take any effort to read the suggested constitution and by-laws. There was little discussion on anything.¹² They also easily decided the designation of the denomination as the Holy Assembly of Great *Han* Christian Church (기독교 대한 하나님의 성회: *Gidoggyo Daehan Hananimui Seonghoe*), which is the translation of the Korean Assemblies of God. The first two words (*Gidoggyo Daehan*) only represent the ‘Christian Church of Korea’ as other denominations do while the latter two words (*Hananimui Seonghoe*), which means the Holy Assembly of God, stand for the character of the denomination. To translate ‘the Assemblies of God’¹³ into Korean

¹⁰ There were three sources of relief goods in Korea in relation to the war. The first was the ‘Korean Civil Assistance Corporation’ (KCAC) which was organized by the government. The second was the AFAK which was run by the military. The third was the offering of the AAOG people.

¹¹ Sang-Pil Kim, Du-Nyeon Kim, Sang-Yeol Yun, and Mrs. Mae-Ja Kim.

¹² Chestnut, *ibid.*, pp.124-125.

¹³ ITI, ed., *Church History of Korea Assemblies of God*, Seoul, 1993, pp.101-102. In 1914, as the first pentecostals met together to organize a denomination at Hot Springs, America, there was a long discussion about its designation. There were enough suggestions like Church of God, Church of God in Christ, Apostolic Faith Mission, Full Gospel Pentecostal Mission, Assemblies of Faith etc.. At last Assemblies of God was adopted according to the verse of Hebrew 12:23. Later they discussed the designation because it was an unfamiliar name for Christianity. Nevertheless, it was accepted as the most adequate one for the pentecostals.

in the best way, Chestnut and Heoh had already prayed and discussed it two days before the gathering and decided to adopt the ‘*Hananim*’s Holy Assembly.’ At first Chestnut suggested translating it as God-called Assembly [신소회: *Shin So Hoe*, in Chinese reading, *Shen Chao Huei*], which was translated into Chinese in 1918 by the American Assemblies of God missionary in China, W. W. Simpson, and was used until then. But Heoh insisted upon the using of *Hananim* to translate God into Korean. Jong-Ho Byeon claims this designation to be one of the best designations of religious organizations because the Korean monotheistic word *Hananim* is better than *Shin* (God, god, or any spiritual being) and ‘the Holy Assembly of God,’ which denotes ecumenical and Spiritual character, is better than Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and so on.¹⁴

Second, they elected the executive members. Chestnut was elected as the superintendent and Heoh as the secretary-treasurer. Seong-San Park, Chestnut, and Heoh were elected as members of the standing executive committee. It was not Chestnut’s intention to be the head of the national body. He was taught and believed that placing a foreign missionary in charge of national Christians was not the way to produce indigenous leadership. When he was in Japan, he helped the Japanese Assemblies of God to be organized in 1949. There, the chairman (general superintendent) and two other members of the board of directors (secretary and treasurer) were all chosen from among the Japanese. Four American missionaries only were selected for the fourteen members of the representative committee. Missionaries were helpers and did not play the leading part. The situation in Korea was different. Chestnut was a prophetic man and he sensed the uneasiness at that time. Even when he objected positively, the Korean leaders unanimously elected him. He wrote: “This was not a healthy sign, and I knew it, but the die was cast; it had to be the will of the Lord.”¹⁵ Missionary Stetz, who was the superintendent of the Korean denomination twice, argued for it. Judging from what the missionaries said, the Korean leaders did not want to give the leading position to fellow Koreans because of their jealousies. This matter indirectly had an effect on the first schism in the future.¹⁶

Third, they decided to set up a theological seminary to train ministers. Chestnut explained that the U.S.A. could provide finances for it. In cooperation with others,

¹⁴ Jong-Ho Byeon, *The History of Korean Pentecostal Movement*, Seoul, 1972, pp.108-109. God can be translated into Korean *Shin* (신: 神) which means all kinds of spiritual beings. But *Hananim* only means the *Jahweh* of Christian God. We discussed this at 3.2.1.

¹⁵ Chestnut, letter (16.10.1995). He thought that because Korean leaders held each other in check, the only missionary was to be the leader of the movement; but we find another reason for it: the untrained and unauthoritative Korean leaders who had grown up under colonialism might be uneasy about leading it above the missionaries.

¹⁶ John Stetz, international telephone interview (2.3.1998). Dong-Uk Im, telephone interview in Seoul (5.2.1998). Im also testified to it saying that Seong-San Park, who had been the leader of the movement, was to be the superintendent, but Hong Heoh, who was close to the missionaries through his knowledge of English, wished to occupy the position and Park conceded it to Heoh. If it were the case, it might be the years of 1942 and 1955. Im heard it from the brother-in-law of Park, he said; Hun-Ha Cho, interview at Suncheon (17.1.1998). Cho said Seong-San Park introduced Mun-Hui Yu, who was the husband of Park’s sister and could speak English well, so that he could also be the interpreter for the missionaries. Then Heoh lost his privilege of being the sole interpreter. Consequently, friction between Park and Heoh broke out, he said.

he decided that the institute would be a theological seminary instead of a Bible school. Further, Chestnut was appointed as the president and Heoh as the dean.

The articles of faith adopted at the Inaugural General Meeting were taken from those of the American Assemblies of God. They were a summary with ten items as follows:

1. We believe the Bible was inspired by God and it is the absolute and authoritative word of God without fallacy.
2. We believe in one Trinitarian God.
3. We believe in the divinity, virgin birth, sinless life, performing miracles, victorious substitutional death, and bodily resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ. We also believe in his sitting at the right side of God and coming again in power and glory to rule the world for the millennium.
4. We have blessed hope that the church will be raptured when He returns and appears in the air.
5. We believe the unique way of washing sins through believing in the blood of Jesus and repentance.
6. We believe that rebirth through the Holy Spirit is the absolute element in personal salvation.
7. We believe that God heals the diseases of the flesh through the prayer of the saints who believe in the redemption of the cross.
8. We believe that the baptism of the Holy Spirit according to the Acts 2:4 will be given to all the believers who ask for it.
9. We believe that we can carry on holy lives through the power of the Holy Spirit who dwells in us.
10. We believe that the saved will be resurrected to the eternal life and the unsaved will also be resurrected but to the eternal punishment.¹⁷

From the time when the denomination was set up, Korean Christians began to be aware of a pentecostal denomination in Korea. This denomination started with eight churches with about 500 members. In this way it was organized when the conflict with North Korea had not yet come to an end.

6.2.3. *Establishment of the Theological Institute (1953)*

Because only Chestnut had a degree of the American Bible College and teaching experience at a college in Japan, the school started by being dependent on him even though Korean leaders participated in teaching the students. It was a two year-

¹⁷ Jong-Ho Byeon, *ibid.*, pp.108-111. The articles number seven and eight only show pentecostal flavour and others are similar to those of evangelicals. It is also noteworthy that the initial sign of baptism in the Spirit was not mentioned; A Research Institution of Full Gospel Education, *The Church History of the Assemblies of God*, Seoul, 1987, pp.54-60. AAOG established the basic statement of fundamental truths through the committee of denominational articles of faith in 1916. The main theological statements were: the faith in the trinity; to follow the lineage of Arminian grace and free will; to adopt two sacraments, those of adult immersion and holy communion; to follow the concept of gradual sanctification; to support the concept of premillennialism. The problem of speaking in tongues was a main debate at that time. Especially, the initial sign of the baptism with the Spirit was an issue.

programme. The entrance qualification for the regular course was high school graduation.¹⁸ The short-term course was also set up for those who had already experience in ministry. These would be sent out to ministry after one semester. The school was opened at Heoh's house with seven students (10.5.1953).

The Field Secretary of the Far East, missionary Maynard L. Ketcham, described the school as follows:

At this time the school was far from being a 'sophisticated' institution. It reflected the spirit of the times, for South Korea was still reeling from the blows of bitter warfare. Buildings were demolished, the economy was stagnated, communications were blasted. There was disorganization and poverty on all sides ... The school had only temporary quarters. Students lived on relief food and studied in makeshift classrooms, but the school had something positive to offer: rugged self-reliance, spiritual fervour, the firm conviction that Pentecost was the answer to all of Korea's needs.¹⁹

For two years, the early students only learned the Bible. They did not even learn English.²⁰ It was because the leaders not only emphasized the Full Gospel, but also the school could not furnish qualified teachers.

After one semester at Heoh's house, the Americans helped to prepare about 1,300 square metres of land with two houses near West Gate and moved to that place in August 1953 (armistice in July). When graduation was near, students used to pray all night for further guidance. This school produced seven graduates in 1955 (five men and two women). It had 33 new students even though seven of these finished the entire programme because of the schism of the denomination (1957). As Stetz became the director of the seminary (1955), he asked the students to memorize the Bible verses.

There was a discussion about the name of the school at the inaugural general meeting. As the designation of the Korean denomination was the translation from the American 'Assemblies of God,' it was to be translated from 'Full Gospel Theological Seminary' into Korean. They decided to translate it into Korean as *Sunbogeum Shinhakgyo*, which literally means 'Pure Gospel Theological Seminary.' Hong Heoh advocated this saying, "Because there is 'another Gospel' (Gal. 1:8), let us only preach the pure Gospel."²¹ That was also the official birth of the designation *Sunbogeum* for Korean pentecostalism (cf.6.2.7; 6.2.9).

6.2.4. General Developments in the Early Stage (1953-1958)

We shall sketch the situation of congregations, of healings, of the seminary and the missionaries in this period. Having had 28 congregations in 1954 and no less than 44 congregations in 1955, through the disorders and schism of 1956 and 1957, the number of congregations decreased. Because there is no record about the year 1957 in Korean sources, we only refer to Stetz's information: six (or seven) out of some 30 congregations followed Heoh. In July of 1958, during the general assembly, the

¹⁸ Ja-Sil Choe, *I Was the Halleluja Lady*, Seoul, p.131. The students took exams in English, Korean language, the Bible, and general knowledge.

¹⁹ M. L. Ketcham, *PE* (12. 4. 1964).

²⁰ Yo-Yeol Choe, interview (20. 1. 1995).

²¹ *ibid.*

statistics of the denomination were reported: 37 congregations, 162 deacons, 956 baptized members, 716 Spirit-baptized members, 1,584 adult members, and 2,867 Sunday school children.²² The average size of the congregations in 1958 was about 43 adults. The number of the pastors, together with co-pastors, developed as follows: 7 (1953), 8 (1954), 23 (1955), and 32 (1956).

News of miraculous healings was reported in this period. John Stetz had already reported miracles, signs, and wonders in Korea in December 1954. He described how ten miraculous healings, a prophecy, and a vision were manifested in Mokpo area by indigenous workers in the Korean Assemblies of God.²³ Missionary Evangelist Louis P. Richards, who was called to Korea at the end of 1953 and worked near Busan area for fourteen years, also mentioned numerous testimonies of healing. One example of them was Yonggi Cho.²⁴ But the news of such miracles had still been confined within the denominational and regional boundaries, and not made known to the general public. The healing ministry through the campaign of Harold C. Herman (1902-....) in Seoul in October 1957 began to awake the public interest (see 6.2.8).

The seminary produced a total of 32 graduates until 1957. It changed to a three year-programme from 1957. In March 1958, nineteen finished the two years' study course and most of them began to pioneer new congregations. Ja-Sil Choe and Yonggi Cho were among them and they started a tent church in the northwest suburbs of Seoul in May of this year. This tent church was the real start of *Sunbogeum* congregation in Korea (see 6.4.2).

Only two American Assemblies of God missionary families were stationed in Korea until the summer of 1958 (the Stetz family and the Johnstons) and one more family, that of Louis P. Richards, who had been privately evangelizing since 1954 in Busan area, were also appointed as missionary family in September of the same year.

6.2.5. *Relations with Other Churches (1953-1958)*

After the Korean War, the churches in South Korea especially met with confusion (schisms) as well as foundations of new churches and congregations. In such a context, Korean pentecostalism was able to expand without heavy opposition from other churches.

Several points need to be considered regarding the Korean Church in this period and the conditions to be tolerant of pentecostalism. First, the schisms of the established churches caused them to be absorbed in their own internal matters. Especially, the schisms of the Presbyterian Church in 1952 (Kosin), 1953 (Kijang) and the Methodist Church in 1954 hindered the churches involved from engaging in theological matters of other denominations. Second, various kinds of foreign

²² KAOG, *Minutes* (1958, 1959). In 1959, it is reported "2,300 members, which indicates that 616 members were added in one year." If we take the 1959 record as correct, the number of 1958 should be 1,684 rather than 1,584.

²³ Stetz, "Miracles, Signs, and Wonders in Korea," in *PE* (26. 12. 1954). See 5.4.1.2.

²⁴ Louis P. Richards, "Pioneer Evangelism in Korea," in *PE* (26. 6. 1960). idem, letter to AAOG (9. 6. 1974).

denominational churches²⁵ entered after the Korean War. The Korean Assemblies of God was a part of this process. Third, thousands of northern Christians, who came down during the north-south conflicts, pioneered congregations wherever they settled down. In such a situation, the founding of new pentecostal congregations was not entirely excessive. Fourth, during the Korean War some traditional ways of thinking were destroyed and people were ready to receive new ideas as well as God's blessing. Pentecostalism was a suitable faith form for Korean spirituality in such a situation. Fifth, the indigenous Christian spiritual movements appeared on the scene at this time: Un-Mong Na from 1952, Seon-Myeong Moon in 1954, and Tae-Seon Park in 1955. The two latter groups were soon exposed as dangerous heretics, but Na's campaigns, which were accompanied by pentecostal phenomena like tongues and healings, paved the way for other churches to touch the approaching *Sunbogeum* movement, even though Na's prayer house was deep in the Yongmun Mountain and his theologically untrained exegeses aroused the suspicion of the Korean Church. Sixth, the establishment of the denomination and the theological seminary of the Korean Assemblies of God, that were helped and led by American missionaries, made other churches officially accept it. Furthermore, enthusiastic Christianity, which was indispensable for satisfied Korean Christians, was not theologically presented to the Korean Christians by already-rampant sectarians or even by Na. Therefore, those who had been searching for the right interpretation and exercise of the gifts of the Holy Spirit found the answer with the Assemblies of God. Then the shift of Christians, from other churches to the pentecostal church, began. It had already happened in the persons of pastors or leaders at the beginning of the introductory stage of pentecostalism which we shall observe in following subsection, but at this stage, laymen also began to move from the other churches to the pentecostal church. The pentecostal evangelization campaigns, which were held by American evangelists from 1957, greatly contributed to this.

In short, pentecostalism in Korea was officially accepted by other churches from the time that it established its organization. For example, the leading evangelist of the Holiness Church, Seong-Bong Lee, recommended Ja-Sil Choe to enter *Sunbogeum* theological seminary and study in 1956, saying, "I am for speaking in other tongues because it is written in the Bible. However, the Holiness seminary does not accept it yet. Go to the Assemblies of God seminary."²⁶ However, this does not mean that there were no insulting remarks made by some leaders or Christians of other churches about pentecostal Christians or congregations. Such phenomena as personal comments will never end.

6.2.6. *Internal Problems in the Early Stage (1953-1958)*

When the denomination was formed by all the pentecostal people under the American leadership, it only became a technical union but not an organic whole. It was to be put to the test and purified to try the strength of the movement. At the same time, the spiritual atmosphere of the 1950s in Korea when the denomination

²⁵ Gyomunsa, ed., *100 Years Korean Churches' Growth*, Seoul, 1986/ 2ed., 1993, pp.199-200. The Bible Baptist Church in 1956, The Assemblies of God in 1953, The Lutheran Church, and The Church of the Nazarene in 1954 etc.

²⁶ Ja-Sil Choe, *ibid.*, p.130.

was formed was complicated. The armistice in July 1953 between North Korea and the United Nations brought Korean Christianity freedom and revival as well as confusion. The split of other churches, the rise of the heretics, the random pioneering of congregations by the refugees from North Korea and the huge financial support from foreign missionary societies for the restoration of Korean churches contributed to forming a chaotic spiritual atmosphere.²⁷ Accordingly, the new organization was confronted with the problems of disorder and schism.

We can point out four aspects that caused the problems. First, the people who joined the new organization for their own benefit outside the pentecostal movement caused problems (6.2.6.1). Second, the early pentecostal core leaders were trained by three different instances (6.2.6.2; cf. 5.3.2; 5.5.2). Third, there was theological disagreement among them (6.2.6.2). Fourth, the jealousy of some leaders caused disorder and schism (6.2.6.3).

Three events took place consecutively. The starting-point was the entrance and departure of some pastors who belonged to other denominations. Then followed the separation of Bong-Jo Kwak and eventually his companions began to become alienated from the movement. Next the minor schism followed. Hong Heoh and his associates left the denomination. It was the nuclear split of the Korean Assemblies of God.

6.2.6.1. Open Structure (1953-1957)

When the organization was set up with eight churches with the support of American missionaries, it was not only attractive to those who were seeking benefits in a new organization, but also it was open to anybody who confessed to be a pentecostal. Such a situation resulted in both rapid growth and the problem of the denomination through entry from other denominations. In 1954, the Korean Assemblies of God decided on a principle as to how the denomination should support the pioneering pastors from the foreign mission funds. For the first year, 100 % of the founding expenses of a congregation would be supported. Then, the support would be reduced at the rate of 20 % of the annual costs so that the congregation should be free from support from the sixth year. It should have been a good opportunity for those pastors who were seeking such foreign funds. We read in the minutes that eight new members joined at the third general assembly (25.8.1954) without recording the names. Considering that the seminary had not produced any graduates yet, we know these eight leaders entered from other denominations. Some of them were presumably those who caused problems by leaving the denomination with the property later. Anyhow, the number of the congregations rapidly increased: in August 1954, 28 congregations; and at the end of 1955, no less than 44 congregations.²⁸ When we consider that the seminary produced five graduates for the first time in March 1955, the fast growth of the number of the congregations did not only indicate a beneficial future. Even though it did not directly cause the schism, it brought a confused atmosphere into the organization. Missionary Stetz wrote about this matter as follows:

²⁷ Yung Jae Kim, *A History of Korean Church*, Seoul, 1992, pp.248-271, passim.

²⁸ ITI, *ibid.*, p.168.

The reason for such a rapid growth was that many pastors from other organizations were disgruntled and were looking for an opportunity to join some new organization in order to get an important position, a good salary or have the new organization build a new church for them. Some of them who said that they were Pentecostal did not know what the word meant. It was these ministers from other organizations who caused so much trouble. Because the missionaries believed them and trusted them, they took advantage of that and over and over again they deceived the missionaries. They sold truckloads of relief foods and clothing that the Mission received from America ... So because of such practices most of those pastors from other organizations were dismissed from the Korean Assemblies of God.²⁹

Two kinds of pastors entered from other denominations. One was the group of people who sought the pentecostal denomination because of their theological conviction. They remained and contributed to the denomination. Sang-Ho Kim was one example of this. Another group was the kind of people that Stetz described.³⁰

Sang-Ho Kim, who worked in the denomination a long time and still works at the Osanli Fasting Prayer House, told the same story as Stetz. According to him, the most important reason for their entry into the new organization was that they expected the missionaries to erect their church buildings. Such an expectation was understandable at that time when many relief goods and missions funds were flowing into Korea. When the organization did not satisfy them they departed. Another problem was that because the denomination had not yet founded the juridical person, its property was not registered as belonging to the denomination. When these dissatisfied people left, they took the property, which was donated by the missionaries, with them. Kim took Mun-Dae Kim's case as an example. This man entered the Korea Assemblies of God with six small congregations at Haman-Gun in the southern part of Korea, and helped himself to the relief goods. Later he left with these six churches. Sang-Ho Kim says: "Several were of that sort. Missionaries were shocked at it."³¹

Such difficulties tended to strengthen the seminary because hope was placed in the students who would be trained by the Assemblies of God teachers. Another effect of it was to make the denomination hurry up to set up a juridical person. When the juridical person of the denomination was established (October 1957) such problems ended.

6.2.6.2. *Doctrinal Disagreement and Bong-Jo Kwak (1956)*

Not only was the organization an open structure in relation to the other denominations, but also the internal structure was not solidified. A more difficult problem was that there was not entire unity among the foundation members. As we have already observed in a previous chapter, there were three backgrounds that produced the foundation members: Hong Heoh from Rumsey; Seong-San Park and Bu-Geun Bae from John Juergensen; and Bong-Jo Kwak and others from L. W.

²⁹ Stetz, "History ...," p.4. He wrote that one pastor used the money intended for the orphans to invest in business while the orphans starved. He said, the number of churches of KAOG increased from 6 (actually 8) to 21 from 1953 to 1954 most through those joining.

³⁰ KAOG, *Minutes* (7. 10. 1953). The general assembly provided provisions that any pastor who wanted to join it from other denominations had to endorse its dogma and constitution.

³¹ Sang-Ho Kim, interview (27. 2. 1996).

Coote. When they joined together to set up the organization under American support, there was apparent solidarity until there was the momentum for a tense situation.³² Then the dissension was exposed. Bong-Jo Kwak was the first to leave the organization in the early part of 1956.³³ The official ground for Kwak's separation was related to the Jesus Only Doctrine. But we cannot exclude the facts subtly linked with jealousy among the leaders.

We begin with observing the problem of doctrinal disagreement. As we have already stated (5.3.3.4), Kwak and some other Korean leaders were trained by the private pentecostal missionary in Japan, Leonard W. Coote. Because this person claimed to just follow the Biblical teaching without systematic theological training, he advocated baptism in the name of Jesus Christ according to the Acts 2:38.³⁴ This teaching was transmitted to his Korean students with Kwak as the central figure. This discrepancy was already exposed when they held the fourth convention at Gwangju in October 1953. At its conclusion, a water baptism had been planned. About 250, half of the total present, wanted to be baptized. Korean pastors asked missionary Chestnut to conduct the ceremony. He wondered why so many people remained without baptism. Then he found out that there were two reasons for it. One was that Heoh was physically too weak to carry it out.³⁵ But the real reason was that the leaders "did not know what they should do or say."³⁶ It is probable that Korean leaders postponed the baptismal ceremony because they sensed the different ideas they had had about it since they met together in 1950. Then Chestnut explained to the leaders how the service should be carried out. But Kwak disagreed and tried hard to have the baptism performed his way, only in the name of Jesus Christ. Chestnut, as the superintendent, tried to show him the Biblical truth, but Kwak could not grasp this idea at that time.

Kwak taught the seminary students of the first (1955) and second (1956) graduation years. As an intellectual man he was the main lecturer and was in charge of selecting the teachers as well. He taught the following subjects: the Revelation of John, the Epistle to the Romans, and systematic theology. Then the baptismal issue again broke out as he was teaching Romans. He was accused of holding a different opinion about baptism, which he interpreted from Romans six. He relates the story as follows:

When I was managing the seminary and working with Chestnut, one pastor did not want to work with me because baptism in the name of Jesus Christ meant I did not believe in the Trinity. This became an issue and there was a split into two parties.³⁷

³² Chestnut, *ibid.*, p.125. Chestnut, who was the leader of the inaugural general meeting wrote: "There were some 'bugs' in this body that had to show themselves, which they did in time. Some in a few months, and others a few years later."

³³ The date is not confirmed. He left during the latter part of 1955 and the early part of 1956.

³⁴ Bong-Jo Kwak, letter (n.d., 1996); In the Acts, baptism was actually carried out in the name of Jesus Christ instead of in the name of the trinity (Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5).

³⁵ Heoh always was very weak. He had already asked Chestnut to conduct the ceremony for his congregation at Yongsan and Chestnut carried it out.

³⁶ Chestnut, *ibid.*, pp.107-110.

³⁷ Kwak, letter (n.d., 1996).

Kwak was forced by the denomination to desist from this wrong teaching. Instead of giving up his conviction, he resigned from his lectureship and the organization. Then his old associates from Osaka began to keep away from the denomination and at last they also left. It was not a schism. However, it disclosed the internal separation in the leadership. Kwak's views on baptismal doctrine were as follows. First, while Jesus commanded His disciples to baptize in the name of the Trinity (Matt. 28:19), His disciples actually baptized in the name of Jesus Christ in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 2:38, 8:16, 10:48, 19:5). Second, it was because when the designation 'God or *Jahweh*' alone was mentioned in the Old Testament it jointly designated the Trinitarian God (three persons), and in the same manner 'the Lord Jesus Christ' in the New Testament jointly designated the Trinitarian God (three persons): the Lord is related to God; Jesus is the person Jesus; and Christ is related to the Holy Spirit. Consequently, he argued that baptism in the name of Jesus Christ was identical with baptism in the name of Trinity. The first point is noteworthy. But the second point had to be an issue. He believed that *Jahweh* of the Old Testament can be substituted for Jesus Christ of the New Testament because both revealed the Trinitarian God collectively. Therefore he wrote: "Jesus Christ is the name of the Trinity." He preferred this formulation instead of saying the Trinitarian God is revealed through (in) Jesus. But except for this obscurity in the baptismal matter he followed the orthodox Trinitarian doctrine.³⁸

Kwak's resignation could also be explained by jealousy.³⁹ According to this interpretation, because he was an excellent teacher and was favourably received by the students, an unpopular lecturer accused him of this baptismal issue, which was only used as a pretext. It is most probable that the students went on strike (1956) for reasons connected with the appointment or dismissal of teachers.⁴⁰ Kwak's resignation and the students strike "was the prelude of the schism" even though Kwak left quietly.

Having served a church in a village for some time, Kwak established the Far East Apostolic Missions and a Biblical Theological Seminary in Daejeon in 1958. He invited Leonard W. Coote, who had been running the International Bible College in Texas since 1944, to set up the new organization. Kwak became the superintendent of this denomination. Coote visited him once in a while and sent several missionaries from America. His old associates from Japan, Song-Dok Yun, Seng-Hwan

³⁸ idem, *The Trinity*, Pasadena, CA, 1990. idem, *Pentecostal Truth (Pneumatology)*, Los Angeles, 1970/2 ed., 1991; Gyo-Min Soh, telephone interview (13. 6. 1997). Soh, who is the son-in-law of Kwak, asserted that Kwak believed the doctrine of Trinity; "Oneness Pentecostalism," in *DPCM*, pp.644-651. Anyhow, Kwak's idea was close to the view of Oneness pentecostalism.

³⁹ Gyo-Min Soh, international telephone interview to California (13. 6. 1997).

⁴⁰ Though the author called several pastors who studied at the seminary around that time, they did not know the details; Gyo-Min Soh, *ibid.* Soh insists the view that Kwak did not leave the denomination because of the doctrinal issue but because of jealousy of a fellow lecturer; John Stetz, international telephone interview to Cucamonga, California (7. 6. 1999). According to Stetz, who was the director of the seminary at that time, the students' demonstration was related to the problem of Bu-Geun Bae's lectureship at the seminary. As Stetz asked Bae to go down to Daegu for pastoring instead of keeping his teaching position at the seminary (he said Bae was not befitting his position as a teacher). Hong Heoh, who had been close to Bae, opposed it. Then, some students, who had been instigated by Heoh on this matter, went on strike; Stetz and Soh had different versions of this matter. When we put the two versions together, we can come to the conclusion that the strike was related to the lectureship of the seminary together with a certain disharmony of the leadership of the denomination.

Kim, and Gil-Yun Kim became estranged from the denomination little by little even though they remained.⁴¹

6.2.6.3. *Schism and Hong Heoh (1956-1957)*

We briefly sketch the development of the denomination so that we may better understand the background of this schism. The denomination was formed in April 1953 with eight congregations. In October of this year, it had nine congregations with 527 members. It also had a greater number of Sunday school children than of adults. At the same time, nine other non-member pentecostal congregations were opened with about 390 adults and many more children.⁴² The permanent missionary, John Stetz, and his family entered in the early part of 1954. In the period of 1954 and 1955, there was external growth of Korean pentecostalism as congregations from outside the denomination joined (6.2.6.1). Chestnut, who was single, left Korea in the summer of 1955 because Stetz had taken over his task. Then, around the latter part of 1955, the problem began to be exposed. Bong-Jo Kwak seceded, then around the time of Kwak's departure the second year students went on strike. There soon followed a great loss to the movement: Song-San Park, who had always been the leader of the movement, unexpectedly passed away in March 1956.⁴³ Therefore, the centripetal force of the denomination began to be shaken. The month thereafter, Heoh, who was the only existing Korean leader, was elected as superintendent of the denomination at the extraordinary general assembly (26.4. 1956).⁴⁴ It also established three districts (Gyeongchung, Yeongnam, and Honam) in South Korea. However, this new formation under Heoh's leadership was unstable, as we see from the fact that next year schism followed. Mun-Dae Kim's case of leaving denomination with his congregations (6.2.6.1) occurred in the period of Heoh's leadership.

The *Minutes* of the general assembly omitted the record of the sixth assembly (1957). In this year, Heoh left the denomination with six (or seven) congregations that followed him out of some 30 congregations at that time. His *Nambu* congregation and one part of the congregations in the southwest area (Jeolla-Do) joined this new group. Because the second pentecostal revival (5.5) took place in that area,

⁴¹ Gyo-Min Soh, intern. telephone interview (13. 6. 1997); Mrs. Soh, intern. telephone interview (6. 6. 1997); Mrs. Kwak, intern. telephone interview (13. 6. 1997). Kwak led the denomination and the Bible school about ten years. Around 1968 it scattered. It is not clear if Seong-Deok Yun, Seong-Hwan Kim, and Gil-Yun Kim all took part in the establishing of the organization. Officially they stayed in the KAOG, but not their heart. However, it may be correct when we say that they all helped each other. Mrs. Soh says that because a missionary sold off the property, the organization was dispersed and the leaders and the churches re-joined other organizations. Kwak and his friends did not return to KAOG while their next generations became KAOG members or pastors; if the leaders had tried to understand each other with patience, they might have avoided the separation. Because Kwak believed in the Trinitarian doctrine, he was ready to baptize in the name of Trinity if it was really needed, said Soh, his son-in-law. Today, the College in Texas corresponds with AAOG.

⁴² KAOG, *Minutes* (1953). Some congregations did not report the number of Sunday school children. But the photos of the early congregations clearly show that far more children than adults gathered in the early days.

⁴³ He was not sick. Having given hospitable treatment to the fellow pastors who were in the countryside, he stayed in bed for three days and died (Jeong-Suk Park, his sister). It is probable that he had suffered under the difficult situation of the denomination.

⁴⁴ Stetz, *ibid.* Stetz confirmed again that the early Korean leaders did not recommend any Korean to be their superintendent on account of jealousy, especially between Seong-San Park and Hong Heoh.

it was a great blow to the Assemblies of God. There was great confusion in that area for a time. The *Suncheon* congregation, which had been the leader of the movement, was split into two congregations. The main line followed Heoh (*Suncheon* Pentecostal Church) and it still remains as one of the leading opposition congregations that stay outside unification. The woman evangelist Gui-Im Park sided with Heoh as well. He re-organized the *Daehan* Pentecostal Church (the same designation as the previous one) and became the leader of the denomination. This organization also set up a theological seminary. This was the minor schism of the denomination.

The schism proceeded as follows. The sixth general assembly (March 1957/ the *Minutes* of this year is missing) voted for founding a juridical person to protect the property and also agreed upon its constitution. There must have been a heated controversy over this decision. Some were against it and tried to hinder it.⁴⁵ Then Wan-Sik Lee, who was going to cause another crisis in four years, was employed to carry the matter out. Through Lee's efforts, it was finally established in October 1957 with three initial pieces of property: missionary homes in Seoul, the seminary property, and one church in Seoul. Then the pastors were requested to register their church property in this body. Those who were against its foundation refused. Their leader was Heoh. We may find three possible reasons for this: first, to prevent the head from appropriating all the properties to himself as had happened in other organizations⁴⁶; second, Heoh intended to form his own juridical person; and third, because Heoh was not elected as the superintendent at the general assembly in March.⁴⁷ It seems that his intention was to set up an independent Korean denomination so that Koreans would eventually lead the movement by themselves, separate from American directions. If this were the case, it was a reckless attempt at that time. Striving for independence resulted in separatism.⁴⁸ It also seems that he wanted to be the leader. Yet, there is little doubt that the latter two points were the real reasons for it even though the first point cannot be entirely excluded.⁴⁹ Stetz, who experienced the schism, wrote:

The minor crisis had to do with one of the leading pastors who opposed placing his church property into the newly formed juridical person. This pastor (Heoh: the author) had well formed plans to steal all of the property deeds of some 30 churches and to form his own juridical foundation. This plan was revealed to Brother Stetz who went to the

⁴⁵ Dong-Uk Im, telephone interview in Seoul (5.2.1998).

⁴⁶ Stetz, intern. telephone interview to California (28.2.1998). Stetz says Heoh did not put his property, which had been dedicated to his church, in the juridical person.

⁴⁷ idem, letter (15.1.1995).

⁴⁸ Chestnut, letter (16.10.1995). Even though the first point was the opinion of Chestnut, he also mentioned that Heoh "made six or seven churches into their own body, as he had worked with me and translated the constitution for the KAOG body." It means Heoh had already gathered people around him before the foundation of the juridical person. Stetz, who experienced the schism, plainly told of Heoh's intention to form his own organization.

⁴⁹ Yo-Yeol Choe, interview (20.1.1995). Choe's reference may shed some light on this matter. He gave an example which hinted at the possibility of the first point. Heoh's brother established an orphanage. "Then the missionaries suggested to him that they would support it and asked him to hand it over to them. Then the matter was laid before the court." It seems that some properties were purchased with Korean finances and if they had asked to register these under the new juridical person, there might have been some doubt about the sincerity of the missionaries.

headquarters safe immediately and took out all of the property documents for safe keeping. However, this leading pastor had great influence over some pastors who followed him when he left the Assemblies of God. They in turn formed another pentecostal organization.⁵⁰

Sang-Ho Kim supported this view, explaining it as follows. The American Assemblies of God was pleased to have Heoh as the indigenous superintendent, and, therefore, it invited him to America.⁵¹ Kim said that Heoh fell into temptation after he had visited America. He told Kim that they had warmly received him. Then Kim became aware of the fact that Heoh fostered the idea that he could better manage the organization without missionaries. Kim advised him to honour the missionaries and that such an attitude was even against the public morals. He did not follow this advice and proceeded with his plan, but when it was stopped, he left.⁵² Kim said Heoh failed to take more congregations into his new organization because his documents (juridical person) were handed in one day later than those of the Assemblies of God. Heoh twice wrote to Chestnut, who had left Korea and was already in America, asking him to come back and help him with his new organization. Of course, he did not respond.⁵³

These events dragged on from March till November when Heoh left, which gave both the missionaries and Korean pentecostals a shock. For Koreans, the loss of Heoh was a big disappointment and the denomination was thrown into confusion. Sang-Ho Kim said he even thought that the Korean Assemblies of God would be closed. Because most members did not know the real facts, the confusion was not easily cleared up. Then Korean pentecostals around Kim and missionaries fasted and prayed.

In the same way as the Presbyterian Church passed through its divisions, the infant Korean Assemblies of God also experienced similar difficulties in the period of revival and confusion. But the grounds for this, in contrast to the theological issues of the Presbyterians, seemed to be unjustifiable in Assemblies' case. Missionary Chestnut's view of the problem was that it arose simply from jealousy fostered by self-esteem. He added: "The lack of suffering, with no foreseeable future, developed an unnatural nature."⁵⁴ Now, the Korean Assemblies of God had lost the leadership of its founders and this situation anticipated another crisis which followed in four years.

⁵⁰ Stetz, "History ...," p.5.

⁵¹ The date of his visit may fall in between April 1956 and early part of 1957.

⁵² Sang-Ho Kim, interview (27.2.1996). Heoh had already registered some churches under his name. Chestnut affirmed this as well.

⁵³ Chestnut, letter (16. 10. 1995).

⁵⁴ *ibid.* He gave an example that he experienced in Honolulu. There were fifteen independent pentecostal churches, all with Filipino pastors. "The first 'organizational' meeting soon developed into desiring to elect a chairman. They wanted to have a nominating ballot. At the count of the ballots they had fifteen nominees for that office. Everyone nominated himself or herself, as the case would be. No one would submit themselves to another. No one esteemed another in any way. Now something like that happened in Korea. Personality was in the way of cooperation." ;The early pentecostals, who were filled with visions without yet being disciplined, would fall in such traps.

6.2.7 Formation of Triple Prayer (1956-1958)

While the political situation of the denomination was passing through a hard time, there was developing a spiritual awakening at the *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary which was still located near West Gate in Seoul. This freshness was mainly caused by Ja-Sil Choe and Yonggi Cho. The Koreans at this time were still suffering from poverty, disease, and loneliness after the ravages of the Korean War (1950-1953). The students were not excluded from such a situation. It was a favourable circumstance for religious activity. Accordingly, students regularly preached the Gospel at the Seoul Central Train Station or at Pagoda Park in Seoul as well as prayed fervently. Cho was the leader of actions while Choe was the leader in prayer. The formation of prayer life at this period (September 1956- March 1958)⁵⁵ paved the way for the birth of *Sunbogeumism*.

Even though the designation *Sunbogeum* had been already adopted by the early Korean leaders at the inaugural meeting in 1953 (cf. 6.2.3), its contents (theology) and power (prayer) were developed at the seminary. Other activities that Korean evangelicals always observed like evangelization, Bible study, morning prayer, and tithing were also kept up by the students. But students in this school established a new prayer movement adding to the traditional morning prayer: tongues prayer, overnight prayer, and fasting prayer. This 'triple prayer' was not introduced by the missionaries but originated with Korean students according to their needs. The missionaries did not know much about overnight prayer or fasting prayer. They were more teachers, organizers, administrators, and evangelists than wrestlers with God. *Sunbogeum* cannot be born under such a culture but in the life and death prayer hole. Even though they taught the theory about the baptism in the Spirit, they did not emphasize speaking in other tongues. But the situation of Korean students was urgent. For them, who had no secured help, to pray and have an answer was a matter of life and death. There was formed such a prayer, which became a tradition for the seminarians and the movement. The instigator was Ja-Sil Choe (1915-1989).

From the time that she decided to enter the ministry (April 1956), Choe had to pray time and time again, not to get blessings but to overcome her difficult situation: longing to see her three separated children who were with their father and 'a new mother,' and heartbreaking remorse at her previous unfaithful Christian life of seeking after money. The best tool for this was to pray in tongues. She prayed in tongues on the street, in the street car, or when she was working. Thus, the tongues prayer first started. However, praying in other tongues was soon confronted by the students in the seminary, which was a sign that its atmosphere was more evangelical than pentecostal. Only a few students at the seminary could pray in tongues. Some students gave her a warning not to pray in tongues at the chapel or during the prayer meetings. But she could not give it up. When she stopped it for several days on the students' advice, she was seized with a heavy heart and melancholia and her old

⁵⁵ This period is the time when Ja-Sil Choe and Yonggi Cho studied at the *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary. In this period the triple prayer, which played the main role in characterizing *Sunbogeum* movement, was formed by Ja-Sil Choe.

diseases revived again. She decided to pray in tongues as much as she could regardless of hindrances. Anyhow, the prayer would win.⁵⁶

This opposition contributed to the cause of overnight prayer. When she was a boarding student at the seminary in winter of 1956 she began to pray in tongues through the night in the chapel while the other students were sleeping. She had to choose this time because the students were unhappy to hear her prayer in tongues. Then she found out that through it she freed herself from her unavoidable burdens, so she continued it. Later, other students joined in. Thus overnight prayer was born and the tongues prayer became a tradition in this seminary. In summer 1957 she noticed that most students not only devoted most of their time to learning their subjects but also were not filled in the Holy Spirit. Therefore, she asked the students to go up the Samgak Mountain to pray so that they be baptized in the Spirit. The man leader was Yonggi Cho and the woman leader was Choe. About twenty students cried out to God all night on the mountain and most of them were filled with the Spirit accompanied by the gifts of tongues. The atmosphere of the school changed, as anyone can pray in tongues freely. Now, people expected *Sunbogeum* students pray in tongues. At the same time, prayer life became a central feature of the seminary and one hour of morning prayer at 5 o'clock was not enough. Many used to go up to Samgak Mountain through the night or at weekends to pray.

Fasting prayer soon followed. Once Choe, Cho, and some other students were active all night, trying to drive out evil spirits from a demon-possessed lady. They failed. Then a senior pastor advised them saying, "It is not easy to drive out devils. You need to fast and pray."⁵⁷ Realizing the need for fasting prayer, Choe decided to fast often. She wrote about her resolution as follows:

As people store up treasures, I will fast and pray to store Spiritual power so that I may heal those who are lonely and miserable sick people like epileptics, paralytics, consumptives, demoniacs, unbelievers, and Spiritual cripples whose faith is not in order. I decided to be a person who has the mission to drive away demons with desperate courage and heal all the sick people in spirit and flesh.⁵⁸

From then on she fasted when she found it necessary. Thus fasting prayer was also born in December 1957. Later she called the prayers of tongues, overnight, and fasting 'triple-prayer.' Her intensive way of praying satisfied the needs of Korean religiosity, especially that of Korean women, and paved the way for *Sunbogeum* movement.

6.2.8. *The First and Second Pentecostal Campaigns (1957-1958)*

Beside the prayer movement in the seminary, there was another movement which was to shape *Sunbogeumism* at the front line. It was the tent campaign of American

⁵⁶ Ja-Sil Choe, *ibid.*, pp.139-191. Around the end of 1956 only a few students were praying in tongues besides Ja-Sil Choe. Some students tried to stop Choe's tongues prayer. But she succeeded to ignite the fire of tongues prayer in that seminary. The triple-prayer was introduced by her while Cho promoted it to be a national movement. Because of her age and leadership she could influence the students, especially in spiritual realms.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.190.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

pentecostal evangelists. These two movements (prayer and campaign) developed separately from the hardships of denominational politics during the period of 1957 and 1958. These two movements not only paved the way for the birth of Korean pentecostalism but also they kindled Korean religiosity. Although the previous evangelical revival in Korean church history had already ignited the flame, pentecostalism allowed it to burn more brightly. At the same time, the war-torn society was open to such a strong religious phenomenon. The latent Korean *Han* (resentment) began to be fundamentally solved. While the Pyeongyang revival in 1907 was more a male-related movement, this pentecostal revival in the latter part of 1950s was more linked with female involvement. Ja-Sil Choe's leadership in this movement and the fact that 70 % of Yonggi Cho's *Sunbogeum* congregation was composed of women are indication of this.

The tent campaigns of American pentecostal evangelists were a great success in Korea because it suited the Korean situation at that time: the Full-Gospel message and experience in God corresponded to the traditional *Hananim* faith⁵⁹ and shamanistic Korean religiosity; the message introduced by Americans was welcomed by Koreans who recognized them as privileged people to them; the camp meeting was appropriate to the conditions where military camps were spread over the country and many still lived in refugee shelters; the poverty and the loneliness of many homeless people in a war-torn society led them eagerly to desire blessing from God; and through the war the old traditions, regionalism, and kinship were broken to no small degree so that this situation enabled many Koreans to gain access to the Gospel more freely.⁶⁰

There were four special campaigns supported by the American Assemblies of God. The first two campaigns will be described in this sub-section. The first campaign began in 1957 when the American Assemblies of God sent Evangelist Harold C. Herman (1902-....) in October 1957 to Seoul. It was the first salvation and healing ministry held in Korea by a foreign preacher. He was a typical evangelist. For many years he had been a news and magazine writer and picture editor in Hollywood. During the Second World War he served as press photographic officer on the staff of General D. MacArthur. He filmed the ruins of Hiroshima, the first atom-bombed city. After the war, he had a deep personal experience with God which led him to devote himself to missionary evangelism around the world.⁶¹ The campaign lasted for 24 consecutive days in a huge tent with a seating capacity of 3,000 on straw mats⁶² which was pitched in the most favourable spot, right in front of the Jungang-Cheong (the capitol building). So many souls, that suffered from the damage of war, came in droves. *Sunbogeum* Theological students as well as numbers of other people prayed all night in the tent, to stay until the morning prayer meeting. Later, more people than the tent's capacity were jammed into it. Even though Mun-Hui Yu mainly interpreted his sermon, Yonggi Cho as a second year seminary student, also helped Herman through interpretation of his sermon and prayer for healing.

⁵⁹ See 3.2.1.

⁶⁰ Cf. Chin-Hwan Kim, *The History of Korean Church ...*, 1993, p.217.

⁶¹ Foreign Missions Department (AOG), personal record of missionaries, n.d.

⁶² Herman's campaign in Tokyo was held in a building prepared with chairs. Koreans knelt on mats to pray or slept on the mats to wait for the morning prayer.

The meeting concerned went sluggishly at first. Few people came on the first night. Feeling disappointed, Herman even said, "I should give up this campaign."⁶³ But they prayed for one of those present who was leprous on her back and she was miraculously healed the following day. This news spread and served as an incentive to draw people. More healing miracles were manifested during the campaign. A young man with a withered arm and hand, a deaf deacon, a deaf-mute young man, a stammering young man, a crippled and paralysed woman, and an old grandmother with impaired eyesight were healed.⁶⁴ When these people gave testimonies to those present, their faces were radiant with joy and this kindled the faith of the audience and stimulated them to expect more from God. Herman himself found this impressive. Through Herman's campaign the Korean Assemblies of God and pentecostalism became better known in Korea. American headquarters also had a clearer recognition of the religious potentiality of Koreans. This campaign can be compared to tilling the soil of Korean religiosity with the pentecostal plough. The next campaign was to sow its seed in the cultivated soil. The schism of Hong Heoh in the following month did not blow out the pentecostal flame which had fired the hearts of Koreans.

The second campaign followed in the next year. In July 1958 Pastor Ralph Byrd and Missionary John Hurston were sent to Korea to attend the general assembly of the Korean Assembly of God and to wage campaigns for two months in six strategic cities in Korea including Seoul. Byrd, who was the experienced pastor of the Faith Memorial Church in Atlanta, was the main preacher. At the same time, he held special services in the mornings and sometimes in the afternoons in which the baptism of the Spirit was emphasized. "It was as though heaven came down upon us," missionary Stetz wrote.⁶⁵ Sometimes over 3,000 gathered for the night services. Many came from afar and lived and slept in the tent throughout the campaign. Stetz described the scenes as follows:

The people responded to the 'Hallelujahs' and 'Amens' of the evangelists by repeating the same with up-lifted hands. This became the trade-mark in each place and the evangelists became known all over Korea as the Hallelujah-Amen preachers. People came from many churches along with the unbelievers each night. We truly witnessed of the Holy Spirit. In each city the people quickly united in the pentecostal form of worship by praying and crying out to God with one accord, by lifting up their hands and praising God, and by clapping their hands as they sang such songs as "The Comforter Has Come," "He Abides," and "The Holy Ghost Is on the Move." Presbyterians and Methodists yielded to the Holy Spirit and were baptized. Sometimes a wave of glory would sweep through the big tent and it seemed that nearly everyone was speaking in the Spirit and magnifying God.⁶⁶

The picture of the women's section in the morning prayer service when the baptism of the Holy Spirit was emphasized, shows how hundreds of Korean women in white

⁶³ Sang-Ho Kim, interview (27. 2. 1996).

⁶⁴ Richard Johnston, letter to the Foreign Missions of AAOG (1957); Harold C. Herman, letter to the author (13. 10. 1995).

⁶⁵ Stetz, "Successful Campaign in Korea," in *PE* (14. 9. 1958). Such an expression regarding to Korean Christians by a foreign missionary was first mentioned at the Pyongyang revival.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

robes were agonizing and petitioning for the blessing of God. This scene surely implies that some unique Korean elements meet with those of pentecostalism. It means that pentecostalism finds a point of contact with both the religiosity of Koreans (*Hananim* faith and shamanism) and the long-suffered *Han* (resentment) of Koreans. It was distinctly manifested among women as if *Gangsinmu* (spirit-possessed shaman) and *Han* were dominantly related to woman in Korea. However, this woman-issue is only a tendency and we should not make it a pattern or a norm because many young people and men also were seeking and receiving the Holy Spirit. The interpreters and the local pastors were so overcome with joy that they wept as they saw what God was doing.

The second campaign not only made pentecostalism plant its root more deeply among pentecostal circles but also it began to find its place among other denominations as well. The people who visited the meetings from other denominations and personally had experiences in the Spirit, used to tell the evangelistic team that they hated to go back to their cold and formal churches for fear of losing their blessings.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, such a phenomenon was the beginning of the long-protracted problem between the *Sunbogeum* denomination and the other churches until other circles officially accepted or at least tolerated the baptism with the Spirit in the way of *Sunbogeum* Church.

Throughout this campaign, healing miracles also took place. Stetz gave an example of what happened in the Sunchon campaign. After the sermon and the invitation to accept Christ, Byrd was led to pray for the deaf. Three deaf people were called to the platform. The first person was totally deaf in one ear, but after the prayer her ear was opened. The next person who had been hard of hearing was able to hear even low whispers. The third person, who was a deaf mute, was healed and able to repeat words spoken by Byrd. People responded by clappings. These manifestations of the witness of God's presence electrified the crowd and their faith mounted. The next night so many sick came that they were prayed for by Byrd and Hurston separately. A lady who had suffered with an infirmity for 23 years was healed. This phenomenon showed the state of Korean religiosity which was satisfied by the presence and experience of God. It was also the feature of *Sunbogeum* religiosity and its worship meetings. Yonggi Cho accompanied the crusade as an interpreter and helped them in prayers.

These campaigns in Seoul, Busan, Suwon, and three other strategic cities "have stirred religious people all over Korea and have been a tremendous awakening for members of nominal churches."⁶⁸ American missionaries did not hesitate to call this early stage of the Korean pentecostal phenomenon 'A chapter from the Book of Acts' or 'A New Testament Church.' They were especially impressed with Korean Christians who were vigorous and unyielding in singing the hymns and praying to God and in experiencing God. Through these two pentecostal campaigns, it became apparent that pentecostalism would prevail in Korean soil.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

6.2.9. Establishment of Sunbogeum Pentecostalism (1958)

Sunbogeum pentecostalism had been formed through five years' process as we have already observed (1953-1958). Now, we look into its meaning before we summarize its birth. The word *Sunbogeum* was not used by Korean pentecostals for the first time. When the Holiness Church was introduced in Korea in 1907, its leaders called its four themes of the Gospel (rebirth, holiness, healing, and second coming) *Sunbogeum*. In its early manual, it clarified the fact that the task of the Holiness Church was "to proclaim the *Sunbogeum*, that is the rebirth, the holiness, the healing, and the second coming, inside and outside of the country."⁶⁹ But after the liberation from Japan, the Korean Holiness Church did not emphasize the healing ministry and the expression *Sunbogeum* faded away. For Korean pentecostals, the word *Sunbogeum* seemed to be not unfamiliar, because the Holiness Church developed under the Japanese imperialism together with pentecostal church. At the same time pentecostals had closer contact with them than other denominations because of the common origin of the holiness-pentecostal movement in the latter part of the 19th century. Therefore, it is quite possible that early Korean pentecostals had heard the expression *Sunbogeum* from the Holiness Church.

It is not confirmed who first used the expression *Sunbogeum* to denote pentecostalism among Korean pentecostals. Bong-Jo Kwak says, "Seong-San Park began his ministry in Japan and used the word *Sunbogeum*."⁷⁰ American missionary, Louis P. Richards, established Full Gospel Maekdo Church at Maekdo-Ri, Gimhae-Gun and 'the Hour of Full Gospel' broadcast in Busan in 1954. Then Koreans called the church 'Sunbogeum Maekdo Church' and the broadcast 'the Hour of *Sunbogeum*.' It was the first event to use *Sunbogeum* for the designation of pentecostal congregation.⁷¹ But later this Maekdo Church was officially registered at the general headquarters as 'Maekdo Church' instead of 'Sunbogeum Maekdo Church.' Even though we accept that the establishment of *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary in 1953 was the official birth of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism in the sense of adoption its designation, both the formation of its contents and its expansion were wholly indebted to Ja-Sil Choe and Yonggi Cho. Therefore, we do not hesitate to say that Yonggi Cho, especially, is the father of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism.

The word *Sunbogeum* is a compound of *Sun* [순: 純; pure, genuine] and *Bogeum* (Gospel). As the *Sunbogeum* movement expanded and its theological contents developed, its meaning was settled. Theologically, it was developed by Yonggi Cho as the 'Fivefold Gospel and Threefold Blessing.' As far as the meaning of the word goes, the Korean pronunciation *Sun* can signify several different meanings from the Chinese characters such as obedience (順), pure (純), bamboo

⁶⁹ Jong-Nam Cho, *The Theology of John Wesley*, Seoul, 1993, pp.297-348. passim. This was the declaration in the regulations of 1925, and in the constitutions of 1933 and 1936. Today, it does not have the expression *Sunbogeum* in its manual; Ung-Ho Yi, "The Collection of the Articles on the Korean Holiness Church History," Seoul, 1987, p.40.

⁷⁰ Bong-Jo Kwak, letter (n. d., 1996). It is possible that Park used it in Japan because the Holiness Church in Japan used to call Full Gospel pure Gospel from 1905. Japanese and Korean understand pure Gospel written in Chinese (純福音). Because of Kwak's advanced age, it is difficult to accept this fully.

⁷¹ KAOG, *30 Years History*, pp. 90-92.

shoots (筍), martyrdom (殉), ten days (旬), and a watershield plant (蓴), so that Korean pentecostals prefer to take all the meanings of the word *Sunbogeum* together.⁷²

Now we can summarize the birth of *Sunbogeumism*. As Choe started a tent church in the western suburbs of Seoul on May 18, 1958, it was just called ‘tent church’ or *Sunbogeum* church. At first Cho, who had stayed with missionary Johnston at the mission compound at Sangdo-Dong to prepare for his studies in America, was invited as a preacher. But he moved to the tent church in summer as a full time preacher. Around this time the second pentecostal campaign started in Korea (July 1958) and kindled the hearts of many Koreans with pentecostal fire. Various gifts of the Spirit turned up (visions, healings, prophesy, speaking in tongues) through the tent campaign of American pentecostal evangelists in six great cities and in the tent church of Cho and Choe’s team. While Choe continued triple prayer, Cho began to preach the holistic salvation of Christ (Triple Salvation) to the poverty-stricken people in the tent church. Thus, we regard the summer (July) of 1958 as the birth time of *Sunbogeumism*,⁷³ at which the team of Yonggi Cho and Ja-Sil Choe were the main terms for it.

6.3. JA-SIL CHOE AND YONGGI CHO AS FOUNDING FATHERS OF *SUNBOGEUM* MOVEMENT

Ja-Sil Choe (1915-1989) and Yonggi Cho (1936-....) were the founding fathers who contributed to the birth of *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalism, as we have already observed. In addition, more than half of the total Korean Assemblies of God members have belonged to his church since the early 1970s and 70-80 % of *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary students entered it through their influence. All of which goes to show their position in this movement.⁷⁴ At first as classmates (1956-1958), then as colleagues (1958-1965), and finally as relatives (they have been mother-in-law and son-in-law since 1965), they founded and led this movement. Sunghoon Myoung, who believes that the encounter of Choe and Cho at the seminary was through divine providence, formulated the characteristics of their calling and ministry as follows: Choe was called through an indigenous Korean evangelist while Cho was called through a Western missionary; and the internal and spiritual ministry of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church, namely, a fasting and prayer movement centering on the masses (*Minjung*) and person-to-person evangelization were more influenced by Choe while external and organizational ministry, namely, missions and evangelization activities centering on foreigners, the cell-system and church-growth movements can more be ascribed to Cho.⁷⁵ Thus they led the movement through

⁷² ITI, *History*, p. 186. Besides obedience, purity, martyrdom, ‘ten days’ gives the significance of ten days of prayer before pentecost, bamboo shoots give the meaning of keeping chastity like ever-green bamboo, and the watershield plant can be useful for food.

⁷³ The official birth of *Sunbogeum* at the general inaugural meeting (8.4.1953) can be regarded as the conception of *Sunbogeum*. There was a five-year-process (1953-1958) before its actual birth.

⁷⁴ KAOG, *Minutes* (1964, 1966); Jong-Ho Byeon, *The History ...*, p.155.

⁷⁵ Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1993/ 5ed., 1995, Korean version of his Ph.D. dissertation, “Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth as Applied in the Yoido Full Gospel Church,” at Fuller Theological Seminary (1990), pp.48-49.

complementary cooperation. It is also worth noticing that Tong-Shik Ryu is of opinion that the Holy Spirit movement in Korea can be divided into two types: one is the ‘paternal Holy Spirit movement’ which is grounded in Confucianism and whose representative is the *Minjung* Theology movement and the other is the ‘maternal Holy Spirit movement’ which is grounded in shamanism and whose representative is Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church. According to him, the former is external, society-oriented, combative, and can be accomplished by few chosen elites while the latter is internal, individual-oriented, tolerant, and can be accommodated by alienated people at grass-roots level. He also recognizes the contribution of *Sunbogeum* church to solving the *Han* (resentment) of Korean *Minjung* and restoration of their identity.⁷⁶ Here, we may find a certain correlation between *Sunbogeumism*, which was led by a male and a female team, and the solving of Korean *Han*, which had to do more with the masses (*Minjung*) and woman.

Cho always has been the apparent leader while Choe helped him with prayer behind the scenes. We sketch their biographies and the characteristics of their ministries. We start with Choe but we pay more attention to Cho, as the latter played the main role in *Sunbogeumism*.

6.3.1. *Ja-Sil Choe (1915-1989)*

Ja-Sil Choe was born in Haeju, Hwanghae-Do, in the northern part of Korea in 1915 as the first of two children, a daughter and a son.⁷⁷ Her father died as an activist for national independence from Japan when she was six years old. Her mother, who had suffered at the hands of Japanese police when her father lived, had to make her living and provide for two children by needlework after her husband’s death. When she was healed of her chronic headaches through the revival meeting of Holiness Church evangelist, Seong-Bong Lee, she was entirely converted to Christianity from Buddhism. Ja-Sil grew up under her mother’s pious faith. Her mother, who had devoted her life to prayer, was given the grace of tongues-prayer, practising it when she prayed deeply. Because of her poverty, Ja-Sil wanted to earn money and became a maternity nurse. She worked hard for about five years and bought her own house at Sinuiju. She married a rich and intelligent man working as a revenue officer at a customs house. Her husband had graduated from the law school of Jungang university in Japan and, like Choe, had been a member of a Presbyterian church choir in the border city. After marriage, she opened her own midwifery department in a hospital. Her husband began to keep away from attending the worship meeting after the marriage and she followed him. They had two daughters and one son and became quite a successful family. However, she suffered Japanese oppression and experienced the brutality of Russian communist soldiers. Having experienced the

⁷⁶ Tong-Shik Ryu, “Korean Church and the Holy Spirit Movement,” in *A Study on the Pentecostal Movement in Korea*, Seoul, 1982, pp.9-21. Even though his opinion did not draw the attention of Korean theologians to any great degree, his view could shed some light on the phenomenon of spiritual movement in Korea. Jin-Hong Jeong, “Phenomenon and Structure of the Rapid-grown Church,” in op. cit., pp.101-163. Jeong also mentions that Cho’s church is more maternal than other paternal religious phenomena (139).

⁷⁷ Ja-Sil Choe, *ibid*. This book is the source of her biography.

chaos of liberation and separation of south and north (1945), they moved to the south in 1946.

They settled in Seoul. Her husband became a naval officer and stayed at Jinhae base located in the southern end of the Korean peninsula. She soon started work as a midwife in Seoul. However, she had a desire to establish a manufacturing plant. Therefore, she began to produce matches and soap, making use of her big house and garden as workshops. She became a successful business woman. The fourth and the last baby, a boy, was born. She was elected as a representative of the National Council for the Promotion of Korean Independence. She served as the chairman of woman fellowship in a Holiness church. However, her activism hindered her faith and she led a formal Christian life.

During the Korean War (1950-1953), she tied up all her business matters and moved down with her children to Jinhae to join her husband (1952). Being a wife of a naval officer, she had time and funds in reserve. Even though she again became the chairman of woman fellowship of the navy base chapel, she could not shake off her desire to engage in a productive and worthy business. Soon she ran a shuttle-manufacturing factory, which had 150 employees. She bought a fishing boat and invested in the fishing industry as well. Both enterprises were successful. She neither tithed nor attended Sunday worship regularly. Her husband was not interested in her. Only her mother desperately prayed overnight with fasting for them to recover their faith. She kept warning against her unfaithfulness to God. In August 1953, God took away those whom Ja-Sil loved best. Her mother and her first daughter unexpectedly died within one month. Her mother left a last word to her: "Ja-Sil, become a heavenly president (businessman) with all your heart, mind, and strength."⁷⁸ This was a blow to her and made her come to herself. Gradually her business collapsed and she was pressed by creditors. Her husband set up house with another woman. She began to suffer from various sicknesses, especially from heart trouble. She held out for a time, till she lost her will to live.

In the spring of 1956, she decided to put an end to her own life. Therefore, she slipped away from her family and took a trip to Seoul. She decided to die of hunger in Samgak Mountain which is located behind Seoul. For about ten days she held out in a cave only eating some fruit. One day, when she came down to buy some fruit, she happened to meet an old Christian friend at the bottom of the mountain. Her friend forced her to come to a tent revival meeting, which was being held on the other side of the mountain. The preacher was the Holiness revivalist, Seong-Bong Lee, who had led her mother and her to the Lord about 30 years before. Through his preaching she repented. When she was praying all night in the tent, she received the baptism of fire and tongues. She became a new creature, and then made up her mind to waken Korean women like herself from their unfaithfulness. Still with so many unsolved problems, she entered the *Sunbogeum* seminary in September 1956 when she was 41 years old. Because of her tongues prayer, Holiness evangelist Lee recommended her to this seminary as the Holiness Church did not recognize tongues prayer at that time. At that entrance examination she met Yonggi Cho who took the exam, too.⁷⁹ After the seminary (March 1958), she wanted to establish an orphanage

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.111.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp.53-133.

in April. As this attempt failed,⁸⁰ she opened a tent church in the northwestern suburbs of Seoul in May of the same year. Yonggi Cho was invited as the preacher. Her further biography is closely related to that of Yonggi Cho and the church. Cho preached as a pastor while Choe prayed, visited people, and helped and encouraged Cho as a spiritual mother. The women in the congregation were particularly encouraged by her in many ways. From 1964 she began to visit foreign lands to evangelize: first Japan (from 1964) and Taiwan (from 1966), then America (from 1974) and Europe (from 1974). In 1965, her daughter married Yonggi Cho. In 1966, her husband came back to her, later to become a Korean Assemblies of God minister. Two sons also became ministers of the same denomination. In 1972 the Japanese Assemblies of God ordained her to the ministry. Next year she founded the fasting prayer house at Osanli. In 1989, during the evangelization tour in America, she passed away.

We shortly sketch how she formed a team with Cho. In the winter of 1956, after having studied for several months at the seminary, Cho suffered from an acute pneumonia. She was asked by the dean of the seminary to take care of him because she had been a nurse. As she opened his room door, it is reported that she heard suddenly a voice in her mind: "Pray for him carefully. He will be your son-in-law." Until that time, she had not known him personally. She wrote that she just shook off the satanic idea by force and put her thoughts in order, saying: "Away Satan!" She took care of him. Having recovered, Cho once asked her with hesitation: "Please, be my mother in faith. I will be a preacher. I have nobody that prays for me."⁸¹ She accepted it and began to pray for his health and future ministry. When she prayed for him she felt an indescribable faith springing up in her heart. In this way both began to be joined in God.

Second, we describe the character of her ministry. It is known that were it not for Choe's help, there would be no Cho's ministry as it is today. Choe was like a spiritual mother to Cho. Her experience of nursing practice, raising four children, and undertaking business, and her age (she was one year younger than Cho's mother) might have been reason enough for it. There were spiritual bonds between them, as we have observed in the previous paragraph. Therefore, the characteristics of her ministry were especially manifested in two aspects: prayer and motherliness. Even though her ministry of visit-evangelization, healing, teaching, preaching, and counselling was distinguished, her prayer ministry was most important for her (cf. 6.2.7). She herself practised triple prayer and exhorted her junior students to do the same. When she had found a person (or family) who needed to be free from mental or physical disease or great difficulties, she used to devote herself to triple prayer with a fixed intention. According to her book, miracles followed such prayer. The international fasting prayer house at Osanli was the outcome of her definite prayer for healing the financial difficulties in the construction of Yoido sanctuary. When she first visited the United States for 80 days (she was 59 years old) in 1974, she

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, pp.197-208. Wan-Sik Lee, who was the secretary of the seminary and the denomination and would mainly cause the crisis in 1961, swindled ca. 2,5 acres of land, where the orphanage was to be built, from her. That land had been donated to her by an old acquaintance. Choe wrote that Lee sold it to the denomination for the building site of the seminary.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp.153-155. Until that time, Cho did not want to be a preacher. His illness led him to repent and he made up his mind to devote himself to the ministry.

called upon Koreans as well as Americans to fast and pray and she herself fasted almost half the days.⁸² The development of *Sunbogeum* movement is due to her prayer ministry. Another character of her ministry, her mother-like care for Cho and other believers, was well known. When Yonggi Cho, who started his tent church at 22 years of age, was sometimes disappointed on account of difficulties in his ministry and wanted to give it up, she always encouraged him to overcome them. She was like a mother to thousands of Korean Christians, not only the members of Cho's church.⁸³ The role of woman at Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church (for example: 5,5 times more female cell leaders than male leaders and almost 1,6 times more female ministers than male ministers)⁸⁴ might be partly derived from her motherly ministry.

6.3.2. *Yonggi Cho (1936-....)*

Cho's vision of church growth and world evangelization has greatly influenced the Korean pentecostal church and other churches. From 1975 to 1995, he taught and preached to ca. 6,5 million people through various kinds of seminars and mammoth large meetings (ca. 760 gatherings) outside Korea. To put the situation in other words: it is estimated that about twenty million foreigners received his messages through his preachings, books, and TV and radio broadcasts in this period.⁸⁵

In this sub-section we firstly give a biographical sketch of his life. In it attention will be paid to how his theology and ministry were influenced by his personal circumstances. Secondly we describe the characteristics of his ministry which form the background of *Sunbogeum* theology. However, the details of his theology will be dealt with in chapter 8.

6.3.2.1. *Biography*

He was born on fourteenth of February 1936 in Ulsan-Gun, Gyeongnam, 40 km northeast of Busan, as the eldest son and the second child, after his sister, of nine children, five boys and four girls. His grandfather was a landlord and his father finished high school under the Japanese rule. His father was not only conversant with Chinese literature but also played the leading role in the community. He secretly taught the Korean language, which was prohibited by imperialism, to his children and those of his neighbours. His mother had ideas on how to teach her children and later she twice published Christian works of poetry.⁸⁶ The family were Buddhists. Yonggi often visited the temple to worship Buddha with his parents. While he lived in a village in the mountains, he sometimes encountered a wolf,

⁸² *ibid.*, pp.451-467.

⁸³ Sang-Geun Yu, the foreword to Ja-Sil Choe's *I Was the Hallelujah ...*

⁸⁴ Yoido Full Gospel Church, *Sunday School Prospectus-1995*, Seoul, 1995, p.29.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p.30.

⁸⁶ Nell L. Kennedy, *Dream Your Way to Success: The Story of Dr. Yonggi Cho and Korea*, Plainfield, NJ, 1980, pp.53-54. She taught her children in their early days from the plants. In spring she taught that as the plum tree brings the first blossoms of fragrance after the cold, people should all make their personality like that, welcoming and desirable. In winter she took the pine bough and told the daughters that they should be like the pine needles, which always grow two-by-two, so that they should always work side-by-side with their husbands, enduring stormy hardships and biting cold. Pointing to the bamboo thicket she taught her children that their character should be as straight and tall as the bamboo tree, never having to stoop because of telling a lie or cheating friends. The red peppers which were hung on the rafters were used by her to appeal to the sons to become vigorous and virile.

darkness, or a Buddhist temple which was decorated with various sculptures of gods and red and blue colours. All such environments affected the young boy Cho and mostly caused him to be seized with fear. As we have already discussed in Part I, Korean Buddhism has been syncretized with traditional religions. The young Buddhist Cho used to pray to the god of water, the god of the sky, the god of the kitchen, the god of toilet, and such deities to protect himself, rubbing his hands together when he was faced with any dangers or fear. He showed a religious nature. Ancestor worship, shaman rituals, and other superstitious practices were also accompanied by a Buddhist religious environment in his early days.

Cho was the firstborn son in his family. Therefore, he was treated as an important person, one commanding honour, respect, and duty in his household. At the same time, he also learned about filial piety and the importance of family roots. His father instructed him in these things, as a father of a noble family usually does. Yonggi learned Buddhism and Chinese classics from him. With this background, he became a prematurely developed boy.

The socio-political environment must have affected Yonggi Cho in the shaping of his character. He experienced the oppression of ruined people, two wars, and extreme poverty in his boyhood. When he was born, Japanese military imperialism was starting to erase Koreans' national identity (1937-1945). The teaching of Korean history and language was forbidden. Korean family names had to be replaced by Japanese names. Koreans were forced to worship at the imperial shrine. As he entered the primary school in 1942, Koreans were enduring their worst suffering while militarism enforced its war-oriented measures. Here are two examples that he met with. *Yoshida* (his Japanese family name) Yonggi once saw a church on fire. At that time, he was riding on a truck with other schoolchildren, coming from the work in the fields for the glory of imperialism. The truck stopped and the driver together with other Japanese soldiers enjoyed watching the fire burn the congregation, including children to death, as all were kept in behind barred doors. He could hear the strange combination of moans and singing of the congregation as they perished. At another time, as *Yoshida* reflectingly admired a silver American aeroplane which flew high over the school playground, his teacher, Corporal Kai, led the children into the classroom and knocked Yonggi down to the floor. Then he jumped on the boy's stomach and stood on him. As stated by a biographer, "Unable to breathe, he turned his head in every direction gasping, flinging his arms for one more breath, and none would come."⁸⁷

He was always frail and often sick from his boyhood. When he was about nine years old, he was in bed for about half a year with fever and loss of appetite. He would fall off to sleep, sometimes all day long, and the parents did not know how long it would be before they could wake him up and give some liquid food. He would fall into a delirium. At last he became too weak to lift his arms or head from the mat. But he was restored.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, pp.11-31, *passim*. Quoted from p.31.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp.58-60. Being exhausted, he told a story, having to pause for a new breath every few words, and he was restored after that. He said, "Well, it is finally over. I knocked that dragon off the cliff. He could really wrestle. Spit out smoke in my eyes. But I finally got him. Threw him over the jagged rocks. Now, I am hungry."

After the liberation, divided Korea was not at peace. Then the Korean War broke out in June 1950. His family moved down to Busan, except for his grandparents. He even could not finish his middle school at that time. As a teenager he tasted bitter poverty. It was not only because of the war, but also because his father spent all his money on his campaign for office in the general assembly and failed in May 1950. Millions of refugees as well as the government headquarters moved down to Busan. Everyone strained to maintain his existence in such a chaotic situation. There Cho also fought for his living because his parents were not able to take care of their children. He loaded freight, working on the night shift at the harbour to pay for his middle school tuition during the war. He even went to steal fuel for cooking at the railway station where American military coal waggons were stationed. In 1952, he entered technical high school so that he could later support his big family, as was expected of the first son. However, he could not continue because of financial difficulty and his physical weakness. He went back to his home village to stay with his grandparents. There, he taught himself English in order to learn the language of the Americans who had freed Koreans from the Japanese. Through the years in such an environment Cho used to hate all his surroundings, used to think about life and death, and used to feel that he was a nobody. Around that time he also made up his mind to be a medical doctor so that he would be somebody different and escape from a life of disease and poverty.⁸⁹ In this way, his youth was the period of struggle between his hope and his breakdown. After the armistice (July 1953) he went to Busan to continue his schooling. But he had to act as an English tutor and sold fruit as a fruit vendor on the streets. He had been used to taking one meal a day for a long time, so was becoming weaker and his coughing was getting worse. In 1954, he fell down vomiting blood on the street while he was selling and carrying around his fruit. He was eighteen years old, in the second grade of a high school.

Next day the doctor diagnosed acute pulmonary tuberculosis, saying that Yonggi only had three more months to live: nothing could be done to save him. Cho later recollected that the moment he heard this message he felt a great desire to live and experienced loneliness. Nevertheless, he was given up by his parents and the doctors. He lay in bed to count the calendar dates of three months fighting with fever and coughing. His parents prayed to Buddha. Yonggi prayed to Buddah every day, too. As symptoms grew from bad to worse, he gave up faith in Buddah and cried out *Hananim* (a Korean traditional concept of one god in heaven; 3.2.1) which was unknown to him.⁹⁰ One day he was visited by a high school girl who brought the Gospel. Even though he rejected it decisively, she kept coming. She just sang several songs, prayed, and read the Bible. At last he accepted the Bible, began to read it and found that the Bible constantly talked about Jesus Christ, Son of God, who brings salvation to humanity in a practical way instead of bringing systematized philosophy or any religious rituals with which he had been well acquainted as a Buddhist. He also found that Jesus healed every sick person and forgave all sinners. Yonggi, who was familiar with the situation that many who became completely possessed, suffering from nervous breakdowns during the Korean War and

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp.61-76.

⁹⁰ Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension I*, Seoul, 1979, p.2.

wandering around the streets, found that Christ even cast out demons and restored the possessed to a normal life. He began to find hope in Him. One day he attempted to say to Him: “Jesus, you even healed lepers. Can you heal my TB?” Then the following happened:

As suddenly as he had spoken, that ever-tickling raspiness in his throat cleared away and a soothing, vibrant stirring started in his chest. If it was death, it was a wonderful feeling. Somehow it felt like a warm hand gently massaging his chest with a lotion; while his whole being relaxed, his thirsty body drank of the soothing lotion, first the chest, the back and shoulders, down the arms and over each hand, then his aching legs. In the soft mystery of this soothing wonder, he fell asleep as a baby on a trip, wanting to see what was going on but unable to keep his eyelids open. It was a restful sleep, the kind which feels good upon awaking.⁹¹

He was healed. He became a Christian. The doctor declared that it was a medical wonder: his TB as well as his abnormally enlarged heart were healed. Tradition being more important than life or even his position as the first son, he had to leave his family. He became a medical-training student at a hospital (he was not qualified to be a medical student at a university) to fulfil his desire to be a doctor. He obtained general knowledge of Eastern and Western medicine through avid reading and training. He also gained some opinions about spirit and matter, mind and body, and the philosophical themes like the meaning of life, will power and achievement, and humans being the summary of the universe. Such information seems to have provided him with certain ideas for his later ministry, especially his ideas on praying for divine healings and his formulation of the *Fourth Dimension*.⁹² In the spring of 1955, he began coughing again. He had to rest at his farmhouse for a while. During the period of his medical training, he did not attend church for about two years.

In 1956, he began to attend the Full Gospel Church, which was founded by missionary Louis P. Richards.⁹³ Under his guidance he repented of not following Him for a long time and gave his life to the Lord. He had to leave his medical training because of the recurrence of the disease around that time. He became Richards’ interpreter as well as his disciple for a while. Having learned the word of

⁹¹ Kennedy, *ibid.*, p.89. Because of his accepting Christianity he was rejected by his family. To break from tradition was like accusing the ancestors of being wrong. His relatives did not accept him either.

⁹² *ibid.*, pp.99-112. By chance, he read Hermann Hesse’s books, which came alive inwardly to him, during that time. His books not only described Cho’s precarious life but also threw light on how to overcome it. Such expressions of Hesse as “every healthy person must have a goal in life; if a person were to concentrate all his will power on a certain end, he would be able to achieve it” sank deep in his mind, who battled with “a constant struggle between his mind and body, between what he wanted to do and what he could not do”; It seems that Cho found companionship with Hesse, “whose main theme deals with man’s breaking out of the established modes of civilization to find his essential spirit” (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed., 1983, vol. V, p.18).

⁹³ Louis P. Richards, letter (9.6.1974). Personal record of Louis P. Richards (AAOG Foreign Mission Department). He was a successful insurance salesman before he was called to the mission field. In 1953, he believed that he was called by God to South Korea as a missionary evangelist without being nominated by the AAOG. He and his wife had complete trust in God that He would enable him to work as a missionary, having never solicited money for the support of his ministry. In 1956, Cho met him. Richards’ emphasis was upon the spiritual movement of God in services and on encouraging Christians in personal soul winning. In 1958, he was nominated by AAOG, but his principle of only faith in God continued. He was a man of faith. Cho’s early faith was influenced by him.

God, Cho was ready to put it to the test. In his room he prayed, “Mister Jesus, I want to meet you and have a consultation about my future.” He waited for the answer and prayed all day. After midnight his prayer was answered as follows:

Suddenly a smell of smoke filled the air and to his left a cloud of gray smoke billowed before him. In the same instant a fireman appeared in the room. Hadn't he locked the door after the (Chinese restaurant) delivery boy? He distinctly remembered locking it! All of this in a split second – the smoke, the fireman, his own flashbacks. But the fireman stood barefoot on the floor, a white robe draping his ankles. As quickly as it all happened, Cho glanced upward and his eyes fixed on the face of a man who looked straight into his eyes. From a wound on His forehead there oozed a stain of blood and a wreath of thorns sat upon His head. “My Lord! My Lord!” This silence was broken by words from Cho's own lips. Kneeling to Cho's level, the man pointed a finger at Cho and started talking clearly and distinctly: “Young man,” he said, “You are ambitious, You are looking for fame and money. I tell you everything of this kingdom will crumble. But I have a kingdom that will not crumble. You are to go and preach about my kingdom that does not crumble.” Cho reached out as if to touch his visitor's garment. But he gently fell asleep and he did not awaken until morning.⁹⁴

Next morning as he began to say thanks to the Lord, his tongue uttered unusual sounds but it felt good to him to be uttering them. He began to talk about the kingdom that does not crumble to people whom he met on the street. In the evening Richards explained to him what it was and prepared to send him to the seminary. This event was directly related to his calling to the ministry.

In September 1956, he was sent to the *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary in Seoul which was located at Chungjeong-Lo 1-Ga, near the West Gate. He studied insatiably. He read most of the books on the shelves of the small library. According to Ja-Sil Choe, at that time, he was eloquent, bold, and graceful.⁹⁵ He was elected chairman of the student body and became the interpreter for Stetz. Soon, he was faced with death for the second time. In the cold dry winter (1956), through flu, an acute pneumonia hit him hard. He lay in the dormitory for several days without any food and it seemed he had no hope of life. In response to the demands of an elder student and experienced nurse, Ja-Sil Choe, he swallowed some soup sip by sip, but vomited it all and suddenly fell flat on his back and fainted away. His heart seemed to stop, his hands and feet were cold as ice, and his face turned white as a sheet. They cried out to God to bring his life back and gave him massage on his arms and legs. He revived. Several days later, when he recovered his health, he decided to devote himself to the ministry.⁹⁶ Through this event, Choe and Cho began to work together as we have already seen.

After the seminary hours he was invited to the tent church which was started by Ja-Sil Choe (1958). In this early stage of his ministry, he perceived the reality of planting and harvesting in the spiritual realm as in nature. In other words, he knew that miracles only take place through God according to our faith, not by chance.

⁹⁴ Kennedy, *ibid.*, pp.119-121.

⁹⁵ Ja-Sil Choe, *ibid.*, p.128.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp.147-154. Until that time, Cho was going to study in America so that he might be a professor to establish a theological college in Korea. However, he could not give up his intention to study in America entirely until he was involved in pastoring at Daejo-Dong.

Therefore, he poured all his energy into practising his faith in God. In 1960, his pastoral licence was revoked by the central committee of the the Korean Assemblies of God on the grounds that diseases were healed in his church.⁹⁷

In 1961, he suffered a severe physical illness. This was the third crisis in his life. Having been drafted into the army, he could visit his church on Sunday because he was stationed near Seoul. On the first Sunday of April 1961, he baptized new converts with missionary Hurston for two hours in cold water. Next day he was operated on thirteen spots on the abdomen because of an abdominal hernia. His weak body was not able to bear the low temperature of the cold water. The operation took eight hours in the army hospital. Owing to the after-effect of the operation and his coughing from the pneumonia, the affected wounds would not heal. The doctor again gave him a tip that he would not recover if it went on like that. With high fever, bathed in sweat, coughing, falling into delirium, and gnashing his teeth, he fought against the pain. Once he lost his temper and told his co-worker, Ja-Sil Choe, who was praying beside his bed saying, “Mother, don’t pray for me any more. God turned His back upon me.”⁹⁸ Having recovered through the persistent prayer and fasting of the church, he was discharged from military service on the ground of his weakness. In October 1961, he and Choe pioneered another church on the site of the construction of the revival centre at the West Gate. It became the *Sunbogeum* Central Church. Next year, he was ordained in the denomination.

In 1964, he was invited by the American Assemblies of God for its 50 years anniversary, which was the beginning of his overseas evangelization tour. In this year he had his fourth health crisis. In October 1964 as the congregation miraculously grew to almost 3,000 in number, being 28 years old, he regarded himself as ‘the mighty Cho.’ He was proud of himself. He had a nervous breakdown. When he was interpreting a guest speaker’s sermon, suddenly his voice became thinner and his face turned white saying, “Dear folks, human life passes away like this. Today I go ahead. Believe in Jesus well, all of you, and come to heaven.” He fell flat and fainted. He was in bed for one week abstaining from food and repented. Through this, his self-willed mind was broken and the cell system, which became the essence for the organic growth of his church, was introduced.⁹⁹

In 1965, he married Ja-Sil Choe’s daughter, Seong-Hye Kim. They got three sons. He was consecutively elected superintendent from 1966 and resigned in 1977. His church moved to Yoido Island in 1973. He left the denomination with the church in 1981, played the main role in establishing another denomination in 1985, and came back to the original denomination in 1992. In 1983, he was accused of pseudo-Christianity by the Tonghap denomination and this went on until 1994. In 1992, he was elected as the chairman of the World Pentecostal Fellowship Assemblies of God.

⁹⁷ Wan-Sik Lee and Gyu-Chang Jeong were the instigators of this matter. In 1961, when Lee and Jeong left the denomination, it was restored.

⁹⁸ Ja-Sil Choe, *ibid.*, p.347. The church and Ja-Sil Choe prayed and fasted for him. He dreamt a dream and recovered: “A big snake was going to swallow me up. When the thick smoke, which was kindled beyond the River Jordan, covered me up, the snake died at once.”

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, pp.366-371. Ja-Sil Choe remarked that his fainting was the answer of her prayer. She had decided to pray for 100 days for him because he watched TV on Saturday evening instead of praying and preparing for Sunday’s worship meeting. On the last day of her determined prayer, it happened.

Closing this sub-section we mention two features in his life. The first factor that characterized his life was his physical weakness. The second feature in his life was that he was known as a man of studies and of efforts. Because his formal schooling ended with the first grade of high school, he has directed all his endeavours to studying by himself. Until the early days of his ministry, he read all books that were within his reach from the time he was miraculously healed from tuberculosis.

6.3.2.2. *Characteristics*

It is worthy of observing Cho's characteristics in relation to his ministry. We observe them in four aspects which are the most significant: 1. boldness; 2. originality; 3. vision for world-evangelization; and 4. healing in wholeness. These four aspects are related to one another; they cannot be separable from each but distinguishable. Boldness can be regarded as the basis of the following three items.

Boldness in his ministry is the first characteristics. It is regarded as another expression of faith. This faith is related to the miracles that occurred in his ministry. Cho confesses that he has only been used by God for God's own plan and power. All the *charismata* that have been manifested in his ministry belong to God and not to him. Even though many believe that Cho has the gift of healing, he says that the Holy Spirit only uses him to announce it and it is the Spirit that heals. He says that if he himself has any gift from God, it is boldness and nothing more.¹⁰⁰ Accepting that some people have inborn boldness, Cho's boldness can be seen as originating from God's Spirit. It seems that he became greatly changed: having always been possessed with fear arising from his environment and physical weakness, now his salvation experience, accompanied with healing and filling in the Spirit, furnished him with faith in God. His 'being' experienced an existential alteration, from a being of worldly fear to a being of heavenly boldness.

His faith was present in his life. One example was that he refused the offer of a missionary's financial help when his pioneering church was greatly in need, because he made God his only spiritual and material source. At the early stage of Korean pentecostal missions, most pentecostal pastors sought or accepted such foreign support as natural. There were other complications which were ascribed to his bold faith. As his church rapidly grew through divine healings, baptism in the Spirit accompanied with tongues, and miracles, which were caused by his uncompromising faith, some leaders of the Korean Assemblies of God were sceptical about him. Consequently, his pastoral licence was revoked by the denomination (1960-1961).¹⁰¹ In his early ministry, he was often drenched in sweat when he preached or cast out demons with long-pending matching. This was not only derived from his

¹⁰⁰Kennedy, *ibid.*, p.238; The author also heard from Cho's preaching that he was given faith from God.

¹⁰¹*ibid.*, pp.177-181. Missionary John Hurston only acknowledged Cho and helped him to have his licence restored. Cho was renounced by Korean pastors, especially by Wan-Sik Lee and Gyu-Chang Jeong, during his early ministry on account of their jealousy of his uncompromising faith and the rapid growth of his church. At that time, the other problem of missionaries and Korean Assemblies of God pastors was that they were not entirely pentecostals in practice. Even though they had pentecostal doctrines, they did not have enough courage to follow the examples of the Acts. Because of his boldness in faith, Cho was alienated from them until *Sunbogeumism*, which was shaped by Cho, won a reputation and they felt that they also belonged to it (around 1964); It seems that among many American missionaries, Louis P. Richards and John Hurston, who were evangelistic missionaries, mostly influenced Cho's early Christian life.

physical weakness, but also because he boldly devoted all his energies to his ministry. Sometimes, those around him were surprised at his announcements, because, if they had not been fulfilled, he would have failed in his ministry. But they were miraculously accomplished and he was increasingly acknowledged by his congregation.

We give some examples which demonstrate his faith. On 18th May of 1958, on a Wednesday evening, the pioneer church began. Cho preached before five people, his co-worker, Ja-Sil Choe, her three children, and a woman who was invited. But he preached in a loud voice as if several hundreds were listening. Ja-Sil Choe felt sorry for him. But Cho shouted: "Do you all believe Jesus Christ who lives now and works among us? If you believe this, say amen!" Then Choe responded "amen" with a failing heart. Cho at once stormed at her and thundered: "Why is your 'amen' so frustrated? The believer has the sign of casting out demons. Please, cast out the demon of discouragement!"¹⁰² In those days he already had a dream of pastoring the largest church in Korea. It was his adventurous faith. One turning point of his ministry, which was the principle of specific prayer, was also caused by his bold announcement in faith. It happened like this. Once he prayed for a desk, a chair, and a bicycle for six months. Then God told him to ask for specific items. Cho prayed to have a desk out of Philippine mahogany, a chair with a steel frame and little wheels on the bottom, and a bicycle made in U.S.A.. Then his daring faith worked as follows:

But when I awoke at 4:30 the next morning to prepare for the early morning prayer meeting, I suddenly found that my heart was empty. The evening before, I had all the faith in the world, but while I slept faith took wing and left me. I could not feel anything in my heart. I said, "Father, this is terrible. It is one thing to have faith, but it is entirely different to keep that faith till I receive your answer." On that morning while I was reading the Bible, and looking for a particular scripture to speak on, suddenly my eyes fell upon Romans 4:17, "God raises the dead, and calls those things which be not as if they were." My heart fastened to that scripture, and it began to boil in my heart. I said to myself, "I might as well just call those things which are not as if they were, as if I already had them." I had received the answer to the problem of how to keep one's faith. I rushed out to our tent church where people had already begun praying, and after a few songs I started preaching. I expounded that scripture, and then said, "Folks, by the blessings of God I have a desk made of Philippine mahogany, a beautiful chair with an iron frame and rollers on the tips, and a bicycle made in the U.S.A. with gears on the side. Praise God, I have received all these things." The people just gasped, because they knew that I was absolutely poverty stricken. I was bragging about these things, and they could not believe their ears ... After the service, as I was walking out, three young fellows followed me and said, "Pastor, we want to see those things." I was taken aback and frightened, because I had not counted on having to show any of those things. These people were living in a slum area, and once they knew I had lied, it would be my last time to minister there.¹⁰³

He announced as if he already had those specific items. Even though God taught him the principle in prayer, so long as the items were his request and the answer

¹⁰²Ja-Sil Choe, *ibid.*, pp.216-221.

¹⁰³Yonggi Cho, *The fourth Dimension I*, Seoul, 1979, pp.12-15.

from God by assurance, and not a prophecy given by God, to announce it needed real courage. In time, God exactly answered and his people's faith was strengthened. This happened in his early ministry when he was pioneering a tent church. But through all his ministry such courageousness in prayer and announcement in faith brought various kinds of miracles and it was a feature of his ministry. The most frequent examples were the divine healings when he spoke out as his heart was moved by the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁴ Another example of his faith in God was to wait until the last moment and not be frightened. We give one story:

I once wrote a 50,000 dollars post-dated check, payable December 31. I scraped money from every source available, but I was unable to gather even a small portion of the amount. If I could not put the money in the bank by the designated day, the newspapers would carry headlines saying that the pastor of the largest church in Korea wrote a hot check. It was twelve noon and I was praying ... Then the clock struck one o'clock, then two o'clock, then three o'clock. My wife then called, "Honey, did you get the money yet?" "No," I answered. She said, "Don't you know that at four o'clock the last plane pulls out of Seoul? That's your chance to escape to America." "I can't do that. I can't avoid my responsibilities," I told her ... The bank was to close at six o'clock, and it was now five. I became desperate. I could not sit, and I could not stand; I just walked and walked, back and forth, like a lion in a cage. Again I prayed, "Oh, God, please come and help me." Suddenly the Holy Spirit let a thought flow through my mind.¹⁰⁵

His dauntless faith does not operate mechanically. As a usual human being in flesh and blood, he had to overcome the fear of following God. He confessed that sometimes when he felt God asked him to do a big thing, even though he always preached thinking big, he himself was seized with fear. Then he really needed to obey God and to be stout-hearted in faith. In 1969 when God asked him to move from the West Gate and build a church which would seat 10,000, he was 'scared to death of building a church like that.' At that time his church had only 2,500 dollars and it would cost 5,5 million dollars. Even worse, both the elders and 600 deacons were against the new plan. He said, "I became crazy with fear." Nevertheless, he built it on three acres of land through his daring faith in God. It is interesting to note that his name Yonggi (鏞基) means 'the drummer' or 'the place of drum,' but the same pronunciation of the Korean word *yonggi* (용기) means courage. Because Koreans use *yonggi* as an everyday word, when people call his name Yonggi, it may subconsciously remind Yonggi and them of courage. It might help Yonggi to have courage.

¹⁰⁴ibid., pp.72-75. For all that he had boldness, he had to learn how to use it. In his early ministry, when the Holy Spirit would come down into his spirit as he was ministering, it was as if he were watching TV. On his mind's screen, he could see growths disappear, tuberculosis heal, and cripples suddenly walk. He thought it was a hindrance from Satan and he commanded him to leave. But it continued. He fasted and prayed for it. Then he realized that it was the Word of wisdom and of knowledge of the Spirit. However, he neither knew why he should announce the healings nor had he enough courage to announce it. He was scared that nothing would happen as he spoke forth. So he said to God, "Since I am afraid, I'm not going to speak out about the cripples I see healed, or the disappearing cancer tumours. Father, I'll start with headaches." Then, when he preached, he spoke forth that someone was healed of headaches and instantly that person was healed. Little by little he gained more courage. Then he spoke of all the healings he saw in his mind.

¹⁰⁵ibid., pp.141-142.

The second characteristic of his ministry is originality. On general principles, this is a sign that he did not depend upon others. Sunghoon Myoung calls it apostolic leadership.¹⁰⁶ Jong-Ho Byeon viewed him as the apostle of the Holy Spirit on whom were bestowed five functions from the Spirit: the holy language of tongues, interpretation of the tongues, and prophecy; the holy power of divine healing and miracle; the holy assembly of drawing so many people; the holy life of living by the guidance of the Spirit; and the holy martyrdom of sacrificing himself to follow God.¹⁰⁷ Cho says the most important principles that were applied to his ministry and taught world-wide, had not been learned through theological books but had been received through his intimate relationship with the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁸ The originality of his ministry has to do with his prayer life and his relationship with the Holy Spirit, even though it is also indirectly related to his faith and boldness.

We first observe his prayer. Cho says in 1995: “The key to open the door of heaven is only to pray.”¹⁰⁹ He knows that God’s kingdom can only be established by God’s Spirit and the Spirit can work with us through our prayer. He believes there is no secret in the growth of his church except the working of the Spirit and if there is any difference between him and the other ministers it is that he prayed much more than they did. He teaches taking time over prayer. He prays three to five hours every day. Sometimes he fasts and prays, too. Through such a prayer life he has been able to have an intimate relation with God. These can be counted as examples that were all inspired by God: the principle of specific prayer; the principle of co-operation with the Holy Spirit for church growth instead of enthusiastic efforts of the pastor to bring people by visiting and evangelizing; the principle that the spiritual dimension includes and controls the material dimension; the principle of visualization and dreaming; the principle of the creative power of the spoken word; the cell-system; and the enormous size of his church. This is the originality in his ministry. He openly says that he feels God’s close presence, when he prays and has fellowship with the Spirit. Cho emphasizes the principles in faith because God works through His Own principles and we should learn them from God and follow them. As he believes that he learned such principles from God and they have been proved by his ministry, he teaches them with confidence. To keep up such a ministry, his intimate relation with God needs constant wrestling in prayer life.

¹⁰⁶Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1993/ 5 ed., 1995, pp.307-331. Korean version of his Ph. D. diss. “Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth As Applied in the Yoido Full Gospel Church,” at Fuller Theological Seminary (1990). Myoung pointed out 7 leadership features of Cho. 1. Spiritual authority (apostolic leadership), which is given by God through the Spirit and maintained through constant prayer. 2. Vision and dream, which are given by God and the language of the Spirit. They are related to the gift of the faith as well. 3. Broken-ness and surrender, which made him only obey God, not seeking his own ambitions. They were achieved through various kinds of afflictions and trials. 4. Communication, which shows that Cho can preach and teach with clarity. It is also the gifts of the words. 5. Delegation, which means that he teaches and entrusts his co-workers with the ministry. The best example of this is the cell-system. 6. Situational leadership, which means that the methods can be flexibly changed so long as the contents and the objective are fixed. 7. Servant leadership, which follows the example of Jesus’ model as a minister, not a ruler.

¹⁰⁷Jong-Ho Byeon, *ibid.*, pp.152-156. In his early ministry, interpretation of tongues and prophecy were manifested. It seems that God used Cho to manifest all the 9 gifts of the Spirit (1Corinthians 12) to some extent.

¹⁰⁸Yonggi Cho, *Prayer, Key to the Revival*, Seoul, 1995, p.62.

¹⁰⁹idem, “Pastor’s Prayer Life,” in *The Holy Spirit and Prayer: A Spiritual Program for the Pastors*, edited by ITI, Seoul, 1995, p.222.

Likewise, he stresses the need for teaching the relationship between God and us, rather than emphasizing the requesting of anything before God. According to Cho, we need to pray for the following reasons. First, through prayer our selfish desires will be broken and we will know God's will for us. Second, through prayer we can be filled with the Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit will be manifested. Third, through prayer we can break through the Satan's hindrances. Fourth, through prayer we can receive the living word of God in the Bible, *rhema*.¹¹⁰ Fifth, through prayer we can receive God's blessings. We give his own description (1995) of his early prayer life:

When I had finished the theological seminary I began to pioneer a church at Bulgwang-Dong (now Daejo-Dong) pitching a 24-people-capacity tent with the departed Reverend Choe, who was my classmate at the seminary and later became my mother-in-law. In those days we prayed no less than ten hours a day. There was nothing to do except pray. Most of the village people, who moved from the country and failed, were living in board-framed houses. They were reduced to beggarly conditions. They did not receive the word of God. As I daily prayed more than ten hours, I became hoarse and could not even speak after prayer ... Because I poured all my strength and cried out to God, it was said they could hear my prayer in the bus station which was located at a fair distance from the hill where the tent-church stood. At 4:30 I began to cry out until seven o'clock and after breakfast, having no people to visit again I prayed until noon. After a break, I prayed till evening and did not go home because I had no house ... Most of our congregation did not possess houses and we lived together in the tent-church ... Because we were poor, it was favourable to pray. Having no TV, no radio, no money to visit the theatre, we could only pray ... Having come together we prayed all the way. Then the fire of the Holy Spirit fell, and demons were cast out and diseases were healed. Then the crippled and the lame were incredibly healed. At that time, when I prayed more than ten hours a day, I saw the biggest miracles in my life. In three years the congregation grew to 600.¹¹¹

Having been a boarding student at the seminary, he prayed and spent more nights in the chapel than sleeping in his room. As he was pastoring the Full Gospel Central Church at the West Gate, he 'lived in prayer.' In 1962, Friday overnight prayer was introduced by his church for the first time in Korea. Through such prayer the Holy Spirit was in close contact with him and his ministry brought direct fruit from God.

Cho's personal relationship with the Spirit in connection with the originality of his ministry also needs to be studied. This principle is important for understanding Cho's pneumatology and his ministry. It is also one point that many pentecostals do not practically achieve and that other Christian circles overlook in understanding pneumatology. Cho formulates it as follows:

It is not right to simply discuss about the experience when we talk about the Holy Spirit. Because the Holy Spirit is a person, we should have the deep fellowship with this personal God, namely *koinonia*. The true state of the filling in the Holy Spirit is the situation when we have an incessant fellowship with the Holy Spirit. I can do nothing without the fellowship with the Holy Spirit.¹¹²

¹¹⁰Later, Cho gave up using this expression but its meaning (receiving the word of God through the Spirit) remains a characteristic of *Sunbogeumism*.

¹¹¹*ibid.*, pp.233-235.

¹¹²Sunghoon Myoung, *ibid.*, pp.67-68.

According to Cho, experiences like tongues and ecstasy are only the beginning. Speaking in other tongues itself does not secure the state of being filled with the Spirit, but is only the sign of filling with the Spirit. According to him, filling with the Spirit means living a successful life through exercising external gifts (1Cor.12) of the Spirit and bearing fruit of the Spirit. In other words, filling with the Spirit is the same as filling with Jesus Christ. Consequently, if a man is filled with the Spirit, his life should imitate or resemble the life of Jesus Christ, because He is the model of filling with the Spirit of God. By such an understanding of the relation with the Spirit, his ministry was shaped as an apostolic feature. He described it as follows:

In 1964, I found out the Holy Spirit as a person. It was an epoch-making event that dramatically changed my life. Before that time I thought of the Holy Spirit as an experience, not as a person. From the time when I found the Holy Spirit as a person, when I went to bed I said, "Dear Holy Spirit, I sleep now. Tomorrow morning I will see you again." In the morning when I woke up, I prayed, "Dear Holy Spirit, I woke up. Let me serve Father together with the Holy Spirit in the name of Jesus Christ through the wisdom, knowledge, and understanding of God," and I began to work. When I went to preach I said, "Holy Spirit, I go to preach. Work on me with the wisdom, knowledge, and understanding of God." The Holy Spirit continuously provided me with new dimensional power, which human cannot imagine, because I had a fellowship with the Holy Spirit...We must work together with the Holy Spirit. We must invite Him as our partner. Because the Spirit is the Spirit who works and creates, we should consult with Him about our undertakings...Because we neither acknowledge Him nor welcome Him, even though He is present among us, He cannot work. But we must not forget that the Holy Spirit and we are one body. Because the Spirit of God lives within you and me, we cannot act at our own discretion.¹¹³

As soon as he began to have personal fellowship with the Holy Spirit in 1964, his church broke through the barrier of 3,000 members. At that time, he announced that the senior pastor of the church was the Holy Spirit and that he himself was only the junior pastor of the church. He believed that the Spirit has provided him with wisdom and knowledge through constant personal fellowship, and that, therefore, his ministry has been shaped into an original or apostolic ministry.

Thirdly, his ministry is also characterized by a vision of world evangelization. He believed that it was given by God when he began his ministry at a tent church. At that time he was about 23 years old. One winter evening (end of 1958 or early 1959), when they had an overnight prayer meeting, Cho stood up and walked around in his tent church having his arms stretched out like a crane. Then he spoke in tongues and interpreted, "My loving son and daughter, look at me. Do you think you will always suffer through hardships and poverty in this tent? I will carry you on silver wings and make you prominent over all the nations of the world."¹¹⁴ It has come true since 1964 when he was invited by the American Assemblies of God to its 50th anniversary commemorative ceremony. He preached before many congregations in various cities of America for two months. No contemporary Koreans could ever dream of such an unusual achievement. His vision of world

¹¹³Yonggi Cho, *Great Business Men*, Seoul, 1982, pp.53-56.

¹¹⁴Ja-Sil Choe, *ibid.*, pp.254-256. There were some other prophecies that night and all were fulfilled.

evangelization has been solidified through his continuous campaigns in the world. At his third world evangelization tour through North America and South America in 1967, he opened his heart to take part in evangelizing the world.¹¹⁵ Next year, having visited North America and England for five weeks, especially after his visit to England, he deeply felt the need for ‘exporting the Korean way of faith to the world,’ which was characterized by the work of the Holy Spirit, as with the early church.¹¹⁶ When his church built a new sanctuary of 10,000 seats on Yoido Island, it was called ‘the altar of the nation,’ which hinted that it would be a tool to evangelize Korea and the world. In February 1976, his church began to construct the ten-story world mission centre in its compound. His vision of world evangelization developed into the vision of his congregation. In that same year, he organized the Church Growth International (C.G.I.).

His vision of world evangelization was two decades prior to that of the Korean Protestant churches, which has begun to organize world mission since 1980. When the Korean Church began to unite to evangelize the nation of Korea around 1965, Cho not only participated in this, but beyond this, he had already embraced world evangelization in his heart. His vision was different from the traditional sense of world mission. His vision was to make the world know Christ regardless of its being the western Christian world or the third world. In this sense, his vision was more to revive Christianity although he does not disregard world mission in the least. For him, world mission and revival in the Christian world are not separate.

His ministry is finally characterized by healing in wholeness. In 1993, Cho answered the question as to what was the most difficult thing in his 35 years of ministry (1958-1993) as follows:

Originally I was revived from tuberculosis and have always been weak owing to constant malnutrition. Therefore, the biggest problem of my ministerial life was physical weakness. The reason why I have prayed so much for sick people was because it was the way to help myself as well. First of all, I had to definitely believe in divine healing to see the miracles. Under such an unhealthy condition, my daily pulpit life was like fighting with death. After marriage, I once served the Lord keeping my written testament. Now I am most healthy in my life.¹¹⁷

As Jong-Ho Byeon commented on him as ‘the man who was born by (the providence of) God, was brought up by (the hand of) God, and was being used by (the power of) God,’¹¹⁸ it seems that he was prepared especially through the way of his physical weakness. Here we see that the character of Cho’s ministry was coloured by his instinct for self-preservation. His experience of sufferings from protracted diseases and poverty must have influenced his emphasis on healing

¹¹⁵“An Interview with Yonggi Cho,” in *PE* (5. 11. 1967). On his way to Rio de Janeiro, Cho visited Springfield, Missouri and had an interview with J. Philip Hogan.

¹¹⁶*The Bogeum Sinmun (The Gospel News)*, Seoul (24. 11. 1968). When he introduced the morning prayer meeting of Korean Christians in Japan and England, the pastors there were really impressed, he said. In his view, England was a huge mission field where Korean way of faith and the Holy Spirit movement would revive them. He also mentioned the importance of the economic development of Koreans.

¹¹⁷Yonggi Cho, at an interview with FEBC broadcast programme, “Let Us Be One.” (9. 9. 1993); He suffered from tuberculosis, a heart problem, pneumonia, anaemia, and haemorrhoids.

¹¹⁸Jong-Ho Byeon, *ibid.*, pp.155-156.

ministry in both physical and material realms. He aimed, therefore, to find practical solutions for existential problems rather than to seek ideal and aesthetic values through Christianity. The theological formulation of *Sunbogeumism*, Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation (8.3.1; 8.3.2), should have relation with this situation.

6.4. RAPID GROWTH AND STABILIZATION OF *SUNBOGEUM* PENTECOSTALISM (1958-1966)

This period of eight years corresponds to the growth and stabilization of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism. The two major events of 1958, namely, the establishment of the tent church of Yonggi Cho and Ja-Sil Choe in May and the pentecostal campaign by Byrd and Hurston in July, marked the 'birth' of Korean *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism (cf. 6.2.9). However, the real *Sunbogeum* 'movement' followed after the establishment of the *Sunbogeum* Revival Centre at the West Gate by Cho and Choe in 1961, but beforehand the denomination had to pass through another crisis in that year. In 1966, Cho was elected superintendent of the Korea Assemblies of God. This indicated that Koreans could now undertake the leadership, on the one hand, and Yonggi Cho's role in this movement was recognized together with his church, on the other.

In this section, we describe how the movement developed in this period. The activities of the missionaries, the development of the congregations including Yonggi Cho's church, the development of *Sunbogeum* consciousness, relations with other churches, the solidification of the movement through the crisis by Wan-Sik Lee, the Global Conquest Programme of the American Assemblies of God, and the formation of *Sunbogeum* theology will be discussed.

6.4.1. *Activities of the Missionaries (1958-1966)*

As the work in Korea increased, more missionaries to Korea were appointed by the Assemblies of God after 1958. There were ten missionaries and one chaplain in Korea in 1960. In 1965, eight missionaries served in Korea.

The first task of the missionaries was to set up the leadership. Until 1965, American missionaries were elected to the position of superintendent. Even though they said they were reluctantly elected to that position because of the mutual jealousy of the Korean leaders (Chestnut and Stetz), in violation of the mission principle of letting the indigenous leadership take control of the organization, we think that the missionary leadership during this period must have been beneficial to the denomination. Under their leadership, the Koreans were able to grow and become ready to take over the leadership from them in 1966.

The second important thing missionaries had to do in Korea was to teach at the theological seminary. The post of principal of the seminary was occupied by missionaries. Missionaries and their wives gave lectures together with Korean leaders. For example, three missionaries, three of their wives, five denominational lecturers, and four visiting lecturers formed the seminary faculty under the principal, John Hurston, in 1964. Their teaching ministry was important in establishing a healthy pentecostal theology for Korean pentecostalism. Otherwise, it would have

fallen into an uncontrollable spiritual movement as we have seen in the ministries of Yong-Do Yi or Korean sectarians.

The third missionary task was to find financial support for Koreans in this period. As with any early missions society, help was expected by the mission fields, so the early Korean pentecostals made American missionaries their financial sources. As early as in 1958, at the general assembly, they discussed self-supporting finance in the future and voted for the monthly membership fee of the pastors and the congregations. But this was hardly put into practice. In the fiscal year of 1963 to 1964, more than 96% of all the denominational expenses was covered by the mission funds. Only 1,6% of them was covered by the membership fee of the pastors. In the period of May 1965 to April 1966, the share of congregations and the pastors' membership fee covered 3,4% of all the expenses. Even though the situation had improved compared to the previous year, the finances were still absolutely dependent upon the mission funds. Almost 76% of the expenses of the seminary (February 1962-December 1963) was contributed by the support from America and 24% was paid by the tuition fee and dormitory fee. The support of the Korean congregations for the seminary was less than 0,5 % of the cost. Until the mid-sixties, the financial support of the missionaries played an important role in building up the denomination.

In addition to these tasks, missionaries were involved in various kinds of ministries: pioneering new congregations; distributing Bibles and Gospel literature; distributing relief food and clothing; managing orphanages; advising and assisting Korean pastors; evangelizing through the radio ministry, tent campaigns, and revival meetings; ministering to the thousands of American servicemen in Korea; conducting prison services in penal institutions; ministering to the deaf; and running their own missionary body.¹¹⁹

6.4.2. *Development of the Congregations (1958-1966)*

From 1958 to 1959, there was an increase of eleven congregations with 616 members, resulting in 48 congregations with 2,300 members. There were eleven pastors and eighteen co-pastors who were also leading the congregations in 1959. Here we observe the start of a real *Sunbogeum* congregation by Yonggi Cho and Ja-Sil Choe. From the early part of 1958, Ja-Sil Choe began to gather children in the open air to teach them the Bible and pray on the northwestern outskirts of Seoul. Soon she bought an army tent. On the 18th May 1958, a tent church was started by Ja-Sil Choe and Yonggi Cho with five members: Choe, her three children, and Cho, who was only invited to preach on Sundays while he was preparing to go to study in America. Choe devoted her life to bringing the Gospel. For several weeks no adults came, and Cho did not come to the church for about two months after the foundational service because no adults were there to hear his sermon.¹²⁰ Choe was quite disappointed with her situation, seeing that the poor and war-stricken people

¹¹⁹KAOG, *Korea Assemblies of God 30 Years History*, Seoul, 1981, pp.128-140.

¹²⁰Ja-Sil Choe, *I Was the Hallelujah Lady*, Seoul, 1981, pp.216-223. Cho did not finish his sermon and left the foundational service as one invited old lady was sleeping during his preaching. He did not come for about two months until he was asked to come to pray for a paralysed lady. He was 22 years old and always impetuous.

did not pay attention to her 'heavenly good news.' One day, as she was praying in the tent in total frustration, she had a vision of a huge diseased flock of sheep which were being cured by her hands. Several days later, coming home downhearted from her evangelization tour, she received another vision: the bleeding feet of the Lord which walked ahead of her, and her stained silk skirt.¹²¹ She repented and began to have conviction in her ministry even though it had not yielded any fruit.

Then, there was a happening which provided momentum and which was to decide the fate of the church. At the end of June 1958, a paralysed woman, who had been in bed for seven years and was going to die, was healed through her prayer and care. She fasted four days for the woman, then on the fourth day she called Cho to pray together with her. When the news spread that the cured woman came to the church, it set the entire village in uproar. For the first time, Cho and Choe both felt that the ministry would come. Cho decided to come on Sunday and Wednesday to preach. It was July 1958. Soon two old women customers of the shaman were saved with their families. Choe prayed the 'triple-prayer' (tongues, overnight, and fasting) and she sat up during the night for ten years from that time. About twenty adults formed the congregation. They built a small block house beside the tent and Cho moved in. Thus the full-scale ministry started, and *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism was born. Cho preached boldly and Choe visited people to preach the Gospel. Various diseases were healed and such experiences made the congregation believe and serve God in reality.

Divine healings as well as visions and prophecies accompanied their work. Triple-prayer in faith, applying the blood of Jesus Christ,¹²² entirely relying upon the power of the Holy Spirit, and casting out demons were the four essentials for divine healing. Because they firmly believed that diseases and worldly problems were caused by sins and Satan, they asked sick people to confess their sins and to accept Jesus. Thereafter, they rebuked Satan in the name of Jesus Christ. The demons of poverty and alcoholism were also cast out and the people healed.¹²³ *Sunbogeum* theology was conceived under these circumstances.

As the congregation steadily grew, more tents (in the end seven tents) were attached to each other. In October 1961, it had 500 adult registered members and 300 persons attending the service. About 350 Sunday school children attended. All of the male Sunday school teachers became pastors later.¹²⁴ This church did not put up a signboard. People called it *Sunbogeum* church or tent church at Daejo-Dong. Around this time, people joined the congregation from other parts of Seoul.

Wan-Sik Lee's crisis in 1961 again caused a sensation in the denomination. The most outstanding leaders of the organization, Wan-Sik Lee, Gyu-Chang Jeong, and Mun-Hui Yu, left and the cohesive power of the denomination was shaken by this. Even though the pentecostal campaigns by American evangelists stirred the spirituality of the Koreans, the organizational growth of the denomination was still to suffer until the end of this crisis. Then the movement settled down.

¹²¹ibid., pp.224-226.

¹²²The blood of Jesus was shed on the cross not only for the forgiving of our sins but also for healings as was prophesied by Isaiah (Is.53) and confirmed by Matthew (Matt.8:16-17) and Peter (1Pet.2:24).

¹²³ibid., pp.268, 332.

¹²⁴Yoido Full Gospel Church, ed., *Sunday School Prospectus-1995*, Seoul, p.67. At least 8 names are listed.

As Wan-Sik Lee's crisis was over and the first story of the Revival Centre at West Gate was completed (15.10.1961), Cho and Choe were invited to start a new church by missionary Hurston. At first, only two families followed them from the tent church.¹²⁵ The second period of their ministry and *Sunbogeum* church started. This church started as a revival centre according to the support of the Global Conquest Project (cf. 6.4.6). They put up the signboard 'Full Gospel Revival Centre' (*Sunbogeum Jungang Buheung Hoegwan*). In May 1962, it was changed to Full Gospel Central Church (*Sunbogeum Jungang Gyohyoe*), because they realized that the congregation needed to have an organized function if the movement was to grow continuously. Yonggi Cho began to preach with more conviction and clarity on his principle of the Triple Blessing. Choe's triple-prayer did not cease. The congregation were happy with the experience of living in God even though most of them were poor. *Sunbogeumism* spread and settled as a movement.

The congregation grew rapidly. The crucial point for it was Cho's clear-cut principles. The first principle he learned during his early ministry at West Gate when his 1,200 seat sanctuary was quite empty was that of close collaboration with the Spirit: the Holy Spirit as the senior partner of his church and Cho as the junior partner. Soon he learned a second principle: it is said God told him that He could only work through Cho's dreams or visions. Therefore, he had to pray and wait before God to incubate them in his heart. The third principle he learned in 1964 was the cell-system. It was to mobilize lay people for evangelization. Having started with about 100 members in 1961, the annual increase amounted to 1,000 by the application of these principles for a decade.¹²⁶

It is helpful to say more about cell system because of both its role in this church and its influence on other churches in the world. In 1964, after his nervous breakdown (6.3.2.1), he found the principle in the Bible (Exodus 18:13-27; Acts 2:42-47), which is that of the church growing to become a huge organic body of Christ. The cell leaders are the essence of the growth of this church. The district meeting had been used in the Methodist Church as a means to take care of the souls since the breaking up of the Anglican Church's parish system by the Methodist free evangelization movement. However, Cho has developed the cell-system in this church as a primary means for evangelization.¹²⁷ House cell groups are focused on saving souls. All its other activities like worshipping God, learning and teaching the

¹²⁵Ja-Sil Choe, *ibid.*, p.358; ITI, *Church History of Korea Assemblies of God*, Seoul, 1993, pp.191-195. According to this source, the number registered at the tent church in 1961 amounted to 1,000 members and 600 attended. When the new church was opened at West Gate, about 600 followed them to this new church. The author followed the description of Choe because it was published earlier. However, we can reason the difference in two ways. First, the number 1,000 may be the total number of adults and children. Second, at first two families followed them to the new church, but later more moved to the West Gate. One other source says 300 moved from the tent church to the West Gate church (brochure: History of the Yoido Full Gospel Church); The Daejo-Dong *Sunbogeum* Church remained and continued until now as an important church in KAOG with an adult membership of 2,500. Jeong-Geun Pak is the pastor.

¹²⁶Yonggi Cho, "God Gave Me A Dream," in *PE* (4. 11. 1979). God asked him to change his vision of 1,000 members per year to a vision of 1,000 per month in 1973. In 1978, God asked him to have the vision of 3,000 per month. Then he fasted and prayed until he had those visions in his heart. It happened; ITI, *ibid.*, pp.197-201; *idem*, *More than numbers*, Seoul, SBPC, 1993, p.18.

¹²⁷Church Growth International, ed., *Church Growth and the Home Cell System*, Seoul, n.d., p.41. Cho says that there are two main purposes of the cell system: evangelization and spiritual growth.

word of God, having *koinonia*, training successive cell leaders, and receiving God's blessing through prayer follow after it. Each cell is like a nucleus. When a cell grows to twenty families, it will be divided into two cells (cell division). The church has mainly grown by cell multiplication. Cho, as the leader of the system, has concentrated his effort on training the cell leaders. They all become the extensions of his ministry. Therefore, the church is working and growing all the year round through cells.¹²⁸ The significance of this system may be described as follows. First, it is a method to mobilize the lay people. It is an application of the Reformation belief in the priesthood of all believers and some principles of the Wesleyan lay-preacher movement. It is also to fulfil the most important task of the minister (Eph. 4:11-12). Second, the cell-system is the living 'cell of the body of Christ, the church.' It is neither a mere home meeting or house church, nor a centre for charity or another church service, but a basic part of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church with the definite goal of a homogeneous membership. Third, it can only function in a congregation where people rely upon the work of the Holy Spirit. It is not primarily an organization but a phenomenon of life in God. Therefore, a vast congregation can be built on this cell-system as a life-flowing and organic congregation. Fourth, it rendered great services to mobilize Korean women in serving God. In 1995, 85% of all home cell leaders were women. They are not only more inclined to be obedient to the voice of the Holy Spirit, but also have more free time to visit neighbours and to bring the Gospel to them. After their training, they become faithful workers. Through this, women's status in Korea must have been raised, where *Han* (resentment) and shamanism had been deeply lodged among them.

In 1964, the statistics of denominational congregations were reported, except for eleven congregations, at the general assembly for the first time after the crisis: 48 congregations with about 5,000 adult members (about 2,280 baptized members, about 1,600 Spirit-baptized members) and about 3,800 Sunday school children.¹²⁹ From these figures, the *Sunbogeum* Central Church was made up of 2,000 adults (1,000 baptized, 700 Spirit-baptized) and 500 Sunday school children.

In 1966, the number of the total congregations increased to 63. This means the number of the congregations increased by almost 30% in two years. Those attending the church increased by almost 92%, from 5,000 in 1964 to 9600 in 1966.¹³⁰ The average size of the congregation not counting *Sunbogeum* Central Church was 83 adults in this year. In this same year, there were fourteen out of 62 congregations, excluding the *Sunbogeum* Central Church, that had a congregation numbering between 100 and 300. The *Sunbogeum* Central Church grew to a congregation of over 4,000 enthusiastic adult members at the end of 1965. It was growing to the heart of the pentecostal movement in Seoul as well as in Korea.

The number of pastors and co-pastors developed as follows: 29 (1959), 36 (1960), 33 (1961), 30 (1962), 37 (1963), 47 (1964), 48 (1965), and 56 (1966). Here

¹²⁸Yonggi Cho, *More Than Numbers*, Seoul, 1993, pp.9-54; idem, *Successful Cell*, Seoul, 1978/12th ed., 1994, pp.9-30. In the early part of the 1990s, there were 25,272 cells in this church.

¹²⁹KAOG, *Minutes* (1964). We can only guess the statistics of the denomination. Almost a quarter of the total congregations of the denomination did not report their situations. The numbers that are suggested were calculated by the author according to the assumption that the unreported congregations had the average size of the other reported congregations.

¹³⁰The figures suggested were also calculated according to the principle that was indicated in the previous footnote.

we clearly see that the crisis of the denomination (1961) hindered an increase in leaders. At the same time, when we consider the total of 88 graduates of the seminary from 1958 to 1966 and fifteen pastors and co-pastors in 1964 who had entered from outside and remained in this organization, we can see that there were not a few of changes (reception and recession) in the leadership. Nevertheless, after Lee's crisis, the denomination settled down as a movement with one accord.

Apart from this development, the deaf ministry needs to be looked at. It was started by Betty Haney, who studied at the Central Bible College of the American Assemblies of God (Missouri) and served as a government employee of the United States in Korea (1958-1965). Having learned the Korean sign language, she opened her Bible class for deaf people in Seoul. Little by little her ministry spread to all main cities of Korea. When she gained pastor Seong-Man Choe for the full-time deaf ministry in 1961, the work began to flourish. By the end of 1964, there were ten congregations, seventeen trained workers, and about 500 deaf people attending. In 1964, a deaf Christian conference was held in Korea for the first time. Out of 60,000 Korean deaf people, 60 attended. Deaf groups in America helped this ministry.¹³¹ In this way, Korean pentecostalism has taken the initiative in deaf ministry up to the present time.

6.4.3. *Development of Sunbogeum Consciousness (1958-1966)*

Yonggi Cho and Ja-Sil Choe first adopted the designation of *Sunbogeum* for the title of their congregation 'objectively' when they started it in 1958. In 1961, as they pioneered another church at the West Gate, it was called *Sunbogeum* Revival Centre. *Sunbogeum* movement became known to the general public from this date. For several years, however, people in the denomination as well as outside it, regarded *Sunbogeum* as the title of Cho's reviving congregation. Therefore, in 1964, out of 48 congregations of the Korean Assemblies of God, only two congregations were called *Sunbogeum* Church and these two were founded by Cho: the first tent church at Daejo-Dong (*Sunbogeum* Church) and the new one at the West Gate (*Sunbogeum* Central Church). Two other congregations in the denomination were called Gospel Church (복음교회: *Bogeum Gyohoe*) and all other congregations adopted their titles from the place or ideal meaning. It seems that some pastors in the denomination identified *Sunbogeum* (Pure Gospel) with *Bogeum* (Gospel) at this stage. But the situation changed rapidly for the reason that *Sunbogeum* boom of the Central Church spread like wild-fire. In two years (1966), out of 63 churches, nine had the designation *Sunbogeum* and nine had the designation *Bogeum* (Gospel). All others were called by usual names.

Sunbogeum was now generally recognized by the leaders of the denomination as the designation for Korean pentecostalism. That was the reason why they discussed changing the name of the denomination from the Korean Assemblies of God to the Christian *Daehan Sunbogeum* Assembly at the general assembly in 1966. But, not a few members of the denomination hesitated to identify themselves with

¹³¹Seong-Man Choe, "Bringing Korean Deaf to Christ," in *PE* (3.1.1965); Maxine Strobbridge, "Reaching Some of Korea's 60,000 Deaf," op. cit. (29.1.1967).

Sunbogeumism yet. Outside the Korean Assemblies of God, people still supposed it to be Yonggi Cho's church name or a type of frantic faith.

6.4.4. Relations with Other Churches (1958-1966)

South Korea experienced two revolutions in this period: the student revolution in 1960 and the military revolution in 1961. Under the leadership of military regime, Korean society began to settle down politically and started a new better-life movement. The long-suffering Koreans began to dream of self-identity through a self-support economy in this period. It was a period of hope for Korean society by and large. For the first time in the history of Korean Christianity, some liberal theologians began to develop indigenous theology. The 'Evangelizing Korea' movement had been introduced by the Presbyterian general assembly in 1961 and it resulted in the forming of an interdenominational organization, including the Catholic Church, in 1965. The slogan for this campaign was 'To lead 30 million to the Christ.' Among the 300 national committees from nineteen denominations and various Christian organizations, five Korean Assemblies of God pastors were included. The Korean Church, at this stage, acknowledged the need for total union of the interdenominational sources, and determined not to criticize or reject others. The exceptions were the sectarian groups.¹³²

Therefore, in this period, there was no tension between pentecostalism and other churches. Rather, both parties began to cooperate in the evangelization of Korea. This was especially obvious among the revivalists of other denominations and pentecostals, because both shared the common ground of emphasizing the work of the Spirit. The Korean Church in this period developed a new revival and evangelization meeting, which was called 'the holy meeting of spiritual revival' (심령부흥성회: 心靈復興聖會: *Simryeong Buheung Seonghoe*). Such a meeting had been already manifested by the ministries of Yong-Do Yi and Un-Mong Na. But at this stage it was popularized in the Korean churches. Well trained Korean revivalists like Hyeon-Gyun Sin (Presbyterian), Chung-Gi Kim (Baptist), and Man-Sin Lee (Holiness) devoted themselves to such meetings. Having experienced in the Holy Spirit and built large congregations, those revivalists naturally welcomed pentecostalism. At the same time, speaking in other tongues and miracles were not strange to them. They were friends of Yonggi Cho and worked together for the evangelization of Korea. In this way, the friendship between pentecostal pastors and evangelists of other denominations contributed to the building up of good relations between pentecostalism and other churches. But the relations between theologians of both sides did not yet develop at this period.

In 1961, *Sunbogeum* Revival Centre was opened at West Gate and Yonggi Cho preached the *Sunbogeum* message full-fashioned. Ja-Sil Choe's prayer and frequent visit of American pentecostal evangelists as well as Hurston's co-work at the centre added more liveliness to Yonggi Cho's ministry. The real *Sunbogeum* movement started from that time. At the end of 1965 it had about 4,000 members. Only the Young-Nak Presbyterian Church surpassed the *Sunbogeum* Central Church in the number of the congregation. Considering the fact that the Korean Protestant

¹³²Sung Joon Kim, *A History of Korean Churches*, Seoul, 1993, pp.280-285.

churches were oriented to the individual-congregation principle, we may guess that it was a shock to pastors of other churches. Many members of the Central Church were those who had moved from other churches. That gave other churches and pastors a warning against this congregation, but at the same time, it woke them up from neglecting pneumatology and a new type of life-giving worship. Such shifts continued until other churches theologically tolerated the filling in the Spirit and speaking in other tongues in their own churches in the 1970s.

6.4.5. *Crisis and Wan-Sik Lee (1960-1961)*

In 1957, the missionaries hired Wan-Sik Lee, who was a deacon of Busan Assemblies of God congregation, to work in the mission's headquarters as the office manager and legal adviser with the main responsibility being that of forming and establishing the juridical person (6.2.6.3). He was also called to protect the property from the schismatic group (Hong Heoh in 1957). As a graduate of Waseda University in Tokyo and having had experience in business for several years, he was well qualified to take that position. Through his endeavour the juridical person was founded in October 1957. This was his great achievement, but an erroneous idea was being formed by him.

Not only were the missionaries ignorant of the Korean language and juridical affairs but also they placed full confidence in him. Lee was able to take full advantage of them for three years. As a missions manager hired by the missionaries, he assumed that he had been entrusted with the post of general secretary of the denomination and the seminary overseer since 1958. Young pastors of the Korean Assemblies of God, who relied upon the missionaries, took it as a matter of course.¹³³ No pastors of the movement were able to be compared with him in administrative matters. Being stationed at the mission centre and the seminary, he became an influential person in the denomination. He found companions, Gyu-Chang Jeong and Mun-Hui Yu, who joined the movement from the Presbyterian denomination and were teaching at the seminary, to help him with the work for the denomination. While most pastors, who only attended the general assembly once in a year, were devoting themselves to saving souls and building congregations, denominational politics was swayed by Lee's administration. In 1959, he came into conflict with missionary Johnston and eventually this missionary family left Korea on account of this in 1960. In this same year, Yonggi Cho's ministerial licence was revoked and he was expelled from the denomination on the grounds that healings of the various diseases in his church was not Biblical. Wan-Sik Lee was the ringleader of this matter as well.¹³⁴ Two executive members left the denomination (during the latter part of 1959 or early 1960) for no particular reason.¹³⁵ Some board members

¹³³John Stetz, international telephone interview to Cucamonga, California (17. 6. 1999). Stetz said Lee was elected neither as the general secretary nor the student overseer officially. He simply assumed this and acted on this assumption. Young pastors just took it for granted; In the *Minutes* (1958), Lee was called the executive official of the headquarters. Then he became a member of the general assembly. Further, because Gyu-Chang Jeong and Mun-Hui Yu were elected central executive members of the denomination in 1958 and 1959, Lee and they were able to cooperate in this matter.

¹³⁴Dong-Uk Im, telephone interview in Seoul (5. 2. 1998). Im told the author that Lee hated Yonggi Cho at that time and repented it later. Im heard this from Lee, he said.

¹³⁵One of the two was Seong-Deok Yun. He did not hold any leadership office afterwards.

of the committee of examination for the ministry and the committee of the drafting constitution were illegally dismissed.¹³⁶ The political situation of the denomination around this time sent up a danger signal. Even though Lee manifested his driving force in accomplishing the mission-projects, he was regarded as a dangerous character by the American Assemblies of God.

In early 1960, it appeared that Lee and two other pastors, Gyu-Chang Jeong and Mun-Hui Yu, had been “laying plans to eventually overthrow the missionaries and take control of the mission themselves.”¹³⁷ This event caused the greatest crisis for the pentecostal missionaries in Korea. However, the details were not discovered until a special representative was sent in 1960 from the American headquarters, which was ready to invest about 100,000 dollars in building an evangelistic centre and the Bible school according to the Global Conquest Project,¹³⁸ to investigate if the properties were secure before it sent the money. An investigation was made. It was found that Lee put only one missionary and four Korean pastors on the board of directors of the juridical person instead of putting two missionaries and three Koreans.¹³⁹ Furthermore, missionaries discovered that Lee and his associates had changed the constitution with reference to the alterations they made in the membership of directors without going through due formalities. The most damaging change they made was that they omitted the article protecting properties which were purchased and built entirely with foreign money.¹⁴⁰ When the missionaries discovered these changes, they brought the matter to the attention of the executive committee of the denomination and the board of directors of the juridical person. Lee did not yield.¹⁴¹ The denomination was plunged into confusion. This matter became an issue at the annual general assembly in April 1961. The names of Wan-Sik Lee and Gyu-Chang Jeong did not appear in the *Minutes* of this year. Only Mun-Hui Yu was asked to explain before the general assembly about the wrong use of *Dojang* (seal). These three were the most active persons in the organization from 1958 until 1960. In this assembly (1961), the attorney Seong-Su Hwang, who had helped with the denominational legal affairs, was called and pointed out that Korean board of directors of the juridical person had acted in a scandalous way. In the *Minutes*, it was recorded that some members of the board of directors violated the rules. Stetz says that Lee, Jeong, and Yu illegally used the seal of missionary Johnston to change those matters. At the same time, he says, Lee and Jeong influenced the other members of the directors and the executive committee to violate

¹³⁶This matter was later found when Lee’s affairs were disclosed (*Minutes* of September 1961).

¹³⁷Stetz, “Brief Outline of Korea Assemblies of God,” 1961, p.3. This is the version of AAOG.

¹³⁸See 6.4.6.

¹³⁹It seems that Johnston’s place was switched to a Korean. This is not confirmed.

¹⁴⁰Dong-Uk Im, telephone interview to Seoul (2.3.1998). Im says this article was found to be deleted after Wan-Sik Lee had left the denomination. It was a mystery, he said. He cannot believe that Lee did it on purpose.

¹⁴¹John Stetz, international telephone interview to Cucamonga, California (17.6.1999). Department of Foreign Missions director of the AAOG, J. Phillip Hogan, and Field Secretary for the Far East of the AAOG, Maynard L. Ketcham, met those three (Lee, Jeong, and Yu) and talked several hours. Lee and his associates firmly asserted that Koreans would build the denomination by themselves. They said they did not need missionaries.

them.¹⁴² In the end Lee failed to register the changes with the court house. The changes became invalid. Stetz wrote about it as follows:

One thing led to another and it was found that there were many discrepancies in the constitution of the juridical person and also that instead of having about 35 pieces of property registered with the Committee for Education at the City Hall and at the Ministry of Education, there were the original three pieces only. When this special representative from America, Reverend Harold Headrick, tried to discuss these matters with the Board of Directors of the juridical person, Deacon Lee got angry that we were prying into these affairs and jeopardizing their long range plans of seizing control of the mission and all of the property.¹⁴³

This matter was brought to the courts. Lee lost. It was further found that they wanted to take all the properties of the missionaries and send them back to America. Stetz stated that during this period only one Korean pastor, Jong-Su Park, out of 34 pastors stood with the missionaries to help the lawyer and eventually they did not lose the case. Sang-Ho Kim furnished another piece of information to the effect that Lee, as 'the manager of the denomination,' intended to invest the missions funds in tungsten mining so that the title of the profits would cover the needs of the denomination.¹⁴⁴ Lee's position of heavy responsibility as a young Christian among simple and uneducated pentecostals, seemed to make him fall victim to some kind of self-complacency.¹⁴⁵

The general assembly of 1961, attended by 66 members, was carried out in a disorderly way. On the fourth day, Hurston knelt down during the session and wailed saying: "This is our fault. We, missionaries, will repent."¹⁴⁶ Other missionaries followed him to weep and pray. The atmosphere was changed. On this day, missionaries fasted and prayed all night. Next day the assembly ended with

¹⁴²KAOG, *Minutes* (1960). The members of executive committee in 1960 were Peterson, Stetz, Mun-Hui Yu, Gyu-Chang Jeong, Sang-Ho Kim, Seong-Hwan Kim, and Chan-Seok Yang; Dong-Uk Im, intern. telephone interview to Seoul (2.3.1998). John Stetz, intern. telephone interview to California (28.2.1998). Arthur Chestnut, intern. telephone interview to California (2.3.1998). Im, who helped Lee and worked with him, had a different opinion. This is his version of it. In 1954, Chestnut registered the property (Bible school) in Korea under the name of AAOG. When the juridical person for Korean church property was set up in 1957, the previous property and missionary houses were registered in this new juridical person as the donated property. When the AAOG heard about the separation of Heoh, who was believed to have taken some missionary property with him and the unfaithfulness of Wan-Sik Lee from missionary Richard Johnston, who had been driven out by Lee, the AAOG wanted to establish its own juridical person in Korea to protect its property. Lee opposed it on the grounds that the existing juridical person was enough. This friction caused serious trouble. But Stetz tells a different story. Considering the *Minutes* and the leaving of Lee and Jeong before the gathering of general assembly in 1961, we can suppose that Lee opposed the establishment of AAOG juridical person because he had undertaken some improper attempts. The missionary juridical person was eventually established in May 1961.

¹⁴³Stetz, "Brief Outline of Korean Assemblies of God," 1961, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴Sang-Ho Kim, interview (27.2.1996); Dong-Uk Im, tel. interview in Seoul (5.2.1998). Im says even though Lee was involved in other business, he did not invest mission funds in his tungsten business. Rather, Lee helped the mission through income from his business, he says.

¹⁴⁵ KAOG, *1997 Year Book*, Seoul, 1997, p.88-89. Lee is written about thus, "He rendered distinguished services for the developments of the seminary and the denomination. But, later, working as the general secretary of the denomination, he often made trouble with the missionaries on account of his exceeding self-righteousness and at last left the denomination.;" Stetz says, Lee had 'evil motives.'

¹⁴⁶Ja-Sil Choe, *ibid.*, p.350.

resolving that Lee and his associates be expelled from the denomination. Lee joined the Presbyterian Church, Jeong went to the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, and Yu joined the *Jehovah's* Witness. Interestingly, during the session of the assembly, Yonggi Cho was hovering between life and death in the military hospital from the after-effect of his abdominal operation (6.3.2.1). Next month, the missionary juridical person was established for the purpose of keeping missionaries' own property. When Cho was discharged from service on account of physical weakness in August 1961, his pastoral licence was restored.

In early September they held an extraordinary general meeting. It took follow-up measures after the Lee crisis. The leadership was established by the graduates of *Sunbogeum* seminary for the first time even though the superintendent was still occupied by the missionary. Yonggi Cho, who began to play an active role in the denomination, was elected to a member of central executive committee. Soon after this assembly, Todd's evangelization campaign started beside the construction of the revival centre. Next month Cho and Choe resigned from the tent church and pioneered another church which became the revival centre.

Around that difficult time, a lady minister in Chungcheong-Do province got a vision of a large mirror which was exactly fulfilled between the years of 1959-1961. Stetz reported this as follows:

She saw a great mirror shattered in about 50 pieces and all scattered. Then she saw a hand gather all of the pieces together to form a new mirror and then an iron band was placed around the mirror like a strong metal frame to protect it from damage. The interpretation was that the Korean Assemblies of God would suffer a shattering crisis with no organization, with pastors discouraged and everybody scattered. But then God would bring the pastors and churches together again in a new bond and stronger than ever.¹⁴⁷

The schismatic affairs of Heoh (1957) and Lee (1961) purified and strengthened the denomination. Stetz wrote, "God saved the work and brought all of the scattered churches and pastors back together and placed an iron frame around it. The vision was fulfilled."¹⁴⁸ As a result its work advanced with greater unity and effectiveness. After this crisis, when Cho began a new church at the revival centre in October, the real *Sunbogeum* movement started. It also taught them a lesson. Yo-Yeol Choe, who was the first graduate of the seminary (1955) and is still successfully leading a congregation commented on the matter as follows: "God does not like fighting. Those who were involved in the schisms and legal trials finished unfavourable lives."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷Stetz, "The History ...", p.5.

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

¹⁴⁹Yo-Yeol Choe, interview (20.1.1995). For example, Heoh, who had no sons, soon lost his daughter. Later, Wan-Sik Lee moved to a Presbyterian church and two other pastors, Jeong and Yu, could not serve the Lord. Myeong-Rok Cho, the main opponent of Yonggi Cho at the second schism, passed away without his ministry flourishing.

6.4.6. Global Conquest Project (1960-1963)

At the end of 1959 (28.12.1959) missionary Maynard L. Ketcham, the Field Secretary for the Far East, brought tremendous news: the American Assemblies of God chose Korea from among 70 nations in the world as 'Global Conquest Pilot Project.' Its idea was that they were going to see just how much a nation can be evangelized through properly backed effort. It decided to send 20,000 dollars to Korea immediately so that the missionaries could be free of raising the necessary funds for the field. This news encouraged Koreans as well as missionaries to carry on with their tasks with freshness in the period of schismatic difficulties.

It needs to be clarified why not China or the Philippines but Korea was chosen as the pilot project. Although pentecostalism had expanded in China from 1907 onwards, the door to further evangelization was closed since China fell to communism in 1946. Neither was the Philippines chosen. The first American Assemblies of God missionary couple arrived in Manila in 1926 and the denomination was organized in 1940. Even though the Filipinos possessed various favourable circumstances to accommodate Western culture and actually enjoyed parallel ministries with the American missionaries, there broke out no such a revival as in Korea.¹⁵⁰ Neither was Japan chosen. For American missionaries and Japanese Christians, Japan was the 'Key Nation of the Orient' and they dedicated themselves to making Christ known there. But the Foreign Mission Department gave its diagnosis of Japan as a mission field in 1960 as follows:

Many Japanese young people realize that 'Christ is the answer' to their problems, but filial piety and obedience are so ingrained in their very natures that few dare to take a stand for Christ. The infiltration of communism, a resurgent nationalism, and a widespread revival of interest in the traditional religions are all competing with Christianity to win the soul of Japan. The Shinto 'torii' overshadows the church spire on the skylines of Japanese cities. Japan has not felt the impact of a great spiritual awakening in this generation.¹⁵¹

The American Foreign Missions had already built the Tokyo Evangelistic Centre on one of the busy thoroughfares of Tokyo in 1953. Through it thousands have heard the Gospel and large numbers accepted Christ. However, compared to its equivalent centre in Seoul built in 1961, which eventually developed into the *Sunbogeum* Central Church of Yonggi Cho, the Tokyo centre turned out to be less powerful. Another example we can take so as to compare the spirituality of Koreans and the Japanese in the early pentecostal missions is to compare the reactions to the

¹⁵⁰Division of Foreign Missions (AAOG), "Field Focus, Philippines." The Philippines had had contact with the Western world for a long period through Spanish colonialism (16th-19th century) and American protectorate (1899-1935). Hence, apart from their national language, English and Spanish were widely used. Catholic friars converted the Filipinos to Catholicism under the Spanish administration so that most of them remained nominal Catholics. Under such a situation, American pentecostal missionaries were able to establish congregations and educational institutions but they could not see the revival as in Korea. In 1982, there were 65 American AOG missionaries (there were never so many AAOG missionaries in Korea at any one time) and 10 Bible schools in Philippines. The Far East Advanced School of Theology (FEAST) was also set up in that country as the unique AOG advanced theological school in Asia.

¹⁵¹idem, "Japan," 1960, p.15.

evangelist Harold Herman's campaigns in Tokyo (21 days in 1959) and in Seoul (24 days in 1957). Both were the first Assemblies of God evangelization campaigns in the two lands. Herman characterizes the difference between the two countries: "Only we saw many more miracles received by Korean people than in Japan. Also many more came to Jesus for salvation."¹⁵² Herman himself, who led evangelistic crusades in 35 countries, said, "Always, I praise God for giving so much faith to the Korean believers. It has helped to inspire the whole Christian world."¹⁵³

The evaluation of American Foreign Missions Department on Korean Christian history and the contemporary pentecostal movement resulted in deciding on Korea as the pilot project of the Global Conquest. First, it recognized the Pyongyang Revival in 1907 as the most unusual spiritual awakening that had ever swept a mission field. In addition, the morning prayer meeting, the enthusiasm for Bible-reading, the burning evangelism of every Christian, and the Nevius method of self-support of Korean Church were highly regarded as the 'model' for the rest of the world. Second, on the other hand, it saw the sad spectacle of the contemporary Korean Church in general which had lost its testimony. It was plagued by internal strife and power politics. Into this challenging situation, pentecostal testimony would wake up 'Samson in the lap of Delilah,' it analysed. Third, it partly secured the evidence supporting the fact that pentecostalism would thrive in Korea. It obtained the evidence through the response to the evangelistic crusades of Harold Herman (1957) and Ralph Byrd (1958), on the one hand, and through the pioneering spirit of the newly founded pentecostal congregations and the openness of other denominational churches to the pentecostal testimony, on the other hand. Thus, it realized that Korea stood more ready for a nationwide move towards God in a truly pentecostal revival than any other country. Fourth, it analysed the Korean situation as an uneasy one owing to the truce at the 38th parallel. It had to launch any investment as soon as possible because the time for missionary effort might be short in Korea. Therefore it decided to help the Korean Church so that it could carry on without missionary aid, should this become necessary.¹⁵⁴ Its project was composed of four programmes which will be described in following parts.

6.4.6.1. *Seminary Enlargement and Support to the Graduates (1960)*

As a means for training the indigenous workers, the project helped the *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary to relocate and erect a new campus. The seminary was located at Chungjeong-Lo 1 Ga, near West Gate and had accommodated 23 students until 1959. The seminary enlargement was important for the missionaries because they not only made training of the indigenous workers an important mission principle but also they keenly felt the necessity to carry out their own training of the students through the difficulties aroused by the placing of leaders from other organizations. Even though the land (eight acres at Daejo-Dong) had already been purchased mainly through the American funds in 1958, the construction was delayed because of financial shortage as well as Wan-Sik Lee's affair. Through the support of this project, the ground-breaking ceremony for the new campus, which would accommodate 100 students, took place in March 1960. In April of the same year, the

¹⁵²Harold C. Herman, letter to the author (4.1.1996).

¹⁵³idem, letter to the author (13.10.1995).

¹⁵⁴Foreign Missions Department (AAOG), "Korea," 1960, p.10; *PE* (April 10, 24, 1960).

seminary moved to the new site. This place of eight acres was to be used for the collective missions centre as well as the Bible Institute.¹⁵⁵ It produced relatively few graduates (five to eight) during the years of 1959 to 1963. Until 1965, it produced five to, at most, nineteen graduates every year. The total number of the graduates until 1965 added up to 105. When we consider the number of graduates, it did not rapidly expand in the first twelve years. In 1966, it had 65 students taking three years courses and fourteen lecturers (six Americans and eight Koreans).

Another programme of the Conquest Project to train indigenous workers was to strengthen the support of the seminary graduates who had already been sent into the field. They were filled with pioneering spirit without many material resources. They needed at most a tattered tent, or a few pieces of zinc sheet, or a few over-sized packing cases to erect a church if they could secure a small piece of land. The procedure generally followed in this way. A missionary and a pastor (or a seminary senior) would go into an untouched area and pitch a tent. Then they delivered literature and invited people to the meeting. During one week's services, they would conduct daybreak prayer meeting and three services (morning, afternoon, and evening) more in a day. At the close of the crusade the student was given sufficient financial aid so that he could remain to pastor the newly opened church.¹⁵⁶ Then people were gathering, praying, receiving the Spirit, and they formed another body of Christ. Because many displaced persons were living in temporary shelters after the Korean War, such makeshift erections were not unfamiliar to most Koreans. For the missionaries, it was a wonder to see such churches. Therefore, the Global Conquest project arranged funds for them to secure a vacant plot of land and pitch a tent. Such activities were generally accompanied by evangelization campaigns held by American missionaries or evangelists. Because Americans at that time were highly respected by Koreans, their campaigns easily drew their attention and many of them were converted. The project further sent a team of masons and carpenters to construct simple buildings so that they could gather in safer facilities than army tents. In this way it encouraged Korean pentecostalism to expand further. In the case of Ja-Sil Choe and Yonggi Cho, they had already started with a military tent (1958) before the project was introduced. Being able to sell her personal ornaments which had been left from her former wealth or to get paid debts left from her previous debtors (6.3.1), she managed the finances in the early days. Even though American evangelists were invited to preach in his tent church (later seven tents were attached), they did not depend upon missionary help.¹⁵⁷

6.4.6.2. The Third Campaign and Sunbogeum Revival Centre (1961)

The Global Conquest Project planned to erect an evangelistic centre in the heart of Seoul so that it might be the power source to evangelize not only Seoul but also all of Korea. It hoped that in this Revival Centre pentecostal meetings would be held nightly all year. It purchased about 1,000 square metres of land near Seodae-Mun (West Gate) in 1960. Even though its construction was delayed because of Wan-Sik

¹⁵⁵This land lay adjacent to the place where Ja-Sil Choe once wanted to establish orphanage. Cho's tent church was also pitched near to this land.

¹⁵⁶Division of Foreign Missions (AOG), "Field Focus: South Korea," April, 1978.

¹⁵⁷For two years of his early ministry Cho worked as an interpreter for the missionaries at the seminary. He got rewards for this, which helped his living as well.

Lee's plot, the first storey was completed and dedicated on Sunday, October 15 of 1961. As a part of this, the American Assemblies of God sent the American pentecostal healing evangelist Samuel J. Todd to launch a crusade. This was the third pentecostal campaign in Korea. A tent was pitched on a vacant lot next to the Centre which was under construction. The revival meeting lasted three weeks (24.9.-15.10.1961). During the latter days of the campaign, the crowd outside the tent had been larger than the capacity crowd inside. More than 3,000 people gave public testimony to salvation and large numbers testified to physical healing. Sometimes, about 200 sick people attended those meetings. Yonggi Cho, who had been discharged from military service, interpreted. According to Vinson Synan, this meeting furnished "valuable experience" to Cho and his new church when Todd introduced the prosperity teachings of such people as Oral Roberts during his revival meetings.¹⁵⁸ The dedication day of the Revival Centre (15.6.1961, Sunday) was the climax of the campaign. The seating capacity of the new building (1,500), its aisles, and the tent outside the building were filled with at least 3,000 people at 2. 30 p.m. for the service. In the evening service there was a larger crowd than in the afternoon. John Hurston described how the Holy Spirit worked in the first regular evangelistic service (night meeting of the dedication day) of the *Sunbogeum* Revival Centre:

More than 175 testified that they had definitely experienced salvation during the service. More than 100 testified to healing. A deaf mute heard and spoke. A blind person exclaimed, "I can see, I can see!" One woman, unable to walk, crawled on hands and knees from the street into the auditorium. She lay in the aisle and listened to the message. During the preaching of the word, her paralysed muscles began to receive life. At the close of the healing prayer she jumped to her feet, began to walk, wave her arms, and rejoice ecstatically.¹⁵⁹

In this way the Centre was dedicated as the fruit of the campaign. Hundreds of those who were saved or healed at the crusade regularly attended the services and at last just under 100 settled down as the members of the Revival Centre. It was the beginning of the *Sunbogeum* Central Church. Where did the multitude, who experienced or at least tasted pentecostalism through the campaign, go? Most of them surely went back to their own congregations or found their home at some other churches. It means pentecostal faith expanded in other churches in this way as well. This campaign especially showed liveliness because the denominational crisis was just over and the national life was again stabilized after the military revolution (16.5.1961).

Then Yonggi Cho and Ja-Sil Choe were called to take over the pastorate, even though John Hurston was in charge of it, and it now became 'a revival church.' Within four months, in February 1962, it had more than 500 regular attending members. In May of the same year, its name was changed to *Sunbogeum* Central

¹⁵⁸Vinson Synan, "The International Ministry of Dr. David Yonggi Cho," in *A Collection of Scholarly Papers in Collection of the 40th Anniversary of Dr. Yonggi Cho's Ministry: The Holy Spirit and Church I*, Seoul, 1996, p.231; Oral Roberts' book *3 Most Important Steps to Your Better Health and Miracle Living* (1976) explained the total salvation of spirit, soul, and body by the grace of good God. Cho's way of teaching is very similar to this. Because Roberts started his evangelistic campaign in 1947, Cho might have heard him earlier, but not to any great extent.

¹⁵⁹John Hurston, "Seoul Revival Center Dedicated," in *PE* (24. 12. 1961).

Church. It fulfilled its function as the Global Conquest had planned from the first: as the centre for the evangelization of Seoul and Korea.

Its task was elucidated at the dedication service using various sources. Evangelist Todd preached that divine, dynamic, and living faith would reach Korea from that platform and that the believers would find forgiveness for sins as well as physical healing together with the personal baptism of power and anointing in the Holy Spirit. Missionary John Stetz as the representative of the Foreign Missions Department said that they would expect the Revival Centre to be like that of the early church in Jerusalem from which the word of God would go forth with boldness, mighty signs, and wonders. The representative of the Office of the Minister of Education predicted that from the Revival Centre the fires of revival would spread to many denominations and churches. The Vice-Speaker of the National Congress also delivered an address at the service:

There is a secret in the atmosphere of the Revival Centre – a secret which can counteract the inter-church conflict that has wounded Christianity in the land of Korea. The God of the Bible is not a denominational God; He is the God of all believers. Let us all be Christians, not denominationalists. Pastors, your government calls on you to do more than preach. In these days we need to see your message in action. The recent religious strife which has torn our land has caused us to suffer a most serious national and church wound. Our religious fighting has become a tragedy which the whole world knows. Let us start practising Christianity. I want to be an example of the Christian faith in action. I would like to testify to my joy for the emphasis on the message of healing going out from this place. I deeply believe in divine healing, for I myself have been healed by the power of God.¹⁶⁰

In his address we find that the schisms of Korean great churches (the Presbyterians: 1951, 1953, and 1959; the Methodists: 1953; the Holiness:1960) provided a momentum for Koreans who were weary of church strife to them over to pentecostal revival. For the Global Conquest programme, the establishing of this Centre represented the successful culmination of its pilot project. This third campaign at last brought forth the evangelistic centre in Seoul which actively led the movement through Yonggi Cho's ministry. Now the movement began to get on the right track.

6.4.6.3. *The Fourth Campaign and the Expansion of Pentecostalism (1962)*

The Global Conquest sent Missionary Evangelist Tommy Reid and his team in 1962. Reid ministered not only at *Sunbogeum* Central Church where *Sunbogeum* fire was bursting into flame under Cho and Choe's ministry but also in another cities. He wrote about his experiences in Cheongju, Korea as follows:

Korea is responding to God as perhaps no other country is doing. Everywhere we ministered in Korea, multitudes gathered to hear the gospel. They responded to God in faith and we saw the greatest miracles of our lives. Cripples sprang to their feet, blind eyes were opened, short legs were lengthened, deaf ears were made to hear.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰John Hurston, *ibid.*

¹⁶¹Tommy Reid, "Cheongju: Global Conquest in Action," in *PE* (29.9.1963).

After this crusade in Cheongju, a Global Conquest Revival Centre was established there with the funds of Global Conquest and the offering of *Sunbogeum* Central Church in Seoul. Reid described how a local radio preacher, who had always felt that pentecostalism was heretical, attended the meeting and announced the next Sunday to his radio audience that the Assemblies of God preached the Bible the way it should be preached. Reid also mentioned that many people from other denominations attended the services. There was another example of how Korean Christians were open to pentecostal faith and the Global Conquest Project played an important role in building a bridge between pentecostalism and other churches.

Reid's team was invited in 1962 by the elder and principal Hong-Mo Kang of Yeongsaeng (Eternal Life) Presbyterian Church and Yeongsaeng Middle-High School with 1,600 pupils in Jeonju.¹⁶² Yonggi Cho accompanied them as the interpreter. Reid described the meeting there as follows:

The response of the people was wholehearted. To climax the second evening, I gave my testimony of healing from polio. Although these people had never been seen anyone pray for the sick, 25 of them later testified that they had been healed in the service. Miracles of healing were outstanding during the Jeonju crusade. These Presbyterians prayed all night. At any hour of the night we could hear the sounds of prayer as they lifted their hearts to God. A thousand or more regularly attended the 4:30 a.m. prayer meetings. The "Holy Ghost Meetings," held at 11 a. m. each day, were the most thrilling we have ever seen. The huge Presbyterian Church was packed. Several hundred stood outside. In just 2 services the Bible lady counted over 60 people who had received the Holy Spirit.¹⁶³

After the team left Jeonju, the American Missionary Margaret Carlow of the Assemblies of God held two weeks of Bible study at the school and the church. Thus pentecostalism expanded beyond the denominational boundary.

6.4.6.4. *Distribution of Literature (1963)*

The Korean Assemblies of God had already been translating American text books, tracts, and Japanese Sunday school lessons into Korean and using them in the congregations. But the Conquest project strengthened literature distribution because it was an effective method of evangelization for Koreans who were interested in learning, and the majority were literate. First of all, it wanted to put a first-class pentecostal magazine into the hands of every denominational pastor in Korea. Eventually it hoped to distribute it to the home of every Christian throughout Korea. The project began to circulate 500 mimeographed copies of Full Gospel Herald from October 1963, which was called the *Sunbogeum* in Korean. Next year the literature committee, headed by John Hurston, decided to print it and increase its circulation to

¹⁶²idem, "Pentecost Comes to a Presbyterian Campus," in *PE* (9.9.1962). When Mrs. Kang visited her two daughters who were attending school in Seoul, they all attended the Global Conquest Crusade in the Revival Centre in Seoul. They were healed of serious illnesses in the night services and all were filled with the Holy Spirit during the morning rallies. Mrs. Kang told her husband what had happened when she returned to Jeonju. Then Kang sent her back to Seoul to invite the team to his church and school. He was the founder of both the church and the school. The church was an independent Presbyterian Church. That was the reason why he could invite a pentecostal preacher to his church and school before it was well known.

¹⁶³ibid.

several thousand. It was not only the official monthly periodical of the denomination, but also was used as literature for campaign.

During the summer of 1964, the Ralph Byrd evangelistic team again held meetings in Seoul and in several other cities. The Seminary students from Seoul prepared for it by distributing literature: more than 500,000 tracts, 20,000 Gospel portions, 1,000 Bibles, and 40,000 copies of *Sunbogeum* were distributed. It was an effective way of making known pentecostal faith and drawing people to the crusades with great expectation. It was reported that the leaders of several other organizations requested subscriptions for the magazine.¹⁶⁴

Thus, the American Assemblies of God played a decisive role through theological, personal, and financial resources and organizational support for Korean pentecostals to consolidate the movement in Korea. At the same time, the receptivity of Korean religiosity as well as the leadership of Yonggi Cho, who received the baton from American pentecostal revivalists, made it possible for Koreans not only to consolidate but also to expand it.

6.4.7. Basic Formation of *Sunbogeum* Theology (1964)

The *Sunbogeum* magazine became a channel, through which its theology emerged. Yonggi Cho and Jeong-Geun Pak wrote articles in the magazine from 1964 and they laid the foundation of *Sunbogeum* theology. Cho's column entitled 'Jesus who bore our illness' regularly appeared in it. Through this articles in this column he began to arrange his ideas about the whole-salvific grace of God in the redemption of Christ. He found the basis for this in the Bible, developing it later into his Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing.

The contents of his articles can be summarized as follows. First, the substitutional death of Christ made a sinner free from both spirit (or soul) and body, because the whole and perfect sacrifice of Christ inevitably saves the whole human being, spirit and body (Num. 21:4-9; Isa. 53; Math. 8:14-17). Second, the reason why the contemporary churches do not experience divine healings is basically caused by their depraved faith. The *euangelion*, which should be preached through all of the church ages, was not to be divided into good news for the whole man in the apostolic age and half-good news only for the soul in the following generations (Mark 16: 15-18; 1 Cor. 12-14; Heb. 13:7-8; James 5:13-18). Third, the root of all diseases is Satan. As Christ delivered all who had suffered under satanic slavery, they would deserve freedom from spiritual and physical sufferings. Cho's formula on disease was this: Satan → sin → imprecation or judgement of the law → disease and all sufferings. Therefore, Cho primarily took an interest in the spiritual aspect of sufferings rather than in their material or phenomenal aspects. Consequently, when a man is free from sin as well as from satanic influence through redemption of Christ, he has every right to triumph over all suffering resulting from them (Deut. 28:20-61; Prov. 18:14; John 12:31; Gal. 3:13; Co. 2:8-15; Rev.12:9). Fourth, divine healing is not insignificant as most traditional churches regard it. It is important in two aspects: as the attestation of God's presence (*Basileia tou Theu*) and as the expression of God's compassion for His children. When God (or the Holy Spirit) works among

¹⁶⁴John Stetz, "Korean Magazine Moves Ahead," in *PE* (4. 10. 1964).

His children, various kinds of signs including healings accompany Him. It is the witness of God's presence. Thus, Cho advocated the inevitability of two witnesses: the Spirit and believers. For him, it is most deplorable that so many churches are enervated because they do not have the witness of the Spirit with them. The other point, healing as the manifestation of God's love, is also important. Jesus had compassion on those who suffered from Satan and diseases and cured them. He argues that Christ does not abandon those contemporary people who are suffering from diseases and obsessed by evil spirits. If His churches do not heal those suffering neighbours through God's power, their reference to God's love becomes lame (John 15:26-27; Acts 4:29-31; Heb. 2:4; Matt.14:14; Mark 1:41; Heb.4: 14-16). Fifth, he introduced some theologians like R. A. Torrey, A. B. Simpson, R. E. Stanton, Bishop Reese (Anglican), A. J. Gordon, and Billy Graham who supported the views on divine healings.¹⁶⁵ Thus, Cho's *Sunbogeum* theology disclosed its basic formation. Primarily, he neither argued for speaking in tongues nor material blessings. His main argument was to elucidate the works of the living God here and now according to the Scriptures. The key issue of putting it into practice was divine healings through the Holy Spirit.¹⁶⁶ In this way, he founded his theology through the interpretation of the Bible and experiences.

As Cho's articles became an issue, Pak wrote articles in the magazine to vindicate pentecostalism by theological argumentation. He not only pointed out the difference between pentecostalism and shamanism, but also defended pentecostal (*Sunbogeum*) theology in the aspects of Trinity, healing, glossolalia, and baptism in the Spirit.¹⁶⁷ Because both Korean pentecostals and Korean Christians were Bible-reading and fundamentalism-oriented believers, the two parties found more common identity than disparity. In this way, the basic *Sunbogeum* or Korean pentecostal theology was formed by Cho and Pak. We discuss the details in Part III.

6.5. INDIGENIZATION OF *SUNBOGEUM* PENTECOSTALISM (1966-1972)

The period of ongoing rapid and favourable growth of indigenized *Sunbogeum* movement from 1966 to 1972 will be described in this section. In 1966, the denominational leadership shifted from missionaries to the Koreans. It was the sign that the Korean pentecostals could handle the movement by themselves. At the same time, *Sunbogeum* movement in Korea was firmly set up and ready to face other Korean churches. In 1971, two thirds of the congregations of the Korean Assemblies

¹⁶⁵Yonggi Cho, "Jesus Who Bore Our Illness," Seoul, 1976/ 2ed., 1977. This book was the publication of his collected articles. English version of this publication, *Suffering ... Why Me?*, Bridge Pub. Inc., 1986. Billy Graham's understanding for divine healing was formulated that the NT writes that Jesus had a loving concern for both spiritual and physical health (*Suffering ...*,47-48).

¹⁶⁶cf. Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 3rd ed., 1988, pp.9-15, 357-367, 399-408. At this stage of Korean pentecostalism, we may point to its features as follows: first, it neither fell into theological debate (e. g., baptism in the Spirit and its initial sign) nor made ethical rigourism (e. g., no make-up) an issue because established doctrine and tried ethics had been introduced from America; and second, even though it had taken more interest in the evidence of divine healing as means for evangelization, it did not produce any itinerant healing evangelist. Therefore, divine healing could not be 'a trick of the trade' for a pastor who took care of a congregation (e. g., Yonggi Cho). Consequently, it seems that its healing practice was not opposed by others.

¹⁶⁷Jeong-Geun Pak, *Defending of Pentecostal Truth*, Seoul, 1970. His articles were published in this book.

of God had the designation *Sunbogeum*. At this stage, Korean pentecostals consciously accepted that they belonged to *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism. The roles of Yonggi Cho and his *Sunbogeum* Central Church began to tower above all others, inside and outside the denomination. The number of congregations increased from 63 (1966) to 140 (1972). The total adult members of the denomination grew from about 9,600 (1966) to about 38,840 (1972), of which *Sunbogeum* (Full Gospel) Central Church occupied half.¹⁶⁸ The denomination had 21 pastors and 35 co-pastors in 1966, but 70 pastors and 132 co-pastors in 1972. The movement was ready to officially drive forward the Holy Spirit movement in Korea as the central axis. The core to this achievement should be basically ascribed to the ministry of Yonggi Cho and his *Sunbogeum* Central Church at West Gate. During that time, as his ministry and the church appeared so prominently on the scene, still not all Korean Christians were yet aware of the root of *Sunbogeum* movement, namely classical pentecostalism, nor did they recognize the Korean Assemblies of God. Korean pentecostal church was more widely recognized through the international conference in Seoul (1969). The reunion of the separated denomination in 1972 further gave life to the movement.

It is also worthy to note that the military revolution in May 1961 and the following government-planned economic revival which started in 1962 provided a favourable setting for *Sunbogeum* movement in the years thereafter. The whole-encompassing salvation of soul, body, and environment taught by Yonggi Cho was well matched with the slogan of *Jalsalgi Undong* (better-life movement) of the government.

This section deals with major aspects of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism such as the establishment of Korean leadership, the developments of the seminary and the congregations, missionary activities, the identification *Sunbogeumism*, relation with other churches, international involvement, and the unification following the first schism.

¹⁶⁸KAOG, *minutes*. The total number of believers in 1972, which included the Sunday school children, amounted to 76,367 according to the *Minutes* (index, p.32). The number of adults and children was almost equal at this time. At the early stage of Korean pentecostalism, it had more children than adults (for example, in 1966, the number of children of KAOG was 108 % of that of adults except Full Gospel Central Church, which had almost 10 times more adults than children). (cf. in Japan in 1953, the number of children attending Sunday school amounted to 400 % of the number of the adults attending and then slowly the difference decreased/ Japanese AOG, *The 30 Years History*, 1979, p.210). When we subtract the number of Full Gospel Central Church (12,290 in total) from the denominational figure (76,367), we have 64,077 members in total. If we divide it by 139 churches, we get the number ca. 460, which would be the arithmetical mean of members including children of KAOG churches in 1972. Actually, about 10 % of KAOG churches had that size according to the *Minutes*. The problem was that many churches did not supply information in their annual reports. It seems that some churches were unhappy to report an insignificant number beside the giant church or some churches might have exaggeratedly reported their statistics 'in faith.' It was the unworthy atmosphere in KAOG where a huge church and many small churches had to *walk* together. Because KAOG always has the pioneering spirit, the big part of the denomination was still composed of pioneering churches in 1972 and almost one third of the churches had less than 200 members including children.

6.5.1. Name and Leadership (1966)

The denominational politics of the indigenous leaders settled down at this stage. In 1966, at the general assembly, they discussed changing the designation of Assemblies of God to 'Christian *Daehan* Gospel Assembly' or 'Christian *Daehan* Pentecostal Assembly.' There were two reasons for that: first, the designation the Korean Assemblies of God was either confused with the *Jehovah's* Witness or the Family of God; and second, the designation *Sunbogeum* had been adopted by the seminary and the congregations (at this time about nine) and it was more widely known than the name of the denomination. They voted against it.¹⁶⁹ By this time, *Sunbogeumism* had been fully accepted by the leaders of the denomination.

At the same time, all Koreans were elected for the three main leadership positions: the general superintendent (Yonggi Cho), the vice-superintendent (Jong-Su Park), and the general secretary (Gwang-Su Park). Cho was recognized as the leader of the denomination. The missionary leadership era ended. Accordingly, the constitution, which had been instituted in 1953 and had been partially amended several times, was extensively revised in 1970 according to the principle of self-support, self-government, mutual help, and decentralization for local administration.¹⁷⁰ Yonggi Cho had been in that position until 1977 and resigned it, when some of the members expressed their dissatisfaction at his administration.

6.5.2. Development of the Seminary (1966-1972)

The total number of the students in 1966 reached 65. Each year-class had a little more than twenty students. The number of students increased dramatically from 1968. The main reason for this was the evening classes initiated by Yonggi Cho, who began this programme in his church (4,820 members in 1968) to serve his deacons and young people who worked during the day. These courses were also taught by the seminary faculty and it became the branch of the seminary. In 1969, the seminary had 84 daytime students (first year, 40; second year, 19; and third year, 25) and 92 nighttime students (first year, 45; and second year, 47). In 1970, the enrolment increased to 239 (108 daytime and 131 nightschool students).¹⁷¹ It became the largest Assemblies of God Bible School, still as a three years' course, in the world except for America. Neither the seminary nor the Central Church was able to accommodate all the students. Consequently, in July 1969, the ground-breaking ceremony for the new complex, which had a chapel seating over 300, a library, four offices, and six classrooms, took place. In one year it was dedicated and served as the theological training centre for *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism until a new college project was developed and separated from it in 1979.

Here, attention needs to be paid to two points in relation to the numbers making up the student body. First, the number of nightschool students (two classes) already surpassed that of the daytime students (three classes) in 1970. Many of those, who were engaged in other jobs and were called to the ministry through filling with the

¹⁶⁹KAOG, *Minutes* (1966).

¹⁷⁰KAOG, *Constitution*, Seoul, 1996, pp.11-13. The constitution was further revised in 1984, in 1987, and in 1992.

¹⁷¹KAOG, *Minutes* (1965-1970); AAOG, *PE* (3. 1. 1971).

Spirit at Yonggi Cho's church, attended the nightschool course. Second, the proportion of male students to female students among the daytime students showed the ratio of four to one (69:15) in 1969 while that of the nightschool students showed the ratio of one to one (47:45). This indicated that a great number of women of Cho's church, who wanted to serve the Lord as cell-leaders or pastors, attended the seminary. This unusual phenomenon returned to normalcy in 1971 when daytime students increased in number (total 152 students) and more male students were enrolled in the nightschool (total 79 male students and 34 female students).

Compared to the other churches, *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism did not emphasize a high degree of theological discipline at this stage (1966-1972) because the training of ministers who were filled with the Holy Spirit and the Word of God was the foundational goal of the seminary.¹⁷² Then they would pioneer new churches and the movement would expand. In those days, therefore, the seminary graduates were expected to dig their own wells.

Accordingly, most of the faculty members were composed of the denominational leaders and the missionaries who did not have any master's degree at that time. The subjects like pneumatology, the Acts of the Apostles, and the theory and practice of personal evangelization were included in the curriculum. The subjects like psychology or the Biblical languages (Hebrew and Greek) were taught by visiting lecturers. But the seminary expanded. In 1972, it had 300 students with a three years' course.

6.5.3. *Development of the Congregations (1966-1972)*

The number of pastors and congregations steadily developed in this period. From 56 pastors in 1966, to 62 (1967), to 69 (1968), to 79 (1969), to 102 (1970), to 114 (1971), and to 202 in 1972. The remarkable increase in 1972 was caused by the extension of the seminary from 1968. The number of the congregations grew as follows: 63 (1966), 75 (1967), 82 (1968), 91 (1969), 107 (1970), 125 (1971), and 140 in 1972.¹⁷³ The adult membership of the denomination increased from 9,600 (1966), to 11,000 (1968), to 16,000 (1969), to 19,000 (1970), and to 38,840 (1972).¹⁷⁴ The average size of the congregations in 1971 amounted to about 100 adults, not counting Yonggi Cho's church. In 1968, there were nine congregations of deaf people with six pastors for them.

In 1972, the Korean Assemblies of God was still minute in its size when we compare it with that of other churches: the Haptong and Tonghap Presbyterians each were bigger by about fifteen times; the Kijang Presbyterians about five times; the

¹⁷²Gyomunsa, *ibid.*, pp.188-192. *The Christian Times*, Seoul, Hapdong denominational weekly news (17.12. 1969). For example, the Methodist Church had its theological college accredited in 1959, Yonsei Union Theological Graduate School was set up in 1964, and the Haptong denominational college was accredited as a college in 1969.

¹⁷³Those congregations that rejoined from Heoh's party in 1972 were not included in this number.

¹⁷⁴The report of membership in the minutes can hardly tell the exact data, because not all the congregations reported to the general headquarters. Especially, since 1969 many congregations were not much interested in reporting the data presumably because the unusual expansion of Yonggi Cho's congregation broke their spirit. The numbers were estimated by the author according to the calculation of the average score from the reported congregations. The year 1971 was the last year that the statistics of each congregation were officially reported.

Kosin Presbyterians about three times; the Holiness about four times; and the Baptist church and the Salvation Army were each about twice as large. Only the Anglican Church had a smaller membership.¹⁷⁵

In this period the *Sunbogeum* Central Church grew into a huge congregation. Because this church used every possible tool for evangelization, it started its broadcasting ministry sent through the air-waves of the Far East and Asia Broadcasting stations in 1966. Cho's *Sunbogeum* message began to be spread over the air. The literature programme also came into being. In February 1967, it began to publish its monthly magazine 'The Faith World (*Sinang-Gye*). This magazine has become the most popular Christian magazine in Korea. Even though its contents are interdenominational, readers have opportunities to encounter *Sunbogeum* faith through Cho's message (see also 7.3.1.4). His church had a membership of over 10,000 in 1972 (269 cell-groups with 3,592 families). The number of Sunday school (primary to high school) children increased by 749 in 1970. This church had several thousands more attending services than that number because many Christians who belonged to other churches visited it to receive the gifts of the Spirit or the grace of healings. They usually visited their own church at 11:00 o'clock on Sundays. They were then able to visit Cho's congregation because it had several worship meetings on Sundays. For example, in 1967, it had five Sunday meetings: 4:30 for morning prayer; 8:00; 10:00; 12:00; and 19:00 for the evening meeting. Since 1968, evening worship on Wednesdays and Sundays has also been held twice. Cho's church had to make such an arrangement under unavoidable circumstances because the sanctuary with balcony holding 2,500 seats (built in 1964) was not able to accommodate 7,000 adult worshippers (1967). Consequently, a groundbreaking ceremony took place for 'a sanctuary for the nation' with a seating capacity of 10,000 in April of 1969 on three acres land on Yoido Island located in the River Han. In 1972, in the course of its construction, it had six worship meetings at the West Gate building on Sundays.

6.5.4. *Activities of the Missionaries (1966-1972)*

The most important change in the tasks of American missionaries in this period was to hand over the leadership to Koreans in 1966. Instead of leading the movement, they continued to run the theological institution. They realized that training the national workers was still important for them so long as Korean pentecostals had not yet prepared enough qualified teachers. During the period of 1968 and 1969, the number of missionaries stationed in Korea reached its highest point: that is, eighteen missionaries. Then the number of the missionaries decreased, which means that missionaries began to withdraw from their tasks in Korea. Now, they work behind the scenes.

In this period, the work of missionary-evangelist, Werner Miles, was noticeable. He came over to Korea in 1968. He was a retired missionary of the American Assemblies of God. He helped 100 pioneering churches each with almost 3,000 dollars for ten years.¹⁷⁶ He was also invited to be the school chaplain of the Eternal Life Schools in Jeonju where 6,000 pupils and students were enrolled. Later, he

¹⁷⁵Gyomunsa, *ibid.*, p.201.

¹⁷⁶Mrs. Werner Miles, "Open-Hearts-Open Doors," in *PE* (11. 7. 1971). The funds were raised by AAOG congregations.

assumed the position of president of the school and the college.¹⁷⁷ That school was founded by a Presbyterian elder and it was still a Presbyterian mission school (6.4.6.3). He also had the opportunity to speak in a number of Presbyterian Bible colleges as well as to the Korean army, preaching the Full Gospel on such occasions. In this way, he contributed to the spread of pentecostalism in Korea. Apart from the missionaries, American evangelists often visited the *Sunbogeum* Central Church and preached there. Through Cho's excellent interpretation, pentecostalism spread in Korea freely.

The financial support through the American missionaries decreased as the Korean congregations began to support themselves.¹⁷⁸ Apart from the teaching ministry at the seminary, helping Korean pastors in evangelism and church planting (Werner Miles), correspondence ministry, youth ministry, evangelization of the Korean army, and the servicemen's home for American soldiers were still the main tasks for them.

6.5.5. Identification of *Sunbogeum* Consciousness (1966-1972)

In this period *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism secured its identity in the denomination as well as outside it. Yonggi Cho had taken the office of general superintendent right through the period and his *Sunbogeum* Central Church became the largest congregation in Korea with a membership over 10,000 adults. Even though this unbalanced growth furnished a cause of second schism later (1981), Cho's congregation became a source of pride for the people in the denomination, which was still insignificant among the other great churches. Naturally, they identified themselves with Cho's *Sunbogeumism*. Then two thirds of Assemblies of God congregations adopted the title *Sunbogeum* (1971). In 1966, only 14 % of the Korean Assemblies of God had the *Sunbogeum* designation while 55 % of all of its congregations took the title in 1969 and 65 % in 1971. In proportion to this, the position of Cho increased in importance. Many congregations added it to their original designation, and new congregations adopted it. Especially, most congregations in Seoul adopted the designation. All this means that until the early part of the 1970s, *Sunbogeumism* determined the spiritual atmosphere of the denomination. It was also around this time that other churches came to realize what *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism was.¹⁷⁹

6.5.6. Relation with Other Churches: Criticisms and Impact (1966-1972)

As already observed, the mid-1960s in Korea was a time of hope and transition in Korean society as well as in the churches. Every aspect of the Korean life went through a process of revival. Korean *Sunbogeum* movement was well-suited for this

¹⁷⁷See 6.4.6.3.

¹⁷⁸There is no exact record of how it decreased or when the financial support of the missionaries ended.

¹⁷⁹Still the majority of Korean Christians who are not concerned about the churches (denominations) in Korea thought that *Sunbogeumism* originated with Yonggi Cho, without knowing that he received pentecostalism from pentecostal missionaries; Cho's conviction on *Sunbogeumism* was more determined than others. One example for this was that when a new denomination was established in 1985 centering around Cho's church, all the congregations in this organization were to have the designation *Sunbogeum* according to the constitution. The other denomination did not regulate this.

situation. The traditional religious sentiment of Koreans and *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism met under such favourable circumstances and took fire centering around *Sunbogeum* Central Church. *Sunbogeumism* steadily spread to all South Korea at this stage (1966-1972).¹⁸⁰ This movement was different in many ways from the previous revivals of Pyongyang (1907) or Yong-Do Yi (1930-1933). First, there was no socio-political hindrance. Second, the indigenous leaders played leading roles in this movement (in contrast to Pyongyang) while they closely cooperated with missionaries (in contrast to Yong-Do Yi). Third, it was a systematic movement with doctrines on the Holy Spirit. Fourth, it took its place at the heart of the four-million city of Seoul (1967), where so many poverty-stricken people were living. Fifth, the pervasive effect of the movement was high on account of modern traffic and communications in a small land with a compact population sharing a common culture. Sixth, most of all, the spirit of contemporary Koreans was motivated to embark on a new movement.

Bible-believing and enthusiastic Korean Christians received baptism in the Spirit (speaking in other tongues) whenever certain conditions were met. It is well known that during the ministries of Yong-Do Yi and Un-Mong Na such phenomena had already taken place.¹⁸¹ But, the number of those who had experienced speaking in tongues rapidly increased from the latter part of the 1960s according to the research of Jeong-Geun Pak.¹⁸² Until 1970, Christians experienced tongues at the revival meetings or worship meetings of most denominations in Korea. Pak wrote that in 1970 in Korea, regardless of denomination (whether Presbyterian, Methodist, Holiness, or the Assemblies of God), there was an average of ten persons who were tongues-speakers in each congregation.¹⁸³ We can hardly doubt that such a development should be ascribed to the *Sunbogeum* movement.

In this period, according to the sense and demands of the times, Korean Christians decided to cooperate interdenominationally for the evangelization of Korea. In such a situation, *Sunbogeum* church acted as a spiritual power plant for the Korean Church. The on-going revival meetings, which Korean churches regarded as of great importance, were carried out ‘*Sunbogeum*-style’ in this period. At the same time, a good number of the contemporary Korean Church leaders worried over unhealthy revival meetings, pointing out that most revivalists claimed they had received the gifts of divine healing and some of them instructed others how to speak in tongues.¹⁸⁴ Even though not all revival meetings were healthy, however, *Sunbogeum*-style meetings won great popularity and this promoted the expansion of the Korean churches. Through such revival meetings, many believers were baptized in the Spirit. Then they remained in their churches even though they had spoken in

¹⁸⁰Yeong-Jun Hong, interview at Gwangju (13.1.1998). According to him, Yonggi Cho was not well known during the 1960s in Gwangju area. In the 1970s, his influence reached Gwangju, he said. It seems that they had their own pentecostal movement under such leaders as Gui-Im Park or Seong-Deok Yun until that time.

¹⁸¹Jong-Ho Byeon, *ibid.*, pp.79-80; Un-Mong Na, *The Holy Spirit that I Experienced and Its Movement of a Half Century*, Seoul, 1990/2 ed., 1995, pp.173-180. Yi’s ministry during 1931-1933 and Na’s ministry since 1952 were accompanied by speaking in other tongues.

¹⁸²Jeong-Geun Pak, *Defending of Pentecostal Truth*, Seoul, 1970, pp.140-155. He made 120 Korean Christians who spoke in other tongues the object of his study in 1970.

¹⁸³*ibid.*

¹⁸⁴“The Revival Meeting ... Its Problem,” in *The Christian Times* (11.11.1972).

other tongues since 1970s. At this stage, pentecostalism began to settle down as a universal grace of God to His church freeing itself from a separatist movement.

The theological effect of pentecostalism on other churches was still a delicate matter in this period. The ecclesiastical administrations of all denominations and most ministerial pastors recognized Pentecostalism, while conservative theologians were still exercising caution against it. They took the position of an indefinite attitude about it: in principle, they acknowledged the mysterious phenomena of Christians and tongues because they are described in the Scriptures; practically, however, they belonged to the opposition party on the grounds that this contemporary movement might be pseudo-religious phenomena.¹⁸⁵ Korean conservative-orthodox theology was not in harmony with pentecostalism on account of its theological positions such as: once-for-all descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost as the fulfilling of Christ's eternal atonement; and the cessation of the *charismata* on account of the discontinuation of the apostolic age and church age.¹⁸⁶ Even the theologians of other churches did not wholly agree on their understanding of pentecostalism. However, *Sunbogeum* movement greatly influenced other churches, prompting them to take an interest in pneumatology during this time.

6.5.7. International Conference (1969)

Korean pentecostalism is known by American pentecostals through the reports of missionaries, visiting revivalists and the magazine of the American Assemblies of God, *The Pentecostal Evangel*. Since 1964, when Yonggi Cho toured America for two months and Ja-Sil Choe visited Japanese pentecostal congregations for 40 days, the revival of the Korean pentecostal church came to the knowledge of more American and Japanese pentecostals. In the last part of the 1960s, it came to the knowledge of more world pentecostals through an international conference.

Under the leadership of American Assemblies of God, Far East Asian pentecostals have organized an international conference since 1966. The first conference was held in Manila for the Southern Far East Asian pentecostals in June 1966. The second conference for the Northern Far East Asian pentecostals was held in the same year in Japan. Yonggi Cho as the representative of Korean pentecostals also participated. They discussed various problems concerning missions. The third and more organized conference of Far East Asian pentecostals was held in July 1969 in Seoul, Korea, and was hosted by Yonggi Cho's church. About 120 delegates attended the conference, including 30 Japanese delegates. Also people were present who came from Taiwan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Hawaii, Fiji Island, the Marshal Islands, and the United States.¹⁸⁷ The Korean leaders as well as the congregation of Cho's church happily carried it out.

¹⁸⁵Hyeong-Ryong Park, "A minor essay on mysterious experiences," in *The Christian Times* (25.4. and 9.5. 1966). Park argued against the general contemporary mysterious phenomena because they are not Biblically oriented and experiential; Seong-Jin Kim, "Korean Church and Mysticism: Tongues and Getting into Ecstasies," in op. cit. (20.4.1968). He mentioned that not only *Sunbogeum* church but also all denominations have tongues-speakers.

¹⁸⁶Yun-Seon Park, "Pentecostal Movement and Mission," in op. cit. (17.2.1973); Cheol-Won Suh, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*, Seoul, 1995, p.17.

¹⁸⁷JAOG, *ibid.*, p.89. ITI, ed., *ibid.*, p.172.

It lasted for five days. At that time, for Koreans, to sponsor an international conference was rare and the Minister of Culture-Information and the Mayor of Seoul delivered congratulatory addresses at the opening ceremony. During the day-time, the delegates discussed evangelization while in the evening the leaders of the American Assemblies of God, T. F. Zimmerman and J. Philip Hogan, led revival meetings. Through the conference, the Asian pentecostals became aware of the fact that they could learn from Asian churches as well as from those of Europe and America. They also realized what the task of Asian churches in world missions was.

The conference was significant for the Korean Assemblies of God under several aspects. First, it came to have self-confidence that it was able to hold an international conference. It eventually led to having the pentecostal world conference in Seoul in 1973. Second, it was an opportunity to combine the capacity of the denomination. Third, Korean pentecostals became more conscious of the importance of their position to evangelize the peoples of the East.

6.5.8. *Unification of Separate Pentecostal Groups (1972)*

As the dawn of the 1970s broke, the spiritual contour of Korean pentecostalism came into view. Even though several more pentecostal groups settled down in Korea,¹⁸⁸ *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism turned out to be the major pentecostal movement, which was able to challenge Korean churches and to stir Korean spirituality. By this time, Hong Heoh, who had left the denomination and re-organized the previous *Daehan* Pentecostal Church, was to recognize this situation, so that he returned with his group in 1972. It seems that it was an inevitable resolution for him.

It is a matter of fact that those who are called for apostolic ministries can establish substantial institutions. This principle is demonstrated by the works of the early leaders, Kwak and Heoh. Although Bong-Jo Kwak left the denomination (1956) and founded an organization in 1958, it lasted only ten years. The Bible school and the group scattered. The case was similar with Hong Heoh. Heoh founded another organization with six or seven congregations in 1957. He also opened a seminary for the group. But his endeavour did not bring enough fruit. When he returned in 1972, he brought twelve congregations with about 1,500 members. An eyewitness said: "Even though he devoted himself to his new Bible school and the organization, neither the school nor the organization and his congregation at Yongsan brought much fruit."¹⁸⁹

The unification proceeded as follows. As Bu-Geun Bae passed away in 1970, Heoh and Yonggi Cho, who were both superintendents of their organizations, attended the funeral meeting. They happened to talk about uniting the

¹⁸⁸Gyomunsa, *ibid.*, p.200. Korean General Council of the International Full Gospel Church (1969 founded/ 64 congregations in 1985), Korean Bible Church of God (1968 founded/ 65 congregations in 1985), Korea Church of God (1964 founded/ 86 congregations in 1985), Korea United Pentecostal Church (1966 founded/ 29 congregations in 1985), and *Daehan* Christian Church of God (1963 founded/ 64 congregations in 1985) were established as pentecostal denominations except for the Korea Assemblies of God. Un-Mong Na's *Daehan* Jesus Church of Pentecostal Holiness (302 congregations in 1985) was organized in 1979. Except for Na's movement, all other groups were relatively weak in pentecostal influence.

¹⁸⁹Jeong-Ja Mun, interview at Gwangju (15.1.1998).

denominations. They arrived at the conclusion that both parties would unite with no strings attached. Since then, representatives of both parties met several times to talk over the matter. At last, in October 1972, the Korean Assemblies of God held an extraordinary general meeting to discuss it and voted for it. Those who belonged to the *Daehan* Pentecostal Church were treated equally with those of Assemblies of God, regardless of pastors and the theological students. The constitution of the Assemblies of God was taken as the principal law and Heoh was promoted to honorary retired pastor of the Korean Assemblies of God.

Thus, twelve congregations with about 1,500 pentecostals joined the Korean Assemblies so that it became 152 congregations with almost 40,000 members in 1972.¹⁹⁰ In this way, Korean pentecostalism was cured from its dissension after fifteen years. It encouraged the Pentecostals in no small degree, and also showed the simple and naive spirituality of pentecostalism. Now, *Sunbogeum* movement was ready to fully exert its evangelization potential in Korea as well as in the world.

6.6. CONCLUSION

The following observations can be stated at the end of this chapter.

In the period of 1953-1958, Korean pentecostalism was born. Three points need to be noted. First, the systematic support of the American Assemblies of God (organizational leadership, theological institute, finances, and pentecostal campaign) was the main constituent element for founding the Korean Assemblies of God. Second, the *Sunbogeum* movement as Korean pentecostalism was formed by the apostolic faith of Yonggi Cho and the triple-prayer of Ja-Sil Choe in Korean religiosity under American leadership. Third, the disorder and schism of this stage not only exposed the weakness of the undisciplined Korean pentecostals and the unfinished nature of the organization but also indicated that *Sunbogeumism* as a movement can only be born through the graduates of its own theological school instead of through members joining from elsewhere or other organizations.

Yonggi Cho and Ja-Sil Choe are the founding fathers of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism. Specifically Cho comes to the fore. First, his theology seems to have been influenced by his life-crisis. His apostolic ministry showed his ability in both inspiring and systematizing talent. In this sense, he belongs rather to the category of a Christian reformist than to that of an evangelist. Second, Choe's position as a spiritual mother for Cho was inevitable to the birth and development of *Sunbogeum* movement. As a prominent woman spiritual leader, she has not only contributed to developing *Sunbogeum* movement but also did a great deal for solving *Han* of Korean woman through her mother-like ministry of triple prayer and personal encouragement. In addition to this, the role of women in Korean pentecostalism (5.3.1.1; 5.3.1.2; 5.5; 5.5.2.3; 6.3.1) was highlighted through Ja-Sil Choe.

The period of 1958-1966 corresponded to the period of growth and stabilization of *Sunbogeum* movement. We can observe several points here. First, Wan-Sik Lee's

¹⁹⁰“Pentecostal Denomination United,” in *The Christian Times* (11.11.1972). According to this report, KAOG had 76,000 members with 140 congregations while Heoh's group had 1,500 members with about 10 congregations. It is possible that children might be included in the number 1,500. The number of KAOG (76,000) was the total of adults and children according to the KAOG *Minutes*.

crisis resulted in contributing to the refinement and stabilization of the movement. It was the termination of the political and organizational disorders in the early stage. Second, the establishment of the *Sunbogeum* Revival Centre at the West Gate in 1961 was the real start of *Sunbogeum* movement. Third, the Global Conquest Project of the American Assemblies of God greatly contributed to establishing *Sunbogeum* movement in Korea. Fourth, *Sunbogeum* theology was basically formed by Yonggi Cho as the whole-salvific grace of God in the redemption of Christ, which is actualized in the Holy Spirit. It was grounded upon his interpretation of the Bible and was confirmed by religious experiences. Fifth, *Sunbogeumism* was generally recognized by the leaders of the Korean Assemblies of God until the end of this period.

In the period of 1966-1972, we observe that *Sunbogeum* movement pressed forward under the Korean leaders throughout Korea. We may make several remarks. First, the socio-political situation of Korea under new economic and industrial revolutions, corresponded with the spirit of *Sunbogeumism* from the 1960s. Consequently, they both walked together towards the common goal of human well-being through mutual interaction. Second, *Sunbogeum* movement, centering around the *Sunbogeum* Central Church at West Gate, contributed to satisfying the religiosity of the Koreans and solving the traditional Korean *Han* (resentment). At this moment, Korean religiosity provided all that was necessary for the point of contact with pentecostalism. Third, most of the leaders of the Korean Assemblies of God identified themselves with *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism at the end of this period. Other churches recognized it as well at this time. Fourth, the movement became the axis of the Holy Spirit movement in Korea. Fifth, *Sunbogeum* theology did not become an issue even though some theologians were concerned about it.

In short, this whole period (1953-1972) was the period of indigenization of classical pentecostalism into Korean *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism. The indigenization contributed to the flourishing of this movement.

7. Expansion of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism inside and outside Korea (1973ff)

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This period (1973ff) was for the Koreans a period of forming connections with the world, which happened as a consequence of the wide spectrum of their social changes. Around the year 1980, the hereditary Korean *Han* (resentment) seemed to have been generally given up and the middle-class was formed in Korean society.¹ At the same time, the Korean Church did not lose its evangelical identity, but rather, it expanded, riding on the wave of social changes and it attracted the attention of world Christianity. The means it used was the building up of large-size congregations. Then, the parish system was abandoned and individualism and a congregational system began to dominate in Korean Protestantism. Theological efforts, which tried to orient Korean Christianity in post-modern society, were not excluded. The spiritual and emotional revival meetings began to be replaced by Bible study and discipling from the beginning of the 1980s. The world mission was also discussed at this time in a practical way. Since the 1990s, the growth of the Korean Church has levelled off. It is examining itself, on the one hand, and preparing its scheme for the 21st century on the other.² It was under such circumstances, that *Sunbogeum* movement expanded. It played a decisive role, both in promoting the work of the Holy Spirit in Korea and in promoting the growth of the Korean Church and in organizing such huge gatherings in this period (three times each in the 1970s and the 1980s, and two in the 1990s).³ By the end of the 1970s, pentecostal experiences had become popularized in Korea. Accordingly, *Sunbogeum* movement developed in line with the Korean Church in general. This was the period of the greatest growth of *Sunbogeum* church and of the beginning of its evident influence on world Christianity. But on the other hand, this period was the time of systematization and maturity of *Sunbogeumism* through schism, debate, and growth.

This period started with two events in 1973, namely, the Pentecostal World Conference in Seoul and the move of Cho's church to the new sanctuary on Yoido

¹ Chin-Hwan Kim, *The History of Korean Church Revival Movement*, Seoul, 1976/rev., 1994, pp.270-272. Korean *Han* was caused by various factors: poverty; losing the opportunity for education; suffering from the wars; and the different social structure etc. These problems were generally solved at the end of the 1970s; the religious factor, which helped to solve it, especially spiritual movement like *Sunbogeumism*, was also included.

² Bong-Rin Ro, "The Korean Church: God's Chosen People for Evangelism," in *Korean Church Growth Explosion* (rev.), Seoul, 1995, edited by Bong-Rin Ro and Marlin L. Nelson, pp. 11-44. It gave its recent growth rate as: 1989: 8,9%; 1990: 5,8%; 1991: 3,9%; 1992: 0,6%; 1993: -0,4%. The reasons for the downward trend: over-rapid growth and lack of discipleship; resolution of national crises; decline of revival meetings; competition of big congregations and the difficulty of newly founded congregations; loss of church image due to church's internal problems; lack of adjustment to new social changes; the influence of religious pluralism; and disorientation of Christian families etc.

³ Actually, the last two gatherings (1992 and 1994) were organized by Korean pentecostals. The latter of them was held by KAOG.

Island. Then Cho's church had an explosive increase of its membership and activities. This lack of balance in a denomination naturally called forth dissension. In 1977, Yonggi Cho resigned from the office of superintendent during his term of office. In the early part of the 1980s, there plainly appeared tension between two shades of pentecostalism: open and progressive *Sunbogeumism*, which was represented by Yonggi Cho and the Yoido Church, and closed and conservative pentecostalism, which was represented by politically oriented leaders of the general assembly. The difference may be compared to that of the relation between the Latter Rain Revival (1948-1953) and classical pentecostalism in North America.⁴ At the same time, Korean churches began to discuss *Sunbogeum* (pentecostal) theology. These two events implied that *Sunbogeumism* had arrived at its puberty. Schism, rejoining, and theological debate followed. It was its systematization process. Through such disciplines, it reached adulthood in the mid-1990s. Today, it has become one of the leading denominations in Korean Christianity.

In this chapter, three major topics will be dealt with: the pentecostal world conference (7.2); expansion of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church and the development of the denomination (7.3); and missions of this denomination outside Korea (7.4). The main reference sources for this chapter are the *Minutes* of the Korean Assemblies of God; *Denomination Yearbook: 1997* (1997); *I Was the Hallelujah Lady* (1981) by Ja-Sil Choe; *Yoido Full Gospel Church Sunday School Prospectus: 1995* by Yoido Church; and *An Education White Paper: 1993-1994* (1993) by the International Theological Institute in Yoido Church. Interviews and various brochures are also used as sources.

7.2. PENTECOSTAL WORLD CONFERENCE IN KOREA (1973)

The united Korean Christians first demonstrated their missionary zeal in modern Korean society at the end of May 1973 (30.5.1973 - 3.6.1973) during the Billy Graham Crusade at Yoido plaza. It was the largest gathering in Korean Church history. At the closing Sunday afternoon rally, more than one million assembled at the huge plaza. The pastor of the Young-Nak Presbyterian Church and the chairman of the crusade executive committee, Gyung-Jik Han, said, "It is a new epoch in the history of the Korean Church and a new beginning for Christian unity and cooperation in our church."⁵ As this event opened a new horizon to the Korean

⁴ William Faupel, "From the Ends of the Earth to the End of the Earth: The Scope of the New Order of the Latter Rain." An article presented at EPCRA/ SPS Conference on 12. 7. 1995 at AOG Theological Seminary, Mattersey Hall, England; R. M. Riss, "Latter Rain Movement," in *DPCM*, edited by Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander, Grand Rapids, 1988/ 9ed., 1996. The Latter Rain Movement broke out as a radical part of pentecostalism to restore the gifts of the Spirit while classical pentecostalism was being institutionalized having lost the initial features of pentecostalism. It has influenced churches to have revival and became a factor in the appearance of charismatic movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

⁵ "Epochal Event: What God Did in Korea," in *Christianity Today* 17: 33-34 (22. 6. 1973). Billy Graham said that the Korean Church was "the fastest-growing church in the world." He further said, "I urge church and theological leaders, especially in Europe and America, to come and study the Korean church. I believe the secret of power of the Korean church is that they believe and proclaim the Bible. They have a strong evangelistic and missionary interest. They couple all of this with a great social concern."

Church, the *Sunbogeum* movement also started a new era through sponsoring the 10th Pentecostal World Conference (P.W.C.) in Seoul (18.9.1973 - 23.9.1973). This event manifested pentecostal dynamism, on the one hand, and the competency of *Sunbogeum* Central Church and Cho, who were to play an important role in world evangelization, on the other hand.

The triennial conference, started in 1947, was now held for the first time in the orient. About 2,000 delegates attended from 36 countries. The United States led all other countries with over 1,000 delegates. The Korean government cooperated in many ways to extend a warm welcome to them.⁶ The mayor of Seoul gave a welcoming address at the opening rally.

The conference theme was 'Anointed to Preach.' Morning and afternoon sessions were held in the new 10,000 seat auditorium of *Sunbogeum* Central Church on Yoido Island. The reports on the pentecostal movements in various geographic areas, a meeting for pentecostal editors and publishers, the meeting for pentecostal theologians, a mission seminar, and evening revival meetings were included besides the main worship meetings. The evening rallies were held in Hyochang Stadium, where more than 30,000 people gathered each evening. The main speaker was T. F. Zimmerman, general superintendent of the American Assemblies of God. On the last day of the conference, the new sanctuary of Yoido Church was dedicated to the Lord by Zimmerman. In this way, the Yoido era started with the world conference.

The significance of this conference for the development of the *Sunbogeum* movement needs to be pointed out. First, the potential of the *Sunbogeum* Central Church was recognized by the Korean churches and it established its position as an effective tool for world evangelization. Second, through this conference, Americans as well as other foreign pentecostals received a fresh impetus from Korean pentecostals, who were still 'on fire.' Third, it afforded Korean pentecostals an opportunity for identifying themselves as pentecostals. The presence of foreign delegates proved Korean pentecostals that they also were part of God's people among world Christianity.

7.3. EXPANSION INSIDE KOREA (1973ff)

This section describes the development of the *Sunbogeum* movement in Korea from 1973 onwards. First, some observations on the development of *Sunbogeum* Central Church (Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church since 1973) will be made. Because this church has played a leading part in the *Sunbogeum* movement we need to observe it more detail. Thereafter, the development of the Korean Assemblies of God in general will be dealt with.

⁶ "The Incredible Crusade," in *Christianity Today* 17:21 (20. 7. 1973). President Park, who was not even nominally Christian, said, "One man, one religion," because he reckoned that the best bulwark against communism was personal religion. Therefore, the government offered facilities to the crusades to use the Yoido Plaza. At this time, special events, tours, and exhibits were planned to give interesting insights into Korea. The Korean situation at that time was to have relations with foreign lands as much as possible and such a conference was a good opportunity to introduce Korea to the delegates. Cf. *Pentecostal Evangel News Digest* (15. 4. 1973)

7.3.1. Yoido Sunbogeum Church (1973ff)

It is not easy to define the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church (or Yoido Full Gospel Church) in its Yoido era as a congregation. It started with a vision of world evangelization (1958) and this has been fulfilled. Its characteristic is a dynamic and Spiritual movement rather than a gathering flock. It is a church which functions like a denomination. It is certainly correct when we say that this church functions as a world revival centre. Its huge organizational structure with 700,000 members seems to run as a body of the Holy Spirit (see figure 3).

Sunghoon Myong analysed the factors of its growth under four aspects: the Holy Spirit; the prayer; the preaching; and the leadership.⁷ Often we hear that prayer is the main cause of its development. The cell-system is the method through which it was able to grow. The Fivefold Gospel and Threefold Blessing became a living theology for it. The partnership of Yonggi Cho and Ja-Sil Choe was also an important factor for its development.

The *Sunbogeum* movement started with this church and expanded centering around this church. Various views, positive or negative, have been stated about this Korean pentecostalism. Some observers from afar held the view that Yoido Church was an indigenous pentecostal church. The *Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung* (1966) of Walter J. Hollenweger (1927-....) did not consider this church as one of the Korean Assemblies of God, but regarded it as an indigenous Korean pentecostal church.⁸ It is important to state once again that this church is an indigenized pentecostal church, not an indigenous pentecostal church. The main question in this regard is whether this movement and its theology can be transferred to other churches or cultures. That seems to be possible. Cho's worldwide ministry and the development of the Church Growth International are two examples to prove it.

Therefore, it is worthy to investigate this church for the understanding of the *Sunbogeum* movement. First we deal with its development since 1973 (7.3.1.1), thereafter with its main activities (7.3.1.2 - 7.3.1.9). These activities are put in chronological order.

7.3.1.1. The Yoido Period (1973ff)

Its Yoido period has been featured as the expansion of *Sunbogeum* faith inside and outside Korea, which happened as this church on Yoido Island grew dramatically. At the last dedication service for the new sanctuary on Yoido (23.9.1973), Cho was told to dream more and to pray more so that 1,000 souls per month could be sent. Even though this seemed too ambitious to him, he prayed and fasted to make it

⁷ Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1995. Myoung pointed out that the personal ministry of the Holy Spirit was the first factor; cf., Yonggi Cho, interview with *Sinang-Gye* chief editor at Yoido Church (6. 1. 1982). Quoted from Jun-Bae Ahn, *Pastor Cho Yonggi and the Holy Spirit Movement: Unknown Stories*, Seoul, 1982, pp.403-411. Cho said, the primary factors for the growth of his church were: prayer; the work of the Holy Spirit; message of the Triple-blessing; organization and administration; and the leadership.

⁸ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung*, 10 vols., Th.D. dissertation of Zürich University, 1966. (03.15.006). He wrote, "Seine Gemeinde setzte sich fast ausschliesslich aus ehemaligen Buddhisten zusammen." (His congregation was composed almost exclusively of previous Buddhists); Daniel J. Adams, "Reflection on an Indigenous Movement: The Yoido Full Gospel Church," in *The Japan Christian Quarterly*, vol. 57/1:36-45 (winter 1991).

happen, and it did happen. In 1978, he sensed that the Spirit told him to enlarge his visions to 3,000 per month and he fasted and prayed until he had that vision in his heart.⁹ At the end of 1979, the membership of the church reached 100,000. In the 1980s, it grew most rapidly. Annual average growth in this decade reached about 50,000 souls. In 1985, it reached 500,000 members and at the end of 1989, it had almost 600,000. Around 1992, it reached 700,000. From the 1990s, twelve branch churches in satellite cities of Seoul began to be independent. Therefore, despite gaining new members at the rate of 1% each year in the 1990s, the total number of the church does not change. On Sundays, about 200,000 to 250,000 members regularly attend one of the seven meetings at the Yoido site (with a total capacity of 31,000 seats at one time) besides the twelve branch chapels in Seoul (see figure 4).¹⁰

Since 1973, Korean churches as well as world evangelical circles have been interested in this church. Its influence on world evangelization has been promoted through interaction with Fuller Theological Seminary's missiology, which has the view that church growth is a tool of world mission. For Fuller's world mission, the Yoido Church has been the model of church growth and world mission. In February 1998, the Korea National Tourism Corporation chose the Yoido Church and its fasting prayer house as holy places of Christian pilgrimage. It means a great number of foreign Christians visit them to see and learn about *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism.¹¹

In 1981, Cho and his church withdrew from the denomination, and then the denomination split into two groups. It was the great schism (1981-1991). Yoido Church, which made up two thirds of the total members of the denomination at that time, decided to remain as an independent church. It seemed to be more effective for it to devote all its energies independently to world evangelization as a dynamic and huge church. This ambivalence of keeping the nature of an intrinsic Holy Spirit movement which is represented by *Sunbogeumism*, on the one hand, and the institutionalized scheme of classical pentecostalism on the other hand has existed ever since in Korean pentecostal movement. This point should be dealt with from a theological perspective. Yoido Church established its own juridical foundation for world missions in 1982. In January 1984, the name was changed from the *Sunbogeum* Central Church to the Yoido *Sunbogeum* (Full Gospel) Church. Having functioned efficiently for several years, however, because of both the suspicion of

⁹ Yonggi Cho, "God Gave Me a Dream," in *PE* (4.11.1979).

¹⁰ Interview with the manager of the Public Information Division of Yoido Church (4.2.1998). It has about 50,000 Sunday school children (cf. 7.3.1.7. The number of the Sunday school children is much different). The twelve branch churches, which had been established in satellite cities of Seoul and have been independent since 1990, were solidly established with the support of Yoido Church and the pastors who had been trained under Cho. For example, *Sunbogeum* Incheon Church has 55,120 members, *Sunbogeum* Nowon Church 15,000, and *Sunbogeum* Seongnam Church 10,000 members. All others have at least 1,000 adult members; Yonggi Cho, "Implementing the Home Cell System," in *Church Growth: Manual No. 7*, ed., by CGI, Seoul, 1995, pp.24-25. Statistics on the computer show that, more than 200,000 believers moved from the Yoido Church to other denominational churches (not KAOG) until 1995. This means that many Spirit-filled pentecostals who were trained at the Yoido Church served the Lord in other congregations. Cho says, "We have no more space now in our church, so when we win people to the Lord, we share them with other churches. Most of the churches in Seoul receive the benefit of our cell leaders. We praise for this because these Christians belong to God, not to us."

¹¹ *Kookmin-Ilbo Daily News* (Seoul), October 9, 1997. For example, for the conference of Church Growth International, foreign Christians visited the Yoido Church: 400 (1992), 670 (1993), 700 (1995), and 1,164 from 45 countries (1997).

other churches on its being independent and the recommendation of the American Assemblies of God, it decided to join a denomination again. Then, Cho played the main role in establishing the Jesus Korea Assemblies of God in January 1985. Thereafter, the two parties united in 1991. The Tonghap Presbyterian denomination declared Cho's theology to be pseudo-Christianity: this caused a debate between Tonghap denomination and the Yoido Church (1983-1994).¹² These two events did not hinder the growth of the church, but provided momentum to Cho and his church to reflect on proper theology.

Until 1993, church politics assumed the episcopal system under Cho's charismatic leadership. Not only was it impossible to summon the general assembly of all members, but also the general board (pastors, elders, and deacons and deaconesses) and the board of trustees (elders) functioned as a kind of consultative organ. It was the most effective way to run such a vision-oriented and huge congregation. However, it changed to democratic parliamentary-style politics in 1994. According to the organizational structure, the senior pastor is put under the authority of the general membership.¹³ It is noteworthy that the roles of elders are given much weight in church administration and spiritual activities. This church has had no internal struggles up to now. Making the cell-system the foundational organism, one senior pastor, three associate pastors, 640 pastors (most of them lead districts or sub-districts), 6,207 section leaders, and 25,272 home cell leaders serve the congregation.

7.3.1.2. *Fasting Prayer House (1973)*

Even though there had already been several prayer houses in the mountainous regions in Korea, this fasting prayer house caused a boom of prayer houses in Korea.¹⁴ This prayer house was developed parallel with the *Sunbogeum* church in Yoido (1973). It functions as the heart of the church. It was also born through intermediation of the difficulty which was caused by the construction of Yoido sanctuary (April 1969-September 1973). During the construction, the church had to go through bitter trials on account of financial problems. Two leaders, Cho and his mother-in-law, Ja-Sil Choe, underwent hardships. Choe began to fast and to pray for the solution of the problems.¹⁵ Having fasted and deeply repented of her unfaithful life for ten days, she was given a desire to establish a prayer house where one can fast and pray all night. At the end of 1972, she started to pray during the night in a storehouse in the Osanli hills (40 km north-west of Seoul), which had been the church's burial ground. After three months, one deaconess joined her.

¹² *Church and Faith (Gyohoe wa Sinang)* (Jan. 1995): 108-142. ITI, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church*, Seoul, 1993, pp.243-311. Jun-Bae Ahn, *Pastor Cho Yonggi and the Holy Spirit Movement: Unknown Stories*, Seoul, pp.107-182. Tonghap Presbyterian denomination described Cho as offering 'possible pseudo-Christianity' at its general assembly in 1983. It dealt with two aspects: aspect of events and that of theology. See 7.3.2.4.

¹³ Yoido Full Gospel Church, *Sunday School Prospectus-1995*, p.17.

¹⁴ Prayer houses like Yongmun Mountain, Cheolwon, and Samgak Mountain had been well known.

¹⁵ Ja-Sil Choe, *I Was the Hallelujah Lady*, Seoul, 1981, pp.415-436. Even though they had decided to move to Yoido Island in faith, they were severely tested through the construction of the new church building. That was the reason why it took three and a half years to construct it. Originating from the failure in financial supply, problems such as doubt, Cho's family discord, distrust between Cho and Choe, waning of the congregation's cohesive power etc. followed. Cho was even tempted to kill himself.

As these two ladies cried out to God all night, the authorities of a military unit which was located on the nearby hill, asked them not to disturb them. Then, they dug holes in the earth and covered them with branches. This was the beginning of prayer holes. Little by little, poor and sick people gathered to pray and to fast. Diseases were healed. As more people regularly prayed at night, the church constructed buildings. In autumn of 1973, several Japanese believers, who had suffered from diseases, came and were healed. Choe used to take one meal a day and fasted three days in a week. As some saints of the Roman Catholic Church, she was urged to fast and pray on those days.

In 1978, a sanctuary and lodging quarters with an accommodation capacity of 5,000 people were completed. In 1982, a great sanctuary with 10,000 seats was dedicated and later twelve subsidiary chapels were constructed by 1993 so that 20,000 people can attend worship meetings simultaneously. There are also 211 prayer holes.

In 1995, a daily average of 3,774 people visited the prayer house to pray. Yearly, more than 10,000 foreigners visited it. It is also an interdenominational prayer house. The proportions of visitors according to their faiths was as follows: the Presbyterians made up 40% of all the visitors, then Yoido Church (34%), the Korean Assemblies of God (10%), the Methodists (6%), the Holiness (4%), the Baptists (3%), and others (3%). Almost half of the visitors were lay people (49%), then deacons and deaconesses (35%), ministers (5%), and others made up 11%. More females (61%) come to pray than males (39%). Almost 30% of the visitors fast. In 1995, 82% of all visitors prayed there for the purpose of solving their problems of faith, namely, filling with the Holy Spirit. Some ministers who have special desires or problems fast and pray for 40 days only drinking water. The tendency is that fewer people fast than before and fewer give testimonies during the services than before. Among the foreign visitors, the Japanese are the most numerous and then Americans follow next in numbers.¹⁶ All the year round, various groups come there to hold their events and pray. It is the place for practising 'triple-prayer.' Thus, this house has played an important role in expanding pentecostalism, in promoting prayer, and in the evangelization of Korea and other countries.

7.3.1.3. *World Mission Centre (1975)*

As more Koreans began to settle abroad since the 1960s, Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church organized the '*Sunbogeum* World Mission' in April 1975. Its purpose was to help and establish congregations for diaspora Koreans. It was the beginning of systematic missions. In that year, eleven missionaries were sent to the United States, seven to Canada, and four to West Germany. They started to organize Korean congregations. Since then, *Sunbogeum* mission societies have been organized in North America (1976), Europe (1976), Asia (1978), South America (1980), Oceania (1986), and Africa (1987).¹⁷ The Bible colleges, which were to produce Korean pastors and missionaries, were also established.

¹⁶ Interview with the general director of the prayer house (27.2.1996).

¹⁷ World Mission Department of Yoido Church, "The History of *Sunbogeum* World Mission," 1998. A brochure. Five mission societies have been reorganized and changed to 'the headquarters' since 1989 (North America, Asia, Europe, Oceania, and South America). However, these organizations principally belong to the *Sunbogeum* World Mission in Seoul, whose general manager is Cho.

Beside the main sanctuary, the church dedicated a ten-storey building to world mission in January 1977. This World Mission Centre demonstrates the church's will and vision for mission. Since then, various activities have been carried out through the centre. Cho also established the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship Union in 1976, which became a powerful supporter of missions.¹⁸

Mission policy began to change at the end of the 1980s. Since 1993, a full-scale intercultural mission has been embarked upon. Cho began to concentrate on Asian missions instead of being interested in Europe.¹⁹ The diaspora Korean *Sunbogeum* congregations began to function as channels for missions with the supply of finance and information. For the training of indigenous people, six theological schools were set up until 1997 which produce 100 graduates yearly. In the year 1997, Yoido Church sent 86 foreign missionaries to 34 countries while it has 743 pastors who take care of diaspora Koreans abroad.

7.3.1.4. Mass-Media Evangelization (1976)

Mass-media has been an important means for evangelization for this church (see 6.5.3). The Yeongsan Publishing Company was established in March 1976.²⁰ Through this company, Cho's preachings, teachings, and commentaries on the Bible have been published to great effect. At the same time, teaching materials for the church, tracts for evangelization, and various kinds of Christian books have been published. Another programme was the putting into circulation of *The Sunbogeum News* in 1978. This weekly paper was used to deliver Cho's sermon, his column, testimonies of the believers, teachings in the Bible for home-cell groups, and church news. In 1992, this paper was divided into two papers according to their tasks: one is *The Invitation to Happiness*, which functions both as weekly news and evangelization tract for Koreans at home and foreign lands; and the other, *The Full Gospel Family*, conveys various kinds of teachings and news for the congregation. Today, this church publishes various kinds of literature according to the needs of each department. The literary work of this church played an important role in teaching the congregation, in having fellowship among the huge membership, and in spreading *Sunbogeumism*.

¹⁸ Full Gospel Mission Fellowship Union of Yoido Church, ed., "Full Gospel Fellowship Union," Seoul, 1993. A brochure. The businessmen in Yoido Church applied the teaching of Cho to their lives as well as their businesses. They actually became successful businessmen and they actively help Cho's ministry world-wide through arrangements and finance. To achieve its mission to evangelize Korea and the world as a whole, this fellowship has 24 mission divisions (MD) in 1993: Police MD, Prison and Welfare MD, Transportation MD, Military MD, South America MD, Farming and Fishing Community MD, South-East Asia MD, Literature MD, Beauty MD, Broadcasting MD, Social Welfare MD, West-Asia MD, Children and Youth MD, Africa MD, Entertainer MD, Indo-China MD, Eurasia MD, Workshop MD, Japan MD, Medical Care MD, Southern China MD, Northern China MD, Institute MD, and Athletes MD.

¹⁹ Interview with Hwa-Gyeong Jang (mission planning manager) at Yoido Church (4.2.1998). Cho wanted to devote his life to evangelizing Europe (1993), but his vision has changed today. That is because he is over 60 years old and as a leader of Korean churches he has to devote more time to Korean churches. At the same time, he realized that Asia is in urgent need of mission.

²⁰ Yeongsan means 'a spiritual mountain' and it was Cho's pen name. Around 1982, it was changed to Seoul Book Publishing Company. When we consider the schismatic problem, which has existed since 1981, we see the extent of Cho's self-restraint. That name, Yeongsan, was also adopted for the designation of the education institute of the church at first, but it was changed to another name as well.

The TV programme, the 'Invitation to Happiness' programme started to be televised on MBC-TV in Daejeon in 1980. For broadcasting to foreign lands, TV studio for the International Church Growth was opened in 1983. In 1993, the programme was broadcast in Korea through eighteen local TV channels. Cho's message spreads overseas through 34 TV channels in America (seventeen channels for Koreans and seventeen for Americans), fifteen channels in Japan for Japanese, and one channel in Kenya, Africa. In 1994, six programmes of Cho's message were broadcast nationwide every day through four Christian radio broadcasting companies. In July 1996, this church started satellite broadcasting for simultaneous screen worship (Sunday nine o'clock and Wednesday worship services) in regional churches (103 congregations in Korea) and in Asia including Japan (four congregations), Hong Kong, and China.

The *Kookmin-Ilbo Daily News* was started in December 1988. It has four pages (out of a total 24 pages) of Christian affairs like preaching, Bible lecture, missions, and reports of Christian events. Cho believed that God told him to "start a daily newspaper in order to have Christian influence in society and in the world."²¹ To launch the paper, it needed ten million dollars and four million dollars per month to finance it. Today, the paper is regarded as the representative paper for Korean Christians. It had a circulation of one million in 1996.

7.3.1.5. Church Growth International (1976)

In 1976, Cho felt himself called to start the Church Growth International (CGI) ministry "in order to show leaders and lay people the great work that the Holy Spirit had accomplished at the Yoido Full Gospel Church."²² Since that year, sixteen annual conferences have been held in Seoul and many other CGI conferences elsewhere in the world. Because Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church is known as the model of the idea of church growth of the Fuller Theological Seminary, those who are interested in church growth and mission (evangelization) visit the CGI conferences. It is composed of 59 internationally known church leaders and it has about 15,000 members in 151 countries.²³

Through the conferences, the four main keys to church growth as found at the Yoido Church are presented: prayer; preaching the needs of the people; the New Testament home cell system; and the Jethro principle (the delegation of authority). Cho also taught them the Fivefold Gospel. Those who attend the conferences held in Korea, attend one of the Sunday worship meetings, all-night prayer meeting on Friday night, home cell meeting, and the Osanli prayer house of the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church. In 1997, about 1,164 foreigners came to Seoul from 45 countries.²⁴ Through the CGI ministry, not only is *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism spread world-wide but it also has a considerable influence world evangelization.

²¹ Yonggi Cho, "Basic Principles of Church Growth," in *Church Growth, Manual No. 8*, Seoul, 1996, pp.19-53. Cited from p.25.

²² Church Growth International, ed., "History of the Church Growth International Ministry," in the report pamphlet of the 16th CGI conference in Seoul (30.9.1997-6.10.1997), pp.3-4.

²³ Min Sook Lee, interview at the CGI headquarters at Yoido Church (4.2.1998).

²⁴ *Kookmin-Ilbo Daily News* (Seoul), October 9, 1997. In 1992, 200 foreigners, in 1993, 670 foreigners, and 1995, 700 foreigners attended Seoul conferences. About 50 pastors in the world built up their great congregations after they had applied CGI principles. The third world theologians and pastors agreed on the point that a state can develop in proportion to church revival; ITI, ed., *An Education White Paper*:

7.3.1.6. *Social Welfare (1977)*

Cho's idea of whole-salvation has made him interested in Korean society from his early ministry. His *Sunbogeum* message focuses upon both the well-being of human beings on earth and the life afterwards. He developed a vision to save Koreans from their miserable situation through living faith in God. Therefore, Cho constantly prays for the authority and country.²⁵

As early as March 1977, the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church established 'The Korean Institute for Social Studies.'²⁶ From 1982, it started to help various needy people (in orphanages, old folks homes, remote places, the slum quarters etc.) through collecting material goods that were to be shared with them. Since 1983, the Free Surgery Movement for children with heart disease has helped 2,358 (up to 1997) children to be operated on and start new lives. All members have been collecting waste paper to support the cost. In 1988, a blood donation campaign of love started, in which, by 1997, almost 40,000 members of this church had participated. It founded the Elim Welfare Town in 1985 on a site of 5,4 acres. It accommodates 300 youths for job training (as car mechanics, in woodwork, textile design, CAD/CAM, and cosmetics) and 150 senior citizens. Its operational expenses are provided by the church. It also delivered relief goods, rice, and charitable donations to distressed people in the world.

It seems that this congregation easily reacts to the guidance of leadership even in such social concerns. Therefore, as a church it takes the lead in helping society by making use of its resources concurrently with evangelization.

7.3.1.7. *Education and Theological Training Programmes (1978)*

As the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church is vision-oriented and firmly stands on the Fivefold Gospel principle, the object of education is clearly defined: salvation in whole, growth to holiness, and to be a witness to the end of the world.²⁷ This church began its Sunday school from its foundation (1958) as Korean congregations generally do. After two decades, as the congregation had grown dramatically to 75,000 members, it established the Institute for *Sunbogeum* (Full Gospel) Education in the church which would promote its education and theology more systematically. Today, Christian education is divided into four fields in this church: the programme for new comers; the Sunday school programme; the programme for various functional groups; and the theological training programme.

The first programme is for the sake of those who attend this church for the first time. When an adult responds to the altar call during the worship meeting, he will be asked to fill out the resolution card. Then he is invited to the eight-week-course for

1993-1994, Seoul, pp.157-168. Those attending CGI conferences in Korea (1977-1993) amounted to 20,260 including Koreans. Outside Korea, in this same period, almost 3,342,000 attended the conference or received its teaching through TV; Yonggi Cho, *Inner Condition for Happiness*, Seoul, 1983/4th ed., 1988, pp.117-119. Cho explained how Australian Assemblies of God had grown by 2 % in ten years (they were sleeping, Cho said) and how it grew 50% in two years through having applied Cho's teaching.

²⁵ The purpose of praying for the country is not to make its well-being its object, but as a means for the preparation for the kingdom of God (1 Tim.2:1-2).

²⁶ Its results are not known but its motivation to tackle social concerns was there already.

²⁷ ITI, *White Paper*, on the introduction page. See the Charter of *Sunbogeum* Education.

new believers.²⁸ If he cannot attend it, he can take a correspondence course. When he finishes one of these courses, he is recommended to attend the special meetings for receiving the Holy Spirit. Then he will be promoted to a member of a district.

The second field corresponds to the Sunday school programme for the general church. This programme is carried out in four realms according to age groups: Sunday school; college student mission; the youth mission; and a senior citizens' college. Sunday school children, from nursery age to high school (31,318 souls in 1997 together with those of satellite chapels), are carefully taught and looked after. In 1976, 'children districts' were organized to take care of those children that are scattered in the Seoul area. On weekdays they have worship meetings, study the Bible, and reach children in the entire Seoul area more effectively (23 districts in 1997). Since 1979, Sunday school branches have been set up in the Seoul area for those children who live far from the church (seventeen branch schools in 1997). In 1981, it published its own Sunday school teaching materials for the primary school and next year for the middle-high school for the first time. Before this time, Haptong Presbyterian materials had been used. Sunday school teachers are selected among those who have finished this church's teacher college (a weekly two-hour-course over a period of twelve weeks). The college was opened in 1976, and since then, it has produced 9,754 graduates (1994). A graduate school for Sunday school teachers (a nine month course), a seminar for the teachers, and weekly education for the teachers of satellite chapels have also been opened. Sunday school children of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church are also led to receive the Holy Spirit. To do this, they are led to pray and cry to God in unison with their hands up. The organization for young men was established in 1964. New members are invited to take part in the two-week programme of Christian education, after which they will join one of 855 youth cell groups and one of twenty youth districts. Youth cell leaders participate in weekly Bible study. The organization for the college student was established in 1970, which has an eight-week programme as a training course for the newly converted students. Further, there are various kinds of camp meeting, welfare work, mission conference, festival, and activities for this group. The glory-mission for the old people (over 60 years) was organized in 1983. In two years, it established a three-year course for its senior citizens' college with the view of giving them an opportunity of fellowship and learning. In 1993, there were 310 registered students out of 742 members.

The third field, which is the programme of education for various kinds of functional groups, is carried out in three realms: layman Bible school; special education groups; and mission groups. The layman Bible school was first opened in 1979 for the purpose of promoting all believers to be sincere disciples. Through this school lay persons study the Bible for 30 weeks (two hours each week). The school produced 35,808 graduates (until 1993). The graduates can further study the Bible more systematically at the layman Bible college (since 1980) of this church which also takes 30 weeks. These graduates can further study at layman graduate school of the Bible, which was started in 1992 for the purpose of training layman leaders and discipleship. The second realm has included education for various counsel for Christians since 1974, Yeongsan Music Institute since 1991, which has a hymnal school and a four-year college programme music school, and courses for

²⁸ *ibid.*, pp.188-189.

handicapped people. The third realm is the education programme for various mission groups (35 groups in 1993). Each group plans and carries out its own teaching programmes (worship and prayer meetings, seminars). Most groups include the regular prayer meeting for receiving baptism with the Holy Spirit at the prayer mountain.

The fourth field is the programme of professional research for Christianity. This programme started in 1978 as the Institute for *Sunbogeum* Education. In 1990, the name was altered to Yeongsan Institute which had three research centres (theology, mission, church growth). In 1993, the name was changed to the International Theological Institute (ITI). This institute has three departments: theological research centre; pastoral ministry centre; and continuing education centre for church leaders. It has also cooperation programmes of M.A., M. Div., and D. Min. with Hansei (Sunshin) University of the Korean Assemblies of God and Regent University in the United States. Through opening seminars for promoting the work of the Holy Spirit and through annual international academic seminars dealing with the Holy Spirit (eight times up to 1997), it has contributed to establishing the foundation of pentecostalism. Even though it stands firm on Cho's theology, it has been oriented to an ecumenical point of view in theological undertakings. This institute plays an important role in helping *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism as well as pentecostalism in general settle down as a theology in Christianity.²⁹ The *Sunbogeum* Theological Institute of this church is a four-year college course and accredited by the Korean Assemblies of God.³⁰ The Church Growth Institute also belongs to this field of professional education programme.³¹

7.3.1.8. Regional Chapels (1980)

Three reasons for establishing the regional or branch chapels can be referred to. First, as the Yoido compound was not able to accommodate a continually increasing number of Sunday school children and as numerous children whose parents lived far from the church had difficulties in coming, many of them attended another churches which were located near to them, while their parents came to the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church. Then the church began to set up regional Sunday schools in Seoul area from 1979. Adult members used the facilities for prayer meetings, too. This event stimulated the establishment of the regional chapels. Then, some of the Sunday school branches were developed to become regional chapels.³² Second, by the request of those Christians who had *Sunbogeum* faith in other cities or for the sake of convenience of those members whose homes were far from the church, the church established branch chapels. Third, Cho had a mind to establish branch churches in provincial cities to evangelize Korea as well as to introduce *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism nationwide. In October 1980, a first branch congregation was

²⁹ This institute has 47 workers in three departments. It has a vision to establish theological education which will lead 21st century Christianity. It has a finely equipped library which keeps material about pentecostalism.

³⁰ In 1995, this has 1,058 students.

³¹ This institute became the subsidiary organization of *Kookmin Ilbo Daily News* of this church.

³² Director of public information of the Yoido Church, interview (4.2.1998).

founded at a company.³³ From the early part of the 1980s, more than twenty regional chapels were founded in satellite cities of Seoul and in Seoul.

The establishment of regional chapels was criticized by both congregations of the Korean Assemblies of God and other churches.³⁴ Therefore, since 1990, twelve regional chapels outside Seoul have become independent congregations even though they remain closely related to Yoido *Sunbogum* Church. Today, it has twelve regional chapels in Seoul alone. At the same time, most provincial cities have at least one 'branch congregation' which will have close relations to Yoido Church. Each chapel in Seoul has its own pastor who takes care of the congregation. However, the regional congregations simultaneously hear Cho's Sunday message (9:00, 11:00, and 13:00 o'clock) and Wednesday (11:00 o'clock) worship meetings on a TV screen with those who attend the Yoido main sanctuary.

7.3.1.9. *Identity and Prospects of the Yoido Sunbogum Church*

As stated earlier, the Yoido *Sunbogum* Church is different from the traditional concept of a local congregation. It started as an evangelization centre and its fundamental character remains. It regards the Holy Spirit as the senior pastor, who has led the church through Cho's visions and dreams. Even though it stands on his firm theology, it does not confine itself to his views. It is always open to follow the guidance of God. This adaptability is called the 'situational leadership' of Cho.³⁵ This feature is an important factor in understanding the Yoido *Sunbogum* Church. Its principle is founded on the logic that the object (pleasing God and blessing people) can dictate the means (methods) (1Cor. 9:19-23). This 'continuity in changeability' keeps the identity of the church through its 40 years' development in transitional circumstances.

Jin Hong Jeong researched this church twice from the point of view of religious phenomena in 1981 and 1997. In 1981, Jeong had researched the church and expressed his view that its religiosity was fundamentally power-oriented through the Spirit. He then suggested that the power-oriented religiosity and positive thinking were managed by the church organization based on the 'business creed.' His conclusions of this initial research are as follows: first, there was some doubt as to whether this church would not fail in its religious function through its confusion of religious means (blessing by positive thinking) and its objective (transformation of human reality); and second, he anticipated that this church would be either developed into a new form complemented by theology and systematization and then its growth and size be suspended or would be developed into a sectarian group by only emphasizing the power through the Spirit. In his research sixteen years later, he pointed out the transitional tendency of the church. According to this, this church has slightly changed since 1982 as follows: from power-oriented religiosity to theory-oriented religiosity; from a personal and eschatological nature to communal

³³ In the Elcanto Shoes Manufacturing Company, a congregation was formed for the employees. The owner was an elder of the Yoido Church.

³⁴ Church growth as a means for mission and establishing branch churches has been criticized on the grounds that: they take an interest in individual church growth, neglecting kingdom of God; church growth is regarded as success by them but the Christian value system of love and humility will get damaged; church growth does not bring qualitative growth; and they cause dissension between small congregations and eventually they hinder the expansion of God's kingdom. See chapter 14.

³⁵ Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1995, pp.327-328. See 6.3.2.2.

and practical concern; from a vertical and gathering system to a horizontal and spreading system; and from one spot (congregation) huge church to a scattered “poly-single” church. He also acknowledged that his anticipation in 1981 had been “partly proved to be off the mark.” He was amazed to observe its unexpected growth in its systematization process.³⁶ His case is one example which shows that it is not easy to judge this church from a certain point of view.³⁷

7.3.2. *Development of the Denomination (1973ff)*

The developments of the denomination since 1973 will be sketched in this subsection. Denominational politics, other denominational congregations, theological institutes, and the theological debate on Yonggi Cho will be discussed.

7.3.2.1. *Three Stages (1973ff)*

The denominational history after the Pentecostal World Conference (1973) can be divided into three stages: the stage of expansion in companions (1973-1981); the stage of expansion in split (1981-1991); and the stage of expansion in united resources (1992ff).

The first stage (1973-1981) started in an amicable atmosphere with great hope after the pentecostal world conference (1973) in Seoul. In one way or another, it is related to the Yoido era of Cho’s church, which began to expand dramatically since it had moved to the Yoido sanctuary. As it expanded its cell-system into every nook and corner of Seoul and brought people to it, not a few congregations of the Korean Assemblies of God in Seoul became anxious about the probable situation that it might hinder the growth of their local congregations. In 1979, Cho’s congregation (102,162 members) made up two-thirds of the total members of the denomination (373 congregations with 151,500 members). This unbalanced situation caused an uncomfortable atmosphere in the denomination to emerge. Eventually, it developed into an issue of denominational politics. Cho began to be criticized by some leaders of the Korean Assemblies of God on the grounds that he took advantage of his position as the general superintendent to his own Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church. His striving for world evangelization was also criticized on the grounds that he neglected to take care of small congregations in the denomination which were not yet self-supporting and that he should have devoted himself to evangelizing Korea first. On account of such indirect opposition and the problem of ordination of Ja-Sil Choe, his mother-in-law and co-worker, who was ordained by the Japanese Assemblies of God in 1972 before the Korean Assemblies of God instituted the law of women’s ordination, Cho, who had been chosen six times consecutively for a two-year term

³⁶ Jin Hong Jeong, “Phenomenon and Structure of the Rapid-grown Large Church,” in *A Study on the Pentecostal Movement in Korea*, Seoul, 1982, pp.101-163; idem, “Changing Structure and Characteristics of a Large Rapidly Growing Church: The Case of the Yoido Full Gospel Church.” An research article prepared for the conference on “Korea: Toward an Industrial Society, Part II” (16-18. 5. 1997), at the University of British Columbia. In spite of his sympathetic analysis of this church, we should judge that Jeong’s anticipation in 1981 was to no small degree, ‘not partly,’ proved off the mark. Still today, the church makes power-oriented principle in the Holy Spirit its fundamental principle. In this period of 16 years, the external changes in the church organization caused neither conflicts nor suspension of its growth.

³⁷ In the matter of leading the church, Cho followed what he believed to be God’s will.

of office since 1966, at last resigned from the position of superintendent during his term of office in 1977.³⁸ Cho and his church remained in the denomination for another four years.

In March 1980, the denomination held a fasting prayer meeting with the slogan 'Heal the wounds of our nation.'³⁹ In April 1981, it held a commemoration conference for its 30 years' anniversary, advancing the date by two years. About 700 pastors gathered together to celebrate it at headquarters hall and Yoido Church for four days under the motto: 'Raise up the Torch of the Holy Spirit.' It also published *Korea Assemblies of God 30 Years History*, which recorded the history and the situation of the denomination in general. Generally, the denomination worked and grew together with companionship quantitatively as well as qualitatively in the first stage.

The decade of the second stage (1981-1991) was characterized by schism and expansion in competitive circumstances. As the Korean Church grew most in numbers in this decade, so did the Korean pentecostals in spite of its schismatical period. For this great schism, we can find both the latent reasons and the exposed issues. The latent reasons were: first, the differing ideas on ministry between Yonggi Cho/ his followers who devoted themselves to world evangelization on the basis of the 'Triple Blessing' (open and progressive pentecostals) and the other pentecostals who devoted themselves to their local congregations on the principle of classical pentecostalism (closed and classical pentecostals);⁴⁰ and second, the problem of ecclesiastical authority.⁴¹ These two hidden points were not openly discussed. This forced silence contributed to forming an uncomfortable atmosphere in the denomination. Especially, the first issue of two different views on the theology of ministry continues to exist throughout the development of the Korean Assemblies of God. The issues that eventually caused the schism were also related to Yonggi Cho personally. They were as follows: first, the issue of illegal ordination carried out by

³⁸ Jun-Bae Ahn, *Pastor Cho Yonggi and the Holy Spirit Movement: Unknown Stories*, Seoul, 1982, pp.72-73. Ja-Sil Choe's ordination especially became an issue to Myeong-Rok Cho, who had been the leader of the party opposing Yonggi Cho. At last, in 1977, Myeong-Rok Cho, who was a member of the executive committee, was able to persuade the executive committee to vote for dismissing Yonggi Cho from the position of superintendent while Yonggi Cho was abroad. Confronted with this situation when he came back from his missionary journey, Yonggi Cho made up his mind to withdraw from denominational politics. Cho, still the superintendent, did not attend the 26th general assembly in Busan in May 1977. His letter of resignation was read by the general secretary at the meeting. Cho gave as reasons for his resignation that not only was he incompetent and had been in that position too long but also he wanted to devote himself to his church (*Minutes*, 1977).

³⁹ As President Park was assassinated in October 1979, the socio-political situation was uneasy.

⁴⁰ It is difficult to argue that Cho's theology was different from classical pentecostalism, because Cho did not advocate any new theory. The difference between Cho and other pentecostal pastors could be found more in the matter of emphasis and practice than that of creed when we consider the fact that Cho and all other Korean pentecostal pastors confessed the same doctrine of classical pentecostalism. His emphasis on church growth, world evangelization, divine healing, and successful Christian life could be accepted by most pentecostal ministers. But, other pastors were not able to claim it fully as Cho did. The principle of his Triple Blessing was generally accepted in Korea as well as abroad even though it has been criticized by some critics. However, his practical adoption of positive thinking or success-oriented mind, which caused doubts as to whether it were a 'quasi-Gospel,' were not easily accepted by a majority of denominational pastors who were not directly taught by Cho. See chapter 8.

⁴¹ ITI, ed., *Church History of Korea Assemblies of God*, Seoul, 1987/ rev. edition, 1993, p.178; Jun-Bae Ahn, *ibid.*, p. 407. Ahn writes that jealousy was also the reason. Yonggi Cho felt that the problem was the jealousy of his fellow pastors.

him; second, the issue of his healing prayer with laying hands on an elder of Young-Nak Presbyterian Church; third, the issue of his preaching about ancestor worship; fourth, the issue of a young female student's resurrection; and fifth, the issue of Yoido Church's unfaithful payment of its financial share to the denomination.⁴²

The denominational schism developed as follows. Myeong-Rok Cho, who was the superintendent of the Korea Assemblies of God from 1980 to 1982 and the main opponent of Yonggi Cho, presided at the executive committee on September 15, 1981 at the conference hall of the denomination in Seoul. The main topic they discussed was the above-mentioned five issues related to Yonggi Cho. They voted for establishing a five-man investigation committee which would have a personal interview with Cho and ascertain their genuineness. However, this resolution spread out in an unexpected way through Christian newsweeklies. The *Gyohoe Yeonhap Shinbo* (the Paper of Church Union) carried news titled 'A Heretic Quarrel over Pastor Yonggi Cho?' on September 20, 1981. This was Myeong-Rok Cho's stratagem (to dismiss him from the denomination, or humiliate Cho and benefit himself)⁴³ and was different from what the executive committee discussed and voted for. It lighted the fuse of gossip about the rumours inside and outside the denomination. The opinion in the denomination was split as follows: those who belonged to progressive *Sunbogeumism* sought to defend Cho, while those who had more sympathy to the classical pentecostalism preferred to investigate the issues and discern between right and wrong. However, the quarrel over ecclesiastical authority between Myeong-Rok Cho, who was the superintendent, and Yonggi Cho, who was the pastor of the Yoido Church, was generally regarded as a real problem.⁴⁴ In other

⁴² Jun-Bae Ahn, *ibid.* Ahn researched the related issues about the schism and wrote this book to show the actual occurrences and to defend Cho. He told the truth as follows. Illegal ordination: Cho did not privately ordinate unqualified persons. It was found to be an unreliable rumour. Healing prayer problem: Cho prayed for Elder Kim of Young-Nak Presbyterian Church according to his request but did not ask money for it. It was a rumour. Elder Kim only presented a thanks-offering to Yoido Church. Ancestor worship: Cho preached that a believer can bow down to the picture of his dead parents in an attitude of filial piety. It was only a theological problem. Cho, who was confronted with conservatives inside and outside the denomination, apologized for his radical position and withdrew it even though some theologians had sympathized with his idea. Student's resurrection: a bogus girl student of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church lied that she died of illness, was buried, and came alive. Financial problem: Yoido Church did not faithfully or mathematically pay its share to the denomination. According to the constitution, all congregations were to pay 3% of their monthly income to the denomination. It was a customary matter at that time to receive any amount of money (instead of 3%) from the congregation. Mathematically calculated, Yoido Church was to pay monthly about 20,000-30,000 dollars. Actually, it paid much less than that. Myeong-Rok Cho made a plan to press Cho to offer all its share so that the headquarters' budget be met. He dealt with the issues quite critically and objectively.

⁴³ *ibid.*, pp.69-82. Ahn wrote, Myeong-Rok Cho wanted, first of all, to get money through threatening Cho so that he could fulfil his desire and lead the denomination more effectively, thinking that if Yoido Church would pay its share properly, the budget of the headquarters would be met. At the same time, he was displeased at Yonggi Cho's ministry and wanted to be the real head of the denomination without Cho. It seemed that he was especially jealous of Cho. He was one year senior to Cho at the seminary.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp.11-20, 69-104, 185-262. According to Ahn, Myeong-Rok Cho gave falsified information about the decision of the executive committee to the chief editor of the The Paper of Church Union so that Yonggi Cho might fall into a difficult situation. Then, the superintendent thought he could humiliate Yonggi Cho's pride. There was another event that supported Myeong-Rok Cho's plan. It was Deok-Hwan Kim's book *Cho Yonggi, Is He Really a Heretic?* It was published on October 5, 1981 in Seoul. Kim was the chief editor of the monthly magazine of the Korean Assemblies of God. Kim

words, it was rather accepted as a matter of denominational politics than as a matter of doctrinal problems of Yonggi Cho. Yonggi Cho did not respond to the proposed interview of the committee because he had recognized the threatening politics of the denomination which was monopolized by Myeong-Rok Cho. Yonggi Cho and the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church, having sensed the possibility that Yonggi Cho would be expelled from the denomination and that the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church would remain in it with another pastor, declared their withdrawal from the Korean Assemblies of God on October 13, 1981.⁴⁵ However, while Yonggi Cho had been accepted by the majority as the leader of both *Sunbogeum* movement and the denomination, Myeong-Rok Cho was found to be wrong in his handling of the matter. The American Assemblies of God openly declared that Yonggi Cho's theology and ministry were not to be criticized, and it took sides with Yonggi Cho. This influenced the denominational pastors in their support of Yonggi Cho. At last, on December 7, 1981, the denomination split: the superintendent Myeong-Rok Cho expelled Yonggi Cho from the membership. More than half of a total of 700 denominational pastors, namely, 364 pastors had no confidence in the present superintendent and, therefore, stood in with Yonggi Cho. They assembled to establish a new organization.

Now the denomination was divided into three groups: the original denomination which was called the general assembly side or '*Chonghoe* side' of the Korean Assembly of God; the newly organized group which was called 'the *Banpo* side' or the *Sunbogeum* side of the Korean Assemblies of God; and the independent Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church.⁴⁶ We see here the reaction of the already existing tendency of two groups in the denomination. The assembly side followed traditional-classical pentecostalism whereas the *Banpo* side went with *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism of Yonggi Cho and the Yoido Church. This internal difference in the nuance of their pentecostal faith continues to remain. At this stage, the schism was still provisional. The Yoido Church created its own juridical foundation for the world mission in 1982. But, in January 1985, the schism settled down in a different way. A new denomination was formed centering around the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church. We may point to two reasons for this. First, world Christianity began to cast a suspicious glance at Yoido Church and its independent mission activities. Second, in the latter

criticized Cho's theology as theology without the cross and he regarded Cho's healing ministry as syncretism with Christian healing and shamanism or as hypnotism. Myeong-Rok Cho had noticed Kim's preparation on this book and seemed to be confirmed in his belief that Yonggi Cho was surely a man of suspicious character. Besides, Kim falsified the facts about Cho and interpreted them with a distorted view, Ahn claimed in this book. Kim's book was annulled on account of its unreliability.

⁴⁵ The church suggested reasons for their resignation: they (the board members of KAOG) criticized Yoido Church unfavourably; they plotted to injure Cho; they schemed schism of the denomination. It also stated that Cho and the church would continue their relations with AAOG mission in Korea. This means Cho and the church left the denomination on account of its unfavourable politics, not its theology.

⁴⁶ KAOG, *The Yearbook: 1997*, Seoul, pp. 106-110. *The Minutes* (1981). The sizes of the 3 groups were: the assembly side had 237 congregations, 306 pastors, and about 70,000 members; the Banpo side had about 233 congregations, 330 pastors, and 38,000 members; and the Yoido Church had 229 pastors with about 200,000 members (with the exception of Yoido Church, the numbers cannot be taken as entirely correct); we see here the tendency to form two groups in the denomination: the group who followed democratic-classical pentecostalism and the *Sunbogeum* pentecostals who had been more influenced or taught by Cho. This internal difference in the nuance of their pentecostal faith remains.

part of 1984, the American Assemblies of God requested Yoido Church to join the denomination again. Cho and his congregation sensed the need of affiliation. The Yoido Church and other congregations, that had mainly belonged to *Banpo* side, organized a new denomination 'Jesus Church Korean Assemblies of God' in January 1985. Then, some of those who had belonged to the *Banpo* side remained and organized another denomination (the *Samseong* side). Now, the original group was split into three denominations. Because all these three offshoots called themselves the Korean Assemblies of God, people distinguished them by designating *Gihaseong* (Christ Church Korean Assemblies of God), *Yehaseong* (Jesus Church Korean Assemblies of God), and the *Samseong* side (Christ Church Korean Assemblies of God). Each had its own theological school and grew during separation.

In June 1990, *Gihaseong* executive committee voted for establishing a seven-man 'unification promotion committee.' This promotion committee offered a proposal of unification to *Yehaseong*. This side responded to it. The committees of both sides met for discussions. At last, in November 1991, both sides held general assemblies to discuss unification, and both sides decided in favour of it. Next month (19.12.1991), these two main groups unified after a decade of separation. Here we point to several aspects that made this development possible. First, because pentecostals are closely related with each other in Spiritual experiences (tendency in emotional community), they are more likely to wish for unification than other churches which are founded on common doctrines (tendency in rational community) and split thereafter. Second, they had an influential person, Yonggi Cho, who was able to be humble. He believed it was God's will to unite the denomination and encouraged both sides to unite. At the same time, he confessed that he was responsible for the schism and apologized for it to his senior and junior pastors. He was also ready to accommodate the request of other members to him like the problems of satellite chapels and the idea of ancestor worship.⁴⁷ At this later date there was no Myeong-Rok Cho who passed away in 1989. Third, during the schismatic period, pentecostals examined themselves and became more tolerant through learning and repentance. Not only was Cho changed, but also many pastors were changed so that they began to recognize Cho and his church as certain God-chosen vessels. Fourth, the American Assemblies of God stimulated Korean pentecostals to unify. Finally, the world atmosphere after the breakdown of communism and the religious and the political endeavours for unification (the attempt of Korean Presbyterians to unite; negotiation for unification of North and South Korea) indirectly had effects upon it.

This unification is of considerable significance. First, Yonggi Cho's radical *Sunbogeumism* was finally accepted by the majority of the denomination. Second, the role of Cho and Yoido Church in the denomination was more firmly established

⁴⁷ KAOG, *The Minutes* (the extraordinary general assembly/ 28. 11. 1991 at Cheongju by *Gihaseong*/ 28. 11. 1991 at Incheon by *Yehaseong*). Cho acknowledged the original KAOG (*Gihaseong*) and said that he came back to it with a white flag with his followers of *Yehaseong*; it is said that when he was praying for the unification of divided Korea, God told him, "You could not unite even your denomination yet, how can you ask Me to help unite your separated nation?" Then his opinion about the unification was accepted as a proper suggestion by majority of denominational leaders on both sides.

and increased. Third, the united denomination under dynamic *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism would play a more active part in Korean Christianity.

Even though there broke out various kinds of issues during and after the process,⁴⁸ the majority of the Korean Assemblies of God unified again (about 1,000 congregations with over one million believers). Together with this united Korean Assemblies of God, a minority of *Yehaseong* and *Gihaseong* and the majority of the *Samseong* side remained to keep up their own independence. These three anti-unification denominations, who were against Yonggi Cho's influence and 'walkover' in the denomination, organized a 'Council of Korean Assemblies of God' to cooperate internally and to cope together with the united denomination (December 1991).

In relation to the political climate of the denomination, there was a neutral party beside above-mentioned groups which were pro-*Sunbogeumism* and anti-*Sunbogeumism*. This centrist group played an important role in keeping the denomination steady with both embracing grace and critical ability. It seems this neutral party helps denominational politics to keep a balance. Jeong-Geun Pak (the second graduate of the denomination) and Chin-Hwan Kim (the fifth graduate) were the representatives of the neutral party. Gyeong-Cheol Kim (the eighth graduate), Byeong-Yeol Seo (the sixth graduate), and Jeong-Yeol Mun (the sixth graduate) belonged to the neutral party as well, regarding denominational politics. Gwang-Su Pak (the second graduate) and Myeong-Rok Cho (the third graduate) were representatives of the faction against Cho and progressive *Sunbogeumism*.⁴⁹

The third stage (1992ff) promised an enormous possibility for the *Sunbogeum* movement. After unification, the denomination presented an animated appearance. With 30 districts and ten departments (departments of education, mission, evangelization, youth, publishing, women, church promotion, social affairs, public information, and farming and fishing villages) under the general assembly, it took a new turn to cope with the needs of a large denomination. It decided to set up a welfare pension for the denominational ministers (1992), to publish the denominational weekly newspaper (1992), to ordain to the ministry only those who have finished the graduate school of theology (1993), and to support pioneering and dependent churches more systematically. Especially, the outcome of the debate, which took place in September 1994, about Yonggi Cho's 'pseudo-Christianity' with the Tonghap Presbyterian church, injected fresh vigour into its activities. The denomination was received as a denominational member on the board of directors of the Korea Bible Society (November 1994).⁵⁰ It surprisingly decided to join the

⁴⁸ First, the anti-unification party was afraid of 'gradual monopolization of Yonggi Cho' of the denomination. Second, being unable to unite totally, four denominations (united *Gihaseong*, *Yehaseong*, *Gihaseong* of *Suho* side, and *Gihaseong* of *Samseong* side) continue to exist. The anti-unification party accused the unification party of another schism. Third, Yonggi Cho's father (an elder of Yoido Church) and younger brother (the leader of *Yehaseong*) were against the unification and they separated themselves from Cho. Fourth, there has been a long and complicated litigating struggle between pros and antis about the legitimacy of the unification process and the denomination property.

⁴⁹ In-Gyu Song, interview at the KAOG headquarters (20.1.1998).

⁵⁰ The acceptance of KAOG as one of the leading bodies of the Korea Bible Society implies that the orthodoxy of pentecostalism is recognized by the Korean Church. Its executive committee had concluded that KAOG had no theological problem in being accepted into it as a director denomination. The leading denominations of Korea like The Hapdong, the Tonghap, the Kosin, the Kijang, the Methodist, the Baptist, and the Salvation Army etc. comprise its leading body together with KAOG.

Korea National Council of Churches (KNCC) in 1996.⁵¹ These two events signified that this denomination was fully recognized by the Korean Church as a member. On October third 1994, it held the '10-3 World Prayer Meeting' in Seoul. The world Assemblies of God conference was switched to this prayer meeting by the Korean Assemblies of God. About one million Christians gathered at Yoido Plaza to pray.⁵²

The Korean Assemblies of God has weaknesses in various fields: unbalanced growth among the congregations; high proportion of dependent congregations that occupy 80 % of all denominational congregations; frailty in inner unity among the members and unity of the movement overall that has not yet been achieved; a tendency of losing pentecostal characteristics and becoming like a Presbyterian type of worship and faith; lack of balance in Spiritual gifts and fruit; and unsettled identity of its theology. Nevertheless, they look to the future with confidence. They firmly believe that the pentecostal movement is the unique hope for thousands of people. Therefore, not only are they willing to take the leading role in Korean Christianity but also in world Christianity through the pentecostal movement. They base their vision on the early church because they regard it as the prototype of the pentecostal movement from century to century.⁵³

7.3.2.2. *Big and Small Congregations (1973ff)*

The Korean churches experienced a great expansion in the 1970s and 1980s. *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism expanded more than other churches. The total number of *Sunbogeum* congregations and believers including children developed as follows: in 1973, 182 congregations with 88,350 adherents; in 1981, 471 congregations with 308,615 adherents; and in 1997, the totality of all 1,228 congregations with 1,183,972 adherents.⁵⁴ When we observe the development of pentecostal congregations since 1973, we become aware of several phenomena. First, Yonggi Cho's Yoido congregation developed in an extraordinary way as a huge church (59% of all denominational believers). Second, those who align themselves with Cho's ministry have succeeded in growth. Third, the majority of the denomination is composed of small-sized congregations. Fourth, even though many new congregations are pioneered, their chances to grow rapidly are not guaranteed. Fifth, *Sunbogeum*

⁵¹ KAOG, *The Minutes* (1996). There was a long discussion about joining KNCC at the general assembly before they voted for it (250: 195). The denominational committee of theology development had already researched WCC and KNCC for several years. It concluded that even if there was a certain danger in joining it, it recommended joining it in due time. Ex-superintendent Jeong-Geun Pak stated reasons for this: first, KNCC had changed its statute and gave up its radical progressive theology so that it would embrace all kinds of Korean Christians; second, to have a representative organization in Korea was the demand of the times and KNCC was the most influential organization among various Christian organizations; third, those who did not join it for the same reason as our denomination would soon enter it; fourth, KAOG was in a position to lead the Korean Church and its field would be KNCC.

⁵² KAOG, *The Yearbook: 1997*, pp.124-126. Originally, it was to hold the world Assemblies of God conference. KAOG changed it to a prayer meeting. They prayed not only for world evangelization through filling with the Holy Spirit but also prayed for social affairs and environmental protection.

⁵³ idem, *The Minutes* (1996). The general assembly presented a denominational policy which describes the vision of the denomination (the leading role for the Korean Church, world church, and future church) and what to do to accomplish it (growth policy, inner solidity, specialization, theology); "Seminars for pentecostal ministers," in *The Sunbogeum News*, Seoul (9.7.1994/ 23.7.1994/ 20.8.1994).

⁵⁴ See the statistics of 1995 at chapter 1. While there have been constant changes in the denomination, it is not easy to see a consistent number. However, we can see its tendency and general statistics.

movement and the foundation of new congregations are still concentrated upon urban communities. Sixth, the majority of the denomination is concentrated in Seoul-Gyeonggi area (89%) while the southeastern part of Korea (Gyeongsang Province) is falling behind both in establishing the movement and in pioneering the congregations.⁵⁵

In April 1981, the denomination published its history for the first time. It also investigated the situation of its congregations for the first time since 1971. Out of 471 congregations (1981), 280 responded. The situation of the congregations reporting back was as follows (included children): apart from Yoido Church, which had 132,940 members (1980), 17 congregations (6%) had 1,000 to 3,000 members; the number of congregations which had 500 to 1,000 reached 29 congregations (10,4%), that of 200 to 500 reached 70 congregations (25%), that of 100 to 200 reached 105 congregations (37,5%), and that of below 100 reached 58 congregations (20,7%). Among all the congregations reported, 87 congregations (31%) had fewer than 50 adult members in that year. According to these statistics, we can suppose that only 41 % (more than 200 believers including children) of the congregations responding might be self-supporting. According to the report, many small congregations were composed of more children than the number of adults⁵⁶ and most congregations in the countryside had fewer than 50 adults. At the denominational level, estimating that a part of those 191 congregations which did not respond were dependent, we can guess that far less than 40% of all congregations were self-supporting churches in 1981.

After the reunification (1991), it again made an investigation into the number of the congregations including children in 1997. Out of a total 1,228 congregations, 744 (60%) responded. Apart from Yoido Church, 7 congregations (1%) had over 10,000 adherents.⁵⁷ The number of adherents between 5,000 to 10,000 reached 4 congregations (about 0,5%) and those of 3,000 to 5,000 adherents reached 6 (about 1%). Congregations of 1,000 to 3,000 reached 20 (2,7%), those of 500 to 1,000 reached 36 (4,8%), those of 200 to 500 reached 106 (14,2%), and those of 100 to 200 reached 165 (22,1%). However, congregations of below 100 adherents including children mounted up to 399 (53,6%) and most of them (389: 52,3%) had fewer than 50 adult members. It showed that 75,7% of all congregations responding had fewer than 200 adherents including children. Most of these congregations were not self-supporting. Considering the 484 congregations which did not respond (not a small part of them did not because they were reluctant to report the minute size of their congregations) we can suppose that less than 20% of the denomination is self-supporting.⁵⁸ This shows the frailty or imbalance of the denomination: one mega

⁵⁵ *Kookmin-Ilbo Daily News* (Seoul), May 28, 1997. 58% of all Korean Christians live in Seoul and Gyeonggi area as well because Korean society is to a large degree concentrated in the capital area. People in Gyeongsang Province (heights, more Buddhism) are more conservative and were Christianized to 11-12% while people in Jeolla and Seoul are more progressive and Christianized to 20-26%. The fact that the second pentecostal movement started in Jeolla-Namdo area could be a reason for this. See 5.5; KAOG, *The Minutes* (1997).

⁵⁶ This tendency was changed in the report of 1997 where most congregations reported more adults than the number of children.

⁵⁷ Incheon *Sunbogeum* Church had 55,000 members while 6 others had from 10,000 to 20,000.

⁵⁸ In January 1998, the general secretary of KAOG said more than 80% of all denominational congregations were not self-supporting.

church; seven big congregations (more than 10,000 in number) with full facilities; and hundreds of small congregations that struggle not only to grow but also to exist. Among the 744 congregations responding, 349 (about 47%) were pioneered in the 1990s. Among these 349 congregations, only 43 (12,3%) grew into stable congregations of more than 100 adult members. The tendency that congregations in rural districts do not have opportunities to grow has not changed.

In relation to Yoido Church, it can be observed that six out of seven big congregations (over 10,000 adherents) and all four large congregations (numbering between 5,000 to 10,000) had been founded by Yoido Church and then became independent. They still stand close to their mother church, which proves Cho's influence on denominational development. However, not all large congregations are directly related to Yoido Church. One big congregation (over 10,000 adherents) and 20 out of 26 medium to large-sized (1,000 to 5,000 adherents) congregations in the denomination were not dependent on the direct support of Yoido Church for growth.

Comparing the situation of 1981 with that of 1997, it is obvious that, regardless of the growth in total dimensions, the problem of imbalance has grown. Those congregations that had fewer than 50 adult members made up 31% of the denomination in 1981, but amounted to 52% in 1997. The proportion of dependent to self-supporting congregations mounted up to more about 60% in 1981 and to 80% in 1997. With few exceptions (12%), newly founded congregations in the 1990s had difficulty in growing. Admitting that more new congregations were founded in the 1980s and 1990s than before, we still note that sizeable congregations expand as ever while tiny ones struggle to grow. The problem of modern Korean society, 'the rich-get-richer and the poor-get-poorer,' (2.4) is more obvious in the Korean Assemblies of God than in other Korean churches. The ethos in the denomination, therefore, is distorted.

Today, the Korean Assemblies of God takes numerically the third place among the Christian confessions after the Presbyterians and the Methodists. According to the size of the churches, it takes the fourth place among 145 Korean Protestant denominations after Haptong (5,447 congregations with 2,2 million), Tonghap (5,330 congregations with 2,1 million), and the Methodist (4,114 congregations with 1,3 million). Its average size (308 members apart from Yoido Church) is about the same as the Methodist church (301 members), but smaller than the above-mentioned Presbyterians (395 members).⁵⁹

7.3.2.3. *Pentecostal Theological Institutes (1973ff)*

Pentecostalism did not regard theological training as a matter of great importance. It regarded theological institutes primarily as a tool for producing ministers, as the *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary of the Korean Assemblies of God was treated. This situation was confronted by its students in the 1970s. Theological students began to cry out for the improvement of the seminary. We can mention several aspects related to this. First, Korean society required competent leadership with higher education. Second, other denominational seminaries were being accredited with theological colleges by the Minister of Education. Third, the government began

⁵⁹ Sang-Yun Lee, "We Look at the Korean Church Pioneering Situation in 1995," in *Ministry and Theology* (Seoul, April 1995): 46-53. The statistics of other denominations were taken from the end of 1993 to the early part of 1994. *Christian Life*, ed., '95 Korea Church Directory, Seoul, 1995, pp.7-37.

to take disciplinary action against insolvent theological schools because they would cause trouble the society.⁶⁰ Seminary students of the Korean Assemblies of God wanted to have their seminary approved as an accredited college. At last, the seminary, denomination, and Cho agreed to promote the idea of approval. At that time (1977), the seminary had 283 daytime students and 194 nighttime students (a total of 477) doing a three-year-course with 28 lecturers.⁶¹

In 1977, a site for a school was purchased at Gunpo, 20 km south of Seoul. In two years, the daytime programme of the seminary moved to the new place. In 1981, it received recognition of its four-year course for theology (50 students). Until that time, the denomination had produced ministers through an unrecognized school. In 1985, it received recognition of its four-year-college status for the school programme. At last, in 1990, *Sunbogeum* Theological College was accredited and Jeong-Ryeol Pak took up the position of dean. Then it developed into the Soon Shin (*Sunbogeum* Theology) University in 1993. In 1997, it had eight departments for its undergraduate programme. Making a plan for a central graduate programme in the future, it has today three graduate schools: Graduate School of Theology (M.Div. and M.Th.), Graduate School of Music (M.M.), and Graduate School of Ministry (M.Div. and M.Min. approved in the denomination).⁶² In 1997, the name was changed to Hansei (Korea and World) University with a vision to develop into “a Christian university which produces leaders for the 21st century, keeping pace with spiritual discipline and the pursuit of learning.”⁶³ Yonggi Cho has served as the chairman of the board of directors since 1986.⁶⁴ Some people in the denomination worry over the development of this school, fearing it could lose its pentecostal identity and become secularized.

In addition to the university, the united Korean Assemblies of God keeps four other theological institutes. The first one is the original *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary in Daejo-Dong, Seoul. After having moved the daytime programme to Gunpo campus, nighttime students continued to study at this facility. During the time that another Korean Assemblies of God (*Yehaseong*) was established centering around Yoido Church in 1985 with most graduates of Gunpo campus joining this denomination, the original *Gihaseong* denomination set up a daytime course at Daejo-Dong seminary so that it could supplement denominational ministers (cf.

⁶⁰ *The Christian Times* (18.1.1975). There were 81 theological schools in Korea. Among them, 11 were ordinary accredited colleges and 5 schools were established by denominations of more than 100 congregations. At least 39 schools were founded with a non-denominational background. In Seoul there are 63 institutions and others were in the countryside; *Sunbogeum* (August 1981): 59-62. At the end of 1980, only 37 schools were approved by the authorities. Among the 117 unapproved schools, only 7 schools received preliminary approval from the state. *Sunbogeum* Seminary was one of the approved 7.

⁶¹ KAOG, *Minutes* (1977).

⁶² *ibid.*, (1997). In 1977, the total number of undergraduate students was 1,288 and that of graduate students was 612.

⁶³ Sunshin University, ed., “Brochures.” n. d.

⁶⁴ The first chairman was Jeong-Geun Pak (1981-1985). Even though the school belonged to Christ Church of KAOG (assembly side denomination), Cho, who was in another denomination till 1991, was chosen for that position because the school needed much financial investment and nobody among *Sunbogeum* movement was able to take over that burden. Cho and his Yoido Church invested heavily in it and succeeded in improving the school as it is today. During the schismic period, the assembly side tried to take possession of it. After the unification in 1991, such tensions faded away.

7.3.2.1). In 1989, for the first time, a Korean dean was appointed. In 1994, it had 388 students on four year courses and after that enrolment decreased. The second institute is *Sunbogeum* Theological Institute at the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church (cf. 7.3.1.7). It was established when *Yehaseong* denomination was set up in 1985 to satisfy its need for ministers. By 1996, it had produced 2,516 students on four year courses and it had 995 enrolments in 1997. The graduates are accepted to the ministry of the denomination. The third type of institute comprises the seven district theological schools, which were approved by the general assembly as a four-year course for preparation to the ministry. The enrolment varies from 20 to 90. The fourth institute is the Korean Branch of International Correspondence Institute (I.C.I.) course which has B.A. and M.A. programmes. In 1996, 432 students were studying in at this institute.

Through observing the above-mentioned theological institutes, we find that *Sunbogeum* movement did not lose its vision as a part of the historical and universal church. From the mid-1970s, it recognized the importance of theological training for Spirit-baptized Christianity. The decision in 1993 that only those who have finished graduate school would be ordained as ministers showed the advanced vision of this denomination among pentecostals in the world.⁶⁵

7.3.2.4. *Interdenominational Debate over Yonggi Cho's Pseudo-Christianity (1983-1994)*

As we have already observed the two tendencies in Korean pentecostalism (7.3.2.1), Cho's progressive *Sunbogeumism* became the main issue. As the Yoido Church and Cho became independent in October 1981 owing to the inner trouble in the denomination, it became the centre of public interest. The Tonghap Presbyterian church became concerned and watched the issues. At the general assembly of 1983, this church decided that Cho could be accused of "pseudo-Christianity." It suggested five events and four theological problems as the grounds for this without making detailed comments on them. The events were almost the same issues that caused Cho to depart from the denomination: 1. ancestor worship (bowing to one's deceased parents' picture as a filial duty); 2. a young female student's resurrection (disguised returning to life); 3. praying with laying hands on an elder of Young Nak Presbyterian Church (requesting a large sum of money for healing prayer); 4. illegal ordination (private ordination for the unqualified); and 5. indiscreet communion (distributing communion to the un-baptized). The four theological problems were: 1. the witness of the Holy Spirit (tongues); 2. fanatical faith movement (vision, healing); 3. growth by taking believers from other churches (robbing instead of evangelization); and 4. worldly blessing.⁶⁶ Cho clarified these issues through Christian newspapers in October 1983. They did not become real points of debate in most of the Korean churches. Only the problem of ancestor worship was broadly discussed in the Korean churches for a while. Cho withdrew his radical view and

⁶⁵ Only leading Presbyterian denominations in Korea and the Roman Catholic Church adopted this policy. The AAG does not have this higher education policy yet.

⁶⁶ ITI, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church*, Seoul, 1993, pp.241-316. *Church and Faith (Gyohoe wa Sinang)* (Jan. 1995): 108-142. Jun-Bae Ahn, *Pastor Cho Yonggi ...*, pp.43-247, passim.

then the problem was settled.⁶⁷ Other problems turned out to be either exaggerated or pushed as a matter of theological variety.

In 1993, the general assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian church reaffirmed the decision, which it had taken concerning Cho's pseudo-Christianity (1983), according to the report of its investigation committee. However, the assembly agreed to let the committee research the problem one more year. At that time, the committee commented on Cho's theology in connection with Cho's problems with eschatology, revelation, anthropology, healing, demonology, working with God, and union with God. Young Hoon Lee, as a representative of Yoido Church, had a written debate on these topics with Sam-Gyeong Choi (a minister of the Tonghap Presbyterian church) in the *Church and Faith* magazine. One thing to note was that the decision of the Tonghap Presbyterian church was not favoured by all members of this church seeing that the Tonghap's leaders like Gyung-Jik Han and Hyeon-Gyun Sin did not retreat from working together with Cho. During the time of the debate, Cho twice sent his written apologies to the superintendents of the Tonghap denomination (July 1984 and August 1994) apologizing for causing misunderstandings, on the one hand, and stating his willingness to supplement and correct his deficiency, on the other hand.⁶⁸

At the general assembly of 1994, the Tonghap church terminated the discussion about Cho and lifted its decision on Cho's pseudo-Christianity. This time, the committee evaluated him through the criteria of the Bible, ancient ecumenical credos, and the doctrinal charter of the World Council of Churches (WCC) instead of reformed theological criteria. It researched Cho's view of the Bible, the Trinity, Christology, the Gospel, the Holy Spirit, soteriology, ecclesiology, and eschatology. Then it concluded as follows: first, Cho's theology was basically in agreement with that of the apostolic universal church; second, Cho caused several problems which were mostly related to both the particularity of pentecostalism and his own partial fallacies; and third, Cho should neither absolutize his own theology nor universalize it because it is rooted in permissible diversity; and therefore, they expected Cho to supplement his deficiency and to correct his fallacy in theology. Then it requested the general assembly to accept Cho and Yoido Church as 'constituents of the one, holy, and apostolic church.'⁶⁹ This mutual cooperation of intervention and correction between Presbyterianism and *Sunbogeumism* showed the strength of

⁶⁷ Jun-Bae Ahn, *ibid.*, pp.107-143. There is no unified theological view on this problem. Liberals sympathized with Cho's position that a 'Christian can make a bow to the picture of his deceased parents in the meaning of paying filial duty to them.' He permitted it only as a means of filial duty, not worshipping, as with Asians to bow down implies a cultural phenomenon of filial duty. Cho, both fundamentalistic as well as pentecostal, tried to harmonize Christian faith with 'religious-neutral Asian culture' in the context of missiology. Confronted with Presbyterian conservatism and the denomination, he apologized for his mistake and withdrew his idea. We can see the dynamic and flexible attitude of *Sunbogeumism* that tries to apply the Gospel in a more adaptable way.

⁶⁸ These letters also played a role for the investigation committee and the denomination members in overturning their earlier decision. It seems that they found Cho to be to some extent adaptable. Actually, Cho has changed his mind in his ministry, such as showing more concern for social affairs, letting satellite congregations outside Seoul become independent, preaching eschatology in a mild way, withdrawing his idea of filial duty in relation to dead parents, etc. Because Cho has a willingness to learn and grow, he has been able to change his ideas.

⁶⁹ "Tonghap, 79th general assembly: Report of the Result of Study over Cho Yonggi's Pseudo-Christianity," in *Church and Faith (Gyohoe wa Sinang)* (Jan. 1995): 135-142.

Korean churches which were bound together by common fate in a small unitary community.

In this way, the leading Korean Presbyterian church acknowledged the most dynamic Korean congregation theologically. It ended the theological debate and paved the way to evangelize Korea with combined resources. *Sunbogeum* movement established itself as an agent of full Gospel so that it may stimulate and participate in world evangelization more effectively.

7.4. EXPANSION OUTSIDE KOREA (1973ff)

From the very beginning, pentecostalism was characterized by world mission. Especially in North America and Europe, where Christianity had become established, pentecostals sent out missionaries to the unreached areas. However, the situation in Korea was different. Korean pentecostals did not embark upon world missions from the first stage. We find three main reasons for this. First, Korean pentecostals realized that Christianity was still an unfamiliar religion for so many Koreans and they had to save souls in Korea first. Second, for *Sunbogeum* movement and Yonggi Cho, revival of the nominal Christians in the western world was not separated from world mission. In another words, intercultural missions and revival of the established church were regarded as the same task for Christianity. Therefore, sending missionaries was not the only priority as it was with the western pentecostals. Third, Korean pentecostals who had spent most of their lives under non-Christian culture took time to grow before they could take over missionary tasks. Accordingly, church growth was emphasized in Korea instead of world mission.

Sunbogeum pentecostals started world mission through organizing congregations for diaspora Koreans from the mid-1970s. This section sketches two topics: ethnic missions abroad and intercultural missions.

7.4.1. Diaspora Korean Mission (1975ff)

The Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church founded the *Sunbogeum* World Mission in 1975 and sent 22 missionaries to North America and Germany as we have already observed (7.3.1.3). It was the start of missionary work among diaspora Koreans. Korean immigration to North America started around the turn of the 20th century. Today (1997), more than 1,5 million Koreans live there. More than 70% of them are registered as Christians.⁷⁰ From the mid-1970s, *Sunbogeum* congregations have been founded. Among European countries, the greatest number of Koreans has lived in Germany since 1963 when Korean miners and nurses were invited to come by the German government. By 1977, almost 18,000 Korean workers had come to work.⁷¹

⁷⁰ I-Sik Cho, "Together with Koreans Who Are the Resources of the Nation," in *Holy Spirit & Mission* (Fall 1997): 4. This magazine is the Yoido Church mission quarterly. Korean immigrants are almost three times more likely to become Christians than those at home (in Korea).

⁷¹ Glück-auf Friendship Society of Korean Miners in Germany, ed., *Korean Miners in Germany 30 Years History*, n.p., 1997, p.27.

From the mid-1970s, *Sunbogeum* congregations began to be founded in Germany by the missionaries of Yoido Church.

At the general assembly of the Korean Assemblies of God in 1980, the foreign mission department reported that there were 71 diaspora Korean congregations with 86 pastors. Among these, 41 congregations with 53 pastors were in the United States. In Germany, there were eight congregations with eleven pastors and others were scattered in nine other countries. As the denomination split in 1981, the diaspora congregations were also divided into two groups in America and Europe: those that followed Yoido Church and those that followed the general assembly side. These immigrant congregations belonged to the Assemblies of God of the countries of residence as well as to the Korean general assembly. In 1996, the two parties in North America united according to the unification in Korea.⁷²

Today, there are about 3,000 Korean congregations in North America.⁷³ Among them, 535 congregations belong to the United Korean Assemblies of God (1995). It has also seven theological colleges which can produce ministers and missionaries. In other parts of the world,⁷⁴ most Korean *Sunbogeum* congregations belong directly to Yoido Church, amounting to about 100 pastors and congregations each.

Through this diaspora work, not only were Korean souls in foreign lands saved, but also pastors and missionaries were called. At the same time, these scattered congregations in the world played the role of advanced bases for world mission through giving information, arousing Korean pentecostals' attention to the mission, and building a bridge between those places sending out missionaries and the mission fields.

7.4.2. *Intercultural Mission (1991ff)*

As noticed already, *Sunbogeum* movement did not thrust forward intercultural mission from the very beginning. Rather it was more concerned with the evangelization of Korea and the revival of the western world. Church growth, or the gathering of souls, became the centre of its concern. This tendency started remarkably by Yonggi Cho's ministry. Backed by the witness and resources of his mega Yoido Church, Cho challenged world Christianity to wake up. The organization and activities of the Church Growth International since 1976 can be understood as a means for world mission even though this organization does not directly call forth any classical meaning of intercultural mission (7.3.1.5). Until the end of the 1980s, the diaspora congregations of the Yoido Church were still understood in the context of 'receiving and gaining' ministry rather than giving and sending mission. Even though Cho had a vision of world evangelization from his early ministry, his 'gaining' church was criticized by others. Therefore, in relation to

⁷² Nevertheless, the leaders of the united Korean AOG in America could not arrive at the inner union of two parties in 1997. There are symptoms of breaking up again.

⁷³ Christian Life, ed., '95 *Korea Church Directory*, 1995, pp. 39-169. In this directory, there appear about 2,300 Korean congregations in North America; Henry Hong claimed in 1991 that there were about 3,000 Korean congregations in America (*Sinang-Gye*, Seoul, Nov. 1991:136-141).

⁷⁴ In Japan 58 pastors with 24 congregations, in Australia 20 pastors with 20 congregations, in Germany 14 pastors with 14 congregations, and there are only 1 or at most 5 congregations in 11 other countries.

intercultural mission, *Sunbogeum* movement was judged as not successful until now.⁷⁵ It seems to be contradictory to the characteristics of pentecostalism. However, it may be better understood when we consider the previous situation as a preparation phase, because in the 1990s it embarked upon intercultural mission actively as well as continuing to help world churches in experiencing revivals (especially Yoido Church).

At first, world mission was mainly organized for diaspora Koreans: Yoido Church in 1975 and the Korean Assemblies of God in 1980. But the situation gradually changed. There were three occasions that called forth the intercultural mission. First, the theological students abroad who were able to communicate the Gospel crossculturally began to evangelize non-Christians in their surroundings (Philippines). Second, the pastors of ethnic Koreans in foreign lands began to take an interest in the people among whom they lived (South America): they either formed special groups for the natives in the Korean congregations or invited a Korean pastor to pioneer a church in their midst. Third, these events mainly happened in Asia and South America where both the economic and religious standards were lower than in Korea.⁷⁶ They began to occur in the early part of the 1980s.

Then, from the beginning of the 1990s, intercultural mission was systematically promoted. Today, there are three mission agents in the denomination. The first one is the denomination mission department. It was organized in 1980, but since 1991, it has concentrated its effort on intercultural mission. All-round resources of the denomination for the mission are invested through this department. It has 62 missionaries in 24 countries (1997): 25 in the Philippines and from one to at most five (Japan) in other countries. It also has four theological schools: two in Philippines and two in Russian territory. The second agent is the *Sunbogeum* world mission of Yoido Church. In April 1994, it organized its Mission Training Centre (MTC) and sent fourteen missionaries who had graduated from it in December of the same year. In 1995, it organized thirteen native-mission districts in the world. It has regularly published a mission magazine since 1994. Since 1996 it has invited missionaries to Seoul every year for further training and refresher courses. It has 86 missionaries in 34 countries (1997) as well as six theological schools. The third one is the world mission which was organized by Jeong-Geun Pak in 1984 as the diaspora congregations in Europe had been split on the same lines as the split in Korea. He formed it with the assembly side congregations in Europe to evangelize Korean diasporas as well as natives. It has eighteen missionaries in thirteen countries (1997) and about half of them mainly minister to diaspora Koreans.

The number of the Korean Assemblies of God missionaries amounted to 48 in 1994. By 1997, it has sent 166 missionaries together with Yoido Church (see Figure

⁷⁵ Su-Eup Kim, preaching at Yoido Church (28.1.1998). He is a Presbyterian evangelist and mission promoter. While he preached, he mentioned, "Yoido Church could not take the first place in the realm of world mission."; Korea Research Institute for Missions, ed., *Korea Mission Handbook*, Seoul, 1994, p.18. Until 1994, Haptong had sent 456 missionaries and Tonghap 337 while the united KAOG had sent only 48 (letter of the KAOG secretary/ 10.6.1994).

⁷⁶ Those areas were Christianized by the Roman Catholic Church, but most of them seemed to be non-Christians to Korean pentecostals. The political and economic situation had not settled down there.

5). Its vision and dynamism for world evangelization could result in sending more missionaries in the future.

7.5. CONCLUSION

We conclude this chapter with some final observations.

Attention is paid to the spectacular growth of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church in this period, which is the embodiment of *Sunbogeum* movement. Cho embraced the vision of world evangelization by the Holy Spirit. So far, this has been realized through his worldwide ministry and through the revival of Yoido Church. This church reveals the essential qualities of the movement in that it became a stimulus for evangelization inside Korea and elsewhere. Further, it is concluded that those congregations in this denomination which follow the way and teaching of Yonggi Cho have more potentiality for growth. The Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church tends to function as a world revival centre rather than as a local congregation. But the tension between progressive *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism and classical pentecostalism formed an uncomfortable climate in the Korean Assemblies of God, and served as the main recognizable cause of schism. Even though this difference remains latent among the pastors of the denomination, progressive *Sunbogeumism* eventually became the mainstream of the denomination centering around Cho after reunification. In recent times, the denomination granted a considerable realm for activities in the denomination to Cho and Yoido Church, whereas radical *Sunbogeumism* became a more distinctive form of Korean pentecostalism.

Further it was made clear that *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism, especially Yonggi Cho's theology, was tested by internal schism and external interrogation. These events caused introspection. They eventually led to the Korean Assemblies of God becoming accepted as an ordinary part of one of the leading Korean denominations.

In addition, our analysis is that the denomination itself retains great potential. However, the imbalance among its member congregations reveals its blind spot, especially, the following facts give rise to dissonance and an atmosphere of tension in the denomination: 1. Yoido Church as a single congregation comprises 59 percent of the number of denominational members; 2. 80 per cent of all the member congregations are dependent; and 3. most newly founded congregations and countryside congregations rarely have the opportunity to grow.

This chapter brought also to the fore that the missionary vision of *Sunbogeum* movement was firstly concentrated on evangelization and church growth at home but thereafter also abroad. The diaspora Koreans in the 1970s contributed to opening missions for the Korean Assemblies of God outside Korea. In the 1990s, intercultural mission was started as well.

Sunbogeum pentecostalism is a movement on the way to become a mature church, and at the same time, it ensures that it remains dynamic, taking part in worldwide processes of missions and evangelism.

8. *Sunbogeum* theology

8.1. INTRODUCTION

In the first decade of the 20th century, pentecostalism blossomed among the urban poor of Los Angeles, circumstances which contributed to its characteristics. It was also called 'The Third Force in Christianity' or 'The Third Ecclesiology' in the Western world in the 1950s, while a leader of the Korean Assemblies of God, Jeong-Geun Pak, called it 'The Third Revolution' in the 1970s.¹

In relation to the watchword 'third,' it is noteworthy that pentecostalism is a universal and continuous movement which broke out in the 20th century after the world had experienced various kinds of theological and socio-cultural predominance. Here we may assume it would display certain characteristics that were acquired from previous influences. It not only shares common insights to a reasonable degree with the theology of the Reformation, Ana-baptism, Holiness movement, Fundamentalism, and Evangelicalism,² but it also broadens and deepens their horizons. It 'went beyond' the Wesleyan-Holiness theology of baptism in the Holy Spirit with its emphasis upon the contemporary experiences of the gifts of the Spirit. It was 'rejected' by Fundamentalism and others who believed in the ancient cessation of the *charismata*. Considered radicals among other radicals, pentecostals formed their own theology: they took the whole New Testament tradition as their paradigmatic sources.

Sunbogeum theology, as a part of classical pentecostalism, was developed in Korea as discussed in the previous two chapters. One of the leading conservative Presbyterian theologians, Aron Pak, regarded Yonggi Cho's Triple Salvation Theology – the characteristics of *Sunbogeum* (Pure Gospel) theology – as the conservative frontier theology of Korean theology, i.e. a revelation-theology of Korean type.³ It manifests its distinctiveness as radical Korean theology, on the one hand, while keeping its place in traditional Christianity, on the other. This homogeneity

¹ Jeung-Geun Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, Seoul, 1978, pp.20-28. Pak claimed that pentecostalism is the latter rain movement, the third movement, and the save-the-nation movement. When he called it the third revolution, he viewed the development of human history in three revolutionary phases which were compared to the functions of human trichotomy: the first socio-economic and industrial revolution which was for the flesh; the second mental revolution which was accomplished through Luther's Reformation and was for the realm of soul; the third spiritual revolution which was to fundamentally re-create the human by the superhuman power of the Holy Spirit and was for the realm of spirit. From this, we see a hint that *Sunbogeumism* has the view that the Trinitarian God (Father, Son, and Spirit) works fully when trichotomy (spirit, soul, and body) functions fully. Not only God's Spirit was emphasized but also his concern with human spirit.

² William W. Menzies, "Synoptic Theology: An Essay on Pentecostal Hermeneutics," in *Paraclete* 13/1 (Winter 1979): 14. Menzies wrote that there is no pentecostal theology because pentecostal theology is "simply a full gospel' Biblical theology that restores the experience of Pentecost to its rightful place in Christian theology." Therefore, he says that there is no difference between evangelical, fundamentalist, and pentecostal hermeneutics.

³ Aron Pak, "To Where Is Conservative Theology Going ?" in *The Christian Times*, Seoul (12. 1. 1985, 26. 1. 1985). Pak regarded it as the conservativistic and fundamentalistic character of Korean theology with somewhat mysterious conception.

and heterogeneity of *Sunbogeumism* in universal pentecostalism is the focus of our research. Not only has it become manifest as pentecostal revivalism in world Christianity, but it also has retained certain theological ingredients. The synthesis of its backgrounds in theology (classical pentecostalism), religious heritage (Korean shamanism as context), human factor (personality of Yonggi Cho), and socio-political developments (North-South separation after the Second World War, as well as the war-stricken poverty after the Korean War and the economic revival since the 1960s) produced the characteristics of Korean pentecostalism. Even though two different dispositions have formed within Korean *Sunbogeum* theology (progressive *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism and traditional-classical *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism), we will focus on progressive *Sunbogeum* theology, which was developed primarily by Yonggi Cho. This radical *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism not only constitutes the main stream of Korean Pentecostalism, but it also manifests the feature of Korean pentecostalism (7.3.2.1, 7.3.2.4).

This chapter addresses the nature of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism: its characteristics (8.2), its main theologian, Yonggi Cho (8.3), and his methodology (8.4). The main reference books for this chapter are *The Fourth Dimension I* (1979) and *II* (1983); *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing* (1983) by Yonggi Cho; and *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church I and II* (1993) by the International Theological Institute of Yoido Church. The following publications will be used as the main antithetical sources to *Sunbogeum* theology: “A Report of the Result of Study over Yonggi Cho’s Pseudo-Christianity” (1994) which was accepted by the 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Church; *A Study on the Pentecostal Movement in Korea* (1982) by Korea Christian Academy; and *Verführerische Lehren der Endzeit* (1991) by Albert Betschel.

8.2. SUNBOGEUM THEOLOGY

This section describes the characteristics of *Sunbogeumism* in connection to its theological foundation and Korean context. To this end, its foundation (8.2.1) will be discussed as it relates to the Full Gospel (8.2.2), shamanism, and *Minjung* theology (8.2.3). Before we begin this discussion, two technical terms must be clarified. First, a distinction exists between the terms *Sunbogeumism* (Korean pentecostalism or *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism) and *Sunbogeum* theology (Korean pentecostal theology). These two terms may be interchangeably used, but the former implies the history, doctrine and characteristics of Korean Pure Gospel (*Sunbogeum*), while the latter signifies theological formulations and discussions of *Sunbogeumism*. Secondly, Yonggi Cho’s key theological formulation, i.e. his Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation, are generally identified with the components of *Sunbogeum* theology; however, this formulation can neither be identified with *Sunbogeum* theology itself nor with the wholeness of Cho’s message in his major work, *The Truth of Sunbogeumism I, II* (1979).

8.2.1. *The Biblical Foundations of Sunbogeum Theology*

Sunbogeum theology is not the result of translated American or other Western pentecostal literature, even though the former opened dialogue and greatly helped it participate in the family of world pentecostalism. *Sunbogeum* theology has mainly developed through the writings of Yonggi Cho, who believed the Bible should be the living Word of God. He intensively studied the Bible and read many books (cf. 6.3.2.1). Indeed his self-study through extensive reading influenced much of his theological thinking. Cho's theology and his early ministry were rooted primarily in one Bible verse, 3 John 2 – a particular favorite of Oral Roberts. His views of divine healing seems to have been influenced and strengthened by the ministries of Oral Roberts and T.L. Osborn. Some of the writings of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Paul Tillich were also among his favorites. Cho studied both conservatives and liberals.⁴ Nevertheless, he believes that he founded his own theological principles, especially the theory of the Fivefold Gospel and the Triple Blessing, from the Scriptures.⁵ He described it in this way: “*Sunbogeumism* is the Full Gospel which fully applies God's Word from Genesis to John's Revelation and the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ to our faith and life through the Holy Spirit.”⁶ He summed it up by saying that *Sunbogeumism* is nothing but pure Biblical faith.

His view on this matter does not differ from other pentecostals. David A. Womack, who wrote in collaboration with the Committee on Advance, which was organized to analyse the American Assemblies of God in 1967, affirmed that “the pentecostal revival did not come about only through a series of historical events, but through the development of a particular view of the Bible.”⁷ Jeong-Geun Pak defined *Sunbogeumism* as one that “believes the 66 books of the Bible as the eternal and infallible Word of God and tries to live up to that Word.”⁸

8.2.2. *Sunbogeum Theology as Korean Full Gospel Theology*

The essence of classical pentecostalism has been called the Full Gospel. Korean pentecostals regard *Sunbogeum* theology as a part of the Full Gospel theology. In a wider sense, the former is included in the latter, sharing common pentecostal distinguishing characteristics. In a narrower sense, however, *Sunbogeum* theology has its own features in addition to the Western Full Gospel movement and, therefore, can be called ‘a Korean Full Gospel Theology.’ Four aspects make Korean *Sunbogeumism* different from the Full Gospel or classical pentecostalism.

⁴ Nam-Gyu Choe, telephone interview to Hamburg (14.6.2000); Sam-Hwan Kim, telephone interview to ITI, Seoul (20.6.2002). As the director of the International Theological Institute of the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church, he said “Pastor Cho was not influenced by Watchman Nee.”

⁵ Yonggi Cho, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1983/ 11th ed., 1994, p.12.

⁶ *ibid.* Cho says *Sunbogeumism* leads believers to become ‘Christ-like Christians’ through the faith of the cross, the faith of filling with the Spirit, the faith of bringing the Gospel to the end of the world, the faith in a good God, the faith in Jesus who bore diseases, the faith in the coming Jesus, and the faith of giving. These are the seven foundations of *Sunbogeumism* (12-29).

⁷ David A. Womack, *The Wellsprings of the Pentecostal Movement*, Springfield, MO, 1968. p.16; The Wesleyan teaching of second blessing in salvation as the theological roots of pentecostalism (5.2) can be understood from various standpoints.

⁸ Jeong-Geun Pak, *Defending of Pentecostal Truth*, Seoul, 1970, p.197.

First, it shows its openness in theological thinking. As classical pentecostalism is an ‘on the way theology,’⁹ so *Sunbogeumism* discloses its openness more radically than the former. Thus, it functions like a forerunner of modern Korean theology as Aron Pak stated.¹⁰ Korean pentecostals, who devote their lives to much prayer, are more likely to walk with the Holy Spirit and be influenced in theological reasoning with openness and flexibility. Yung Han Kim, who is a representative of those Korean theologians who promote a theology that analyses contemporary socio-cultural situations and seeks guidance for it, criticizes the close-mindedness of Korean fundamentalistic theology as well as the groundlessness of liberalism, while promoting a theology of checks and balance via the principles of Reformation theology (*ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*).¹¹ *Sunbogeum* theology is also a candidate for such a demand. Byeong-So Min, a Methodist pastor and writer, believes that the theology of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing discloses the character of a ‘telescopic theology,’ which integrates three streams of Korean theology (conservatism, progressivism, and liberalism) which have ‘microscopic’ attitudes in theology.¹² Sunghoon Myoung, one of the representatives of *Sunbogeum* theology, asserts that the *Sunbogeum* church is becoming a partner of The Third Wave (Peter Wagner) rather than classical pentecostalism or neo-pentecostalism (charismatists).¹³ The flexibility of Korean pentecostalism can be seen in the joining of the Korean Assemblies of God to the Korea National Council of Churches (KNCC) in 1996.¹⁴

Second, *Sunbogeumism* has formulated its definite faith formula – Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing. For Yonggi Cho, who took care of a great congregation composed of humble and poor masses, teaching pentecostal tenets like baptism in the Spirit with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues or dealing with other pentecostal theological issues were not as important as helping his congregation practise their pentecostal faith through this simple faith formula (8.3.1; 8.3.2), thus demonstrating that Korean pentecostalism approaches the redemption of Christ as whole-compassing.

Third, it added ‘prosperity’ to the fourfold teaching of the Full Gospel. Pentecostalism as Full Gospel modified its four fundamental teachings (salvation, baptism with the Holy Spirit, healing, and the second coming of Christ) from the

⁹ William Kay, “Assemblies of God: Distinctive Continuity and Distinctive Change,” in *Pentecostal Perspectives*, edited by Keith Warrington, Carlisle, Cumbria (U.K.), 1998, pp.40-63. Five theological matters which have been discussed in the British Assemblies of God are pointed out: evidential tongues; premillennialism; the possibility of demon-possession by a Spirit-filled Christian; the position of house group leaders; and the interpretation of healing. See, especially, chapters 12 and 16 in relation to Korean context.

¹⁰ Aron Pak, *ibid.*

¹¹ Yung Han Kim, *Modern Theology and Reformed Theology: A Critic on Modern Theology and a Course for Reformed Theology*, Seoul, 1990. *idem*, *From Barth to Moltmann: Reformatory Illumination on Contemporary Theological Thought*, Seoul, 1982/ 18th ed., 1993, pp.5-8 (foreword).

¹² Byeong-So Min, “A White Paper of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church: Centering around Pastor Cho David and Tonghap Denomination,” unpublished, 1994, pp.89-125.

¹³ Sunghoon Myong, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1993/ 5ed., 1995, pp.65-66.

¹⁴ ITI, ed., *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church I*, Seoul, 1993, pp. 105-125. Cho’s Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation is a synthetic theology. It is an Evangelical Charismatic Theology which contains the essence of the Augustinian idea of predestination and free will and Puritanical Evangelicalism.

fourfold pattern of the Holiness branch (Christ the Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King as described by A. B. Simpson). Here, the shift from Sanctifier to baptism in the Spirit (together with the *glossolalia* issue) resulted in a shift away from the Holiness movement, resulting in Pentecostalism – a radicalizing process in the spiritual realm. Likewise, *Sunbogeumism* has developed into another radical pentecostalism by adding prosperity to the existing Full Gospel. This aspect refers to its whole-salvific feature, which has been developed in the Korean context (6.3; 6.4; 6.5).

Fourth, *Sunbogeumism* stresses the need to practise healing in ministry. This difference from classical pentecostalism is more practical than theoretical. As Jesus healed various kinds of diseases and cast out demons in His ministry on earth, so the *Sunbogeum* Church, regarding itself as the body of the living Christ, emphasizes healing as an important factor in fulfilling its mission. This tendency shares common ground with the Latter Rain Movement as well as the Third Wave, which also tried to restore the gifts of the Spirit without restriction.¹⁵ At the same time, this healing emphasis can be attributed to related to Yonggi Cho's own physical weakness and contemporary Korean circumstances (6.2.8; 6.3; 6.4.6.2).

Korean pentecostalism expanded through the introduction of the Full Gospel, i.e. an understanding of the Gospel which has been accommodated for Korean needs. The four items of the Korean Full Gospel theology mentioned above disclose the characteristics of radical wholeness-salvation and the openness of *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalism, a feature related to the Korean socio-cultural context.

8.2.3. *Sunbogeum* Theology in the Context of Shamanism and Minjung Theology

Korean ethno-religious diversity (as described in chapter 3) is important for understanding the birth and growth of *Sunbogeumism*. In this subsection, two problems related to this diversity will be discussed: the link between *Sunbogeumism* and shamanism, on the one hand, and between *Sunbogeumism* and *Minjung* theology, on the other.

¹⁵ William Faupel, "From the Ends of of the Earth to the End of the Earth: The Scope of the New Order of the Latter Rain." An article presented on 12. 7. 1995 at EPCRA/ SPS Conference at AOG Theological Seminary, Mathersey Hall, England; R. M. Riss, "Latter Rain Movement," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements (DPCM)*, edited by Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander, Grand Rapids, 1988/ 9ed., 1996, pp.532-534; C. P. Wagner, "Third Wave," in op. cit., pp.843-844; Gordon Anderson, "Current Issues in Pentecostal and Charismatic Theology." Unpublished pamphlet. There is some similarity and some difference between *Sunbogeumism* and Latter Rain Movement. The similarity is: both promote the gifts of the Spirit; both influenced other churches' growth; and both had a tendency of moving towards becoming an independent church. The difference is: Latter Rain has the doctrine that man receives the Spirit after Pentecost through laying on of hands while Korean pentecostalism rather teaches praying and waiting upon the filling of the Spirit; Latter Rain emphasized prophecy while Korean pentecostalism does not, on account of false prophetic utterance; Latter Rain did not develop its theology and organization and remained as a movement; and Latter Rain did not promote material blessing as means for God's business. *Sunbogeumism* is a Spiritual movement as well as a theological system that tries to establish the Trinitarian God's church that will provide for both the successive Spiritual movement and its systematization. This point is one of the important tasks for *Sunbogeum* theology.

The relationship between Korean pentecostalism and shamanism is a problematic one.¹⁶ The main point of discussion is whether these two parties can be harmonized or whether one party indigenizes the other. The former is discussed by critical scholars in relation to religious syncretism between *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism and Korean shamanism, while the latter is discussed in evangelical circles (including Korean pentecostalism) in terms of religious indigenization.

Walter J. Hollenweger takes the lead in proposing that Korean pentecostalism has been syncretized with shamanism.¹⁷ Harvey Cox also contends that the growth of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church can be attributed to the inclusion and combination of shaman elements with Christianity.¹⁸ According to the opinion of Mark M. Mullins, associate professor of sociology of religion at Meiji Gakuin University in Tokyo, “Yonggi Cho’s theology might be best viewed as a synthesis of Korean shamanism, Robert Schuller’s positive thinking, and the pragmatism of the Church Growth school of missiology” of Fuller Seminary. He writes that Cho’s theology in relation to shamanism is found in his emphasis on earthly blessing and various kinds of prayer.¹⁹ Both Gwang-Seon Suh, former professor of Ihwa Women’s University in Seoul, who researched Korean pentecostalism from the viewpoint of theology, and Gwang-Il Kim, medical professor at Hanyang University in Seoul, who researched healing ministry in Korea from the viewpoint of psychiatry, pointed out the shamanistic elements of Korean pentecostalism.²⁰ Daniel J. Adams, associate professor of systematic theology at Hanil Theological Seminary in Jeonju, Korea, understood *Sunbogeum* Church and Cho as a phenomenon of Korea’s new religious movements whose characteristics are syncretism, nationalism, and utopianism (3.4). He even compared Cho’s protracted disease (6.3.2) with shaman-disease (3.2.2).²¹ Other scholars who have similar views of syncretism’s relationship with *Sunbogeumism* include Dave Hunt and T.A. McMahon, Albert Betschel, Sang-Chan

¹⁶ In section 3.2, we discussed Korean traditional religion. *Hananim* (one god in heaven) concept and shamanism have been in some way syncretized even though Koreans still have the living word (language) *Hananim* and its unique concept. The Biblical God and Korean original *Hananim* may be compared from the view of conceptual analogy but both are different in essence.

¹⁷ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Charismatisch-pfingstliches Christentum: Herkunft, Situation, Oekumenische Chancen*, Goettingen, 1997, pp.121-127,155-164.

¹⁸ Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, Reading, MA, 1995, pp.213-241.

¹⁹ Mark M. Mullins, “The Empire Strikes Back: Korean Pentecostal Mission to Japan,” in *Japanese Religions*, vol.17/2 (July 1992):142-166.

²⁰ Gwang-Seon Suh, “The Korean Church Holy Spirit Movement and Theological Understanding of the Revival Movement,” in *A Study on the Pentecostal Movement in Korea*, Seoul, 1982, pp.23-99, passim; Gwang-Il Kim, “Psychiatric Study on the Phenomena of Christian Healing,” in op. cit., pp.233-311, passim.

²¹ Daniel J. Adams, “Reflections on an Indigenous Movement: The Yoido Full Gospel Church,” in *The Japan Christian Quarterly*, vol. 57/1 (Winter’91): 36-45.

Han, and Boo-Woong Yoo.²² Proponents of this viewpoint claim that shamanism has been the central force shaping the growth of Korean pentecostalism.²³

According to Hollenweger, such syncretism can be understood as a “theologically responsible syncretism” whereby Christianity recognizes the given situation and transforms it into a Christian truth.²⁴ During the Second International Conference of Korean, Brazilian, and German Theologians at Hanshin University in Seoul (1998), several views on syncretism were introduced. Kyoung Jae Kim, who thinks that ultimate truth can be found in God’s redemptive economy of world religions, proposed a “hermeneutical horizontal fusion or mutual complementary weaving/grafting between the Gospel and culture.” Erhard Kamphausen, who accepts the critical view of Western scholars that the Scriptures and Western church contain the characters of religious syncretism, recommended “symbiotic syncretism” denouncing synthesizing syncretism.²⁵ Seong Young Kang proposed a “healthy syncretism” – syncretism which takes place when the Gospel and culture encounter a strained play.²⁶ In line with such syncretist views, Theo Sundermeier proposed an ecumenical missiology through a new hermeneutics on intercultural relations. He bases this view on the premise that there is no absolute interpretation of the Biblical text because the meaning of the Bible is polysemous according to the receivers. Rejecting traditional methods of indigenization and contextualization in missions, he introduced a missiological hermeneutics which promotes a mutual encounter and dialogue between the Christian message and other cultures on equal footing.²⁷ Contrary to this viewpoint, Korean evangelicals believe in the absoluteness of the Biblical Gospel, which can and must transform the traditional socio-religious culture. Yung Han Kim, for example, argues in favour of transformative cultural theology.²⁸ If these two views (theologically responsible syncretism and transformative indigenization) explain the same thing in different ways, then no

²² Dave Hunt and T. A. McMahon, *The Seduction of Christianity: Spiritual Discernment in the Last Days*, Eugene, OR, 1985, pp.110-114; Albert Betschel, *Verführerische Lehren Der Endzeit*, Hamburg, 1991, pp.23-31, 53-64; Sang-Chan Han, *Beziehung zwischen dem Schamanismus und dem Verständnis des Heiligen Geistes in der protestantischen Kirche in Korea: Religionsphänomenologische und missionstheologische Untersuchung*, Ammersbek bei Hamburg, 1991, Dissertation, Hamburg Uni. 1991, pp.129-153, 167-175; Boo-Woong Yoo, *Korean Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology*, Frankfurt am Main, 1988, dissertation, Birmingham Uni. 1987, pp.205-227; idem, “Response to Korean Shamanism: By the Pentecostal Church,” in *IRM*, vol.75/297 (Jan’86):70-74.

²³ Young Hoon Lee, “The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea: Its Historical and Theological Development,” Ph.D. dissertation at Temple University (1996), p.207. Lee quoted Mark Mullins as the main source for it (Mullins, “The Empire Strikes Back: Korean Pentecostal Mission to Japan,” in *Charismatic Christianity as a Culture*, ed., by Karla Poewe, 1994).

²⁴ Hollenweger, *ibid.*, pp.155-164. He contends that we can find there are many examples of theologically responsible syncretism in the Bible (155).

²⁵ The former tries to syncretize from the attitude of mutual understanding and adaptability/changeability whereas the latter holds the attitude of keeping his own concrete-established view in syncretizing.

²⁶ “The Second International Conference of Korean, Brazilian, and German Theologians: A Review of the Conference Proceedings.” A reporting brochure of the conference held at the Hanshin University in Seoul on the theme of Christian Communities and Cultures (29.6-1.7.1998).

²⁷ Theo Sundermeier, “Erwaegung zu einer Hermeneutik interkulturellen Verstehens,” in *Konvivenz und Differenz*, edited by Volker Kuester, Erlangen, 1995, pp.87-101. idem, “Begegnung mit dem Fremden,” *op. cit.*, pp.76-86.

²⁸ See the last point of 4.3.2.3.

controversy exists between the views of syncretism and indigenization or transformation. In essence, the question is how we theologially define 'syncretism.'

In terms of the cultural adaptability of Pentecostalism, which was pointed out by Vinson Synan,²⁹ *Sunbogeum* theology discusses shamanism in relation to the point of contact (cf. 3.2.2) and in the realm of indigenization. Korean pentecostal theologian Jae Bum Lee dealt with the relationship between *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism and indigenization. He claimed that Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church is representative of the indigenization efforts in the Korean religions of shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. The central message of this church is to glorify God, to save souls, and to meet the living God. With this in mind, we can better understand the relationship of pentecostalism to shamanism in terms of their points of contact and indigenization, rather than syncretism, he argues.³⁰ At the same time, *Sunbogeumism* recognizes Biblical witness that Jesus himself not only cast out demons and healed every kind of disease but also instructed His disciples to do the same thing (Matt. 10:5-8; Mark 16:15-20; Acts 5:12-16; 8:4-7; 14:3; 19:8-20). Actually, a large number of shamans and their clients became Christians through the ministry of the *Sunbogeum* church. It is believed that the shamans are demon-possessed and, therefore, need to be healed through the power of God, namely the Holy Spirit (Matt.12: 22-32). Casting out demons is regarded as a part of 'power evangelism' or 'power encounter' in missiology.³¹ One of the leaders of the Korean Assemblies of God, Jeong-Geun Pak, describes the difference between the Holy Spirit movement and shamanism through mutual comparison: first, the former is based on the creator God of monotheism, while the latter on dualistic pantheism; second, a man will experience heavenly joy and peace when filled with the Holy Spirit, while spirit-possessed shamans suffer from mental and physical pains; third, the former leads men to worship God, while the latter is a kind of idolatry that wants to use spirits; fourth, anyone can be filled with the Holy Spirit while only shamans can come into contact with spirits; fifth, the former has only one mediator, Christ, while the latter makes multiple shamans mediators; and sixth, through faith anyone can be filled with the Holy Spirit while shamans need special rituals and tools to have contact with spirits.³²

Since Korean shamanism functions as a folk religious phenomenon according to oral tradition without any sacred scriptures and formal theology (see 3.2.2), theological discussions between shamanism and *Sunbogeum* theology will be restricted in the following chapters to only those references which have been discussed by Korean *Sunbogeum* theologians. The Korean Assemblies of God does agree with selective portions of the theology of Walter J. Hollenweger. While his distinguished services to the research of world pentecostal movements are recognized, his critical intercultural theology is not easily accepted. His view of syncretism between Korean pentecostalism and shamanism is not accepted among the Korean Assemblies of God.³³

²⁹ Vinson Synan, "Pentecostalism: Varieties and Contributions," in *Pneuma* (Fall'86): 31-49.

³⁰ Jae Bum Lee, *The History of Pentecostal Movement*, Seoul, 1985, 8-11 of part IV.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp.9-11 of part I.

³² Jeung Geun Pak, *Defending of Pentecostal Truth*, Seoul, 1970, pp.21-34.

³³ Yonggi Cho's books, Jeong-Ryeol Pak (*Pentecostal Theology*, 1996), and Jeong-Geun Pak (*What We Believe: Easily Understandable Systematic Theology I*, 1992, *II*, 1994) did not refer to Hollenweger's

Second, the relationship between *Minjung* theology³⁴ and *Sunbogeum* theology needs to be discussed as well. In the 1970s, both emerged as two distinctives within Korean Christianity. They held certain theological concerns in common: they started in the grassroots and both emphasize ‘the Spirit.’³⁵ *Minjung* theology, which originated from the liberal Kijang Presbyterianism, grew upon two fundamental assumptions. One is that it finds an analogy between oppressed Korean *Minjung* (*ochlos*: the subject of history) and the life of Jesus as it was understood by the *Leben-Jesu-Forschung* of the German liberal theology of the 19th and 20th centuries. This is Byung-Mu Ahn’s interpretation of Jesus and *ochlos* described by the “*Minjung* theologian” Mark’s Gospel.³⁶ The other is that wherever *Minjung* is, so is ‘the Spirit.’ This idea finds its theoretical basis in the divine immanence as well as in the concept of a third stage in history, i. e., the “Age of the Holy Spirit” by Joachim von Fiore (ca.1130-1202).³⁷ These two assumptions emphasize either the ‘historical Jesus’ or the ‘immanent Christ,’ i.e. the Spirit. It needs, however, to be noted that fundamentalistic *Sunbogeumism* takes the *kerygma* ‘Jesus is the Christ’ (Acts 5:32) as the centre of the Gospel: it does not separate the Holy Spirit from the risen Christ because it believes that only those who are justified by the redemptive grace of Jesus can be filled with the Holy Spirit from Heaven. The following seems to be the crucial difference between both movements: *Minjung* theology takes *Minjung* as the ‘revelational subject’ whereas *Sunbogeumism* takes *Minjung* as the ‘evangelization object’ of the Gospel.³⁸

Further, some Korean theologians discuss *Minjung* theology under the category of pentecostal *Minjung*.³⁹ *Sunbogeum* pentecostals are the representatives for this *Minjung* theology. Boo-Woong Yoo, who belongs to the Kijang Presbyterian denomination, wrote: “We can conclude that the common voice of the two *Minjung*

writings while both Sunghoon Myoung (*Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, 1990) and Young Hoon Lee (*The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea*, 1996) referred to his books; the KAOG has fundamentalistic view on the Bible and follows consequently exclusivist idea. Hollenweger’s critical view on the Bible and liberal understanding on intercultural relation will not be accepted by the KAOG.

³⁴ For a reference that was written by a critical European scholar over *Minjung* theology: Volker Küster, *Theologie im Kontext: Zugleich ein Versuch über die Minjung Theologie*, Steyler Verlag, Nettal, 1995.

³⁵ Tong-Shik Ryu, “Korean Church and the Holy Spirit Movement,” in *A Study on the Pentecostal Movement in Korea*, Seoul, 1982, pp.9-22.

³⁶ Byung-Mu Ahn, “Jesus and *Ochlos*: centering around Mark’s Gospel,” in *Minjung and Korean Theology*, Seoul, 1982, pp.86-103; idem, “The Subject of History View from Mark’s Gospel,” op. cit., pp.151-184. Byung Mu Ahn had the view that the life of Jesus was not his personal biography but *Minjung*’s (social) biography. He cut off Paul’s Christology from Mark’s Galilean Jesus according to Bible criticism (redaction theory).

³⁷ Nam-Dong Suh, “Jesus, Church History, and Korean Church,” in *Christianity in Korean History*, Seoul, pp.55-69; idem, “*Minjung*’s Theology: Confluence of Two Stories,” in op. cit., pp.124-163; Joachim divided church history into three ages: Father’s Age; Son’s Age; and Holy Spirit’s Age which would start from A.D. 1260 (after 42 generations). It was a dynamic, spiritual, and liberal interpretation of the Bible.

³⁸ Sunhee Lee, *Die Minjung-Theologie Ahn Byungmu’s von ihren Voraussetzungen her dargestellt*, Frankfurt a. M., 1992, pp.63, 69, 240. Lee concluded that Ahn failed and brought his theology dangerously near to a Korean theology of folk ideologization because he could not found it on the right theological basis. Ahn did not acknowledge original sin, only structural sin; the suppressed *Ochlos* suffered by the oppressors and such a social structure were assumed to be sin.

³⁹ Boo-Woong Yoo, *Korean Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology*, dissertation, Birmingham Uni., 1987, Frankfurt a. M., 1988, pp.205-227.

in Korea – pentecostal and socio-political – is ‘sound of *Han* (resentment) and story of *Han*.’ At this point the pentecostal *Minjung* meets the socio-political *Minjung*. It is a matter of emphasis, not of substance.”⁴⁰ According to him, there is no substantial difference between Korean *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism and *Han*-releasing *Minjung* rituals. Because of such a viewpoint, he views Yonggi Cho’s role in worship meetings exactly like that of a shaman.⁴¹ Further, he claims that the task of the pentecostal movement in Korea is to exploit hidden strength, which can be done through in the release of *Han*, so that the story of *Han* may be established.⁴² Keeping with this view, another *Minjung* theologian, Hong Jung Lee, criticized Korean pentecostalism as syncretism between fundamental/anti-intellectual theology and capitalized-imperialistic North American culture. According to him, the Korean church, in general, is a shamanized church.⁴³ *Sunbogeumism*, as well as Korean mainline evangelicals, take the view that there is a substantial difference between *ochlos-Minjung* and Korean pentecostals. Korean evangelical scholars like Yung Han Kim, Myung Hyuk Kim, and Bong Ho Son hesitate to take *Minjung* theology as a genuine Christian theology representing the special revelation of God. They criticize it as a socio-philosophically-oriented interpretation of the Korean social context in view of a modern liberal interpretation of the Bible, which overshadows the redemptive work of Christ.⁴⁴

There is a phenomenal similarity between the two movements, both of which were grass-roots movements. *Minjung* theology contributed to the Korean church by calling attention to society, especially the oppressed people,⁴⁵ while *Sunbogeum* pentecostals contributed to the saving souls as well as to changing the lives of oppressed people. Korean pentecostalism holds the opinion that *Minjung* will be saved through the redemption of Christ and the essence of *Han* (resentment) will be removed. It does not regard *Minjung* as a revelational/theological element

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.223.

⁴¹ Yoo, “Response to Korean Shamanism by the Pentecostal Church,” in *IRM*, vol. 75/297 (January 1986):70-74; Yonggi Cho, “Miracles Jesus Performed,” in *Great Business Men*, Seoul, 1992, pp.142-149. Cho’s view on shamanism: only seeking healing, solving problems, and seeking blessing without seeking God’s kingdom and His righteousness; Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 3rd ed., 1988, p.332. Hollenweger writes: “In terms of the phenomenology of religion, a pentecostal pastor might be described as a modern shaman.”

⁴² Yoo, *Korean Pentecostalism ...*, pp.224-225.

⁴³ Hong Jung Lee, “*Minjung* and Pentecostal Movement in Korea” in *Pentecostals after a Century: Global Perspectives on a Movement in Transition*, edited by Allan M. Anderson and Walter J. Hollenweger, Sheffield, 1999, pp.138-160. Lee’s theological standpoint as *Minjung* theology (*Minjung* as the subjects of the pentecostal movement/ 141, 149) sees the Gospel of the early American missionaries and Korean pentecostalism as exclusivism against pluralism/inclusivism. His critical point is that the Korean church is generally shamanized (157). Nevertheless, he argues for a new Korean pentecost which would fuse with elements of Korean shamanism and its traditional religions. Hyeon Sung Bae’s criticism of Lee’s opinion represents the view of Korean pentecostalism which says that his judgement was limited by a subjective and partial interpretation (loc. cit. pp.161-163); Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., book review of Boo-Woong Yoo’s dissertation, in *Pneuma*, vol.12/1 (Spring 1990): 60-62. Wi Jo Kang, book review of Boo-Woong Yoo’s dissertation, in *Missiology*, vol.21/1 (1993): 93. Yoo’s book frustrated both reviewers (especially Robeck) in relation to the history and theology of Korean pentecostalism not only because he worked on it from his own point of view as a *Minjung* theologian but also because he was not well informed on the subject.

⁴⁴ Young Hoon Lee, “The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea: Its Historical and Doctrinal Development,” Ph.D. dissertation at Temple University, 1996, pp.154-160.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.160.

whatsoever. In Christ, there will be no more *Minjung* grass-roots who suffer, desperately wanting to be liberated from their various kinds of oppressions.⁴⁶ Further, the question must be asked why *Minjung* theology has established a forum of theological discussions/concerns while so many of the underprivileged (people of *Minjung*) have been drawn into *Sunbogeumism* and eventually created a sweeping movement in Korean Christianity. The difference between them is as follows: first, *Minjung* theology, which sympathizes with traditional religion, especially with shamanism (cultural reactionism to the modernity), has adversely affected the modernization process of Korean socio-politics,⁴⁷ whereas *Sunbogeumism* developed while riding the waves of the modern economic/industrial revolution in Korean society (cf. 7.1); second, *Minjung* theology identifies the suffering lives of *Minjung* (the subject of history) with that of Jesus who, as God's revelation did not receive relief from His suffering, while *Sunbogeumism* regards human wholistically (*Minjung* included) as sinners and leads them to Jesus, who saves them from sin as well as their suffering through His Atonement and the Holy Spirit (8.3.4.2); third, *Minjung* theology was formulated by theologians who never shared the social status of the *Minjung*, but were non-*Minjung* elites, whereas *Sunbogeumism* emerged among the social status of grass-roots and spread out among them to raise an exodus of many of suffering grass-roots (*Minjung*); and fourth, the *Minjung* theology has remained a theological study for socio-political development (*missio Dei*) without forming a considerable movement, whereas the latter has developed into an effective stimulus which called forth pentecostal crusades and church growth in Korea.⁴⁸

Korean pentecostalism, which has been planted and grown in shamanistic/*Han*-ridden *Minjung* in Korea, not only displays great expansion, but it also calls forth suspicion of syncretism with Korean shamanistic religiosity. Critical scholars as well as *Minjung* theologians, view the relationship as syncretism, while Korean pentecostals interpret it as contact/indigenization. If any theologically responsible syncretism exists – Christianity recognizing a given situation and transforming it into a Christian truth (Hollenweger) – the different views can only be various expressions of the same view. The relationship may be compared to another analogy. As *Sunbogeumism* understands the incarnation of Christ as the model of indigenization (14.2.1), if the Gospel is planted in a certain culture and transforms it and indigenized Christianity be produced, we can call this kind of indigenization as “symbiotic syncretism” according to the model of incarnation. As a result, we may call the relationship between *Sunbogeumism* and Korean shamanism as “symbiotic

⁴⁶ In a sense, *Minjung* theologians are afraid of the expansion of pentecostalism because pentecostalism would be another powerful ecclesiastical organization able to destroy *Minjung*, the so-called bearer of truth; Kyoung Jae Kim, *Christianity and the Encounter of Asian Religions*. Dissertation. Zoetermeer, 1995, pp.120-144. Kim showed how Christianity meets the Korean cultural-religious heritage. He suggested four models that illustrate it: the sowing model; the yeast model; the converging model; and the grafting model. *Sunbogeumism* belongs to the sowing model which does not syncretize the Gospel with any kind of previous religio-cultural elements while *Minjung* theology belongs to the converging model which regards “the salvation experiences recorded in the Scriptures as equal to the salvation experiences of *Minjung* in their daily life” (132).

⁴⁷ Il-Young Park, *Minjung, Schamanismus und Inkulturation: Schamanistische Religiositaet und Christliche Orthopraxis in Korea*, Dissertation zur Uni. Freiburg, Schweiz, 1988, p.296.

⁴⁸ According to the different views in theology, it is unreasonable to judge the works of the other party from one's own standpoint.

syncretism.” This is still an open question (17.3). At present, the relationship between *Sunbogeumism* and *Minjung* theology can be explained as similar phenomena with different theological viewpoints in modern Korean Christianity.

8.3. YONGGI CHO AS MAIN *SUNBOGEUM* THEOLOGIAN

From the early 1970s, Cho began to publish books on his collected sermons, teachings, essays and Bible commentaries. More notable publications in the 1970s include: *A Commentary on the Revelation to John for Laymen* (1976); *A Commentary on Daniel for Laymen* (1976); *Pneumatology* (1976); *Triple Salvation* (1978); *The Truth of Sunbogeum I, II* (1979); and *The Fourth Dimension* (1979). *Pneumatology* lays the foundation of his understanding of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. *Triple Salvation* illustrates the philosophical foundation of his Gospel witness. *The Truth of Sunbogeum* is a summary of his Biblical theology. *The Fourth Dimension* expounds his theological methodology.

In addition to these books, he published many other works. As a preacher and pastor of devoted prayer, his writings are more inspirational than theological. Jeong-Geun Pak [*Defending of Pentecostal Truth* (1970) and *Pentecostal Theology* (1978)], Jeong-Ryeol Pak [*A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (1985) and *Pentecostal Theology* (1996)], and Sunghoon Myoung [*Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth* (1993)] also contributed to the establishment of *Sunbogeum* theology, but, its fundamental framework has been primarily shaped by Cho.⁴⁹

Cho summarized the Gospel in the form of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing (or Triple Salvation), which is built upon Jesus' death on the cross.⁵⁰ Jesus' cross is the major premise for both of them.⁵¹ The Fivefold Gospel is the doctrinal basis for the 'Korean Pure Gospel,' while Triple Blessing is its practical application. This formulation of Cho's characterizes Korean pentecostal theology, i.e. *Sunbogeum* theology. Jong-Ho Byeon suggested that Yonggi Cho's Korean *Sunbogeumism* could also be called "Yonggi-ism."⁵² The controversy surrounding the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation will be discussed at the latter part of this section.

8.3.1. *Fivefold Gospel*

Originally, the content of Cho's Triple Salvation (3 John 2) was preached early in his ministry. Then, the expression, Triple Salvation, was used as a slogan for Cho's uneducated and poor congregation. In this way, the holistic salvation of spirit, body, and life situations through the cross of Christ, constitutes the foundation of

⁴⁹ See 6.4.7.

⁵⁰ Yonggi Cho, *Triple Salvation*, pp.28-32, 134-147, 238-239, 266; idem, *Inner Condition for Happiness*, Seoul, 1983/ 4 ed., 1988, pp.170-175; idem, *Does Poverty Make a Good Christian?*, Seoul, 1983, pp. 49, 63, 128; *Sunbogeumism*, especially Yonggi Cho, takes the cross event or Christ and His suffering to be the main source of the Gospel. The relation between *theologia crucis* and *theologia gloriae* will be discussed at section 11.2.

⁵¹ idem, *Triple Salvation*, p.266. For Cho, Christ's substitutional death, namely the cross event, is the hermeneutical key for his theology.

⁵² Jong-Ho Byeon, *The Gospel and Faith of Pentecostal History*, Seoul, 1971, p.119.

Sunbogeumism; however, it was only a ministerial idea without any doctrinal structure. It was even accused of being parallel with the shamanistic invoking of worldly blessing. Later, in the early part of the 1980s, this content was formed into a systematic structure called the Fivefold Gospel.⁵³ By *Sunbogeumism*, this Fivefold Gospel is understood as the central idea in the Scriptures.⁵⁴ The ground for this doctrine was found in the Bible as the total depravity of Adam and complete redemption by Christ. This was a triple depravity as well as a triple salvation – spiritual, physical, and circumstantial. Cho has a trichotomic conception of man when he discusses triple salvation. Five aspects of this Gospel are worth noting.

The Gospel of the born-again comes first. Through the Atonement of Jesus, a sinner can be saved and the order of spirit, soul, and body can be established. Then Jesus abides in him and he will be blessed by God in his whole life. The Fivefold Gospel makes this point the most important and basic element of Christian faith.

Fullness with the Holy Spirit is the second point. This implies three experiences in the Spirit: regeneration, baptism in the Spirit, and sanctification. Baptism with the Spirit is for those who are born again and is given so that they may serve effectively. Sanctification is the grace of the Spirit for Spirit-baptized believers, which allows them to bear spiritual fruit. The infilling of the Holy Spirit is when a believer maintains both external gifts of the Spirit and the internal fruit of the Spirit. A Spirit-filled life is identical to a Christ-filled or Christ-like life.⁵⁵

The Gospel of blessing comes next. According to this Gospel, neither the Old Testament nor the New Testament instructs God's children to be in need or to be millionaires. The Bible, however, teaches God's children to have what they need (Deut.28:1-14; Ps. 23:1) and God's intention is to supply them according to His riches in glory in Christ Jesus (Phil.4:19). The material problems of this world (debt, poverty, mammonism, etc.) were caused by man's disobedience against God's sovereignty (sin). Through Jesus' Atonement and His grace, believers will be saved from such a curse (2 Cor.8:9; Gal.3:4). Because, believers as well as God's church and mission on earth, cannot be separated from the material environment, God will bless them with spiritual and material means so that they have what they need and are able to give. These are the general principles of God's blessing in relation to the material.⁵⁶

Divine healing is the fourth point. Disease, which is the beginning of death, is caused by Satan, guilt, and the curse of God. Christ redeemed all three grounds for disease so that believers can be healed. This teaching came to Cho from the Full Gospel tradition of the Holiness movement and the Scriptures. His own physical weakness inspired him to develop this doctrine, too (6.3.2.1).

Finally, there is the Gospel of the second coming and the new heaven, which gives believers great hope and the desire to live a holy life and evangelize. It places

⁵³ Yonggi Cho, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing*, Seoul, 1983/10th ed., 1994, pp.32-33.

⁵⁴ ITI, *Fivefold Gospel and Blessing of Triple Salvation*, 1988/ 4ed., 1993, p.20.

⁵⁵ Cho, *ibid.*, pp.91-140. The features of a Spirit-filled person are: overflowing joy (1 Thes. 1:6-7); boldness in faith (Heb. 11:1-2); being filled with God's love (Rom. 5:5); overflowing liveliness (John 6:63); power of divine healing (Mark 16:17); overflowing peace and gratitude (Eph. 5:20; Phil.4:7); constant prayer in tongues (Acts 2:4); life that is filled with miracles (Matt. 28:18); being filled with Spiritual fruit (Gal. 5:22-25); and active evangelization (Acts 1:8).

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, pp.142-167.

the focus on the pretribulational view within eschatology. This doctrine was added to the previous four points so that its structure as pure Gospel may be complete.

This Fivefold Gospel is systematically arranged according to the salvation of spirit, soul, body, circumstances, and the future (the third and the fourth point can be interchanged).⁵⁷ But, the fullness with the Holy Spirit and the second coming (second and fifth point) are not included in the Triple Salvation. This ‘pure Gospel’ (*Sunbogeum*) is preached as the Full Gospel ‘message’ and Full Gospel ‘faith,’ which start from the redemptive grace of the cross of Jesus Christ.⁵⁸ This Fivefold Gospel is the essential feature of *Sunbogeum* theology.

8.3.2. Triple Salvation

When Cho published his book, *Triple Salvation*, in 1977, he stated in the preface: “Triple Salvation is the idea of my faith and the philosophical foundation of Gospel witness.”⁵⁹ It came to him not from theological study but from the Bible (3 John 2), “after having constant prayer in agony and tears.”⁶⁰ But it does not mean that he was entirely alienated from the thoughts of others when formulating his idea of Triple Salvation. Vinson Synan writes that this blessing idea “reflected the influence of the American ‘faith’ teachers such as Kenneth Hagin and Kenneth Copeland, who themselves were influenced by Oral Roberts.”⁶¹ At the theological seminary, Cho had learned about the God of past and future, but now he began to realize the ‘present’ God who lives, loves, and takes care of us. Then, 3 John 2 became a principle through which he interpreted the entire Scriptures. Two assumptions of this principle were the good God and the holistic salvation of Jesus Christ through His Cross.⁶² The following three elements of the Triple Salvation are the practical application of the Fivefold Gospel.

The first principle of Triple Salvation refers to “as your soul prospers” (3 John 2d), and lays the foundation of God’s salvation. The Triune God created man in His image: this is the base of the trichotomy of the spirit, soul, and body. These were distinguishable but not separable. After the Fall, man’s spirit was occupied by the evil spirit, namely Satan. Thus, man became Satan’s servant. Man’s existence is influenced by the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the boastful pride of life

⁵⁷ Filling in the Spirit as in the second point, can be also understood as surrendering to the Spirit with one’s full soul (mind or person).

⁵⁸ Yonggi Cho, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1983, pp.12-13.

⁵⁹ idem, *Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1977.

⁶⁰ ibid., p.18. He began his ministry among the war-devastated and despairing Koreans.

⁶¹ Vinson Synan, “The International Ministry of Dr. David Yonggi Cho,” in *A Collection of Scholarly Papers in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of Dr. Yonggi Cho’s Ministry I: The Holy Spirit and the Church*, Seoul, 1996, pp.235-236. Hagin set up Rhema Bible Train Center in 1974 while Cho, in the 1970s, explained the Spirit-inspired word as *rhema*.

⁶² Cho was not trained of a ‘well organized theological institute.’ Two-year course at KAOG seminary was not of a higher standard than a simple Bible school. This means he was not absorbed by a certain established theological structure. Therefore, his approach to the Bible as well as to God might have inclined not to a propositional way but to an ontological one. By such a circumstance (which may serve as a context for the occurrence of revolutionary or revelational ideas), it seemed that he was able to reach the reality closer; Cho, ibid., p.266. Cho says that Triple Salvation’s great premise is the cross of Jesus Christ. His theological development is based on it according to his interpretation of it. It is noteworthy that some accused Cho of ‘theology without the cross.’ We discuss this at chapter 11.

(1 John 2:17). In this way, the soul-centred life witnesses sinful human existence. Jesus Christ gives His salvific grace primarily for the salvation of man's spirit. Otherwise, man cannot be related to God. When a sinner repents and accepts Jesus as his Saviour, the Holy Spirit blows in man's spirit and gives eternal life. Then, the Spirit resides in his spirit. This is salvation.

This soul needs to be disciplined as it resists the Spirit's guidance. At the same time, the soul needs to be nourished and trained through the Word of God. When the soul has been broken and trained by the Word of God, then man (his soul) is ready to live according to God's Word without resistance. Then the flesh must be addressed. This cannot be broken or disciplined because it is not bestowed with any consciousness. Because flesh reacts by impulse, it must be crucified at the cross. The way to crucify the flesh with its passions and desires is to be baptized in the water with Christ, to be filled with the Holy Spirit, and to fast and pray.

A soul that prospers is then presented – a man filled with the Holy Spirit. Having his spirit saved and regenerated, his soul broken and tamed, and his flesh brought to its knees through the soul, the Holy Spirit can then flow through his spirit, soul, and body. This is the state of being filled with the Holy Spirit and is the soul's prosperity.⁶³

The second element of Triple Salvation is that "in all respects you may prosper" (3 John 2b). This means that a believer shall be prosperous in whatever he is engaged. Therefore, it is also called the successful life, a natural result of a man whose soul prospers and receives. Covetousness belongs to the satanic realm, while prosperity to that of God. While Korean Christians have generally accepted that poverty and suffering are a Christian virtue and that the material world belongs to the satanic realm, Cho regarded such viewpoints as distorted, not Biblical.

In association with material blessings, Cho teaches that tithing is an obligation of God's children because it demonstrates their acknowledgement of God's sovereignty in the material world. We should not tithe for the purpose of receiving God's blessing. Rather, by obeying God through tithing, one can be freed from being the slave of material things and can employ material as a steward of God, according to His will. Besides tithing, he vividly teaches three principles of offering (time, material, life etc.) to God, which one can freely do according to his faith for God's work including the principle of planting and harvest, the principle of investment, and the principle of the "rumbling of a mountain."⁶⁴

⁶³ Cho, *Triple Salvation*, 35-103. Cho does not see man as three separate parts but as a whole person (as if 'one but Tri-une God') when he explains the inner realm of man in relation to salvation. When *Sunbogeumism* puts 'soul prospers' first instead of 'spirit prospers,' it implies that it takes soul (*psyche*) as the whole person (Acts 2:41, 43); Cf. Watchman Nee, *The Spiritual Man I, II, III*, 1968, trans. into Korean, Seoul, I (1972/14 ed., 1985), II (1972/ 12 ed., 1985), III (1974/ 10 ed., 1986). Cho has similar thoughts in many ways to Nee's, especially in his trichotomic understanding of man. Nee, however, did not emphasize the material blessing and healing even though he had the view of holistic redemption in Christ; see footnote 4 of this chapter.

⁶⁴ Cho, *ibid.*, pp.164-172. These are not doctrines but a means of practical application for believers. Such illustrations were an effective tool for ordinary people to apply in their faith lives. All three principles were taken from the Bible. The first principle was illustrated by the biological and natural law of planting and harvest (2 Cor.9:6), the second by the examples of investing and God's rewards (Phil. 4:15-19; Luke 9:10-17), and the third by the physical law of echo as an illustration for giving and reward (Luke 6:38).

In addition, he teaches believers to keep their minds from the following faults, which destroy themselves and hinder God's blessing: hatred, anger, greed, perfectionism, guilty conscience, fear, and frustration. He also adds two important measures that will lead believers to successful lives – how to discern the will of God and how to live with clear-cut objectives in pursuit of His will.⁶⁵ In short, being a prosperous Christian according to God's will is the point Cho emphasizes with this blessing.

The third and final element of the Triple Salvation advocates being “in good health” (3 John 2c). He makes the spiritual problem clear in connection with disease which is caused by sin, Satan, and the curse of God.⁶⁶ His application of Christ's redemption to this problem is quite logical and mathematical even though this does not mean that every disease will (or should) be healed mechanically through our faith. His understanding of God's salvation is ‘black and white’ – either one belongs to the satanic realm or to God. His point for this salvation is that believers are qualified to receive divine healing from God's holistic redemptive prescription. The Holy Spirit performs God's grace of Triple Salvation on earth.

Cho explains how believers can receive healing. They should desire to be healthy, repent from all sinful thoughts, words, and deeds, forgive each other, pray in faith, and they should receive God and live holy. He also emphasizes that after healing, one must live in Christ because evil spirits (the devil) may come in again with disease (Luke 11:24-26; John 5:14).⁶⁷

Through God's Triple Salvation, people can live as free human beings. The saved person is free from evil desire, habit of sin, anxiety, fear, and fear of death. Because Triple Salvation is performed by the Holy Spirit, Christians must be constantly filled with the Holy Spirit so that they remain free. Therefore, *Sunbogeumism* is different from Yong-Do Yi's mystical pentecost movement, which emerged in the 1930s under Japanese colonial government.⁶⁸ Cho also addresses a

⁶⁵ Cho, *ibid.*, pp.206-236. How to discern the will of God: first, a firm decision to obey the will of God without reservation (Rom. 8:14); second, constant prayer waiting for God-given desire (Phil. 2:13); third, judging the desire to see if it accords with the Scriptures (Matt. 4:1-11); fourth, pray if any circumstantial evidence is given (1 King 18:44; Judges 6:36-40); and fifth, pray if peace is settled in one's heart (Ps. 107:30). If we know the will of God for us we need to pursue it by making His will our object: first, set a clear-cut goal (Mark 11:24); second, have a burning desire (Rev. 3:15); third, always remember the law of “flocking together with birds of a feather” (2 Chron. 11:10ff; 1 King. 12:8-15) and the law of looking (Gen. 13:14-15); fourth, do not lose peace in one's heart (James 4:8); and fifth, acknowledge success with one's mouth (Prov. 6:2; Mark 11:23).

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp.243-283. This does not mean that no disease is caused by careless sanitary (or health) management or no medical treatment is needed.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, pp.309-312. Cho believes that evil spirits bring evil thoughts and deeds. Especially, in his early ministry, such a tendency was distinct. It is an expression of his black and white logic.

⁶⁸ See 4.3.2.1 and 4.4. We can compare them as follows: first, their Christology is strikingly different. Yong-Do Yi aimed to lose the world and have Jesus. His Christ-passion mysticism sought unification with Jesus in love and death for its own sake. There is neither a clear concept of Christ's redemption nor new hope in resurrection. He only pushed forwards the cross and sought to sacrifice himself together with Jesus. His *imitatio Christi* became ‘crucified with Jesus together.’ *Sunbogeumism*, however, is based on the redemptive grace of Christ; second, consequently, Yi's attitude was extremely dualistic. He saw the material world or flesh as obstacles to spiritual faith. He dreamed and wished to live free from his family so that he could just love Jesus and serve others. *Sunbogeumism* on the contrary makes a synthesis of the material and spiritual world because the latter will be the means for serving God. Yi looked at the suffering side of the cross while *Sunbogeumism* looks at both sides, the suffering and the glory; third, Yi did not consider reason as well as theology as important. He

believer's suffering and his thorn in the flesh (2 Cor. 12:1-10; 1 Pet.5:1-11). God's thorns can be our mental and physical weaknesses, poverty, insults, persecution, and other difficulties.⁶⁹

This Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation brought controversy, however. Because Cho belongs to the circle of fundamentalists, most criticism refers to both his contribution and problems. Having studied his ideas for a decade, the Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination presented a study (1994) which refers to Cho's tendency of matching the needs and desires of the Korean folk population. It pointed out the positive side of his views: arousing an interest in pneumatology, bringing attention to the supernatural realm of Christian faith, positively affecting believers' faith, influencing church growth, and inspiring hope for the Gospel through connecting salvific grace with the realms of health and economics. The study, however, also raised critical questions of his view of the Bible. Cho deviated from the main theme of the Scriptures and uses a literal interpretation of the Scriptures which centres on rebirth, infilling with the Spirit, blessing, divine healing, and the Second Coming.⁷⁰ This conclusion (1994) manifested a summary and a correction of the 1983 view of the Tonghap denomination, which criticized the Triple Gospel without mentioning any positive contribution. The 1983 view said that the Gospel of the Triple Blessing must recognize that the source of blessing is God, not man; it has the tendency of teaching spiritual salvation as the means for the blessing of earthly life; and its theory, which links God's salvation with the idea of world-centredness, success-centredness and material-centredness, has the danger of falling into a shamanistic blessing-seeking faith.⁷¹

Aron Pak, the conservative Presbyterian theologian, commented that the idea of holistic salvation is Scriptural and that its ultimate objective in God's sovereign glorification is Calvinistic; however, its theological development and conclusion are somewhat mysterious and incomprehensible to the ordinary theological mind.⁷² Tae-Bok Kim believes that the idea of Triple Salvation contributed for Korean churches reading the Bible with a positive attitude, while unconsciously influencing them to make God as their means for worldly blessing, making success-oriented

taught and sought to forget the 'head' and only to follow the 'heart.' That was the reason why he was associated with those who had been excommunicated from the church on account of their heretic practices. *Sunbogeumism* takes learning and theology as an important factor for Christianity; fourth, Yi's message was mostly concentrated on repentance and pure faith while *Sunbogeumism* is concentrated on evangelization. Summing up, we find that Yong-To Yi's theology and *Sunbogeumism* have different theological viewpoints. Yet, Yi's devotion to prayer life and his pentecostal-type enthusiasm are also to be found in *Sunbogeumism*. Characteristically, Yi's spiritual heritage came from the line of mystic saints in church history while *Sunbogeumism* is aimed at the evangelization movement following the model of the early church, as in the Acts of the Apostles. Cho is task-oriented while Yi was offering-oriented.

⁶⁹ ITI, *Fivefold Gospel and Blessing of Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1988/ 4ed., 1993, pp.163-167, 180-185.

⁷⁰ The 79th General Assembly of Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination, "A Report of the Result of Study over Cho Yonggi's Pseudo Christianity," 1994, quoted from *Church and Faith* (January 1995): 135-142.

⁷¹ The 68th General Assembly of Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination, "The Measures and Guide against Pseudo-Heresy," 1983, recited from *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church*, Seoul, 1993, pp.300-304.

⁷² Aron Pak, *ibid*.

secularism a Christian value system.⁷³ Bong-Ho Son and other critical Korean scholars point out the danger of Triple Salvation teaching: it may attract shamanistically-oriented Korean people to the Christian church for the sole purpose of receiving blessings.⁷⁴ Kyoung Jae Kim summarized the theology of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation as follows: its contributions are, first, its invaluable role as a holistic-salvific message and hope for suffering Koreans during the social shift of industrialization/urbanization from the 1960s to the 1990s, and, second, its great contribution to the growth of Korean churches. Kim then summarized its critical problems as being its belief in the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures and its literal interpretation, and, second, its understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit as limiting in ecclesiology, neglecting His work in society and history. The final criticism is that it despises traditional religions as idolatries, ignoring religious syncretism.⁷⁵ In addition, Gwang-Seon Suh believes that the Triple Salvation tends towards asocial individualism, with a lack of consciousness for social problems and historical responsibility.⁷⁶ Cho's 'prosperity theology' has been criticized as a capitalistic religion by critical and liberal circles in general, while evangelical theologians, who hold a holistic view of the Atonement of Christ like classical pentecostalism, ask if his teaching matches the Biblical teaching on prosperity. Young Hoon Lee, the director of the International Theological Institute of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church, introduced the 'Biblical teaching on prosperity theology.' For him the Biblical teaching on prosperity harmonizes with 'prosperity theology.' He emphasized, however, that "prosperity and success should never be put ahead of God."⁷⁷

The International Theological Institute (ITI, a representative of *Sunbogeumism*), advocates Cho's *Sunbogeumism*. Its publication, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church I, II* (1993), tried to defend Cho against the critique of the Tonghap denomination.⁷⁸ They argue the following: first, this Gospel shares its basic theological thought with that of world pentecostalism, especially with that of

⁷³ Tae-Bok Kim, "What is the Principle of Triple Salvation?" in *Pulpit Ministry* (November 1981), Seoul, quoted from Jun-Be Ahn, *Pastor Cho Yonggi ...*, pp.227-233; Albert Betschel, *ibid.*, pp.64-69. Betschel also criticized Cho's way of thinking as inverting the cause (God) and consequence (vision or church growth).

⁷⁴ Bong-Ho Son, "Some Dangers of Rapid Church Growth," in *Korean Church Growth Explosion*, Seoul, 1995, pp.256-273. See the first point of 8.2.3.

⁷⁵ Kyoung Jae Kim, "A Theological Appraisal of the Korean Pentecostal Movement – A Comparison of the Fivefold Gospel with Baar Statement of WCC." A paper presented at Koreanisch-brasilianisch-deutsch-afrikanische theologische Konsultation at Missionsakademie an der Universitaet Hamburg (26.6-4.7.2000).

⁷⁶ Gwang-Seon Suh, "Theological Understanding about the Holy Spirit Movement and Revival Movement of Korean Church," in *A Study on the Pentecostal Movement in Korea*, Seoul, 1982, pp. 57-60.

⁷⁷ "Is Prosperity Theology Scriptural in the Midst of Sufferings?" *WEF-Theological News*, vol. 25/1 (Jan-Mar. 95): 1-2. This is the report of and excerpts from the consultation on prosperity theology and theology of suffering held by the world evangelical fellowship at the Torch Centre Seoul (28.9-1.10.1994).

⁷⁸ These two books originally aimed at explaining and vindicating Cho against the views of Tonghap Presbyterian church. These books, therefore, describe the history and theology of pentecostalism in general. They deal with the history and doctrine of the American Assemblies of God, the history and theology of *Sunbogeumism* (Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation), and the theological debates between Tonghap denomination and Yoido Church.

the Assemblies of God; second, it introduces the ‘good God’ and the holistic salvation in Christ’s redemption and criticizes the traditional concepts of Korean churches as non-Biblical dualism, which emphasizes spiritual salvation separate from the material realm; and third, basing itself on the Scriptures, it tries to plant the Gospel in Korean *Minjung*, who exist under a shamanist mentality, and transform them by the indigenization of the Gospel.⁷⁹

In relation to Cho’s view on Triple Salvation, two problems need to be discussed. The first is the weakness of his use of 3 John 2. He took verse 2 out of context, a basic error in interpreting the Scriptures. The richness of the Bible cannot be reduced to one key verse. Another problem is his view of the cross, which is the premise of Triple Salvation. He emphasized the substitutional side of the cross but overlooked its reconciliation side. These two weaknesses will be discussed later.

8.3.3. Methodology of Fourth Dimension

Even though we cannot entirely separate the content from the method of a theology, it is important to realize that Cho’s method is remarkable. According to him, theology must clarify the relationship between revelation and experience because the ultimate object of God’s revelation is focused upon humans, not upon the Bible. This is the ultimate task of theology as well, a hermeneutical principle in theology.⁸⁰ Because he emphasizes the sovereignty of God and His holistic salvation, he uses all possible means, especially scientific knowledge, to illuminate the Gospel. Furthermore, he does not hesitate to employ modern technical means of communication like radio, TV, newspapers, computers, and other telecommunications as a means of evangelizing the Gospel. In this sense, his theology may be called an open or frontier theology in pentecostalism⁸¹ and his methodology can be called ‘supernatural science.’ The basic assumption for such a methodology is founded upon the idea that the spiritual realm controls the material realm. He found it in the Bible. This methodology is called the fourth dimension.

In this subsection, we will deal with the contents of the fourth dimension (8.3.3.1), the scientific approach (8.3.3.2), and the synthetic feature (8.3.3.3). Since the relationship between spiritual and material world constitutes the main contents of the fourth dimension, the scientific approach and synthetic feature are also included in this methodology. The fourth dimension also needs to be understood in relation to the radical pneumatological theology of *Sunbogeumism*.

8.3.3.1. The Contents of Fourth Dimension

This method was introduced in Cho’s book *The Fourth Dimension I* (1979) and its revised volume *II* (1983).⁸² When he published the first book, he put the following

⁷⁹ ITI, *Faith and Theology ...I*, pp.300-304.

⁸⁰ Jae Bum Lee, “Establishment of Pentecostal Theology and Methodology of Pentecostal Theology,” in *SH* (October 1989): 79-83.

⁸¹ idem, *The History ...*, pp.7-12 in Part I. Pentecostalism is characterized in many ways: truth on fire; full Gospel; hot Gospel; theology of immediacy; theology on the move; and theology of power. *Sunbogeumism* may be one of the best examples of such characteristics.

⁸² In the second publication, the catchwords “more secrets for a successful faith life” were added on the front cover page. At the same time, R. Whitney Manzano became the co-writer of this volume. It seems that Manzano helped him to deal with scientific and philosophical material; Cho, *The Fourth*

subtitle on the front cover, “The key to putting your faith to work for a successful life.” In other words, this methodology was to explain how we put our God-given faith to practical use in such a way that God can work with us through His Spirit.⁸³ In connection with this, he claims that the spirit controls the material world. This idea is regarded as an analogy of incarnation. As a ‘Spirit-filled pentecostal,’ Cho believed that it became the key for interpreting the spiritual lives of Christians. *The Fourth Dimension* was formulated to introduce this idea and its practical application.

The term ‘fourth dimension’ does not have any meaning in itself except that it represents the idea that the higher dimension, the spirit, controls the lower dimension, the material. Cho presented his idea using a geometric illustration: a line between two points is one dimension; a plane, which is created by adding line upon line, is two dimensional; and a cubic, which is formed by piling up the plane, is the third dimension. The whole material world belongs to the third dimension; however, the spiritual belongs to the realm of the fourth dimension. Logically, then, the higher dimension includes and controls the lower dimensions. He found this principle in the creation description of the Bible, where it is stated that the Holy Spirit (the fourth dimension) brought order out of chaos (the third dimension as described in Gen. 1:2-4). A new, beautiful order was created by the fourth dimension. This principle, that the fourth spiritual dimension incubates the third, chaotic material dimension and creates a new being, can be applied to the regeneration provided for Christians by the Second Adam through His Spirit.⁸⁴

The function of the spiritual realm is understood by him as a general phenomenon in the world. Therefore, in the fourth dimension, either good or evil is created, he argues. He warns Christianity of the dangers and deceptions of other fourth-dimensional phenomena in the contemporary religious world: the development of the subconscious by the Unitarian Church in America; healing through Yoga meditation; the miracles of Japanese Sokagakkai; the self-hypnosis of Zen Buddhism; and transcendental meditation.⁸⁵ Christianity should know Biblical truth and apply it to the fourth dimension, he asserts. Because humans are composed of both the spiritual and physical realms and live in the world of three spiritual forces (the Spirit of God, the spirit of man, and the spirit of Satan), he urges believers to walk closely with the Holy Spirit so that God’s sovereignty can be established by conquering satanic influence. To do this, man’s spirit must be regenerated by Christ’s redemption and the Holy Spirit. The regenerated man is then equipped with the ability to spiritually communicate with the Holy Spirit through dreams and visions. This communication is nothing else than a constant prayer before God in anticipation of an answer. Then miracles and God’s answers can follow in the spiritual and physical realms of believers. This manifests the principle of the fourth dimension, which makes the relationship between the spirit and the material the central element. It is interesting to note that Cho found this fourth dimension when

Dimension (Korean version), Seoul, 1996. Five million copies (vol. I & II) were sold worldwide (front cover).

⁸³ Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension I*, pp.6,9,21, 23, 26, 30, 35, 36, 49 et al.

⁸⁴ Cho, *The Fourth Dimension I*, Seoul, 1979, pp.36-66. Yonggi Cho and R. Whitney Manzano, *The Fourth Dimension II*, Plainfield, NJ, 1983, pp.35-85.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* (both).

he seriously thought through the problem that false religions or evil spirits can also do some kind of miracles. As a pentecostal, he was confused in this matter.⁸⁶

This fourth dimension is his methodology. It has unfamiliar ideas and suspicious elements as compared to most theological methodology. Therefore, some foreign critics view his principles in *The Fourth Dimension* as being unbiblical.⁸⁷ Dave Hunt and T. A. McMahon criticized Cho's idea that the spirit controls the material is the same concept of a Hindu (Yoga) god who is "the All and made everything out of Himself."⁸⁸ Albert Betschel also criticized Cho's way of understanding the fourth dimension in the Bible (Gen.1: 2-3) as being Christian New Age version. He contends that Cho makes the Holy Spirit the same cosmic power found within the New Age Movement, through which man can accomplish great things. He further raised questions if Cho wants to make the work of God tangible for the human spirit and explicable as a means for the process of wonders. Betschel regards this as an erroneous attempt to seek a rational explanation for a spiritual process.⁸⁹ But Betschel's criticism, furnishing some theological insights into Cho's methodology, seems to be rooted in a misunderstanding of Cho's writing. Cho writes that "the whole chaos world was incubated by the Holy Spirit, then the word of creation was given and a new world came into being,"⁹⁰ whereas Betschel understood it as "the Holy Spirit evolved from *Tohuwabohu*." As a result, Betschel identifies Cho's understanding of the Holy Spirit as identical with cosmic power of the New Age movement.⁹¹

8.3.3.2. *Scientific Approach*

Cho writes: "Since the physical world is a shadow of the spiritual world, what we know scientifically of the material helps us in understanding the spiritual. Jesus revealed spiritual truth by using material examples."⁹² And he goes on as follows:

It is my intention to try to understand with you, my reader, the newest neuroscientific developments as they relate to our sensory perceptions and consciousness, then relate what we are now learning to the Truth about us derived from God's final word, the Scriptures... I keep abreast of what is happening in the world of science. The reason for this is that I believe that we who proclaim the Word of God have an opportunity and responsibility to unveil reality to the world in a way that the world can understand.⁹³

He not only employed modern technology for his church's administration and evangelization, but he also adopted scientific knowledge in fields such as psychology, human anatomy, physics, and linguistics, in order to interpret and apply the principles of the fourth dimension more practically as found in the Scriptures.⁹⁴

⁸⁶ Cho, vol. II, pp.38-51.

⁸⁷ Korean version of *The Fourth Dimension* was first published in 1996 in Korea.

⁸⁸ Dave Hunt and T.A. McMahon, *The Seduction of Christianity: Spiritual Discernment in the Last Days*, Eugene, OR, 1985, pp.111-112.

⁸⁹ Albert Betschel, *ibid.*, pp.53-59.

⁹⁰ Cho, *ibid.*, p.17

⁹¹ Betschel, pp.55-57.

⁹² Cho, p. 97.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p.104.

⁹⁴ cf. Reuben A. Torrey, "Theological Education: First Encountering with God," in *Ministry and Theology* (December 1995): 157-161. Torrey argues that theological seminaries in Korea should teach

According to him, the presence of God and the relationship between Him and believers are so real and visible that “we shall know how great the power of our prayer is if we calculate prayer in the realm of numerical value...Our prayer can be verified mathematically, physically, and scientifically.” He used Einstein’s theory of the energymass equation ($E = mc^2$) as an illustration.⁹⁵ This idea, as well as the notion that the work of a living God can be scientifically (practically and systematically) explained, may find a common conceptional ground with the methodological foundation of Christian phenomenology.⁹⁶ A similar approach with scientific methods is taken by Walter J. Hollenweger, who introduced modern scientific achievements such as knowledge about the relationship between the spiritual realm and the material to argue for justifying ecumenical religious dialogue criticizing European/ traditional theology, which has been influenced by the logic of Aristotelian/natural scientific absolutism.⁹⁷

Cho reads widely in scientific publications and uses this knowledge for illustrating the effects of the spiritual realm on the material realm. This is the reason why his method can be called ‘supernatural science.’⁹⁸ This idea is also implied in the methodology of C. Peter Wagner of Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Missions and Institute of Church Growth. He approaches church growth as a science.⁹⁹ Despite its contributions to church growth, this approach was criticized by Bong-Ho Son as a theological pseudo-science for lacking a “critical attitude toward the materialism of modern culture.”¹⁰⁰ Hunt and McMahon further criticized

natural science and use its methodology for theological study. Economics is also an important subject for theological education, he asserts. Theology not only should deal with spiritual principles but also disclose the mental as well as the material worlds as they are, says Torrey.

⁹⁵ Cho, “Visible Faith,” in *Love and Blessing*, vol. 3 of *Fragmentary Thought in Ministry*, Seoul, 1978/5 ed., 1983, pp.35-41. Cho adopted the formula to explain how a definite prayer can be answered. He insists that the energy of our prayer is needed if man wants to have ‘the mass of answer through prayer.’ When man looks at something intensively, energy will be generated (in him) and when this energy becomes strong, mass will be generated, he says. Even though such a comparison (between God’s order of prayer/answer and physical/human phenomenon) may be naive in the view of academics, his scientific attitude to Christian faith is well manifested. For example, when Isaac was born to his aged parents, their physical situations were actually changed to a state in which his mother could conceive and bear a baby, Cho believes. His intention is obvious, in that using such scientific achievements he wants to help scientifically-trained modern man realize the presence of the living God who loves and actually works for him.

⁹⁶ Yung Han Kim, *Phänomenologie und Theologie*, Seoul, 1987, pp.22,97-98,163-165, 203-209.

⁹⁷ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Geist und Materie: Interkulturelle Theologie III*, Muenchen, 1988, pp.271-335.

⁹⁸ cf. Ulrich Duchrow, “The Spiritual Dimensions of the Scientific World,” in *Missiology*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (January 1979): 9-25; Walter J. Hollenweger, *Geist und Materie: Interkulturelle Theologie III*, München, 1988, pp.271-335.

⁹⁹ C. Peter Wagner, *Your Church Can Grow: Seven Vital Signs of a Healthy Church*, Glendale, CA, 1976/ 5ed., 1978, pp.38-40; idem, *Church Growth & The Whole Gospel : A Biblical Mandate*, 1981/ reprinted, 1987, Kent, pp. 69-86. Here, Wagner explains the methodology in two ways: as a ‘consecrated pragmatism’ and as a science. Pragmatism is understood by him as the option or means which most effectively accomplishes the goal. “A means that fails to accomplish the goal is not, by anyone’s measurement, a justifiable means,” he argues (75). Science is understood by him as “the attempt to explain certain phenomena in a reasonable and systematic way” (76). Yonggi Cho’s scientific methodology and Wagner’s idea have much similarity.

¹⁰⁰ Bong-Ho Son, *ibid.*, p.259.

it as psychologized shamanism, the reappearance of primitive paganism (shamanism) under the guise of modern psychology.¹⁰¹

8.3.3.3. *Synthetic Feature*

As spirit has both features of penetrating the boundaries and preserving particularity,¹⁰² pneumatology-emphasizing pentecostalism shows its dynamism in synthetic features. Through materialization (experience) of the norm (Word of God, or Idea),¹⁰³ pentecostalism can synthesize such areas as rationalism with empiricism, romantic-idealism with materialism, and deductive-oriented conservatism with inductive-oriented liberalism. Even Schleiermacher's theology, which is rooted in the Moravian missionary movement and which paved the way for a new methodology in modern Protestantism, contributed to pentecostalism's making experience the authoritative determinant of theological truths.¹⁰⁴

Cho's approach to this matter surpasses classical pentecostalism. The best example is his idea of the joint blessing of the soul and material. Because of his basic understanding of holistic salvation through God's 'fourth dimensional' Spirit, his methodology shows strong synthetic features. He emphasizes the Calvinistic sovereignty of God, although his evangelistic efforts are Arminian in approach. While his theology is grounded on traditional and reformist theologies, his ecumenism and evangelism style place him across traditional boundaries, leaving him open to other theological circles. The International Theological Institute of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church advocated the Fivefold Gospel as a synthetic theology, which integrates the essence of Calvinistic sovereignty of God with that of Arminian

¹⁰¹David Hunt and T.A. McMahon, *ibid.*, pp.174-175. C. Peter Wagner, John Wimber, Sanford, and Kelsey were also included in this category of interpreting the Bible in a wrong way through a grid of mysticism, they argue.

¹⁰²Colin E. Gunton, *The One, the Three and the Many*, Cambridge, Great Britain, 1993, pp.181-184.

¹⁰³Panel discussion on "Pentecostal/Chariastatic Speciality and Inter-cultural Expression," at the conference of The Society for Pentecostal Studies and the European Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Association on 12. 6. 1995 at AOG Theological College, Mattersey Hall, England. One delegate said, "Pentecostal distinctiveness is a collective feature, not tongues, filling in the Holy Spirit, and eschatology"; cf. Yung Han Kim, "21st Century, Postmodernism and Christianity," in the report of the 4th International Symposium on Christian Culture and Theology, sponsored by KICCS of Soong Sil Univ. (23-25. 10. 1995), pp. 13-31. One distinctiveness of postmodern thinking, which is the holistic view, "points to a balanced thinking between rational, emotional and sensitive tendency. It makes possible the balance between Western-American and Eastern-Asian thinking" (20).

¹⁰⁴L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI, 1939, 1941/ rep., 1984, pp.19-20. "The religious consciousness of man was substituted for the Word of God as the source of theology ... his starting point is anthropological rather than theological," argued Berkhof; James H. Railey, Jr. and Benny C. Aker, "Theological Foundations," in *Systematic Theology: A Pentecostal Perspective (STAPP)*, edited by Stanley M. Horton, Springfield, MO, 1994, p.44; Friedlich W. Kantzenbach, *Programme der Theologie: Denker, Schulen, Wirkungen von Schleiermacher bis Moltmann*, München, 1978, pp.18-19, 22,34. Schleiermacher's dialogue between Christianity and natural science as well as his experience-oriented understanding of religion opened up a theoretical explanation for revival theology, which might have indirectly related to the emergence of pentecostalism. At the same time he is regarded as the pioneer of liberal theology. Since *Sunbogeumism* as well as pentecostalism were essentially related to religious experience, which is viewed as an anthropological approach in theology and, therefore, is regarded as liberalism, we may also categorize *Sunbogeumism* as 'liberalism' in the sense that it also stresses the human effort in faith (the danger of self-righteousness).

revival theology and pneumatological dynamism.¹⁰⁵ In 1972, Jong-Ho Byeon called Cho a “harmonizer of dualistic sphere” having noticed that he was both spiritual and physical, ideal and practical, Korean and global, pentecostal and cultured, conservative and progressive, living in heaven and striving on earth, and preaching the near *parousia* and promoting national prosperity of all ages.¹⁰⁶ Byeong-So Min views Cho’s theology as a synthetic theology, which can integrate the elements of Korean conservative, liberal, and progressive theologies.¹⁰⁷

This synthesizing characteristic was criticized because of its tendency to fall into syncretism (cf. 8.2.3). Conservative evangelical theologians such as Ui-Hwan Kim and modern theologians such as Paul Tillich warned against such dangers.¹⁰⁸ In its early years, *Sunbogeumism* was not entirely free from this weakness.¹⁰⁹

8.3.4. Application of Cho’s Methodology

Cho emphasized that the method of theology must be applied through faith. Therefore, people who want to practise fourth-dimensional faith must constantly pray and wait before God so that the interrelationship between God and human beings can be maintained. Applying his method requires three practices – Visualization, the renewal of the mind, and the spoken word. These three aspects are interrelated. This sub-section discusses these requisites one by one.

8.3.4.1. Visualization

Dreams and visions, imagination, incubation, and visualization are different aspects of the same theme. Consulting the theories of philosophical linguistics developed by Ludwig Wittgenstein and John William Miller, Cho explains the importance of visualization as a communication apparatus: man has words in his mind in the form of a picture or a visualization before he communicates them to others through spoken words. Therefore, the visualization or picture is the original communication means rather than the word, which is merely a function conveying the inner picture.¹¹⁰ When the exalted Christ sends His Holy Spirit to us, there is fellowship with Him and we shall prophesy, see visions, and dream dreams (Acts 2:14-18). Here the method of the fourth dimension, the Spirit controlling the material realm, is applied. Five factors contribute to using visualization as a means of practising one’s faith.

First, one must discern God’s will for oneself. To do this, one must give up one’s own plans and desires asking God to show His will.¹¹¹ A vision must be given

¹⁰⁵ITI, *Faith and Theology...I*, pp.119-122; Cho does not hesitate to meet with Jürgen Moltman and Harvey Cox. He was invited to attend the WCC world conference as a special guest (8th general conference/ 3-15. 12. 1998/ Zimbabwe) even though he was not able to attend.

¹⁰⁶Jong-Ho Byeon, *The History of Korean Pentecostal Movement*, Seoul, 1972, pp.157-158.

¹⁰⁷Byeong-So Min, *ibid.*, pp.87-91.

¹⁰⁸Ui-Hwan Kim, *The Conservative Theology That Is Challenged*, Seoul, 1970/16 ed., 1993, pp.90-91. Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, vol.1, Chicago, 1951, pp. 122-126. Because of this characteristic, *Sunbogeumism* may not be free from such dangers. Kim warned against fusing pietism with rationalism, while Tillich pointed out the danger of shifting inner-revelation or spiritualism into rationalism.

¹⁰⁹ITI, *Faith and Theology ... II*, p.247.

¹¹⁰Cho, vol.II, pp.122-126.

¹¹¹Idem, *Triple Salvation*, 1979, pp.206-221. See the second point of 8.3.2.

by God and visualization should be practised according to God's will for us. Cho warns of false goal-setting and visions saying, "In Sokagakkai they draw a picture of prosperity, repeating phrases over and over, trying to develop the human spiritual fourth dimension; and these people are creating something" and then encourages believers saying, "Let the Holy Spirit come and quicken the Scriptures you read and implant visions in the young and dreams in the old."¹¹²

Second, the motivation of visualization must be a love for God and love for God's people.¹¹³ This *agape* love will be given to believers through His Spirit. The separative tendency of either loving God by conservatism or loving people by liberalism must be overcome through the greatest commandment of the Lord to love God with all one's resources and love neighbours as oneself.

Third, the basic reason for envisioning an objective is to vitalize our faith in God. Because faith is the substance of things hoped for (Heb. 11:1a), Cho says, one must have definite objectives in mind before substance can be full and effective. Man's living faith works through his defining a goal, having a burning desire for it, praying constantly, and confessing it as if it were already answered.¹¹⁴ The practical expression of this claims that if there is nothing hoped for there may be no actual faith in God.

Fourth, to dream and visualize is to establish a definite prayer goal before God.¹¹⁵ Because man is too prone to follow worldly pursuits rather than concentrating on God, he must have a clear vision or burning desire in order to keep praying and waiting on God. Sometimes man cannot thank and glorify God for an answer to prayer if he did not pray for a specific vision because it is difficult for him to recognize an answer as being from God or happening by chance, Cho says.

Fifth, dreams and visions are the spiritual languages of the 'fourth dimension.' The Holy Spirit communicates with believers through them; therefore, believers are to use them to communicate with the Holy Spirit. Cho interprets the following Biblical stories as positive and negative examples of 'looking at and imagining' in fourth dimensional communication between God and men: Adam and Eve with the forbidden tree; Lot's wife who looked back; Abraham's looking at the Canaan land and the stars; Jacob's story of his spotted and speckled cattle; and the gazing upon the Son of God on the cross, who shed His blood for our sins.¹¹⁶ As a spiritual means, visions and dreams can be used only by the regenerated spirit (heart, subconscious and unconscious mind) even though soul or the conscious mind decides the action of a man.¹¹⁷

Visualization can be practised by those who are filled in the Holy Spirit and devote their lives to prayer because visions and dreams are only given by God through His Spirit. The decision to follow God is also required. Visions wake our faith and provide us with the expectation for answered prayer. As God through His Spirit gave dreams and visions to the prophets in the Old Testament time, Spirit-

¹¹²idem, vol. I, pp.64-65.

¹¹³idem, vol.II, pp.147-181.

¹¹⁴idem, vol.I, pp.9-35.

¹¹⁵ibid.,17-23.

¹¹⁶ibid., pp.44-50.

¹¹⁷ibid., pp.41-50. vol. II, pp.43-58. According to Cho, man's spirit can be viewed as part of his soul. Heart, inner man, subconscious, and unconscious mind seem to be treated as the same as spirit.

filled saints of today are also called to have communication with God through Holy Spirit. Visualization is the practical means for accomplishing this.

Cho's theory of visualization is criticized primarily in two aspects. First, Hunt and McMahon criticize that it is an old, occult practice of shamanism because visualization is the most effective form of shamanism in its physical and spiritual healing practices.¹¹⁸ Second, Betschel argues that this imagination or visualization inverts the cause (God) and consequence. This is not faith in God but faith for the sake of faith, he argues.¹¹⁹ According to Cho, however, the healing experiences of other religious practices like Buddhist monks, Yoga, and Japanese Sokagakki, as well as transcendental meditation, must be rejected on the ground that they are satanic deceptions.¹²⁰

8.3.4.2. *Renewal of Mind*

This teaching is related to the mental attitude of believers who are qualified to have communication with God. As human beings are created after the image of God and bestowed with the capacity for thinking, regenerated man must tune his thoughts with that of God so that he may communicate with Him through His Word and Spirit. This mindset requires three steps: first, changing the thinking attitude from a negative one to a positive one; second, training oneself constantly in terms of miracles; and third, orienting one's mind to God, who never lacks or fails.¹²¹

A more detailed picture, however, is needed. When a sinner is converted, his spirit is regenerated and he has a relationship with God; however, as a born-again Christian – like a baby – one must be renewed in his mind (*nous* or reason) so that he may walk according to the will of God in this world (Rom. 12:2). Through reading and hearing the Word of God (God's thoughts) and obeying Him, man's thoughts and life can be renewed. The fourth dimension can then be practiced by those who have renewed their thinking attitudes because these people are prepared to walk with God in faith. Cho attempted to make believers aware of their rights and entitlements which have been bestowed on them by God in Jesus Christ. The prescription for this was to learn to think according to the Word of God and to speak and dream according to the will of God. The objective of renewal of the mind consists in the expectation that Spiritual experiences should not remain personal ecstasies but be developed into a powerful reform movement so that souls are saved and blessed and social evils cured. Its logical basis consists in the fact that a human, as a free-willed being, should conform his mind and thoughts to those of God, as revealed in the Bible, if he wants to work with God. Its actual application consists in the practices of positive thinking, imagination or dreaming and visualization, speaking out, and prayer. Its socio-cultural meaning consists in the recognition that static, tradition-oriented, negative, *Han* (resentment)-possessed Korean spirit needed to be changed through the Gospel.

Korean *Minjung* were prepossessed with negative thoughts, which were not freed from shaman rituals. They did not have any tool to break their fatalistic negativism. After the Korean war, Koreans suffered from their war-stricken

¹¹⁸Hunt and McMahon, *ibid.*, pp.113-114, 134, 140.

¹¹⁹Betschel, *ibid.*, p.53-59.

¹²⁰Cho, vol. I, pp.36-37, 64-66.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, pp.114-149 (Korean revised version, 1996, pp.136-171).

situation, shackled by fatal fear, poverty, and failure (cf. 6.2.8; 6.4.2), and his positive Gospel appealed to them. The socio-political situation harmonized with his message through the industrialization campaign of President Park: “We can also live better.” The poor and alienated flocked from all quarters. Many were saved. Their *Han* (resentment) disappeared through the baptism in the Spirit. Actually, the Korean spirit has been, to no small degree, awakened and changed to a dynamic, future-oriented, positive, and creative spirit by his ministry.¹²² Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church grew into a mega congregation because he constantly used this mind renewal principle; a way of realizing his ministerial philosophy of the “Triple Blessing.” Although psychotherapy asserts that speaking in other tongues has the effect of relieving depression or *Han*,¹²³ Koreans needed to change their way of thinking if they were to build a strong church and be leaders in society. In this way, Cho contributed much to the change of the traditional negative self-image of Korean people to a positive Christian self-image through this new mind-setting (cf.8.2.3).¹²⁴

His teaching of mind renewal was, therefore, a method through which the Word of God is fulfilled in and through the believers, something which he calls it “the laws of faith.”¹²⁵ If a man is filled with the Spirit, he shall see visions and dream dreams (Acts 2:14-18). These God-given visions will be fulfilled when he is ready to continuously embrace them through his renewed mind and faith. This positive-thinking mind, with the expectancy of God’s miracles, can provide man the ability to live in the fourth-dimensional life.

Wan-Sang Han, who studied Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church from a sociological perspective,¹²⁶ not only acknowledged the favourable effects on the Korean Christians, but also pointed out four problems. First, its positive/subjective mind-set has the danger of falling into a pitfall of social nominalism, taking the individual as reality while viewing society as an unreality. Thus it can fall into ethical problems by not paying attention to the structural sin of society. Second, its positive thinking functions indirectly as a defending element of the contemporary, politico-economical system while neglecting the prophetic/critical role of the church in society. Third, its positive thinking has a somewhat anti-intellectual tendency against liberalism and modernism, which can be used by God for His purpose through humanization (not humanism). Fourth, positive thinking tends towards a nationalistic faith and sees Korea as God’s elect for world evangelization. This idea

¹²²Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1993/ 5ed., 1995, pp.246, 256. Kennedy, *ibid.*, pp.197, 200, 236. Yonggi Cho, *Prayer: Key to the Revival*, pp.192. *idem*, *Triple Salvation*, pp.185, 239. *idem*, *Love and Blessing*, pp.33, 43, 150-151.

¹²³Gwang-Seon Suh, *ibid.*, pp.75-81.

¹²⁴Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1993/ 5ed., 1995, pp.255-259. The improvement of living conditions of the congregation of Yoido Church was partially caused by the economic development of Korea, but Cho’s teaching of mind renovation had a great effect. Because pentecostalism generally takes root among poor people, the development of living standards of Yoido congregation already becomes an issue if it loses its pentecostal identity. Cho, therefore, preaches more about loving and giving than before.

¹²⁵Cho, *Prayer: Key to the Revival*, p.176.

¹²⁶His analysis from the sociological perspective can be a criticism of Cho’s methodology. But the sociological perspective on Korean pentecostalism is only introduced here without comments. See Chapter 15.

indirectly protects the advocacy of political elites who promote Korean national identity and revival.¹²⁷

8.3.4.3. *Spoken Word*

The third requisite of applied theology is to teach about the creative power in the spoken word. This idea is based on two principles – God works through His Word and man’s speech (spoken word) has control over his whole body (creative power).¹²⁸ This explains the relationship between the Word of God, the presence of the Holy Spirit, and the believer’s confession. Here, speaking out or the outward expression of God’s Word as well as the positive word, is emphasized. When Spirit-filled believers speak the Word of God in faith, the creative power of the fourth dimension takes place through the Holy Spirit. There are three aspects related to this.

First, man must acquire the Scriptures, speaking the constructive and productive words in his personal life. Then they will have control of his whole body, and he eventually will be prepared to meet various situations. If man continues to speak in a negative way, however, he will reap the results according to his negative words. Cho does not consider this method different from the “subconscious development” proposed by psychologists except for his application of the Biblical Word in faith. Man needs to speak words of faith because confession through his conscious mind will convey a strong suggestion of faith to the subconscious, he says. Then he will be successful in his life.¹²⁹

Second, one must proclaim the Word when the anointing of the Holy Spirit is present. This is a means of uttering prophetic words. Through our proclamation, God accomplishes His will. The Holy Spirit does not have the proper material with which to create until we give the word.¹³⁰ For the release of Christ’s presence, we need to proclaim the whole Gospel because Christ is bound to what we speak forth, he argues. If a Presbyterian minister preaches about the salvation experience, “he is just releasing and creating the presence of the Jesus who can give this born again experience to people.”¹³¹ In the same way, a Holiness preacher may create only the presence of the sanctifying Christ. *Sunbogeumism* preaches the saving Jesus, the sanctifying Christ, the baptizing Christ in the Spirit, the healing Jesus, and the blessing Son of God, all of these aspects are manifested in his church, he says.

¹²⁷Wan-Sang Han, “Sociological Study on Quantitative Rapid-growth of Church,” in *A Study on the Pentecostal ...*, Seoul, 1982, pp.216-231.

¹²⁸Cho, vol.I, pp.67-70. He explains about man’s speech function referring to neurology and James 3:1-12.

¹²⁹idem, *Wisdom to Success*, Seoul, 1976, pp.88-92. According to Cho, subconscious is not different from spirit or the inner man from where faith springs; idem, “Self-development,” in *Collection of Fragmentary Thought 2: To Be a Leader*, Seoul, 1976/ 8ed., 1983, pp.24-30. According to Cho, believers need to improve their character through changing their self-consciousness because many believers are not free from feeling of inferiority, fear, frustration, and uneasiness etc. These can be driven back through changing their subconscious. The tools for this are drawing mental images (visualization) and autosuggestion (mouth confession). These conscious-works will be infiltrated into the subconscious and self-consciousness will be changed, Cho says.

¹³⁰Cho found this principle at the creational description in Genesis (Gen. 1) where God spoke and followed creation through the Spirit (verse 2). In the New Testament such phenomena appear (Matt. 8:13, 16, 26; Mark 11:23; Acts 3:6-7; 13:11; 14:9-10).

¹³¹idem, vol.I, pp.81-82.

Third, in the fourth dimension, one can receive the Word of God given to a specific person in a specific situation. This implies we can personally receive the spoken Word of God through the Scriptures and have a living faith in God. Even though this spoken word is the same Word of God written in the Scriptures from Genesis to John's Revelation, its purpose and usage is different. Jeong-Geun Pak and some none-Korean authors have the same view in this matter.¹³² By reading the Scriptures, man receives knowledge and understanding about God and His promises. But man does not receive living faith or miracle-performing faith by only reading it; he can have such faith when the Holy Spirit quickens the Word of God to him. To receive this living faith, he suggests five steps: accept and obey God's will; ask the Lord to reveal His will in our hearts; compare the desire born in us with Biblical teaching; ask God to show a tangible sign in our circumstances; and pray and wait until peace comes into our hearts. In addition to this, he gives practical advice for receiving this living Word of God in faith: plant the seed of faith and wait before God. This seed is not limited to a material offering, but it can be anything that we can offer.¹³³

In summary, words have power. They are creative in both negative and positive ways. God not only created the world by His Word but also keeps it through the same Word. Therefore, believers need to speak and proclaim the Word of God for their creative and productive lives. The Holy Spirit, who inspired prophets for the uttering of God-given prophecy in the Old Testament, also quickens the written Word so that we can receive the living Word of God. When we speak the Word in His anointing, God performs miracles and wonders according to the proclaimed Word of God. Then the spiritual dimension creates a new order from the material realm.

These ideas of mind renewal and the spoken word can also be viewed in a different way. H. Terris Neuman, an assistant professor at a college of the American Assemblies of God, asserted that the teaching of positive confession originated in the mind-healing cults of the nineteenth century, which are part of the metaphysical movement of the century that made the inner-self reality and sought to be united with God (principle or law) for the purpose of gaining health, wealth, and prosperity.¹³⁴ Albert Betscher also criticized it: this teaching tries to find a schema

¹³²ibid., pp. 87-113. In Cho's first book of the *The Fourth Dimension*, he called the received specific word *rhema* while calling the general word of God *logos*. After theological debate with Tonghap denomination (7.2.3.4) he gave up using the expression *rhema*. However, his idea of waiting on the Lord until we receive faith (word) from God has not changed. Because *rhema* is the *logos* which is quickened by the Holy Spirit, Cho emphasizes *logos* as the fundamental word of God; Jeong-Geun Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, Seoul, 1978, p.42. Pak advocates *rhema* which is the word that God gives to a person; Jenny Everts, "Living to Give: What's Right with the Prosperity Gospel." A paper presented at the conference of the Society for the Pentecostal Studies and the European Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Association, on 13. 6. 1995 at AOG Theological College, Mattersey Hall, England. Everts said that practical application of the *rhema* idea is Biblically not wrong. Today, even though Cho himself does not make a difference between the two aspects of the word of God, it may be well applied to Christian lives. Peter Wagner acknowledges the *rhema* idea.

¹³³Cho, vol. I in Korean version, 1996, pp.172-185.

¹³⁴H. Terris Neuman, "Cultic Origins of Word-Faith Theology within the Charismatic Movement," in *Pneuma*, vol.12/1 (spring 1990): 32-55. This word-faith gospel has been accepted by those within the pentecostal and charismatic movements as well as some evangelical circles. Norman Vincent Pearle, Kenneth E. Hagin, Robert H. Schuller, and Yonggi Cho were believed to be included in this line.

or a principle under which God would be bound; and desires to place humans on the same level with God.¹³⁵ The American Assemblies of God stands against the teaching of positive confession of American prosperity Gospel saying that it has the tendency to lose the balance in the teaching of the whole Bible and also makes God act according to man's faith.¹³⁶

8.4. CONCLUSION

Sunbogeumism broke out and spread in the Korean context as a radical pentecostalism before it gave way to theological reflection, showing both its dynamism and its weakness. Korean Pentecostalism, with its holistic soteriology and teachings of prosperity Gospel, has been shaped in the Korean context – the soil of shamanistic tradition, war-stricken poverty, and the shift to modernization/industrialization in society. The hardships of its founder, Yonggi Cho, also contributed to its theology. Consequently, its key theological formulations, the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation, disclose the characteristics of situational/contextual theology – Korean pentecostal Yonggi-ism. This doctrine is based on the total depravity of Adam and total redemption in Christ, which is regarded as pure Biblical faith. It has found a great home in the *Han* (resentment)-possessed Korean *Minjung*. The problem of a theologically responsible syncretism with Korean traditional religion (shamanism) and Korean *Sunbogeumism* remains unsolved. Korean evangelicals and pentecostals understand this relationship as a point of contact or indigenization in the Korean context, but *Minjung* theology holds a different view. The relationship between Korean pentecostalism and *Minjung* theology needs to be discussed in the framework of common phenomena at the grass-roots level without finding theological similarities between them.

The contributions of *Sunbogeum* theology to Korean churches, as well as to world Christianity to some extent, are the following: revitalizing pneumatology; inspiring church growth; calling people to a living faith; awakening the supernatural realm of Christian faith; creating interest in holistic salvation; giving hope and salvation for the suffering Korean *Minjung* during their shift to modernization; and helping believers read the Bible with a positive attitude. Nevertheless, it has also aroused criticism, which can be summarized in the following: first, Cho's formulation of the Gospel has the tendency of being man-oriented, making God useful for man; second, it is a literal interpretation of the Bible; third, it emphasizes worldly blessing, which results in success-oriented secularism; fourth, it is characterized as a theology in Korean context that suffers from syncretism with shamanism; fifth, its tendency for asocial individualism neglects the responsibility of society; sixth, it is exclusive against traditional religions; seventh, it has a tendency to combine with modern capitalistic ideology; eighth, the unhealthy teaching of prosperity lacks harmony with the teachings of the Bible; and ninth, it is somewhat mysterious.

¹³⁵Betschel, *ibid.*, pp.59-64.

¹³⁶AAOG, ed., *Where We Stand*, 1990, translated into Korean, Seoul, 1992, pp.148-163.

The main criticism of *Sunbogeum* theology is that it manifests anthropocentric tendencies in theological issues. Third John 2, which provides the fundamental Biblical basis for the theology of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation, can better be interpreted when it is put in the context of verse 3 and 4 – *walking in the truth*. Having separated verse 2 from this context, it reveals its weakness by appealing to human needs rather than hearing God Himself (the truth). With this orientation to humanity, the theology of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation exposes an inevitable tendency towards anthropocentrism in its entire theology. All other criticisms, such as the deviation from main Biblical themes, making God a means for worldly blessing, and catering to the needs and desires of Korean folk, point ultimately to the same problem. At the same time, the anthropocentric tendency in *Sunbogeum* theology is a remarkable critique on contemporary theocentric concepts in Korean theology, which are not only incapable of meeting the needs of contemporary Koreans but is also caught up in schisms. Although *Sunbogeum* theology has an anthropocentric orientation, it has not fallen into anthropocentrism (humanism) per se, thanks to its grounding in the Scriptures and its openness to theological education and reflection.

Korean pentecostalism recognizes the weakness of the theology of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation and strives to improve it. In the early part of the 1980s, the following great fundamentals of *Sunbogeum* faith were introduced: the cross of Calvary (basis); Pentecost's upper room (filling with the Holy Spirit); evangelism to the ends of the earth (evangelizing); the Good God (blessing); Jesus the Healer (healing); the Second Coming of Jesus (hope in *parousia*); and distribution (love and serve).¹³⁷ These fundamentals indicate that the emphasis of *Sunbogeumism* began shifting from gaining to sharing as a reaction to outside criticism.¹³⁸

Yonggi Cho's view of the fourth dimension appears to be a revolutionary idea in theological methodology. This method was introduced with the intention of preparing Christians for greater reliance upon God and walking day and night with Him in His wisdom and power. Its essence (the spiritual realm controls the material realm) and its application (visualization, renewal of mind, and the spoken word) need to be considered in connection with a pneumatological understanding of theology. Therefore, this method has the advantage of combining spiritual truth with the material world: Spirit-filled Christians are motivated through this method to live for God and pray with definite goals. However, because the goal of this method is to qualify believers for the blessings of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation, this methodology is as problematic as its theology. The main criticisms of the fourth dimension include the concept of Eastern mysticism/shamanism, reappearance of primitive paganism under the guise of modern psychology, Christian New Age philosophy, erroneous attempt to seek rational explanation for a spiritual process, pseudo-science lacking in critical attitude toward modern materialism, and danger of falling into rationalism. Criticisms about its application include the occult practice of shamanism, making God exist for humans' sake (or inverse the cause and consequence), a lack of politico-social criticism, a loss of balance in Biblical

¹³⁷Cho, *Fivefold Gospel* ..., pp.12-27. These fundamentals were introduced in the early part of the 1980s with Fivefold Gospel. This is more comprehensive than Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation.

¹³⁸ITI, *Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church II*, Seoul, 1993, p.113. See also 7.3.2.1 and 7.3.2.4.

teaching, and the mind-healing cults of the nineteenth century. Although this methodology retains the strength of materialization of the norm, it has the danger of falling into a syncretistic tool for people's sake.

It seems that in the era of postmodernism, this theology of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation can contribute to exhorting pentecostals to daily demonstrate their Christian witnesses and rediscover "the deep dimension of reality which is that of holiness and religiosity."¹³⁹ It also requires Korean pentecostals to reflect on whether God's sovereignty and man's free will can be harmonized without losing their identities.

¹³⁹Yung Han Kim, "The 21st Century, Postmodernism and Christianity," in the report of The 4th International Symposium on Christian Culture and Theology (23-25. 10. 1995), sponsored by KICCS, Soong Sil Uni., Seoul, pp.13-31. Direct quotations are from Yung Han Kim while the suggestion is from the author.

9. The Bible

9.1. INTRODUCTION

The Korean Assemblies of God states in its constitution that “as the Bible is the inspired absolute revelation given to man by God, it is precise without fallacy and perpetual and immutable fundamental rule for faith and life (2 Tim.3: 16,17; 2 Pet.1:21).”¹ *Sunbogeumism* shows similar views with both the Reformation and evangelicalism concerning the Bible as the foundation for Christ’s church.

Sunbogeum theology, in its perception, is primarily based on the Scriptures. As a part of the pentecostal movement of past century, it is characterized by differences from traditional theology. For instance, it emphasizes the Bible is the living and authentic Word of God through which believers can expect His gifts through His Spirit. It goes beyond the previous understanding of the Bible in that the third person of the Trinity was not as earnestly discussed before. Consequently, *Sunbogeum* theology not only accepts the Bible as God’s Word, but it also believes in its supernatural impact today. In this way, it prompted Korean Christians to read the Bible more practically and influenced them to approach it as a means for their positive blessings (affirmativism).² It should be noted that *Sunbogeum* theology has not developed the concept of the Bible as a missionary book in relation to a Biblical theology of mission.³

In this chapter we will discuss how *Sunbogeumism* understands the Bible (9.2) and how it developed its hermeneutical principles (9.3). The main reference sources for this study are *The Truth of Sunbogeum I* (1979) by Yonggi Cho and *Pentecostal Theology* (1996) by Jeong-Ryeol Pak. The following critical sources will be taken into account as well: “The Believer and Positive Confession” by the General Presbytery of the American Assemblies of God (1980) and “A Report of the Result of Study over Yonggi Cho’s Pseudo-Christianity” (1994) by the 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination.

9.2. UNDERSTANDING THE BIBLE

We begin this section with *Sunbogeum’s* view of the Bible in relation to God’s revelation, inspiration, and illumination. Each of these three points will be discussed individually.

¹ KAOG, *Constitution*, Seoul, p.23. This statement is almost a copy of ‘The Statement of Fundamental Truths’ of AAOG (revised, 1969) or the Constitutional Declaration (revised, 1995). The Korean word for ‘life’ can also be translated as ‘conduct.’ It is also not much different from the Haptong Presbyterian statement about the Bible in its constitution (*Constitution*, 1982, p.17).

² Tae-Bok Kim, “What is the Principle of Triple Salvation?” in *Pulpit Ministry* (November 1981), Seoul, quoted from Jun-Bae Ahn, *Pastor Yonggi Cho and ...*, pp.228-233.

³ cf. Jan A.B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Part I, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, NY, Paris, Wien, 1995, pp.98-135.

First, God revealed Himself through general revelation and special revelation.⁴ Jeong-Ryeol Pak writes that general revelation is not manifested in a formal written or spoken language. It is presented in nature through God's majestic order and beauty, in human history through His providential guidance, and in the human conscience as His moral law. This is universal and without any spatial-temporal limitations. This revelational truth is suppressed by the darkened hearts of corrupt human beings. Even though this revelation is worthy of consideration, it cannot provide definite knowledge of God (Rom. 1:18-23).⁵ God's salvation can only be accomplished through special revelation. According to Pak, special revelation is personally related, happened historically, is manifested progressively, recorded in book form, and transmitted to mankind as the living Word of God in the present.⁶ There are six modes of special revelation: external manifestation through angels or human form; internal manifestation through visions and dreams; the giving of prophetic words; wonders and signs; the incarnate Jesus Christ; and the written Scriptures.⁷ The revelation reached its climax in the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Therefore, it became Scriptural canon with the compilation of the Bible. In this way, *Sunbogeumism* accepts no other authority but the Bible. As a result, there is no dialogue between *Sunbogeum* theology and *Minjung* theology, which holds the view that *Minjung* is the revelational subject.

This fundamental attitude towards the Bible makes it possible for dynamic *Sunbogeumism* to communicate with traditional Christianity and stay within the circle of evangelicalism. Like conservative evangelicals, it recognizes the Bible not as the witness to God's revelation but the revelation itself. It means that "God speaks to us today through the Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments."⁸ In other words, the Bible is "God's voice that speaks above temporal limitations through the Bible writers."⁹

Second, *Sunbogeumism* believes in verbal plenary inspiration.¹⁰ Sharing a common theological methodology with Fuller Seminary (8.3.3.2), *Sunbogeumism* holds a different view of Biblical inspiration: it disagrees with Fuller Seminary, which gradually shifted from total inerrancy to a limited inerrancy.¹¹ For *Sunbogeumism*, God's inspiration leads inevitably to total inerrancy and the absolute authority of the Bible. Korean pentecostals, who believe that every word (verbal)

⁴ Yonggi Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeum I*, Seoul, 1979, pp.25-27. Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, Seoul, 1996, pp.44-46.

⁵ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *ibid.*, Seoul, 1996, pp.43-53. Pak gave two valuable aspects of general revelation. The one is that it will be a clue for unrighteous man that he cannot excuse his unbelief before God while he had certain knowledge of Him through general revelation. The other is that it indirectly helps Christian truth to be solidified and provides for the point of contact to the Gospel; John R. Higgins, "God's Inspired Word," in *Systematic Theology: A Pentecostal Perspective*, ed., by Stanley M. Horton, Springfield, MO, 1994, p.75. Pentecostalism as well as *Sunbogeumism* denies natural theology which is based on human reason.

⁶ Pak, *ibid.*, pp.45-46.

⁷ *ibid.* Cho, *ibid.*, pp.26-27.

⁸ Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension II*, p.136.

⁹ Jae-Bum Lee, *The History of Pentecostal Movement*, Seoul, 1985, p. 8 of part I.

¹⁰ Pak, *ibid.*, pp.49-50.

¹¹ Harold Lindsell, *The Battle for the Bible*, Grand Rapids, 1976, pp.106-121. Lindsell criticized how the view of the Scriptures in the evangelical Fuller Seminary had gradually changed from the view of inerrancy to 'limited inerrancy.' The Fuller Seminary does not subscribe to the idea of verbal inspiration. Sharing common theological concerns and fellowship with this institution, *Sunbogeumism*, nevertheless, has a different view on Biblical inspiration.

and the whole text (plenary) of the Bible are inspired by God's Spirit, love the Bible and experience God in it or through it by the agent of the same Bible-inspired Spirit.¹²

Sunbogeumism not only holds the view that the original manuscripts are inspired, but also acknowledges the divine and human natures of the Bible. The Holy Spirit inspired the writers precisely and without fallacy so that they were able to write down the Word of God. At the same time, in God's inspiration, His Spirit uses the characters, talents, educations, vocabularies and literary styles of the writers (organic inspiration).¹³ *Sunbogeumism* permits textual criticism, but it allows historical criticism in a limited way, excluding form criticism and redaction criticism of the Scriptures.¹⁴ It either tries to harmonize discrepancies that are found in the Scriptures or ignores them. In summary, it firmly has the view of God's inspiration and is not worried about unharmonious parts of the Bible because the latter are a marginal phenomenon.

Third, its view of illumination is dynamic compared with that of traditionalism and evangelicalism. It also follows the traditional view that the Holy Spirit quickens the hearts through illuminating the Scriptures.¹⁵ At the same time, *Sunbogeumism* easily accepts the idea of J. Rodman Williams' subordinate revelation.¹⁶ This revelation does not supplement any essential elements to the Biblical revelation but elucidates its meaning or helps apply it.¹⁷ Because of this, it may be another expression of Spiritual experience or receiving *rhema*,¹⁸ the Spiritual illumination of

¹² See 6.2.3.

¹³ Jeong-Geun Pak, *What We Believe: Easily Understandable Systematic Theology I*, Seoul, 1992, pp.31-32.

¹⁴ James H. Railey, Jr. and Benny C. Acker, "Theological Foundations," in *Systematic Theology: A Pentecostal Perspective*, ed., by Stanley M. Horten, Springfield, MO, 1994, pp.54-56. KAOG generally follows the theological development of AAOG, which takes historical criticism as a means to help us "to know more precisely the historical information of a Biblical passage or book, enabling us to interpret it with more insight" (55). The Bible, ancient writings, and archaeological discoveries are included in the primary sources of historical information; Douglas Stuart, *Old Testament Exegesis: A Primer for Students and Pastors*, Philadelphia, 1980, pp.12 (preface), 103-109. Historical criticism provides practical and theological benefit while historical-critical method (critical techniques to Biblical study) "is a subject of great debate as to its own 'objectivity.'" This book was recommended by AAOG Graduate School at Springfield in the school year of 1981-1982 for graduate students; Sunshin University (KAOG), ed., *Collection of Essays II* (1991), III (1992), and IV (1993). There are some articles that show such historical criticism, including Kuk-Won Chang's "Nam. Tar., die Religionsgeschichte und die Absolutheit des Christentums" (II), "The Framework of Theologia Cordis" (1992), and "The Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Languages" (1993) and Sang-In Han's "The Archaeological Chronology of the Deluge" (1992) and "An Archaeological Research into the History of the Patriarchal Period" (1993); The Korean Assemblies of God has not published on the subject of Biblical interpretation yet (1999). It consults the writings of the AAOG and evangelical circles.

¹⁵ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, V7,4-5, 7.

¹⁶ J. Rodman Williams, *Renewal Theology I*, trans. by Sunghoon Myoung into Korean, Soonshin Univ. Press, 1992, pp.34-56. This book was translated by KAOG university. Traditionally, subordinate revelation was not discussed. This shows a pentecostal dynamism in understanding God's revelation.

¹⁷ Williams, *ibid*.

¹⁸ C. Peter Wagner, *Confronting the Powers*, 1996, trans. into Korean by Gyeom-II Na, Seoul, 1997, pp.59-61. Wagner argues for *rhema*, pointing to three aspects of the word. First, it is those written words in the Bible which had been given to the saints directly from God (ex. Acts 13:11). Second, it may be also called extrabiblical revelation, which is given by God to the saints directly. Third, it must not be inconsistent with the written Word of God. This shares almost the same idea with that of *Sunbogeumism*. But the latter, today, does not call it *rhema* but 'receiving the word of God' or prophetic word; Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension I*, 1979, pp.89-115. Jeong-Geun Pak, *The Pentecostal Theology*, 1978, p.42. The two representatives of *Sunbogeum* theology used the word *rhema* in the 1970s. But after theological debate with Tonghap denomination, it is not used any more.

the Bible. It is not unusual for dynamic Korean pentecostalism to expect such personal revelation today (1 Cor.14: 26). Furthermore, it understands that being filled with the Holy Spirit is accompanied by the manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit, which are recorded in the New Testament. This manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit was not an important theme for most mainline theologians because of their *charismata* cessation theory.¹⁹ In his early ministry (*The Fourth Dimension I*, 1979), Cho explained how God gives *rhema* through the Spirit, which was the Spirit-anointed Word of God. When man receives the anointed Word of God, he can utter it and miracles will follow. To receive this Word, we need to pray persistently. Today, the word *rhema* is no longer used by *Sunbogeumism* because there is no semantic difference between *logos* and *rhema*; however, the idea of the latter as a practical application of God-anointed Word through the Bible is common among Korean pentecostals.²⁰ Classical pentecostalism does not accommodate this. The significance of this dynamic view of illumination is that God's revelation can be realized by this practice. The experience in the Spirit provides *Sunbogeum* Christians with "an existential continuity with apostolic believers."²¹ It may be inappropriate to put this phenomenon in the framework of Biblical illumination.

Sunbogeumism's views on revelation, inspiration, and illumination, in relation to the Bible, originated in its pneumatological hermeneutics of the Bible. Its theory of the illumination of the Bible discloses the typical nature of Korean pentecostalism. Cho's idea of the fourth dimension and its application (especially 8.3.3.1 and 8.3.4.3) is related to this view of illumination. This view of the Bible is criticized as a Bible absolutism by progressive Korean theologian Kyoung Jae Kim.²² The Tonghap Presbyterian denomination describes Yonggi Cho's view of the Bible as follows: his view on the Bible, according to his book *The Truth of Sunbogeum I, II*(1979), almost agrees with the creeds of the traditional churches as well as those of the World Council of Churches, while his teaching of *the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation* (1983) wanders from the subject of the Bible (which is the Gospel) and heads for the literal interpretation of the Bible, concentrating on the five items of the Fivefold Gospel (8.2; 8.3.1).²³

9.3. HERMENEUTICAL PRINCIPLES

Hermeneutics is key to doing *Sunbogeum* theology because theological variances occur as the result of their hermeneutical approach. The hermeneutical principle of

¹⁹ In Korea, Yung-Han Kim and Young Bae Cha (*Pneumatology: An Auxiliary Textbook for Soteriology*, 1987/ 4ed., 1992) can be presented as two examples of Presbyterian theologians who argue for the importance of a *pneumatological* position in theology.

²⁰ Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension I*, pp.87-100. See 6.2.5.

²¹ French L. Arrington, "Hermeneutics, Historical Perspectives on Pentecostal and Charismatic," in *DPCM*, pp, 376-389. The quotation from Arrington referred to pentecostalism, but it is suitable to *Sunbogeumism* as well (383).

²² Kyoung Jae Kim, "A Theological Appraisal of the Korean Pentecostal Movement: A Comparison of the Fivefold Gospel with Baar Statement of WCC," presented at Koreanisch-brasilianisch-deutsch-afrikanische theologische Konsultation (26.6 - 4.7.2000), at Missionsakademie an der Hamburg University.

²³ The 79th General Assembly of Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination, "A Report of the Result of Study over Cho Yonggi's Pseudo Christianity," 1994, recited from *Church and Faith* (January 1995): 135-142.

Sunbogeumism is expressed in the constitution of the denomination – the Bible is the perpetual and basic rule for faith and life. Here, it shares the same hermeneutic principle with Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism, as well as pentecostals.²⁴ At the same time, it naturally accepts the historical predispositions of Wesleyan-Holiness theology as well as the presuppositions of pentecostal theology of being filled with the Spirit through subsequent experience. This is the pneumatic and experiential dimension of pentecostal hermeneutics.²⁵ In addition to these, we also find unique tendencies in its hermeneutics. Six points characterize it.

First, *Sunbogeum* hermeneutics emphasizes the historical continuity between the Biblical period and the contemporary community of faith. It does not stop at the conceptualization of the Scriptures, but it regards their materialization as being of great importance.²⁶ Therefore, it is experiential.

Second, *Sunbogeum* hermeneutics interprets the cross as the prerequisite for holistic salvation.²⁷ Therefore, the theology of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation is based on the assumption that Christ redeemed the wholeness of that which had been deprived in Adam.²⁸ But its limited understanding of Christ's substitution discloses its weakness in its Biblical hermeneutics (cf.11.2.2). Its soteriology is also affected (cf.11.3.2).

Third, *Sunbogeum* hermeneutics introduces 3 John 2 as the key verse for holistic salvation. When Cho interpreted the entire Bible around this single verse, God began to appear as a present living God instead of a God of the past and future, he said. He further claimed that if we interpret the Bible on the principle of the Triple Salvation, the truths in it will revive the living Word of God in us.²⁹ But it is unhealthy to understand this verse in that way and to adopt it as a key verse in interpreting the whole Bible (cf.8.3.2; 8.4).

Fourth, *Sunbogeum* hermeneutics emphatically recreates the living Word of God, Jesus Christ, because God's grace is given to people through the incarnated Christ. Because the contemporary agent, the Holy Spirit, works as another *parakletos* instead of Jesus, the works of the Spirit, such as healings, guidances and miracles, are the extended hand of Jesus Christ.³⁰ Therefore, the infilling with the Spirit implies that man is filled with Jesus Christ. Those who are filled with the Spirit, are then expected to do "the same works that Jesus did" on earth (John

²⁴ Robert K. Johnston, "Pentecostalism and Theological Hermeneutics: Evangelical Options," in *Pneuma* (Spring 1984): 55, 56.

²⁵ Howard M. Ervin, "Hermeneutics: A Pentecostal Option," in *Pneuma* (Fall 1981): 16. There is no hermeneutic until the Holy Spirit mediates an understanding; Murray W. Dempster, "Paradigm Shifts and Hermeneutics: Confronting Issues Old and New," in *Pneuma* 15/2 (Fall 1993): 132 (editorial). "Cargal claims that the paradigm shift from modern to a postmodern age provides an opportunity for pentecostals to endorse a hermeneutic that interprets the Biblical text from within the experiential world of pentecostal faith." According to him, Wilhelm Dilthey, Martin Heidegger, Hans-George Gadamer, Paul Ricoeur, Jürgen Habermas "have become highly influential dialogical partners for pentecostals in clarifying the necessary involvement of the interpreter in understanding the meaning of the text."

²⁶ Jae Bum Lee, "Establishment of Pentecostal Theology and Methodology of Pentecostal Theology," in *SH* (October 1989), pp.79-83. Lee writes that the harmony of Biblical revelation and historical experience should be the hermeneutical methodology of pentecostal theology. *Sunbogeumism* has same idea on this matter.

²⁷ Cho, *Triple Salvation*, p.266.

²⁸ idem, *The Truth of Sunbogeum I*, pp.153-174.

²⁹ Idem, *Triple Salvation*, pp.18-19.

³⁰ Yonggi Cho, *Commentary on the John's Gospel, II*, Seoul,1997, p.116-117.

14:12). This kind of expectation goes beyond the general teaching of classical pentecostalism. Hence, the incarnated Word of God, the cross, and Jesus' immanence through His Spirit constitute the key elements for *Sunbogeum* hermeneutics; it is Christ-centered pneumatological hermeneutics.

Fifth, even though *Sunbogeumism* takes the Bible as the foundation for its existence, its hermeneutics does not handle it as if it was an idolatrous object as some Fundamentalist circles tend to do. Acknowledging the mutual action of divine inspiration and the cultural elements of its recipients, it duly recognizes the need for interpretation, preaching, and teaching in the community of faith so that God's revelation will be actualized at the present time. Textual criticism, as well as historical criticism,³¹ are used as tools for this.

Sixth, *Sunbogeum* hermeneutics demonstrates its holistic features in both understanding and applying the Bible. It does not reduce the Scriptures to narrative descriptions (Luke-Acts narratives), which cannot be taken into account when establishing theological norms and didactic norms (Paul's Epistles).³² Because of the view of verbal plenary inspiration, Luke's historiography can also be a source of its theology.³³ At the same time, it expands its salvific application from the totality of human beings to their context. To accomplish this, it mobilizes scientific knowledge as the means of applying Biblical teachings to this world, but not *vice versa*.³⁴ This point, discussed previously, reveals itself as a feature of more radical or extended pentecostalism.

This experiential and pneumatological hermeneutics, which became the programme for building the theology of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation, discloses its wholeness in understanding the Scriptures, while taking 3 John 2 as a key hermeneutic principle in interpreting them. Emphasis on the cross, as well as trying to recreate Christ for totality in salvation, also characterize its hermeneutics.

The Tonghap denomination criticized *Sunbogeum's* view of the Bible as tending to show deviation from the main theme of the Scriptures when the latter introduced the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation.³⁵ The American Assemblies of God criticized the teaching of American positive confession, and *Sunbogeumism* appears to hold a similar viewpoint with the latter (see 8.3.4). This American positive faith teaches that "whatever a believer confesses, he can have it because his faith makes God do it." But such a teaching loses the framework of total Biblical teaching.³⁶ The author agrees with this criticism of the American Assemblies of God. *Sunbogeumism*, which does not identify itself with positive confession, however, must guard itself from falling into a similar unhealthy doctrine.

³¹ See the second point of previous section (9.2).

³² Roger Strongstad, *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke*, Peabody, MA, 1984, pp.1-12. Strongstad vindicated the legitimacy of Lukan theology which became the main source for establishing pentecostal theology; cf. French L. Arrington, *ibid.* Some theologians like Clark Pinnock and Grant Osborne argued against pentecostalism in that it took Luke's historical narratives as the normative for its theological foundation.

³³ Yonggi Cho, *Pneumatology*, Seoul, 1976/ 2ed., 1977, pp.150-171, 190-250.

³⁴ *The Fourth Dimension I and II* of Yonggi Cho are good examples of this. Biblical teachings cannot be used for applying scientific knowledge because the former are supernatural.

³⁵ The 79th General Assembly ..., *ibid.*

³⁶ The General Presbytery of the Assemblies of God (1980), "The Believer and Positive Confession," in *Pentecostal Evangel* (November 1980): 8-10.

9.4. CONCLUSION

Sunbogeumism shares with traditional evangelicalism similar views of the Bible. Both believe it is the inspired, infallible, and comprehensive revelation of God (or Word of God) that constitutes the unique rule for faith and theology. However, *Sunbogeumism* has a more dynamic interpretation and application of the Bible than the evangelicals. It sees its main task as producing a hermeneutic which makes the historical continuity of the Biblical descriptions possible today. This practice moves beyond the way of traditional evangelicalism. Nevertheless, *Sunbogeumism* does not belong to the circle of Biblicism as employed by textual criticism.

Furthermore, this hermeneutical principle is more radical than that of classical Pentecostalism. The former promotes 3 John 2 as the key verse for interpreting the Scriptures so that the holistic salvation of God through Christ's redemption may be materialized today. In connection with this, it not only encourages believers to receive the Spirit-anointed Word and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, but it also promotes the manifestation of divine healings, various kinds of miracles and active evangelization by way of recreating Christ through the Holy Spirit.

This dynamic view of understanding the Bible and developing Biblical hermeneutical principles has both strengths and weaknesses. It has the advantage of making believers experience God's revelation in the same way as it is recorded in the Bible. Accordingly, it helps believers both to love the Scriptures as the revealed Word of God and to receive the holistic salvation of the Trinitarian God. Its weakness, however, is that it loses the balance of Biblical teaching by taking 3 John 2 as the source for interpreting the entire Bible (the Presbytery of the Assemblies of God). Therefore, it influenced Korean believers to use the Bible as a means for their own benefit (the Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination) because they read it from the point of Triple Salvation. This eventually influenced all other realms of *Sunbogeum* theology and resulted in its unique features. This problem also indirectly influenced Korean churches to become bodies of capitalistic-individual church growth, gradually losing their traditional piety and social morality. *Sunbogeumism* needs a better Biblical hermeneutics so that its theological endeavours will bring more truth to the church.

10. Trinitarian theology, anthropology, angelology and demonology

10.1. INTRODUCTION

The study of Trinitarian doctrine has been stimulated by the pentecostal movement through its stress on pneumatology. However, pentecostalism has not established its own Trinitarian doctrine, but it accepted the traditional Nicene-Constantinople Creed (Tri-unity of one substance and three persons). *Sunbogeumism* follows the same principle. Nonetheless, pentecostal dynamism has stimulated increased interest in the economic Trinity rather than in the immanent Trinity in which Christianity has taken more interest since the Middle Ages.

As a form of pentecostalism, Yonggi Cho's *Sunbogeum* theology has its own unique understanding of the Trinitarian God. This is expressed by the term "*joeusin Hananim*" (good God)¹ and its emphasis on the sovereignty of God.² Good Father God implies God's love to His children, while His sovereignty refers to the fact that God reigns in the universe. This emphasis on goodness and sovereignty in relation to the first person of the Trinity is accomplished by the salvation grace given through the cross of Jesus, the second person, and the Holy Spirit as *parakletos* (Helper), the third person. In addition to this Trinitarian view of God, this chapter discusses the trichotomic view of anthropology and demonology, which also plays an important role in *Sunbogeumism*.

We will start with the *Sunbogeum* doctrine of theology (10.2), and then move to anthropology (10.3), and close with spiritual beings (10.4). The main reference works include: *The Truth of Sunbogeum I & II* (1979) by Yonggi Cho; *What We Believe: Easily Understandable Systematic Theology I* (1992) by Jeong-Geun Pak; and *Pentecostal Theology* (1996) by Jeong-Ryeol Pak. Also we will discuss the criticisms of *Sunbogeum*, including: *In der Geschichte des dreieinigen Gottes* (1991) by Jürgen Moltmann; "A Report of Study over Yonggi Cho" (1993) by the General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination; and "A Report of the Result of Study over Yonggi Cho's Pseudo-Christianity" (1994) by the same organization (Tonghap).

¹ Yonggi Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeum I*, Seoul, 1979, pp.60-61. Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 1972/ 3 ed., Peabody, Mass, 1988, pp.363-365; Yonggi Cho's idea of a good God and healing ministry are similar to the dualistic world-view of Oral Roberts (good God and evil Satan) and his healing ministry. Both also had similar life crises through tuberculosis. Both share similar ideas on the salvation of wholeness or the order of spirit, soul, and body. Roberts said he preached saving souls, but it seems that from the mid-1970s he began to teach the whole salvation of spirit, mind, and body (*3 Most Important Steps to Your Better Health and Miracle Living*, 1976, pp.64-95).

² ITI, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church II*, Seoul, 1993, pp.136-137.

10.2. THEOLOGY

Both Jeong-Geun Pak and Jeong-Ryeol Pak deal with the doctrine of God in reference to other theological discussions, while Yonggi Cho approaches it in reference to the Scriptures.³ Cho's discussion illustrates characteristics of pure *Sunbogeumism*. The attributes of God (10.2.1), the sovereignty of God (10.2.2), and the Trinity (10.2.3) in *Sunbogeumism*'s theology will be discussed.

10.2.1. *The Attributes of God*

Sunbogeum theology does not give much attention to the attributes of God. Instead, it practises the doctrine of God, which had already been established in traditional Christianity. Jeong-Ryeol Pak described God's nature (spirit, infinity, eternity, self-existence, and oneness), His absolute or incommunicable attributes (omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence, immutability, and sovereignty), and His moral or communicable attributes (holiness, righteousness, justice, faithfulness, mercifulness, love, and goodness) in relation to traditional Christianity.⁴ Contrary to this, Pak says, *Minjung* theology promotes a God who reveals Himself to the suffering *Minjung* and disregards the supernatural.⁵ Shamanism uses a dualistic pantheism to understand deity, accepting the eternal struggle between good and evil spirits.⁶

Yonggi Cho emphasizes and elucidates God's goodness to us, which is manifested through the Son's redemption, among God's attributes. He titled the heading of the doctrine of theology as *joesin Hananim* (good God) in his book.⁷ This harmonizes God's love and His sovereignty. Acknowledging God as a good Father, *Sunbogeum* theology teaches its adherents to expect abundant blessings from God, both spiritual and material. This goodness of God in *Sunbogeumism* is part of the 'here and now' of the kingdom of God.⁸ Such expectations caused Korean pentecostals to live in a Christian context in which prayer and evangelization prevail – an aspect of holistic salvation.⁹ The spiritual languages of dreams and visions can also be understood in connection with the doctrine of the good God, who does not spare anything from His children. The teaching of the good God was concentrated in the early part of Cho's ministry (1958-1961) when he and his congregation suffered great poverty.¹⁰

³ See the main reference books for each of these persons at 10.1.

⁴ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, Seoul, 1996, pp.61-69. This basic conception about God is almost the same as conservative evangelicalism.

⁵ Idem, *A Theology of Christian Spirituality*, Seoul, 1988, pp.185-186.

⁶ Jeong-Geun Pak, *Defending Pentecostal Truth*, Seoul, 1970, pp.21-22.

⁷ Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeum I*, Seoul, 1979, p.60.

⁸ idem, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church II*, Seoul, 1993, pp.136-138.

⁹ See 6.2.7, 6.4.6.2, and 6.4.6.3.

¹⁰ ITI, ed., *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church II*, Seoul, 1993, pp.113-118. The work of the Holy Spirit was then emphasized in the 1960s and 1970s, and since the early part of the 1980s the emphasis has been on God's sovereignty. See 6.4.2.

10.2.2. *The Sovereignty of God*

Cho's *Sunbogeum* theology emphasizes the absolute sovereignty of God, the second characteristic in his understanding of God. This teaching was not only derived from the doctrine of evangelicalism but is directly influenced by his experience of God through the Spirit – God is God and God is real. Therefore, His authority should be established wholly and practically by His children.¹¹ It was even heard that he gave up Arminianism and became a Calvinist.¹²

Concerning predestination, Jeong-Geun Pak excluded it while Jeong-Ryeol Pak introduced it via Calvinism and Arminianism. Yonggi Cho viewed according to the descriptions in the Bible (Rom. 8:28,29; 9:11-18; Eph. 1:3-6). Here Cho believes in the election of God among sinners instead of election and reprobation in predestination. Before the foundation of the world, God had known the whole human race would sin in Adam, and God chose some of them according to His own purpose and will. He understands this as a part of God's grace and love so a human has no right to argue about His sovereign choice but should thank Him for His grace. His view of predestination is similar to the doctrine of Reformed theology except his omission of the theory of reprobation.¹³ At the same time, he shares the Wesleyan-Arminianism view of the general application of Christ's redemption and the possibility of losing salvific grace. Here we can see that Calvinistic Presbyterians and *Sunbogeum* pentecostals differ in applying God's sovereignty to practical issues. Calvinistic predestination doctrine encourages "a passive waiting for the Holy Spirit rather than an active seeking"¹⁴ while *Sunbogeumists* positively seek and pray to be baptized in the Spirit. This is the reason why *Sunbogeum* congregations are enthusiastic about prayer, evangelization, and attending worship meetings.

In this way, God's sovereignty and human free will are harmonized in *Sunbogeumism*, which shares the idea of Augustine in his synthetic understanding of God's predestination and human free will.¹⁵ It does not go to the extremes of either view but tries to harmonize both sides because it finds proof in the Bible to support both Calvinism and Arminianism.¹⁶ This phenomenon is another example of the synthetic and dynamic theological thinking in *Sunbogeumism*, which is founded on Biblical theology and can integrate different views of theology pneumatologically.

¹¹ Cho, *The Truth ... I*, pp.99-103.

¹² Myung Hyuk Kim, *The 18 Hot Issues of Korean Church: Its History and Potentiality*, Seoul, 1998, p.133.

¹³ Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeum II*, pp. 353, 356-357. Cho deals only with the choice of God rather than reasoning the election and reprobation of predestination. According to Cho, God knows all are sinners and He chooses His children among them. All are sinners not because God so destined but because the guilt of Adam is imputed to them; cf. L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 1939/rep., 1984, Grand Rapids, pp.109-125; John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, III/ 21-24.

¹⁴ David Pawson, *Fourth Wave*, London, 1993, p.50.

¹⁵ ITI, *Faith and Theology ... I*, 1993, pp.121-122. Its understanding about God shares a common view with Augustine, Luther, Calvin, and Wesley.

¹⁶ Pak, *ibid.*, p.83.

10.2.3. The Trinity

The doctrine of the Trinity has been accepted by *Sunbogeumism* as the self-evident foundation of Christian theology. Therefore, it is more interested in applying it than discussing it. Through the experience of the infilling of the Holy Spirit, this doctrine became not just a confessed creed but a living theology. We observe two points that characterize *Sunbogeumism* in relation to this doctrine. More details shall be dealt with in Christology (chapter 11) and pneumatology (chapter 12).

First, *Sunbogeumism* actually treats the third person of the Trinity as a person. Yonggi Cho teaches that the Holy Spirit is the Third Person of the Trinity and has all the characteristics of a personality (intellect, emotion, and will). He says we need to acknowledge Him as a present and definite person who is with us in a close personal relationship.¹⁷ This point is important if we are going to establish an intact Trinitarian theology. Each theology has its own emphasis in understanding the Holy Spirit in relation to the Trinity: Calvinism emphasizes Bible-illumination; classical pentecostalism emphasizes the experience and the work of the Spirit; and the Charismatic renewal emphasizes the manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit. These views are one-sided because they do not hold together the symbiosis of the doctrine and the devotion which were taught by the Trinitarian doctrine of the Early Church.¹⁸ When man has communion with the Holy Spirit as a person, he needs to be conscious of His presence all the time. Then he adores, praises, talks to and thanks Him. A believer's heart (spirit) can walk with Him. This situation is called the infilling with the Holy Spirit.¹⁹

Second, *Sunbogeumism* supports the Western *filioque* tradition²⁰ as do pentecostal and charismatic movements. Those who criticize this tradition hold the view that Christian pneumatology cannot be fully formed through the *filioque* doctrine on the grounds that: first, it is an actualized Christology; second, it is primarily a doctrine of the Spirit, but His administration is in the church; and third, it does not

¹⁷ Cho, *The Truth... I*, pp.183-185.

¹⁸ E. Schlöcker, "Gott VI: Dogmatisch," in *RGG II*, 1957, pp. 1732-1741. "Hat Gott den Hl. Geist gegeben, der in uns den Vater und den Sohn bezeugt und uns als Herr begegnet, so wird nicht nur Gott der Vater und der Sohn, sondern auch der Hl. Geist angerufen, herbeigefleht, und als ewiger Herr gepriesen" (1737); idem, "Trinität IV: Dogmatisch," in *RGG VI*, 1957, pp.1032-1038. "Da im NT der Hl. Geist keineswegs nur als göttliche Kraft, sondern als der willentlich Kommende, Redende, für den Menschen an Christi Statt vor Gott Eintretende (Paraklet) bezeugt ist, war die Kirche auch dazu übergegangen, den Hl. Geist anzurufen (nicht nur Gott um den Geist zu bitten) und ihn wie Gott den Vater und den Sohn anzubeten. Dabei ist der Glaube gewiß, daß im Wirken Christi Gott der Vater und im Wirken des Hl. Geistes Gott der Vater und der Sohn gegenwärtig handeln" (1033).

¹⁹ Understanding the Holy Spirit as a person will help believers and keep them from grieving the Holy Spirit (Eph. 4:30), from making Him jealous of them (James 4:5), and from quenching Him (1 Thes. 5:19). Because many believers in pentecostal/charismatic circles do not keep this personal relation, they tend to constantly seek to have experience in the Spirit.

²⁰ The author is unaware of any *Sunbogeum* theologian who discussed *Sunbogeumism* in connection with the *filioque* doctrine. But there are good reasons for assigning it to this tradition. First, the risen Christ and His task of sending the Holy Spirit is closely related to *Sunbogeumism*. Second, it emphasizes the title of the Holy Spirit as 'another Comforter' (Jn14:16). The Spirit as the second Comforter does the same things as the first Comforter Jesus did on earth. Third, it believes that the Holy Spirit not only witnesses the redemptive grace of Christ but also works in His place by His name on earth to glorify Him; Yonggi Cho, *Pneumatology*, 1976, pp.50-54,186-188; idem, *The Truth of Sunbogeum, I*, 1979, pp.187-189, 213-214.

acknowledge the work of the Spirit outside the church (cf. 12.3.3).²¹ Holding to a Christ-centered pneumatology under the *filioque* tradition, *Sunbogeumism* cannot easily be syncretised with Eastern mysticism and shamanism.²²

This *Sunbogeum* doctrine about God principally belongs to the traditional theology, while demonstrating its Pentecostal distinctiveness by its emphasis on God's goodness, God's sovereignty, and the personality of the Holy Spirit. Cho's emphasis on God's goodness was pointed out by some Korean Christians as losing the balance between God's love and His righteousness.

Some leaders of the Korean Assemblies of God once had doubts about Cho's thought of predestination and his tendency towards Calvinism, especially if the unity of denominational theology (Arminianism) was threatened. The Tonghap denomination pointed out Cho's emphasis on the Holy Spirit as deviating from the Spirit's relationship to the Father and the Son (Trinitarian God). At the same time, it stated that his understanding of the Holy Spirit could be acceptable according to new insights of the universal church which was coming about through the emphasis of the Holy Spirit by pentecostal denominations.²³

Finally, it is helpful to compare Cho's Trinitarian theology with that of Jürgen Moltmann. Two striking points can be seen here. First, Cho's idea of a good God is more positive than Moltmann's solidarity-Trinitarian God, who not only eternally united into one in love (*perichoresis*) as immanent Trinity but also shared the sufferings on the cross as economic Trinity. Cho's good God appears as a father-like monarchistic Saviour who saves His children from all suffering through His Son by the power of His Spirit (positivistic concept of God). Moltmann's "tri-solidarity God," however, presents Himself as a mother-like sympathetic Love who identifies Himself with His children in all their suffering, sacrificing His Son/Himself as an example of their sufferings together with bringing them up to life through His Spirit (*koinonia* concept of God). Moltmann takes the event of the cross as the material principle of the doctrine of the Trinity, whereas Cho interprets it as the means of God's redemption. Moltmann's criticism is that the suffering and crucified God of sympathy can best represent the Biblical/loving God rather than a monarchistic/patriarchal God of power. Second, Moltmann advocated that true human community (Christ's churches as well) must correspond to the inner relationship of the Trinitarian God as the social analogy of Him, and that Trinitarian God reconciles Himself through His Son, not only with sinners but also with the broken world (cosmos) as the community of creatures (*Schöpfungsgemeinschaft*) by His Spirit

²¹ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Geist und Materie: Interkulturelle Theologie III*, München, 1988, pp.303-307; Jürgen Moltmann, *In der Geschichte der dreieinigen Gottes: Beiträge zur trinitarischen Theologie*, München, 1991, pp.91-92; idem, *Der Geist des Lebens: Eine ganzheitliche Pneumatologie*, München, 1991, pp.21-22,322.

²² Cf. L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, Grands Rapids, 1941/ rep., 1984, p.90. Berkhof writes that "if the work of the Holy Spirit is divorced from the objective work of the Son, false mysticism is bound to result."

²³ The 79th General Assembly of Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination, "A Report of the Result of Study over Yonggi Cho's Pseudo Christianity," 1994, quoted from *Church and Faith* (January 1995): 135-142.

while, *Sunbogeumism* has not yet fully developed such thoughts in connection with Trinitarian theology.²⁴

10.3. ANTHROPOLOGY

Sunbogeum theology has accepted the doctrine of the origin of man and hamartiology in Reformation theology. Jeong-Ryeol Pak not only presented a pentecostal view of anthropology in general with the theories of original sin and trichotomy but also introduced other views like the theories of transmission of sin, the punishment of sin (natural and positive punishments), and man in the covenant of grace (covenants of works and grace).²⁵ On the other hand, it developed its own pneumatological understanding of anthropology, emphasizing the role of the spirit in the trichotomic components. The axiom of Cho's theology, the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation, is also founded in the trichotomic structure of humanity as we have already discussed (8.3). His methodological key, the spirit controls the material, which is presented in *The Fourth Dimension*, was also formulated in relation to trichotomic anthropology.²⁶

Cho's trichotomic anthropology is characterized by three aspects. The first is the function of each component: spirit, soul, and body. Because of the mystic nature of human beings, the spirit of man was sometimes identified by Yonggi Cho as the subconscious, the heart, or the heightened aspect of the redeemed soul.²⁷ The functional aspect of anthropology is more important for *Sunbogeumism* than the doctrinization of trichotomism, in that it does not make trichotomism an absolute Christian doctrine. Regardless of dichotomism or trichotomism,²⁸ Cho deals with the three functions found in human nature: God-consciousness through conscience, life, intuition, and inner man; self-consciousness through intellect, emotion, and will; and physical world-consciousness through the five sensory organs. Spirit, soul, and body are ascribed to them respectively.

Jeong-Geun Pak has a similar view. The infilling of the Holy Spirit happens in the spirit of man first, and then his spirit controls the soul and the soul controls the body.²⁹ This order of spirit → soul → body shows an inside-out model for

²⁴ Moltmann, *In der Geschichte ...*, 1991, pp.52-53, 66, 93. idem, *Der gekreuzigte Gott: Das Kreuz Christi als Grund und Kritik christlicher Theologie*, München, 1972/ 3ed. 1973, p.228. idem, *Der Geist des Lebens: Eine ganzheitliche Pneumatologie*, München, 1991, pp.51,323.

²⁵ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, 1996, pp.89-113.

²⁶ Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension II*, 1983, pp.35-85.

²⁷ idem, *The Fourth Dimension I*, pp.41-42. *II*, pp.48, 52; L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 1939, pp.474, 484-485. The Holy Spirit meets the spirit of man and this is regeneration (Dr. Shedd). Reformed theology takes it that regeneration occurs in the sub-conscious life while conversion takes place in the conscious life. Considering these two thoughts, the idea of trichotomy is included here, too.

²⁸ William W. Menzies and Stanley M. Horton, *Bible Doctrines: A Pentecostal Perspective*, Springfield, MO, 1993/ 2 ed., 1994, p.82. Some dichotomists divide soul into two parts: world-related soul and spirit-related spirit; Cho, *The Fourth Dimension II*, pp.42-57. *Sunbogeumism* does not make trichotomism an absolute Christian doctrine because Reformers chose dichotomism. Dealing with three functions is more important for it than doctrinization.

²⁹ Jeong-Geun Pak, *What We Believe: Easily Understandable Systematic Theology I*, 1992, pp.251-269. Pak believes the heart is the centre of human inner life or soul, but it is not identified with spirit. Heart is controlled by soul, Pak says. The Holy Spirit affects the spirit of a regenerated man, then his spirit affects his soul, and then his soul affects his heart. Although Cho and Pak both have same view about

understanding humans. This basic anthropological theology of *Sunbogeumism* (cf. 8.3.1; 8.3.2) is one that the American Assemblies of God does not consider.

The second aspect is the analogy of the Trinity and humanity as created in the image of God. Cho writes that as God is Trinitarian – God as Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit – humans were also created as a tripartite being with spirit, soul, and body. However, Cho does not match each person of God with each part of man.³⁰ The basic logic of this concept is that the recipient party, man, is bestowed with a corresponding point of contact with God's Spirit, which is man's spirit. This thought is based on the trichotomic theory, which is found in the Bible (1 Cor. 2:11; 14:2,13-16,32; 1 Thes. 5:23; Heb. 4:23), in psychological findings,³¹ in the theology of some churches,³² and in the experience of believers.³³

The third aspect is that humanity was created as a recipient of God. This capacity also depends upon the constituent of man's spirit.³⁴ Faith, hope, and *agape*, which are given to man by God, also flow from the spirit. Man, who lives according to the guidance of spirit, lives by the Word of God, in faith, in the Holy Spirit, and for God's glory. When he does, he can live according to the way of the fourth dimension (8.3.3.1).³⁵ On the other hand, a natural man, who is separated from God (spiritual death), becomes the servant of Satan. In other words, he is the recipient of Satan.³⁶ Salvation through Christ means that the spirit is revived or born (washed) again (John 3:5,6). Then God's Spirit dwells in (or with) his spirit.³⁷

This anthropology, which emphasizes the role of the human spirit in connection with the work of the Holy Spirit, helps Korean pentecostals to experience or receive the third person of Trinitarian God. This view was criticized by the Tonghap Presbyterians. Two challenges were raised: first, Cho's trichotomic idea makes man's spirit impersonal, treating it as only a God-consciousness function; and second, his idea of man's faculty to receive God makes the Creator God and creature man one (equal).³⁸ Young Hoon Lee defended Cho pointing out that Cho does not insist upon the impersonality of man's spirit because he regards it as the faculty of God-communication, and he teaches that God's children become partakers of the divine nature through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.³⁹

three functional components, Cho holds the spirit to be in a wider sphere (heart, subconscious, inner man, consciousness) than Pak does.

³⁰ idem, *Triple Salvation*, p.36; idem, *The Truth of Sunbogeum II*, 1979, p.258; Jeong-Geun Pak, *What We Believe: Easily Understandable Systematic Theology I* (1992), Seoul, pp.124-125; cf. L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 1941/ rep., 1984, p.90. Several analogies related to the Trinity are introduced. Augustine's psychological comparison (intellect, affection, and will) with the Trinity is introduced as an example.

³¹ Cho, *The Fourth Dimension II*, pp.52-53. See 8.4.1.2.

³² The Orthodox Church, pentecostals, and some conservative circles adhere to trichotomism.

³³ Speaking in tongues or prophecy that the mind (soul) cannot understand or reason, may be examples of the existence of spirit.

³⁴ Cho, *The Truth ... II*, p.258. idem, *Triple Salvation*, pp.36-40.

³⁵ idem, *Spiritual Man*, Seoul, 1979/ 6ed., 1991, p.12-34, passim. Cho's *Sunbogeumism* emphasizes the role of spirit while, he believes, the Holy Spirit communicates with man's spirit.

³⁶ idem, *The Truth ... II*, pp.296-303; idem, *Triple Salvation*, pp.39-40.

³⁷ idem, *Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1979, pp.35-66.

³⁸ The 78th General Assembly of Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination, "The Reference Data of Research Paper over Cho Yonggi," quoted from *Church and Faith* (November 1993): 134-144.

³⁹ Young Hoon Lee, "The Standpoint of the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church," recited from *Church and Faith* (November 1993): 145-157.

10.4. SPIRITUAL BEINGS

Sunbogeumism recognizes and experiences the reality of the spiritual world and holds a positive (aggressive) attitude towards it. The most important principle is that there is a spiritual world behind the exposed material world. Therefore, we only can solve the phenomenal problems of this world if we deal with the spiritual realm first. The shamanistic background of Korean society seems to have influenced this approach (cf. 3.2.2). Nevertheless, *Sunbogeumism* does not bother theorizing it because it emphasizes faith in God. Angelology and demonology are discussed in this section.

10.4.1. Angelology

Yonggi Cho and Jeong-Geun Pak both discuss angelology and demonology while Jeong-Ryeol Pak leaves them out in his doctrinal books.⁴⁰ Created as God's servants as spiritual, personal (rational), sexless, immortal, innumerable, and powerful beings with the characteristics of gentleness, obedience, wisdom and holiness, angels serve both God and saved saints. They worship God, serve and protect believers on earth, lead departed saints (spirits) to heaven, execute God's judgements, and deliver God's message to saints.⁴¹ This view of *Sunbogeumism* supports a similar angelology of evangelicalism. For pentecostals in Korea, angelic experience has not become an issue as it was in America.⁴² Even though angels play active roles in performing the will of God on earth, they should neither be confused with the Holy Spirit nor worshipped by believers, Yonggi Cho writes.⁴³ In fact, *Sunbogeumism* is more concerned with demonology.

10.4.2. Demonology

Traditionally, Koreans called demons or spiritual beings several names: demon (*Guisin*); god (*Sin*); spirit (*Yeong*), and ghost (*Mangryeong*). We use these terms interchangeably in this subsection. According to Tae-Ung Sin, who researched Korean demonism, demons in Korea are believed to have been formed through the formation and destruction of creative energy (*Gi*) of any matter (both living creatures and inanimate objects) according to the dual principle of negative and positive (*Um-Yang*). There are various kinds of evil (related to *Um*) and good (related to *Yang*) spirits, depending on their sources. Shamans, who are possessed or can invite strong and bright spirits, function as helpers to those who suffer from evil spirits or demons (See 3.2.2). Demons exist in a definite period of time.⁴⁴

Yonggi Cho and Jeong-Geun Pak both allow more space for demonology than angelology in their books.⁴⁵ Pak, who held the same view on demonism as Tae-Ung

⁴⁰ See 10.1.

⁴¹ Jeong-Geun Pak, *ibid.*, pp.161-181.

⁴² Carolyn Denise Baker and Frank D. Macchia, "Created Spirit Beings," in *STAPP*, 1994, p. 186. A list of angelic experiences are recorded under footnote 28 of this book; Korean pentecostals have never experienced such visitations of angels described in Roland Buck's *Angels on Assignment* (1979).

⁴³ Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeum II*, 1979, p.442.

⁴⁴ Tae-Ung Sin, *The Study about Korean Demons*, Seoul, 1990, pp.21-55.

⁴⁵ See 10.1.

Sin, highlights the difference between the Korean traditional view of demons and that of the Scriptures. His discussion can be summarized as follows: ancient Koreans believed that demons or spirits come into being when any object gets old, dies, or is destroyed, and its *Gi* (energy or spirit) leaves it and coheres to become spirit. The most famous cases are those of deceased human spirits who died of bitter grudges, and became demons. Being originally a *Gi*, a demon can penetrate material objects and can sometimes do superhuman things. Demons stir up various kinds of trouble for humans until they vanish after an expiration of their existence or by satisfaction through human sacrificial services. However, the Scriptures do not teach that deceased spirits become demons, Pak argues. Demons are the soldiers of Satan. He criticized Gi-Dong Kim, who taught that the souls of unsaved people become demons when they die.⁴⁶

The demonology of *Sunbogeumism* can be explored in its origin, organization, and overcoming. First, *Sunbogeumism* finds demons' origin in the prophetic words of the Bible (Ezek. 28:11-19; Is. 14:12-15; Rev. 12:3,4,7-10) and it developed its demonology from that perspective. According to Cho and Pak, Satan was originally the most perfect, wise, glorious, and authoritative creature of God. Cho writes that in the Bible there were three archangels of God – Michael, the archangel of God's army; Gabriel, the archangel of God's messengers; and Lucifer, the archangel of God's royal guards. Lucifer, also called the "star of the morning," is believed to have been cast out from heaven by God on account of his pride and rebellion.⁴⁷ This event also reveals the nature of sin, pride.⁴⁸ Then he became the tempter (not originator) of sin. He is eventually destined to be thrown into the lake of fire forever (Rev. 20:1-3, 7-10).

Second, the satanic structure is divided into three levels: Satan as ruler; one-third of the fallen angels came under his control and forms the second stratum; and innumerable demons on earth form the lower stratum.⁴⁹ Satan is also called the devil, dragon, or serpent, tempter, destroyer, the prince of this world, Beelzebub, Belial, the father of the lie, Lucifer, accuser, deceiver, murderer, roaring lion, he who has the power of death, enemy, the angel of the abyss, and anointed cherub, all of which manifest his character. The evil world of the second level seems to be understood as rulers and powers (Eph. 1:21; 6:12; Col.1:6; 2:15). Cho and Peter Wagner call this spiritual power territorial spirits, which are fought against in power evangelism.⁵⁰ Demons in the third level directly influence the soul, body, and

⁴⁶ Jeong-Geun Pak, *ibid.*, pp.205-209; The Committee of Theological Development of the KAOG, "The Study about Pastor Gi-Dong Kim and Myeong-Beom Lee's Rhema Mission," (1996). Attachment #3 of the 44th General Assembly of the KAOG (1996).

⁴⁷ Jeong-Geun Pak, *ibid.*, pp.186-188; Yonggi Cho, *ibid.*, 1979, pp.445-446.

⁴⁸ Pak, *What We ... II*, 1994, pp.17-19.

⁴⁹ Cho, *ibid.*, p.444.

⁵⁰ C. Peter Wagner, *Confronting the Powers*, 1996, trans. by Gyeom-II Na, Seoul, 1997, pp.181-250, *passim*. *idem*, ed., *Engaging the Enemy*, trans. by Sunghoon Myoung into Korean, Seoul, 1993. In these 2 books, territorial spirits were discussed and a similar view was taken to that of Yonggi Cho. Cho argues that one of the reasons why more souls in Korea are being saved than in Japan or in Europe is that the constant prayer of Korean churches made clear the evil power in the air (His lecture on prayer, at a conference in Wuppertal, Germany, 27. 8. 1993); Yonggi Cho, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, Seoul, 1984, pp.30, 138. Cho interprets ruler, authority, power, dominion, or spiritual forces of wickedness (Eph. 1:21; 6:12) as the system and power of angels or those of fallen angels.

circumstances through various kinds of mental, physical, and circumstantial disorders, diseases, and confusion. These three functions or ranks of satanic power cannot be separated but are distinguishable just as are the Trinitarian God and human trichotomic nature.

Third, *Sunbogeumism* teaches people how to properly deal with satanic power. Because the Bible does not teach absolute or philosophical dualism (good and evil), *Sunbogeumism* takes a positive and decisive attitude against evil powers. When Adam sinned against God and became the servant of Satan, he was deprived of his authority to rule over all the living creatures as well as over himself. From then on, rulership has been handed over to Satan (Luke 4:6,7). Humankind, born under the bondage of original sin, is inevitably captive of Satan because Satan's authority to rule over human or the world is 'legitimate,' even before God. Only the Atonement of Christ nullifies it and makes humans free.⁵¹ This explains why the salvation of Christ is manifested in the context of hamartiology and demonology.

Choung Jin Ko (KAOG), who has been engaged in studying demonism and practising exorcism since 1972, writes that to defeat evil spirits, first of all, one must be filled with the Holy Spirit and be armed with the truth of God. To protect oneself from them, one needs to rejoice, pray, and always give thanks in everything (1 Thes. 5:16-18). Spiritual weapons include the authority of the name of Jesus, the power of the Holy Spirit, the blood of Jesus, the power of prayer, and filling by the Word of God. Ko also describes how to drive evil spirits out: the performer must be changed and live according to the name of Jesus Christ; he must let the Holy Spirit work; let the demons speak and give them the chance to choose to leave on their own; let them entreat or confess what they brought into the victims; curse them in the name of Jesus; powerfully command them to come out; confirm if they have left; and let the healed person give testimony, allowing the person live a Christian life.⁵²

The idea of Satan's legitimate authority over humanity and practising exorcism as a part of divine healing was criticized as being akin to the ideas of Gi-Dong Kim, who was labeled a heretic in Korea. Against this, *Sunbogeumism* vindicated itself. It clarified that the Scriptures show that Satan is the root of disease and death; therefore, Kim's idea of demons as the deceased spirits of those who were not saved is unbiblical. In conclusion, Kim's demonology is entirely different from Cho's doctrine.⁵³

10.5. CONCLUSION

We will now summarize and evaluate *Sunbogeum* theology in connection with the Trinity, its anthropology, and its view on spiritual beings one after another.

In understanding God, *Sunbogeumism* emphasizes God's goodness and His sovereignty at the same time. The former causes believers to expect both salvation and prosperity, whereas God's sovereignty makes God the entire source of their existence. In this way, it not only synthesizes the Calvinistic emphasis on the

⁵¹ Cho, *ibid.*, pp.292-299.

⁵² Choung Jin Ko, *A Study of Demonism*, D. Min. dissertation, 1989, pp.98-116. Ko presented 7 cases that he had exorcized.

⁵³ The 78th General Assembly of Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination, *ibid.* Young Hoon Lee, *ibid.*

sovereignty of God and the Arminian concepts of free-will, but also enables Christians to have a broader horizon in understanding God so that they may come closer to God and carry out active Christian lives on earth through faith and prayer. This synthesis makes Korean Christianity, which holds a Calvinistic theology of predestination and God's sovereignty in an Eastern authoritative society, a challenge. At the same time, the thought of practical fellowship with the Holy Spirit as a definite person encourages *Sunbogeum* adherents to live with the Trinitarian God in constant fellowship. Even classical pentecostalism lacks in this point. Both *Sunbogeumism*'s emphasis on the Spirit's personality and the trust in being filled with the Spirit has contributed to understanding the Trinity in a more practical way. The acceptance of the *filioque* doctrine helps keep *Sunbogeumism* free of falling into syncretism with traditional Korean religions. The danger, however, is that its emphasis on the Spirit and its personality can make the Spirit more important than the Father and Jesus Christ (Tonghap denomination). Believing in a Powerful good God, who delivers us from sin as well as from worldly suffering, can be too positivistic in this world of afflictions (Moltmann). The narrow view of the Trinity (*filioque*) and its underdevelopment in its application to the community as a social analogy of the Trinitarian God (*perichoresis*) reveal its weakness, too.

Regarding anthropology, *Sunbogeum* theology highlights the function of the human spirit in the framework of a trichotomic understanding of humanity. Here the Holy Spirit of the Trinitarian God can actually reside in the human spirit through the assumption and experience of Spirit meeting spirit. According to *Sunbogeumism*, as long as the function of the soul is self-consciousness and its subject is still the self, a dwelling component which can be delivered to God is needed to experience the living Lord. This dwelling place is the spirit of man. This is, in fact, a plea for a pneumatological anthropology which has the strength of furnishing a basis of *unio mystica* with the Trinitarian God. It can also be called *koinonia* with the Spirit, although this formulation has the danger of falling back into a kind of shamanistic mysticism in the Korean context.

Recognizing spiritual beings as a reality described in the Scriptures, *Sunbogeumism* teaches believers to take a decisive attitude against evil powers. According to its logic, without conquering the spiritual world behind material phenomena, believers cannot live proper Christian lives. This thought and practice is especially critical of liberal Protestant theology, which allegorizes the existence of evil spirits as unrighteous social structures. At the same time, it must be stated that *Sunbogeum* demonology has a potential danger. Young believers who follow this teaching might become nervous about coping with demonic activities which were active in their lives before conversion or are still present after conversion. However, it is generally known that most Korean pentecostals overcome such fear through Biblical teaching and prayers.

11. Christology and soteriology

11.1. INTRODUCTION

According to Walter J. Hollenweger, pentecostal pneumatology is critically viewed as an actualized Christology.¹ Christology in pentecostalism, therefore, appears as pneumatological Christology. This statement indicates that Christ works here and now through the Holy Spirit. *Sunbogeum* theology far exceeds classical pentecostalism in this matter. Having received the traditional formulation of Chalcedon in A.D. 451 (one person with two natures), it addresses both the nature of His being, the so-called ontological Christology and His redemptive work in the sphere of Christology, the so-called functional Christology.² Regarding penal substitutionary Atonement through Christ to restore the glory of which man was deprived by Adam's fall, *Sunbogeumism* holds that God restores His holistic blessing, namely the Triple Blessing, in Christ. Therefore, it also regards Christ's kingship as a matter of great importance,³ a defining characteristic. Its soteriology accompanies this Christology and is manifested in the idea of Triple Salvation. In other words, *Sunbogeumism* argues that Christ saves us from spiritual death, physical sickness, and circumstantial curse.

In this chapter, we will first deal with Christology (11.2) and, thereafter, with soteriology (11.3). *Systematic Theology: A Pentecostal Perspective* (1994), edited by Stanley M. Horton, will be consulted together with *Triple Salvation* (1979) and *The Truth of Sunbogeum I & II* (1979) by Yonggi Cho. *Systematic Theology* (1941) by L. Berkhof and *Der gekreuzigte Gott: Das Kreuz Christi als Grund und Kritik christlicher Theologie* (1972/ 2nd ed. 1973) by Jürgen Moltmann, are referred to as critical sources.

11.2. CHRISTOLOGY

The Christology of *Sunbogeumism* provides the underlying principle of Triple Salvation. In addition to the traditional doctrine of Christology, it has several other features. We will discuss these three features: the contrast in the roles between the first Adam and the Second Adam (11.2.1), the cross of Jesus Christ (11.2.2), and the three offices, especially the kingly office of Jesus Christ (11.2.3).

¹ Walter J. Hollenweger, "Pfingstbewegung," in *Ökumene Lexikon: Kirchen, Religionen, Bewegungen*, ed., by Hanfried Krüger, Werner Löser, and Walter Müller-Römheld, Frankfurt, 1985/ 2 rev., 1987, pp.963-967.

² David R. Nichols, "The Lord Jesus Christ," in *STAPP*, p295. It is defined by what He did or does and who He is.

³ L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 1938/ rep., 1984, pp.356-412. According to Berkhof, His prophetic office is pre-eminent (366).

11.2.1. Jesus Christ, the Second Adam

Sunbogeumism compares the position of the first Adam who lost God's blessing by his disobedience to God to the role of the Second Adam, God's Son Jesus Christ, who restored man's relationship with God as well as its consequential blessing through His obedience to God (Rom. 5:12-21). Even though the parallel between Adam (the head of the covenant of works) and Christ (the head of the covenant of grace) is discussed in covenantal theology, which sees them as the representatives of the old and new covenants, covenantal theology approaches it in relation to justification. Accordingly, its concern was focused on the fact that the penalty of the broken covenant was death and the promise of the new one is eternal life. Berkhof hints at the fact that the contents of the covenant of grace is summarized as "I will be a God to thee." Then all other promises are included in it: various temporal blessings, which often symbolize the spiritual kind; justification, adoption, and eternal life; the Holy Spirit for the application of the work of redemption and the blessings of salvation; and the final glorification life.⁴

For *Sunbogeumism*, this comparison will be applied to the redemptive efficacy of Jesus Christ, who restores that which Adam was deprived. Adam's sin was his ignoring God's sovereignty (Gen. 3:1-7). It was his disobedience to God. Adam lost his life and was sent out from God's blessed Garden of Eden. Consequently, Adam and his descendants, who are all doomed to return to dust, exist by toiling the land of thorns and thistles. More than that, they became slaves to Satan because of their sins (1 John 3:8). The Second Adam, God's Son, however, obeyed God. He sacrificed Himself as the ransom for all the sins of Adam. Consequently, He not only saves souls but also restores the blessed life of Eden.⁵ This comparison of Adam and Christ in relation to their positions as representatives does not appear in the Christology and soteriology of classical pentecostalism; but it is a feature of *Sunbogeumism*, which believes in the total depravity of the human and total salvation in Christ.⁶ *Sunbogeumism*, in this regard, is closer to classical orthodox Protestant theology (Berkhof)⁷ than pentecostalism.

Young Hoon Lee contends that conservative Christology in Korea (*Sunbogeumism* belongs to this) differs entirely from that of *Minjung* theology, which ignores the redemptive work of Christ.⁸ Jeong-Geun Pak pointed out the difference between *Sunbogeum* Christology (the Mediator Christ) from shamanism, which regards shamans as mediators.⁹

⁴ *ibid.*, pp.211-218, 262-301. Quoted from 277. It seems that Berkhof also believes that the general circumstantial blessing of God is included in Christ's redemption as a new covenant of grace. He does not fully develop this idea as *Sunbogeumism* does.

⁵ Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeumism II*, 1979, pp.267, 269; *idem*, *Triple Salvation*, pp.28-29, 41-50, 107-145.

⁶ Gordon Anderson, "Current Issues in Pentecostal and Charismatic Theology." Unpublished pamphlet. This view of *Sunbogeumism* is entirely different from the Kingdom Now Movement (1980- ...), which teaches that the kingdom is present ... everything is possible and people are little gods...

⁷ Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 1938, pp.410-411.

⁸ Young Hoon Lee, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea: Its Historical and Doctrinal Development*, dissertation at Temple University, 1996, p.158.

⁹ Jeong-Geun Pak, *Defending Pentecostal Truth*, Seoul, 1970, pp.29-31.

11.2.2. Cross and Resurrection

Sunbogeum theology puts the events of the cross as the core of Christology. According to Cho, who emphasizes divine sovereignty, the cross was preplanned by God before creation by the eternal council of the Trinity. Understanding the redemptive grace of God pneumatologically, Cho writes that the blood of Jesus presented before God is for our redemption today and the Holy Spirit brings His blood to us now and sprinkles it on our hearts (conscience) to sanctify us. There is no other way to salvation of humankind whose sin is transmitted from Adam as a whole except through Christ's Atonement through His suffering and death.¹⁰ Christ took upon Himself original sin and all sins committed, all environmental curses, every kind of disease, and the death of Adam's descendants. Then He fully restores the spiritual and material sovereignty by destroying the satanic right to rule over sinners. This is the interpretation of the cross of Jesus in *Sunbogeumism*, which takes the penal substitutionary doctrine literally on the basis of the vicarious Atonement. In this way the foundation for Triple Salvation is laid.¹¹ However, *Sunbogeum's* understanding of His death and resurrection as the Atonement for our salvation has its own uniqueness. It emphasizes the substitutionary side of Christ and nearly ignores the reconciliatory side of Christ's Atonement. His death and resurrection was substituted for our sins but the morality for the reconciliation¹² between the resurrected Christ and us is overlooked. Consequently, the reconciliation among believers in His *agape* cannot be well-established. This weakness also stems from the weakness of its Biblical hermeneutics, which loses the sight of the whole Bible.¹³

Moltmann's Christology can be interpreted as a criticism of this Christology. He points out the tendency that traditional/evangelical Christology, to which *Sunbogeum* Christology also belongs, emphasizes "the only begotten (*monogenes*) Son of God" for sinners' Atonement whereas it neglects "the first-born (*prototokos*) among many brethren." As a result, that Christology does not fully move people to be transformed into the image of Christ through the Spirit. According to Moltmann, a "functional-soteriological-substitutional Christology," including that of *Sunbogeumism*, can neither encourage believers to be identified with Christ in His sufferings in this world (Col.1:24), nor bring a true *koinonia* among people in their communities.¹⁴

Sunbogeumism also seems to lose the balance of the dual aspects of the cross – suffering and glorification (1 Pet.1:11,12). This problem has not been a big issue for pentecostalism in general.¹⁵ On account of this tendency, *Sunbogeumism* has been sometimes criticized for having too little understanding of the cross. However, as we have already observed, its Triple Salvation was established upon the Atonement of the cross. *Sunbogeumism* seems to be a *theologia gloriae* at first sight, but the theological position of Luther's *theologia crucis* is not contrary to *Sunbogeumism*

¹⁰ Cho, *The Truth ... II*, pp.119, 158, 162,163.

¹¹ Idem, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1983/ 10th ed., 1994, p.13.

¹² John F. Walvoord, *Jesus Christ Our Lord*, Chicago, 1969, pp.155-156.

¹³ AOG, *Where We Stand*, Trans. Into Korean by KAOG in America, Seoul, 1992, pp.148-163.

¹⁴ Moltmann, *In der Geschichte ...*, pp.64-66; idem, *Der gekreuzigte Gott ...*, pp.245-254.

¹⁵ The separation of three-stage pattern and two-stage pattern pentecostalism was an issue at its early stage.

because the latter does not leave from the general framework of Reformation theology. Walter von Loewenich's formulation sheds insight on the relationship between these two theologies. He states that theology which takes the Holy Spirit seriously does not deal with *theologia gloriae*, but with *theologia crucis*.¹⁶ This implies that in *theologia gloriae*, no real work of the Holy Spirit is taken into account. For Luther himself, if works originate from God (*opera Dei*) through faith, they belong to *theologia crucis*.¹⁷ According to these two ideas, we can infer that *Sunbogeumism*, which is wholly involved in the work of the Holy Spirit and faith, belongs to *theologia crucis*. However, other aspects seem to point to a difference between both positions. Although both parties share the basic principles of the Reformation, they also differ. These differences are not primarily based upon their theological foundations but on their emphasis. Both Luther and Korean pentecostalism make what happened on the cross of Christ a key concept, but Luther regards the suffering as of more importance while *Sunbogeumism* emphasizes glorification. Both developed a Christ-centred theology, trying to realize *unio cum Christo*,¹⁸ but Luther invites Christians to live as if they were co-crucified with Christ,¹⁸ whereas *Sunbogeumism* calls them to live co-resurrected with Christ, as witnesses of Christ through wonders and miracles in the power of the Spirit. Therefore, Luther's 'negative theology' emphasizes the crucified and hidden God while *Sunbogeumism's* 'positive theology' promotes the resurrected and revealed God. Consequently, they disagree with one another on a spiritual plane even though they share the same theological ground.¹⁹ We may also understand the difference by comparing their contextual situations. Luther's *theologia crucis* is a principle which redrafted the scholastic theology of the Middle Ages by emphasizing justification by faith. This was the purpose of his mission. At the same time, although it had no common principles with medieval mysticism, it had been influenced by the latter in a historical context.²⁰ *Sunbogeumism*, however, is a Holy Spirit movement following in the footsteps of the Reformation and the Wesleyan-Holiness movement in the war-stricken and subsequent economic revival of modern Korean society. Its mission has been the evangelization of the unsaved and the revival of secularized Christianity. Even though it does not share its essence with Korean shamanism and

¹⁶ Walter von Loewenich, *Luthers Theologia Crucis*, 3 ed., München, 1939, p.147.

¹⁷ Martin Luther, "Die Heidelberger Disputation, 1518" in *Theologie des Kreuzes*, edited by Georg Helbig, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 105-121. For Luther, *theologia gloriae* was the work of the Law or human efforts of Scholasticism in relation to justification before God.

¹⁸ Loewenich, *ibid.*, p.161.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp.99-216. *passim*. We may compare *theologia crucis* and *Sunbogeumism* as follows: the former takes a future-oriented (eschatological) and hidden-God concept of faith while the latter presents a future-oriented and works-producing concept of faith as well; the former emphasizes inner relation to suffering (life under the cross) while the latter seeks the outer works through the Holy Spirit (life of witness); the former thinks of the crucified Christ while the latter looks more at the glorified Christ who is with us in the Spirit (filling with the Spirit); the former regards the world as the opposite aspect of faith and it seeks the hidden God in it and separates itself from it while the latter tries to conquer it with the Gospel and regards resources as means for accomplishing God's will; the richness, happiness, and the highest Christian virtue of the former are found in faith in hidden-God Himself and in the peace, humility, suffering, temptation, and lowness of the cross while prosperity, health, joy, and much work for Christ are believed to bring happiness and these will be the virtue of the latter.

²⁰ *ibid.*, pp.202, 224. He formulated: "Eine Betrachtung der 'Imitatio' macht klar, daß Luther niemals zu seiner *theologia crucis* gelangt wäre, wenn er nicht Mönch gewesen wäre." (224).

traditional religions, it has developed in this context.²¹ As such, we understand that both have had different missions in different times.

Considered from the standpoint of *theologia crucis*, *Sunbogeumism* belongs in the category of *theologia gloriae*. The theology of cross may contribute to Korean pentecostalism through criticism and new guidelines. First of all, it can warn *Sunbogeumism* of the danger of losing the balance between the cross and the resurrection by emphasizing the concept of glorification.²² At the same time, the latter has something to contribute to the former. From the viewpoint of *Sunbogeumism*, the former, which is involved in the fight for justification through Christ's redemptive death versus the scholastic understanding of human efforts, overlooked sanctification as well as the gifts of the Holy Spirit in God's church.²³ This means, that *theologia crucis* has the opposite one-sidedness of *Sunbogeumism*. The former reveals its inclination to an ascetic model whereas the latter shows its disposition of a pentecostal model.²⁴

11.2.3. The Offices of Christ

Calvinism developed the doctrine of the three offices of Jesus Christ – prophet, priest, and king. As prophet, He revealed God through proclamation and teaching; now in heaven, He continues prophetic activity through the Holy Spirit in His church. As priest, He offered Himself as the redemptive sacrifice and, now in the heavenly sanctuary, He is doing His intercessory work. These two offices are also understood by *Sunbogeumism* in the same way.²⁵ His kingly office, however, is more practically described by *Sunbogeumism*. This office also differs slightly from the teaching of classical Pentecostalism. Christ-centred *Sunbogeumism* asserts that Christ should be the King in all aspects of our lives. This difference is the matter of emphasis because classical pentecostalism holds the same view of His kingly office. *Sunbogeumism*, according to its pneumatic and dynamic Christology, teaches that Jesus as King frees believers from both spiritual captivity and circumstantial suppressions, which are the result of sin. The Gospel and the power of God forgive sins and break satanic oppressions.²⁶ As a king has the power to rule, so too does Christ have God's authority to accomplish the Messianic mission. In other words,

²¹ This matter is mainly discussed in chapter 2 and 6.

²² If we emphasize the side of glorification, it is easy for us to lose sight of the Christian ethics of humility.

²³ Emil Brunner, *Die Christliche Lehre von der Kirche Band III*, 1960, Zürich, pp. 330-333; David Allen, *The Unfailing Stream: A Christmatic Church History in Outline*, Tonbridge, Kent, 1994, pp.60-64. The chief reformers "did not go far enough." They produced the "Protestant imitations of Catholic structures." They had "little time for miracles." The great reformation was in reality 'The Arrested Reformation' (Tudor Johnes); David Pawson, *Fourth Wave: Charistimatics and Evangelicals, Are We Ready to Come Together?*, London, 1993, pp.48-50. The greatest gain of the Reformation was the "restoration of Christocentric faith and life." However, they had their limitations. "They rediscovered the second person but not the third person of the Trinity."

²⁴ Richard Lovelace, "Baptism in the Holy Spirit and the Evangelical Tradition," in *Faces of Renewal: Studies in Honor of Stanley M. Horton Presented on His 70th Birthday*, ed., by Paul Elbert, Peabody, MA, 1988, pp.209-233. Lovelace contended that there are two kinds of spirituality in the Scriptures: the ascetic model and the pentecostal model. He argued that both spiritualities should be complementary for the work of the Holy Spirit.

²⁵ John Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*, II/ 15; L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 1939/rep., 1984, pp.356-412.

²⁶ Yonggi Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeum I*, 1979, pp.146-153.

His prophetic and priestly offices cannot be carried out without His kingly office. When Jesus cast out Satan or demons by the Spirit of God on earth, the royal rule of God (*basileia tou theu*) was established (Matt. 12:22-29). Since His exaltation, He continues this work (Heb. 13:8) through the Holy Spirit. Where His Spirit works, there His kingship becomes real in the realm of human life. Triple Salvation is then realized where believers enjoy royal richness and dignity.²⁷

This Christology, however, which emphasizes the presence of Christ (Christ-God) in the church and in revival movements tends to neglect the historical Jesus (Jesus the man). Korean pentecostals embraced this Christology not only because of the Scriptures but also because of the critical situation in Korea which needed Christ as a miracle-bringing God rather than a Christ of humility.²⁸ In reference to this Christology of Korean pentecostalism, Jae Bum Lee suggested that the *theologia crucis* or theology of affliction needs to be highlighted so a more balanced theology can be developed.²⁹

11.3. SOTERIOLOGY

Sunbogeum soteriology emphasizes both the vicarious atonement of Christ and His presence in believers through the Holy Spirit. The loss of Adam as the representative of the old covenant can be restored wholly by Christ as the representative of the new covenant. This is central to *Sunbogeumism's* soteriology.

We will now turn our attention to two points that are crucial to understanding *Sunbogeumism* soteriology: the order of salvation (11.3.1) and the application of Jesus' redemptive grace to the holistic salvation of mankind (11.3.2).

11.3.1. The Order of Salvation

Keeping the view of original corruption, total depravity, and total inability,³⁰ *Sunbogeumism* teaches that salvation is the absolute grace of God for humanity.³¹ While Jeong-Geun Pak and Jeong-Ryeol Pak did not deal with the order of salvation under the heading of soteriology in their systematic theology,³² Yonggi Cho dealt with it under the heading of 'Grace of Salvation' in his book, *The Truth of Sunbogeum II* (1979). He then discusses soteriology in three sections: the essence of salvation, the three phases of salvation, and the assurance of salvation.

Cho explains the essence of salvation by saying that humans, who are under the yoke of Adam's sin, need to be saved. The only way to get this grace is God's salvation. Humans need to respond to Him through repentance and faith. For people, repentance and faith are the conditions for salvation. Even though repentance and faith are the means of God's grace, humans can resist this grace. Faith especially is needed to help man receive salvation. The whole process of salvation is divided up

²⁷ Idem, *Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1978, pp.102-103.

²⁸ See 6.2.7 and 6.2.8.

²⁹ Jae Bum Lee, *The History of Pentecostal Movement*, Seoul, 1985, Part IV, p.13.

³⁰ Jeong-Geun Pak, *What We Believe: Easy Understandable Systematic Theology II*, Seoul, 1994, pp.37-40.

³¹ Cho, op. cit. II, pp.306-371.

³² Jeong-Geun Pak, *ibid*; Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, 1996.

into the three stages of regeneration, justification, and sanctification.³³ These three phases may be called the ‘order of salvation.’ Regeneration is a practical and conscious event which brings a changed life. Justification is the legal state of righteousness in a man, which the good God declares on the grounds of the imputed righteousness of Christ. Sanctification is a lifelong process. A constant infilling of the Spirit for Christians is included here. Nevertheless, sinless perfectionism is clearly denied.³⁴ As classical pentecostalism is characterized more by the gifts of the Spirit rather than the fruit of the Spirit, *Sunbogeumism* is also more interested in the power to witness than in sanctification. Under the heading of ‘Assurance of Salvation,’ Cho deals with predestination (according to foreknowledge), election, assurance, the possibility of falling, and the position of the Law and grace in relation to salvation. Cho assures believers, however, that we are saved by the grace of God, not by the works of the Law.

Cho’s view of predestination³⁵ is not entirely identical with that of classical Pentecostalism, which follows Arminian doctrine. For Cho, God had known that *all humans* would fall. This point is understood by Cho as the foreknowledge of God in reference to predestination and salvation. Second, God had predestined some to be saved among the potentially fallen humans, according to His own love and will before the foundation of the world. This does not mean that God had predestined some on account of the foreseen faith or good works in Christ (cf. Arminianism), but means that some, who had been predestined among sinners, would therefore believe in Christ and would be saved. These two aspects resemble infralapsarianism.³⁶ Third, the double predestination of both election and condemnation, as well as the theory of limited Atonement, are denied whereas man’s free will to reject God’s grace is acknowledged.³⁷ This position can be seen as mediating between Calvinism and Arminianism. In other words, this position is similar to that of the Augustinian view of the balance between predestination and the free will of man.³⁸ If we arrange the *ordo salutis* of *Sunbogeumism* according to the traditional form, we can list it as follows: predestination according to foreknowledge of the general fall, election and calling, repentance, faith, regeneration, justification, sanctification, possibility of

³³ Cho, *ibid.*, pp. 319-351.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.343; *idem*, *Triple Salvation*, 1978, pp.186-188. Cho teaches a holy life, so-called Christian perfection, through the grace of the blood of Christ, the holy Spirit, and the word of God. He especially denies perfectionism because it not only denies God’s grace but is also self-centred, and the idea of the Law.

³⁵ *Idem*, *The Truth ... I*, p.119. *The Truth ... II*, pp.351-361. This idea is not the official doctrine of the Korea Assemblies of God. Cho did not formulate any doctrine about this but his idea is found in his writings.

³⁶ L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 1941/ 1984, pp.118-125).

³⁷ Cho, *The Truth ... II*, pp.351-371; *idem*, *A Commentary on the Epistles to the Romans*, pp.270-291; *idem*, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, pp.18-24; ITI, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church I*, 1993, p.121. Cho’s emphasis on predestination is that humans as a whole are sinners. Therefore, those who are not predestined are not in a position to accuse God on account of His predestination because they are sinners and are under the sentence of death in any case. Cho interprets that God had predestined and elected some before the foundation of the world according to His own will and plan (his commentaries on Rom. 9:11-21 and Eph. 1:4-11); Because Cho also admits the human right to resist God’s grace, his idea of God’s sovereign predestination is logically unsound and different from that of Calvinism.

³⁸ Sam-Hwan Kim, telephone interview to ITI, Seoul (20.6.2002). ITI, *ibid.*, pp.120-122.

fall, glorification, and assurance. Assurance is the climax of the whole *ordo salutis* in *Sunbogeum*'s understanding of soteriology.³⁹

11.3.2. Threefold Redemption through Christ

Sunbogeumism's understanding of Christ's Atonement is connected to soteriology. As has been already observed in a previous section (11.2), *Sunbogeumism* applies the substitutional death of Christ to our salvation as a whole. Adam's sin, which is passed down to humankind, caused five problems: man's spirit is dead and his relationship with God became extinct; man was cast out from the blessing of Eden; man's body was doomed to die and disease as a means for it; man lost the image of God and became the servant of Satan; and the order of human constituents, spirit, soul, and body, was changed to making the soul the centre, subject to the desire of the body. The blood of Christ redeemed man from all the above-mentioned consequences.⁴⁰ This is the Triple Salvation of *Sunbogeumism* (8.3.2).

While classical pentecostalism holds the fundamental truth that divine healing is included in the redemption of Christ (8.2.2), and practises it to some extent, it does not include the redemption of circumstantial curse in its soteriology.⁴¹ *Sunbogeumism*, however, insists that sin, disease, and circumstantial curse are redeemed through Christ. According to *Sunbogeumism*, the grounds for this doctrine is found in the Scriptures. First, Christ provided a 'threefold redemption' (spirit, body, and circumstances) for Adam's threefold corruptions (Gen. 2:16,17; 3:8-21). Secondly, He redeemed mankind from the curse of the Law: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, having become a curse for us ... for it is written, 'cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree' " (Gal. 3:13); "the chastening for our peace (well-being) fell upon Him" (Is. 53:5c); and "though He was rich, yet for your sake He became poor, that you through His poverty might become rich" (2 Cor.8: 9).⁴² Cho claims that "the Gospel is the practical qualification which saves the human" in totality.⁴³ In this regard, he pointed out six misconceptions about the Gospel of Jesus Christ: that it saves only the soul; that it is mainly the norm of ethics and morals; that it is the new religious law and doctrine; that it is the object of religious knowledge; that it is the principle of social reform and philosophy; and that it is the tool for shamanistic blessing.⁴⁴ Even before the Second Coming of Christ, God's presence through the Spirit among His people (*Immanuel*) makes them anticipate

³⁹ Cho emphasizes assurance. He argues that our salvation does not come from our works and, therefore, our faults do not nullify our salvation. Only two sins can lead believers to apostasy. First, if a man recognizes the work of the Holy Spirit and blasphemes against the Spirit, he can be an apostate (Matt. 12:22-37). Second, if a man is saved and acknowledges the grace of God through the Spirit and denies Jesus Christ wilfully, he will lose the grace of salvation (Heb. 6:4-8). These two sins have prerequisites: recognizing God's grace fully and rejecting God wilfully.

⁴⁰ idem, *The Truth of ... I*, pp.153-174.

⁴¹ A Statement of Fundamental Truths Approved by the General Council of the Assemblies of God (2-7. 10. 1916), states that "Deliverance from sickness is provided for in the atonement, and is the privilege of all believers"; There are no discussions about the atonement of circumstances in the writings of Ernest S. Williams (*Systematic Theology vol. II*, 1953) and Stanley M. Horton (*STAPP*, 1994, edited by Horton).

⁴² Cho, *ibid.*, pp.163-174.

⁴³ idem, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1983, pp.32-40. Quoted from p.39.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

His kingdom.⁴⁵ This holistic idea leads Christians to apply Christ's grace of Atonement to the Triple Salvation so that God's rule will be established in practice in all realms of their lives. These items are included in the lives of orderly Christians: praying constantly, receiving the baptism in the Spirit and keeping the fullness of the Spirit, loving others and evangelizing, tithing, working hard and being successful in what they are engaged, and fasting and praying. Then they will see the blessing of God in all respects of their lives.

Although this doctrine is strong because of its pragmatic scope, it also has the danger of losing sight of being justified by God's grace (God's juridical declaration of justification) because it can encourage the notion that doing good works proves the quality of salvation.⁴⁶ The Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination gave warning to such a pneumatological and holistic understanding of soteriology in a different way: it may cause confusion between justification by faith and sanctification because of its coupling of the Fivefold Gospel (salvation) and the Triple Blessing (blessing).⁴⁷

11.4. CONCLUSION

Having been developed in the modern Korean religio-cultural environments, Sunbogeumism has shaped a strong pneumatological Christology and a holistic view of soteriology. We will first evaluate its Christology and then its soteriology.

Sunbogeum Christology goes beyond the teaching of classical pentecostalism by the application of the roles of Adam and Christ as the representatives of both covenants. In line with this understanding, it proclaims that Christ restores the total blessing of God, which Adam was deprived of, through His Atonement. This interpretation laid the foundation for the Triple Salvation. Its understanding of holistic salvation through the cross manifests an inclination towards *theologia gloriae*. Accordingly, it is not unexpected that *Sunbogeum* Christology places a major emphasis on the kingly office of Christ – Christ is King in all aspects of human life and He makes men free from all circumstantial suppressions. This is a strong pneumatological Christology.

Sunbogeum Christology's strength is that it has further developed the traditional covenant theology to the point that it illuminates what Christ restores in humanity from the loss of Adam. In other words, its tendency towards *theologia gloriae* has the positive aspect of materializing God's grace in His Spirit, but it has the weakness of emphasizing the substitutionary side of His Atonement and ignoring the reconciliatory in aspect of His Atonement (Moltmann). It further has the danger of overlooking the balance of the cross (suffering and glorification) with the pursuit of man's glory. This Christology ends up in the prosperity Gospel of *Sunbogeumism*.

Sunbogeum soteriology shares the same characteristics as its pneumatological Christology; but its *ordo salutis*, especially Yonggi Cho's idea of predestination, falls somewhere between the Calvinistic concept of predestination and

⁴⁵ Cho, *The Truth of... I*, p.169.

⁴⁶ cf. Berkhof, *ibid.*, pp.447-452, 512.

⁴⁷ The 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination, "A Report of the Result of Study over Yonggi Cho's Pseudo Christianity," 1994, recited from *The Church and Faith* (January 1995):135-142.

Arminianism's idea of free will. It emphasizes God's sovereignty more than classical pentecostalism, and logically concludes that what Adam lost is restored in Christ in the spiritual, physical, and circumstantial realms. Believers are expected to practically claim the whole salvific grace of God in the here and now. Christ is expected to become King in their daily lives and they can then live after the order of the royal family.

This soteriology's strength is in the thought that God's sovereignty is more accentuated in its *ordo salutis* than classical pentecostalism. At the same time, it has the potential of strongly encouraging believers to expect God's salvation of their souls and to have faith in God's grace for their daily physical circumstances. Its weakness, however, is its tendency to emphasize self-righteousness or work-righteousness. Because *Sunbogeumism* seeks after the kind of faith which brings about works or results, it can lead to the conclusion that any faith that does not bring works is defective: the confusion of justification and sanctification in its soteriology (Tonghap Presbyterian denomination).

12. Pneumatology

12.1. INTRODUCTION

Pentecostalism became influential because of its pneumatology. Speaking in other tongues as the initial physical sign of the baptism in the Holy Spirit is the heart of pentecostalism. Other doctrines were primarily adopted from those of the Wesleyan-Holiness movement of the latter part of nineteenth century. *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism received an established pneumatology through the missionaries of the American Assemblies of God; therefore, it has not developed any doctrine about the Holy Spirit which differs from that of classical pentecostalism. *Sunbogeumism* believes that the Holy Spirit holds the same authority, power, and glory in common with God the Father and God the Son because He is the Third Person of the Triune God. As a result, the Spirit has all the attributes of God: eternal (Heb. 9:14); omniscient (1 Cor. 2:10); omnipotent (Luke 1:35); and omnipresent (Ps. 139:7,8).¹ He is called the Holy Spirit of God (Eph. 4:30) because He is sent by God (John 15:26; Acts 2:33) and sanctifies His people (Rom. 15:16; 1 Cor.6:11; 2 Thes.2:13). He is also called the Spirit of Christ (Rom. 8:9) because He is sent by Christ (John 16:7) and will disclose Christ (John 16:14). Nevertheless, *Sunbogeum* pneumatology is distinguishable in its application. Its most striking trait is that it acknowledges the Spirit as a person. The doctrine of three perfect Persons in the Trinity was established in the Constantine Creed (381). The personality of the Holy Spirit, however, was not developed as that of the Father and the Son in church history. Even Western classical pentecostals did not pay enough attention to this despite the traditional doctrine and their experiences in the Spirit. Cho brought this matter to the forefront. The religiosity of the Koreans, especially their engagement in prayer through the Spirit, also influenced this development.² Thus, the teaching of the fellowship with the Spirit is more highlighted by *Sunbogeum* pneumatology than its emphasis on divine healing through the Spirit.³

In this chapter we will describe *Sunbogeum* pneumatology in respect to its relationship with the Spirit as a person in the Trinity (12.2) and the work of the Spirit (12.3). The main sources for this chapter are: *Defending of Pentecostal Truth* (1970) by Jeong-Geun Pak; *Pneumatology* (1976) by Yonggi Cho; *Pneumatology* (1987) by the International Theological Institute (ex-*Sunbogeum* Education Institute); *With the Holy Spirit: A Guide of the Holy Spirit for Christians* (1993) by Sunghoon Myoung; and *A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (1997) by Jeong-Ryeol Pak. *Der Geist des Lebens: Eine Ganzheitliche Pneumatologie* (1991) by Jürgen Moltmann and “A Report of the Result of Study over Yonggi Cho’s Pseudo-Christianity” (1994) by the 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Church will be used as antithetical sources.

¹ Yonggi Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeum I*, Seoul, 1979, pp.181-182.

² See 6.2.7 and 6.4.2.

³ See 10.2.3.

12.2. THE HOLY SPIRIT AS PERSON

When Yonggi Cho published his *Pneumatology* in 1976, he dealt with “the importance of the fellowship (*koinonia*) with the Holy Spirit” in its first part. Taking the verse of the benediction (2 Cor.13:13), he articulated the fact that the grace (*charis*) of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love (*agape*) of God will be poured out in believers through “the *koinonia* of the Holy Spirit.”⁴ We will discuss this in two aspects: the Spirit in relation to Father and the Son, and the Spirit as the Helper.

12.2.1. *The Spirit of the Father and the Son*

The importance of the personhood of the Holy Spirit is found in the fact that God the Father and God the Son have been in heaven since the ascension of Christ, whereas God the Spirit dwells in us. Accordingly, when we have fellowship with the living God, we do it through the Spirit who is the Spirit of the Father and the Son in the Trinity. In this regard, the Spirit must work as a person. Cho said that he had realized the importance of *koinonia* with the Spirit in 1964.⁵ For many Christians, the doctrine of the Trinity and the Holy Spirit as person are only known as doctrines and the experience with the Spirit Himself may not bring much fruit because they would grieve or quench the Spirit. Practically, however, we are to welcome Him, worship Him, talk with Him, and thank Him. This *koinonia* with the Holy Spirit (2 Cor.13:13) is a practice which differs from the experience of being born-again, the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, and the faith of indwelling of the Holy Spirit.⁶ Cho realized that the Bible, as well as the disciples, treats the Holy Spirit as a person (Acts 13:2-4; 15:1-29; 16:6-10; Matt. 10:19,20; 12:31,32; John 14:26; 15:26; 16:7-15; Eph. 5:30; James 4:5; 1 John 3:27; Rev. 22:17). Cho then concluded that he had to change his thinking about the Holy Spirit.⁷

According to Cho, all the ministry in which he was involved is attributed to his communion with the Spirit. Through this kind of communion with the Spirit, he could build up a better relationship with God the Father and Jesus Christ, namely, the Trinitarian God. The significance of *koinonia* (fellowship, partnership, and unity)⁸ with the Third Person of the Trinity in daily life can be illustrated as follows: first, when we recognize the presence of the Holy Spirit as a person who is with us all the time, it will help us lead our lives according to the will of God (sanctification); second, when we recognize and talk to the Holy Spirit, who dwells

⁴ Yonggi Cho, *Pneumatology*, Seoul, 1976, pp.11-14.

⁵ See the second point of 6.3.2.2.

⁶ Yonggi Cho, “The Holy Spirit: A Key to Church Growth,” in *Church Growth: Manual No.4*, Seoul, 1992, pp.51-63. Cho told how he realized the personality of the Holy Spirit and learned to communicate with Him in his life and ministry in the year 1964. Then his ministry expanded because the Spirit is the senior pastor of the church (partnership) and he was only the junior pastor. He writes that God taught him this truth in a trance when he was praying in the church.

⁷ Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeom I*, 1979, pp.183-185. Cho reasoned as follows: “Since the Father is on the throne, Jesus Christ is seated at the right hand of God, so the Holy Spirit is within me right now. The Holy Spirit is carrying out God’s plan and finishing the work of Jesus Christ in this world. God is manifesting through the Holy Spirit, and Jesus Christ is also manifesting through the Holy Spirit. Without coming through the Holy Spirit, we cannot have any revelation about God and His Son, Jesus Christ.”

⁸ Songhoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1993/ 5ed., 1995, p.68.

in us, asking Him to help us in our ministries (preaching, teaching, praying, counseling, and so forth), He can work through us so that the fruit of our efforts may be prosperous (ministry); third, the infilling with the Spirit means having a close fellowship with the Spirit (rather than having an experience in the Spirit with the initial evidence of tongues) and may contribute to bridging relationships with other theological circles which differ on the initial physical evidence (theological dialogue)⁹; fourth, the Word of the Scriptures, which has been inspired by the Spirit, may become more as a living Word for those who are in a constant fellowship with the same Spirit (illumination); and fifth, when we welcome, acknowledge, worship, and talk to the Holy Spirit as a person in our Christian lives, we not only realize the presence of the Holy Spirit more practically but also perceive the reality of the Trinitarian God more substantially (Trinitarian theology).¹⁰ This is fellowship, partnership, and unity with the Holy Spirit.

One thing needing attention to the personality of the Holy Spirit in connection with the Spirit of the Father and the Son, is the *filioque* tradition. This teaching, which classical pentecostalism shares,¹¹ naturally takes the order of Father, Son, and Spirit. Hence, it concentrates on the ecclesial and charismatic activities of the Spirit in the overall realm of God's salvation work through Christ. As we have called *Sunbogeum's* Christology 'pneumatological Christology' (11.1), so its pneumatology can be called 'Christological pneumatology.'¹² It does not separate Christ from the Holy Spirit. Although it recognizes the universal work of the Spirit in creation and preservation,¹³ it is mainly concerned with the redeeming grace of God. Consequently, a state of tension can emerge between its enthusiastic evangelization to all creatures and natural society, which exists under the common grace of God. Having adopted the theories of common grace and special grace of God from the Reformed theology and sharing them with classical pentecostalism,¹⁴ *Sunbogeumism* has an undefined attitude towards the relationship between these two

⁹ Cho, "I Preach in this Way," in *Church Growth: Preaching and Caring of the Minister*, Seoul, 1986, pp.129-144. Cho does not take a serious view of the initial physical sign for the baptism in the Spirit. He says that he does not emphasize speaking in tongues because tongues are prayer languages and they will be given as a Spiritual gift to those who are filled in the Spirit. This kind of view can bring a dialogue with the Evangelical view about the proof of the filling with the Spirit (131-132).

¹⁰ idem, "Practical Church Growth that I Experienced," in *Practical Church Growth that I Experienced*, Seoul, 1985, pp.146-149; idem, *Pneumatology*, Seoul, 1976/ 2 ed., 1977, pp.11-48. To recognize the Holy Spirit, to welcome Him, to worship Him, to talk and pray to Him, and to rely upon Him in our daily lives are examples of our *koinonia* with the Spirit.

¹¹ See 10.2.3.

¹² cf. Jürgen Moltmann, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit*, SCM Press, 1977, p.236.

¹³ ITI, *Pneumatology*, Seoul, 1987, pp.25,28,60-65. The work of the Holy Spirit: participation at creation; keeping renewing the whole; revealing God; and managing human history to accomplish the will of God.

¹⁴ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*, Seoul, 1997, pp.61-64. Pak quoted from the writings of John F. Walvoord, Charles Hodge, and Calvin to explain common grace; ITI, *ibid.*, pp.60-65. Common grace is mainly related to creation and preservation while special grace is related to salvation; Stanley M. Horton, *What the Bible Says about the Holy Spirit*, Springfield, MO, 1976, pp.17-18. Horton mentioned common grace of the Spirit as follows: "The Spirit is thus connected with both creation and God's continuing providence"; Myer Pearlman, *Knowing the Doctrine of the Bible*, translated into Korean by Hee Sook Lee, Seoul, 1968, pp.56, 347-348. Pearlman mentioned God's omnipotence and His rule over His creatures (56). He also wrote that the universe is created and preserved by His Spirit (347-348). Here we see that AAOG also recognizes God's common grace (through the Spirit), but this is not taken much into account.

graces.¹⁵ For *Sunbogeumism*, the world under common grace is regarded as a world under evil power (10.4.2), which should be transformed through the special grace (work) of the Holy Spirit.

This pneumatology has faced criticism. According to both Eastern Orthodoxy and liberal theology, it is not wise to narrow Christian pneumatology through the *filioque* doctrine (cf.10.2.3).¹⁶ According to *Sunbogeumism*, however, because the Father God, who is the Lord of all His creatures, has given all things and authority to His Son (Matt.11:27; 28:18; John 16:15; Col.1:17; Heb.1:3), the Christ-centered Spirit cannot be limited. *Sunbogeumism* concerns itself with the salvation of the world because its view of history is the salvation history of God, while it does not neglect God's common grace.

12.2.2. *The Holy Spirit as Another Parakletos*

An obvious feature of *Sunbogeum* pneumatology is its emphasis on another *Parakletos*. Even though all titles for the Spirit in the Bible (the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, the Spirit of truth, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of sonship, the Spirit of promise, the Spirit of grace, the Spirit of life, and the Spirit of glory, etc.) manifest His attributes and works, another *Parakletos*, which means "another Helper as the same kind of Jesus Christ Himself," may best represent both the personality of the Spirit and the real presence of Christ through the Spirit. As Jesus Christ had been the *Parakletos* (1 John 2:1), the Holy Spirit comes to the believers as another *Parakletos*, who carries out the missions of Helper, Teacher, Comforter, Advocate, and Counselor for believers just as Jesus had done in the world.¹⁷ Accordingly, as Jesus had performed miracles through the Spirit, believers are expected to perform the same kind of miracles through the same Spirit (John 14:10-14; Mark 16:14-20; Acts 14:2). *Sunbogeumism* encourages believers to be filled with the Spirit so that they may recreate Christ in their lives through the Spirit. According to this view, the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost can be identified with the presence of Christ who accomplishes His Messianic mission through the Spirit. Classical pentecostalism views the notion of another *Parakletos* (John 14:16) in the same way as *Sunbogeumism*.¹⁸ *Sunbogeumism*, however, emphasizes it in a more practical way. In

¹⁵ Because *Sunbogeumism* acknowledges satanic power in the world (10.4.2), it has not developed any competent idea which may harmonize the relation between the world which is dominated by evil power (Eph.2:2; 1John:5:19) and the world which is under the common grace of God (cf. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, I/15-16).

¹⁶ Jürgen Moltman, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit*, 1977, p.236. Kyoung Jae Kim, "A Theological Appraisal of the Korean Pentecostal Movement: A Comparison of the Fivefold Gospel with Baar Statement of WCC," presented at Koreanisch-brasilianisch-deutsch-afrikanische theologische Konsultation (26.6-4.7.2000), at Missionsakademie an der Hamburg University. Walter J. Hollenweger, *Geist und Materie: Interkulturelle Theologie III*, München, 1988, pp.303-307. The Eastern Church has the doctrine that the Son as well as the Spirit proceeds from the Father in a manner as if they were two arms of the Father. The Western doctrine shows that the Spirit comes out of the Father and the Son while the Son comes out of the Father. But actual practice seems that the Spirit comes from the Father through the Son (Father → Son → Spirit) (Christofer Frey, "Kriterien der Gegenwart des Heiligen Geistes," in *Das religiöse Bewußtsein und der Heilige Geist in der Kirche*, ed. by Klaus Kremkau, Frankfurt, 1980, pp.70f. Quoted from Hollenweger, loc. cit.).

¹⁷ Yonggi Cho, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1983, pp.96-97.

¹⁸ Stanley M. Horton, *What the Bible Says about the Holy Spirit*, Springfield, MO, 1976, pp.121-124; Mark D. McLean, "The Holy Spirit," in *STAPP*, pp.389-393; David Petts, *The Holy Spirit: An Introduction*, Mathersey Hall, Mathersey, 1998, pp.10-11.

this sense, it is Christ-centered, a Christological pneumatology (cf. 11.1). Without the actual participation of another *Parakletos* in their daily lives, believers are left as orphans (John 14:18).

Regardless of such a positive understanding of the Spirit as person, *Sunbogeum* pneumatology received a warning from the Tonghap Denomination that it has the tendency to separate the Holy Spirit from the common ministry of the Trinitarian God.¹⁹ However, Sunghoon Myoung from the Yoido Church pointed out the importance of understanding the Holy Spirit as a person. First, if we accept Him only as a power we shall fall into the danger of using Him as a means for our own benefit instead of being used by Him. Second, only ‘a personality’ can understand and help us.²⁰ The conclusion of this chapter will take these points into account when discussing the weaknesses of *Sunbogeumism* pneumatology.

12.3. THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

In connection with the work of the Spirit in His special operation, *Sunbogeumism* integrates three elements of faith in the Christian experience: the experience of regeneration; the experience of baptism in the Spirit; and the experience of holiness.²¹ Through regeneration, we have the Spirit in us (inner-dwelling). Through the baptism in the Spirit we can be endowed with the gifts of the Spirit and bear the fruit of the Spirit.²² Taking a two-stage pattern, regeneration and baptism in the Spirit, *Sunbogeumism* holds the view that sanctification is a lifelong process of the Spirit.²³ The baptism in the Spirit (12.3.1), the gifts of the spirit (12.3.2), and the fruit of the Spirit (12.3.3) will be dealt with in separate sections.

12.3.1. *Baptism with the Holy Spirit*

Classical pentecostalism holds the view that the baptism in the Spirit is not related to God’s salvation but is a charismatic service to God. This spiritual baptism, which is proved by the physical sign of speaking in tongues, is almost regarded as ‘a sacrament.’ Regeneration and baptism in the Spirit as subsequent experiences are emphasized, but they can take place simultaneously. The terms baptism with the Spirit and the filling with the Spirit are interchangeably used and point to the same experience. Classical pentecostalism asserts that those who are baptized with the Spirit are endowed with the gifts of the Spirit. *Sunbogeum* pneumatology aligns

¹⁹ The 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Church, “A Report ...,” 1994, quoted from *Church and Faith* (January 1995):135-142.

²⁰ Myoung, *With the Holy Spirit ...*, pp.34-35.

²¹ Cho, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing*, Seoul, 1983, pp.114-115.

²² *ibid.*, p.130; Jeong-Geun Pak, *Defending of Pentecostal Truth*, Seoul, 1970, p.190. Pak has the same view as Cho in this matter.

²³ Cho, *ibid.*, pp.82-84, 114-115, 130-131; Roger Stronstad, *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke*, Peabody, MA, 1984, p.83. Stronstad has almost the same view as Cho on the special work of the Spirit: salvation; sanctification; and service. According to him, the Reformed tradition has emphasized the work of the Spirit in initiation-conversion, the Wesleyan tradition has emphasized the activity of the Spirit in sanctification or holiness; and pentecostal tradition has emphasized the charismatic activity of the Spirit in worship and service.

itself with these basic doctrines of classical pentecostalism. Four aspects, in particular, characterize *Sunbogeumism*.

First, Sunbogeumism holds the view that the baptism with the Spirit is as an initial filling, while the infilling with the Spirit follows repeatedly.²⁴ This teaching is somewhat different from that of classical pentecostalism, which prefers the term baptism with the Spirit and holds the view that the baptism with the Spirit and the infilling with the Spirit can be used interchangeably.²⁵ This difference is in emphasis, not in doctrine. Yonggi Cho (*Pneumatology*, 1976) and Jeong-Geun Pak (*Defending of Pentecostal Truth*, 1970) mainly use the expression baptism in the Spirit in their doctrinal books. Later, (in the 1980s) *Sunbogeum* pneumatology began to use the word ‘baptism’ for the initial Spirit-filling and ‘being filled’ for the subsequent and repetitive infilling of the Spirit. The tendency is that the infilling with the Spirit is used in preference to the expression of baptism with the Spirit. The reasons for this change are as follows: first, in the historiography of the New Testament (the Gospels and Acts), the expression baptism in the Spirit was only used in connection with the promise of the Spirit-baptism through Christ (Matt.3:11; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16; John 1:33; Acts 1:5; 11:16), while the expression filled in the Spirit was used for the description of its fulfillment (Acts 2:4) as well as for indicating the subsequent or repetitive event of His fullness (Acts 4:8, 31; 9:17; 13:9,52) – sometimes varying it with other expressions (receiving the gift of the Spirit, coming upon of the Spirit, receiving power to be a witness, receiving the Spirit, falling on of the Spirit, pouring out of the Spirit, and so forth)²⁶; second, the expression “baptism,” which has been used to signify the baptismal sacrament throughout church history, not only can be avoided in denoting the repetitive infilling with the Spirit, but the ‘initial baptism in the Spirit’ after regeneration can be installed to a kind of sacrament for charismatic service²⁷; third, because the second item of the Fivefold Gospel of *Sunbogeumism* (8.3.1) is fullness with the Spirit, which indicates the repetitive and continuous filling with the Spirit for an effective witness, it prefers the expression ‘infilling (fullness) with the Spirit’ to that of baptism with the Spirit²⁸; and fourth, this preference of using infilling instead of baptism may avoid theological confrontation with Evangelicalism, which emphasizes the doctrine of conversion-initiation (simultaneous event of Spirit-baptism with

²⁴ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *A Theology* ..., pp.41-41; Yonggi Cho, *ibid.*, p.130. ITI, *ibid.*, pp.92-93; This view is more a tendency than a doctrine because before the 1980s ‘baptism’ was mainly used.

²⁵ John W. Wyckoff, “The Baptism in the Holy Spirit,” in *STAPP*, pp.426,447; David Petts, *The Holy Spirit: An Introduction*, 1998, pp.63-66.

²⁶ Luke’s expression of filled with the Spirit before the birth of Jesus (Luke1:15, 41, 67) also described prophetic inspiration, but not baptism with the Spirit; cf. Roger Stronstad, *ibid.*, pp.54-55. Stronstad writes that “filled with the Spirit always describes inspiration.”

²⁷ Because baptism in water as a sacrament can be taken only once, the idea of one initial Spirit-baptism may be more suitable to the atmosphere. At the same time, if there is no binding teaching in the Scriptures to say that one must always and repetitively use the expression baptism with the Spirit, the expression ‘filled’ can be more fitting for the sake of harmony in Christianity.

²⁸ Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1993/ 5 ed., 1995, pp.64-65, 86. Myoung writes that Cho (*Sunbogeumism*), who prefers the expression of filling in the Spirit to baptism in the Spirit, aligns himself with the Third Wave Movement (Peter Wagner) in the sense that the latter asserts that, in the New Testament, being endowed with power through the Spirit is related to filling rather than to baptism.

water-baptism or regeneration) and acknowledges the infilling with the Spirit thereafter.²⁹

Second, the doctrine of speaking in other tongues as the initial physical evidence of baptism with the Spirit is losing its force. Even though there have been different views and debates over this doctrine among pentecostals from the earliest years,³⁰ *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism, which adopted its pentecostal pneumatology from the American Assemblies of God, is more flexible about it than their American counterpart. Yonggi Cho, in his *Pneumatology* (1976), wrote that “*glossolalia* itself is not filling in the Spirit even though it is a strong external sign of spiritual experience which is Biblically proved.”³¹ Even though the ‘proof tongues’ is prescribed in the creed of the Korean Assemblies of God,³² it is clear that Cho’s view finds a home in the Yoido Church as well as in the denomination. Later he said in his *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing* (1983) the following: “The evidence of Spirit-baptism is various, but we can take *glossolalia* as the typical external sign of it.”³³ In addition to this, he discusses two other signs: the strong witness of the Gospel in one’s life and inner conviction. Flexibility about the initial evidence is the difference between *Sunbogeum* pneumatology and that of classical pentecostalism. Cho’s view, which closely resembles the Evangelicals and Charismatics, is derived from his understanding of the Scriptures and from his understanding of the subsequent life of the Spirit-baptized believer.³⁴

²⁹ *ibid.*; Seong Chun Oh, *Gifts and Ministry*, Seoul, 1997, pp.120-126; Young-Bae Cha, “Regeneration, Spirit-baptism, and Spirit-Filling,” in *The Work of the Holy Spirit in Modern Church*, Seoul, 1995, pp.31-45; In the revival meetings in Korea, most revivalists have preached that we should be filled in the Spirit or receive the Spirit. A large number of Korean Christians, regardless of denomination, experienced the Spirit through such meetings or at the prayer houses. Therefore, for Korean Evangelical Christians, the expression filling with the Spirit belongs to everyday words while the expression of Spirit-baptism is somewhat unfamiliar to them.

³⁰ Gary B. McGee, ed., *Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Perspectives on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism*, Peabody, MA, 1991. The editor, Professor of Church History at the Assemblies of God Theological Seminary (Springfield), has arranged this publication with an expectation that pentecostal doctrine of initial sign will be further discussed. Through his introduction (XIII-XX) and article (“Early Pentecostal Hermeneutics: Tongues as Evidence in the Book of Acts,” 96-118), he introduced the controversy over this doctrine in pentecostal circles. In this book, Stanley M. Burgess writes that Edward Irving (1792-1834) was the first person in Christian church history that “called *glossolalia* the ‘standing sign’ of the presence of the Spirit” (35) even though the concept of Spirit-baptism had been common throughout church history before pentecostalism (3-40); Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 1988, pp. 330-344. European pentecostals especially have a more flexible view about the proof sign of tongues; Cornelis van der Laan, “The Proceedings of the Leaders’ Meetings (1908-1911) and of International Pentecostal Council (1912-1914),” in *Pneuma* 10/1 (Spring 1988): 40, 41. The doctrine of initial sign was the most debated issue for the early European leaders (40). Jonathan Paul, one of the German pentecostal leaders, not only rejected the doctrine of proof of tongues but also emphasized the fruit of the Spirit (41).

³¹ Yonggi Cho, *Pneumatology*, Seoul, 1976/ 2 ed., 1977, pp.158,167.

³² KAOG, *Denomination Constitution*, 1996, p.9. About the sign of the baptism of the Spirit, the Constitution lays down: “The first sign of the baptism with the Holy Spirit is to speak in tongues. This proof of tongues is the same in essence as the gift of tongues but different in purpose and use.” According to this duality of tongues, even Yonggi Cho wrote that the proof of tongues can disappear after the initial utterance. KAOG received this doctrine of proof of tongues from the American Assemblies of God since its organization and has not changed it.

³³ Yonggi Cho, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing*, Seoul, 1983, pp.117-118.

³⁴ *ibid.*, Actually, for some people, utterances of initial sign ended up as only an initial sign to them because they lost the gift of praying in tongues; Sunghoon Myoung, *With the Holy Spirit: the Guide of the Holy Spirit for Christians*, Seoul, 1993/ 2 ed., 1994, pp.79, 88-89. Myoung denies the doctrine that

Third, the state of the filling with the Spirit is defined as follow: a state in which the gift(s) of the Spirit (external) and the fruit of the Spirit (internal) are continuously filled. Jesus Christ is the model for this state. Therefore, the Spirit-filled life is the same as the Christ-filled life.³⁵ This shift from emphasizing the gifts of the Spirit to harmonizing the gifts and the fruit developed since the 1980s through theological reflection. This view corresponds to a life which has *koinonia* with the Spirit (12.2). At the same time, this view can promote sanctification,³⁶ which was neglected by pentecostalism of the two-stage pattern and *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism in its early days.

Fourth, *Sunbogeumism* has a tendency to use sanctification as a means to receive the Holy Spirit. The two-stage pattern, where it belongs, does not teach a preparation for Spirit baptism. These items are the conditions for receiving the Holy Spirit in the two-stage pattern: repentance, conversion, faith, prayer, expectancy in the promise of God, laying on of hands, yielding, confession, dedication, thanksgiving to God, supplication, and so forth. *Sunbogeumism*, however, teaches the need for a thorough repentance in which one's heart is broken and cleaned. This is a kind of sanctification and this process is included in a three-stage pattern. Yonggi Cho calls attention to the fact that one must not seek Spirit-baptism with a covetous motivation. He also mentions how to discern evil spirits in this context. This prerequisite is related to the Korean culture where shamanistic spirituality and Korean-*Han* (resentment) have long been lodged (3.2.2). Those who had served demons for a long time or suffered from protracted psychological oppression or physical diseases before conversion must be careful to not hastily seek Spirit-baptism until they have perceived the Gospel truth and stabilized their mental outlook.³⁷

Although it aligns itself with the basic doctrine of classical pentecostalism, *Sunbogeum* pneumatology, prefers the expression of infilling with the Holy Spirit to that of baptism with the Holy Spirit. Further, it does not enforce its adherents to accept the traditional doctrine of proof-tongues. The practical teaching of a thorough repentance before Spirit-baptism seems to stand close to three-pattern pentecostalism. These features illustrate the flexibility of *Sunbogeum* pneumatology compared to classical pentecostalism.

In shamanism, only shamans can be possessed by spirits, whereas Korean pentecostalism teaches that any believer can be baptized with the Holy Spirit.³⁸ *Minjung* theology does not view the Holy Spirit as a personal God but sees Him as the "existential being, power and love of God who exists in us and the world" and as "the social experience that participates in the suffering of the masses."³⁹

proof-tongues is the absolute sign of Spirit-baptism. The signs for Spirit-baptism (Spirit-filled) can be manifested in various ways apart from tongues, he argues.

³⁵ Yonggi Cho, *Fivefold Gospel ...*, pp.130-131; This Christ-filled life is a Christ-witnessing and successful life, different from that Moltmann's idea of an affliction-sharing life with Christ.

³⁶ Sunghoon Myoung, *ibid.*, pp.65-66. Yonggi Cho emphasizes the experience of sanctification which takes place as a continuous process of renewal.

³⁷ Yonggi Cho, *Pneumatology*, 1976/ 2ed., 1977, pp.167-189.

³⁸ Jeong-Geun Pak, *Defending Pentecostal Truth*, Seoul, 1970, pp.28-29

³⁹ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *A Theology of Christian Spirituality*, Seoul, 1988, pp.186-187.

12.3.2. Gifts of the Holy Spirit

Originally, pentecostalism defined nine supernatural gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor.12: 1-11) as the main Spiritual gifts for serving God. *Sunbogeum* pneumatology generally conforms to this idea. Therefore, a short discussion, which pays attention to the two aspects of the manifestation of the gifts, will be allotted for this sub-section.

First, both divine healing, which is a decisive help to the congregation and church growth, and prayer in tongues, which aids the personal prayer life, occur frequently. However, prophecy and tongues with interpretation, which may disturb the unity and order of the church, are rarely manifested.⁴⁰ Western classical pentecostalism tends to differ.⁴¹ The Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church expects believers to pray for healing after the message at a regular worship meeting, but prophecy and tongues accompanied with interpretation are not routinely expected.

Second, *Sunbogeum* pneumatology has been developing a comprehensive doctrine about the *charismata* even though it has devoted more energy to discuss the *pneumatika* (1 Cor.12: 1-11). This tendency is not much different from classical pentecostalism. In 1983, however, Yonggi Cho acknowledged that there are nearly 30 *charismata* in the Bible, but he emphasized that the most important gifts are the nine *pneumatika*, which are described in the twelfth chapter of First Corinthians.⁴² In the early part of the 1990s, Sunghoon Myoung began to introduce the 27 gifts of the Spirit, which were taught by Peter Wagner.⁴³ In 1997, Jeong-Ryeol Pak categorized the gifts of the Spirit into two groups – the group which accomplishes *diakonia* (office or service) and includes the various kinds of natural gifts (Rom.12: 3-8) as well as ecclesiological offices (Eph. 4:11-12), and the group of gifts which perform miracles (1 Cor.12:4-11).⁴⁴ However, the distinction between these two groups are functional, not essential (separation of natural and supernatural). The gifts of both groups are ministered by and through the Holy Spirit.⁴⁵ Further developments on this subject are expected in pentecostal theology.

Among the gifts of the Holy Spirit *Sunbogeumism* is more interested in divine healing and speaking in tongues because these two gifts easily attract people's attention and help churches grow. Furthermore, *glossolalia* is believed to be a basic tool which causes one to pray more, thus leading one to receive other spiritual gifts. Theoretically, *Sunbogeum* pneumatology acknowledges many other natural gifts that are given through the Holy Spirit. The emphasis on these two spiritual gifts is

⁴⁰ Cho, "Written Interview Paper with Paul Yonggi Cho," quoted from Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension ...*, pp.91-92. This is the case of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church. Yonggi Cho encourages those gifts that help church growth. Consequently, healing and prayer in tongues are promoted while prophecy and tongues-interpretation are not emphasized because prophecy might be accepted by Koreans as fortune-telling, says Yonggi Cho. This is a general tendency in Korean Pentecostals regardless of the size of the congregation or meeting group.

⁴¹ According to the experience of the author, the AAOG (for example, the Central Assemblies of God at Springfield, Missouri, 1981-1982) and German pentecostalism (the reports of the general assemblies of *Bund Freikirchlicher Pfingstgemeinden* from 1985-1988) have occasional visions, tongues and interpretations, and prophecies.

⁴² idem, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation*, p.119. He did not describe other gifts except those of the First Corinthians.

⁴³ Sunghoon Myoung, *With the Holy Spirit*, pp.139-159.

⁴⁴ Pak, *ibid.*, p.146. Pak also introduced Peter Wagner's view of 27 gifts.

⁴⁵ Stanley M. Horton, *What the Bible Says about the Holy Spirit*, 1976, pp.231, 263-283.

criticized by the Tonghap Denomination on the grounds that it loses sight of other gifts.⁴⁶

12.3.3. *Fruit of the Holy Spirit*

The fruit of the Spirit was not discussed by pentecostalism or *Sunbogeumism* early in their beginnings.⁴⁷ Here we can refer to the Assemblies of God: its theology was partly influenced by the doctrinal views of William H. Durham, who denied the Wesleyan-Holiness view of the three-stage pattern of conversion, sanctification, and Spirit-baptism, and introduced the two-stage pattern of conversion and Spirit-baptism.⁴⁸ According to him, this view was based on the finished work of Calvary. Thus, this doctrine found some common ground with the Reformed-evangelical tradition of justification by faith, which contributed to keeping enthusiastic, hard-working pentecostals from falling into work-righteousness (11.3.2).⁴⁹ However, on the ground that every regenerated Christian is believed to be qualified for Spirit-baptism, the pursuit of power for service through Spirit-baptism was emphasized while sanctification as a lifelong process was minimized. Over time, in response to the criticisms of other theological circles and self-reflection, those advocating the two-stage pattern began to call attention to sanctification and *Sunbogeumism* followed.

Sunbogeumism does not have a unified view about the qualifications for bearing Spiritual fruit. Yonggi Cho, the International Theological Institute, and Jeong-Geun Pak believe that those who are baptized with the Spirit can provide the fruit of the Spirit, while Jeong-Ryeol Pak and Sunghoon Myoung believe that all regenerated believers will bear it.⁵⁰ The fruit of the Spirit is understood in connection with its emphasis on *koinonia* with the Spirit (12.2.1). Yonggi Cho wrote that when a man is continuously filled with the gifts and fruit of the Spirit, he is in a state of being Spirit-filled.⁵¹ A life imbued with spiritual gifts and fruit is closely related to Cho's theological method for having a renewal of the mind (8.3.4.2). According to this view, a Spirit-filled life which bears fruit can be realized through a reformation at one's consciousness but not by a repeated experience with the Spirit. Sunghoon Myoung wrote that the fruit of the Spirit is the character of Christ and the nature of God, which can be borne through living together with the Holy Spirit. At the same

⁴⁶ The 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Church, *ibid*.

⁴⁷ The American Assemblies of God (Myer Pearlman, *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible*, 1937. Ralph M. Riggs, *The Spirit Himself*, 1950) and Yonggi Cho (*Pneumatology*, 1976) as well as Jeong-Geun Pak (*Defending of Pentecostal Truth*, 1970) did not deal with the fruit of Spirit. In both parties, fruit was discussed later.

⁴⁸ Vinson Synan, "Pentecostalism: Varieties and Contributions," in *Pneuma* (Fall 1986), 35. Wesleyan pentecostals, who take second blessing as sanctification and the third as Spirit-baptism, still place emphasis on sanctification. Church of God (Cleveland, TN), the Pentecostal Holiness Church (Oklahoma City, OK), and Church of God in Christ (Memphis, TN) belong to this.

⁴⁹ D. William Faupel, "William H. Durham and the Finished Work of Calvary," in *Pentecost, Mission, and Ecumenism. Essays on Intercultural Theology*. Festschrift in Honour of Professor Walter J. Hollenweger, edited by Jan A. B. Jongeneel, a.o., Frankfurt am Main, 1992, pp.85-95.

⁵⁰ Yonggi Cho, *Fivefold Gospel* ..., pp.114-115; Jeong-Geun Pak, *Defending of Pentecostal Truth*, Seoul, 1979, p.190; ITI, *ibid.*, p.95; Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*, Seoul, 1997, pp.78-92; Sunghoon Myoung, *With the Holy Spirit*, 1993/2ed., 1994, p.189.

⁵¹ Yonggi Cho, *Fivefold gospel* ..., pp.130-131.

time, he wrote that love (as a fruit of the Spirit) is not only the method for exercising the gifts but it is also the ultimate concern for Christians because it is eternal and indispensable to every Christian.⁵² Fruit is the inner attitude which needs to be visible in behaviour. The relationship between holiness, sanctification, and the fruit of the Spirit was formulated by Cho as follows: the proof of holiness is the fruit of the Spirit and the whole course from regeneration to glorification is the process of sanctification.⁵³

Sunbogeum pneumatology has received criticism. The Tonghap Denomination pointed out its weaknesses: it leads to the tendency of supernaturalism which opens the possibility for direct revelation by an excessive and narrow view of the work of the Spirit; it encourages blessing-seeking faith through an emphasis on work of the Spirit in the realm of individual blessing; it over-emphasizes certain gifts of the Spirit instead of promoting a variety of spiritual gifts; and it manifests an artificial element through an exceedingly positive-thinking and fourth-dimensional idea of the work of the Spirit.⁵⁴ In addition to this, Jürgen Moltmann's Trinitarian pneumatology can be used as a critique of *Sunbogeumism's* Christological pneumatology on three points. First, Moltmann's tri-solidarity Trinity calls for a *pneumatologia crucis* – the Third Person of the Trinity also took part in the suffering of Christ because the tri-personality always shares everything. This ethical view about the Passion of the Spirit can be both a critic and a complement to the functional and power-oriented pneumatology of *Sunbogeumism*, especially when believers share their difficulties with others to help them heal, using the power of the Spirit. Second, Moltmann's continuity/immanency idea between God's Spirit (as the power of creation and the source of life) and His creation (as the *Schöpfungsgemeinschaft*) criticizes the strong tendency of discontinuity and the narrowness of *Sunbogeum* pneumatology, which takes the Spirit only as the Spirit of Christ (*spiritus sanctificans*), taking little account of the Spirit of the Father (*spiritus vivificans*). Third, Moltmann's Trinitarian pneumatology promotes the mutual relationship between the Son and the Spirit because the Spirit was sent by the Son and the Son was conceived and ministered to by the Spirit. Thus, his ideas appear to be a criticism to the one-sidedness of the subordinate pneumatology (*filioque*) of *Sunbogeumism*.⁵⁵

⁵² Sunghoon Myoung, *ibid.*, pp.126-128,183-189. He formulated the similarity and the difference between gifts and fruit. The similarity: both originate from the Spirit; both are super-natural; the ultimate goal of both is to build up; both need to be trained for maturity; and both are interrelated organically. The difference: fruit is the result of inner dwelling of the Spirit while gift is power itself; by nature, fruit is ethical (people-oriented) while gifts are charismatic (task-oriented); fruit is indispensable to all while gift is selective; fruit begins to be borne from regeneration while gifts are manifested from Spirit-baptism; gifts are temporary while fruit is eternal.

⁵³ *ibid.*, pp.115, 123.

⁵⁴ The 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Church, *ibid.* See 8.3.2. This criticism was pointed at pentecostalism in general as well as at Yonggi Cho's pneumatology, especially in its idea related to Fourth Dimension.

⁵⁵ Moltmann, *Der Geist des Lebens ...*, pp.28, 48, 51, 75, 84. This is more a relational discussion and comparison between these two views in pneumatology than criticism.

12.4. CONCLUSION

Promoting a personal relationship with the Holy Spirit who abides in us as the *Parakletos* through worshipping, welcoming Him, and talking to Him, *Sunbogeum* pneumatology teaches believers to have a personal relationship with the Holy Spirit. Through this *koinonia*, the life of Jesus Christ will be present in our lives, a state of being filled with the Spirit. The Korean traditional religious heritage (especially shamanism) provided good soil for this development. Following the *filioque* tradition, *Sunbogeumism* pursues a church-centred pneumatology, and also shows an openness to pneumatological dynamism. It is a Christ-centred pneumatology which emphasizes the personality of the Spirit and acknowledges the real presence of Christ through the Spirit. Therefore, it believes that Spirit-filled Christians may “recreate” Christ in their lives through the Spirit so that they can live as Christ lived on earth. By not making the initial sign of speaking in tongues a binding doctrine and preferring the expression of infilling of the Spirit to baptism in the Spirit, it shares more common ground with the Charismatic pneumatology than that of the American-European Assemblies of God. God’s common grace is only regarded as a theological and Biblical acknowledgement, but it does emphasize the redemptive grace of the Spirit. Its primary concern, then, is related to church growth and evangelization.

Sunbogeum pneumatology accepts the numerous *charismata* of the Spirit while nine gifts (1 Cor.12) are given more emphasis. In the 1980s it began to realize it had a one-sided pursuit of the gifts of the Spirit. Ever since then it has taken a growing interest in the fruit of the Spirit. Nevertheless, both divine healing and speaking in tongues, which can be effective for church growth in a short span of time, are still highly viewed. Furthermore, it shows a tendency for viewing sanctification as the prerequisite to the infilling of the Holy Spirit (three-stage) by saying we have to thoroughly repent and be free of sin as well as from traditional religious connections.

The strengths and weaknesses of *Sunbogeum* pneumatology are connected to those of *Sunbogeum* theology in general (cf. 8.4) because *Sunbogeumism* as pentecostalism connects to its pneumatology. The strength of *Sunbogeum* pneumatology can be found in its positive view of the practical manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the church and Christian life. Its emphasis and practice of *koinonia* with the Holy Spirit can help *Sunbogeum* pentecostals to avoid using God as means for their own benefit (cf. 8.4). Moreover it helps them experience the Trinitarian God. Its acceptance of the *filioque* doctrine frees them from religious syncretism with shamanism (cf. 10.2.3).

The weaknesses of *Sunbogeum* pneumatology, however, is its narrowness. It mainly confines God’s salvific grace to His own people, the church. Its emphasis on both the infilling and *koinonia* with the Spirit may separate the Spirit from the relational ministry of the Trinitarian God (Tonghap Denomination). The emphasis on the personality of the Spirit tends to receive holistic salvation through the power of the Spirit rather than promote a loving relationship in the church, let alone in society (Moltmann). *Sunbogeum* theology’s own reflections (cf. 7.3.2.1; 7.3.2.4) along with the warnings of its pneumatology (Tonghap Denomination) contributed to *Sunbogeum* pneumatology developing a pneumatology that can harmonize both

the gifts and fruit of the Spirit. Such tendencies and weaknesses are being solved over time, according to the development of *Sunbogeum* theology in general.

13. Ecclesiology

13.1. INTRODUCTION

Pentecostalism as a renewal movement has especially displayed weakness in its ecclesiology.¹ Having developed neither an ecclesiology like the sacramental and canonical institution of Catholicism nor the doctrinal formulation of Reformation (like Calvin's *Institutio*), it has understood the church as an organic whole, not as an institution, which is composed of those who are redeemed by the blood of Christ and born in the Holy Spirit. In accordance with its various experiences, pentecostalism shows diversity in ecclesial forms.² *Sunbogeum* ecclesiology is similar. It believes that the Christian church was born on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1-4) as the body of a Spirit-filled community, and it teaches that the contemporary church must follow this paradigm so that its worship meetings conform to the church of Pentecost day. Accordingly, Spirit-filled laymen will be maneuvered to be the main function of *ecclesia*. As an organic movement, ecclesiology is also in a state of flux.³ Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church, which has modeled a pneumatological ecclesiology, has been questioning whether this church has a genuine ecclesiology.⁴

We will discuss the aspects of *Sunbogeum* ecclesiology's nature (13.2), ministry (13.3), ordinances and organization (13.4), in which framework we will also deal with the relationship between the church and the state. *The Truth of Sunbogeum II* (1979) by Yonggi Cho and *Pentecostal Theology* (1996) of Jeong-Ryeol Pak will be the main reference books for this chapter. *The Church in the Power of the Spirit* (1975/ 1977) by Jürgen Moltmann and the report of the 79th General Assembly of Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination over Yonggi Cho's theology will be referred to as critical reflections on *Sunbogeum* ecclesiology.

13.2. THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH (*ECCLESIA*)

The Korean Assemblies of God defines the nature and purpose of the church by addressing three aspects: salvation, worship, and the edification of the saints into the image of Christ.⁵ Yonggi Cho uses the title 'Church as the Body of Christ' as the

¹ Kilian McDonnell, "Improvable Conversation: The International Classical Pentecostal/ Roman Catholic Dialogue," in *Pneuma* 17/2 (Fall 1995), 163.

² Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 1988, pp.424-429.

³ Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1993, p.54. Myoung writes that theology is to explain the work of the Holy Spirit, not the other way around.

⁴ See the section 7.3.1; Pastor P., one of the leaders of the KAOG told the author that the ecclesiology of the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church does not match traditional ecclesiology (general conservative KAOG congregations follow the form of evangelical/traditional form in ecclesiology). This means that *Sunbogeumism* is still not a unified theology even among the members of the Korean Assemblies of God. Nevertheless, the majority of the Korean Assemblies of God pastors wish to have a congregation as successful as the Yoido Church. This contradiction may be only solved through sound theological judgement.

⁵ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, Seoul, 1996, pp.181-183.

heading of his chapter on ecclesiology in his description of *Sunbogeum* doctrines. Here, he defines the church as a spiritual gathering of those who are saved in Christ through God's choice and calling.⁶ He identifies the nature of the church in the Biblical interpretation of the Greek word *ecclesia* – a gathering of those who are 'called out.' This *ecclesia* exists in a fourfold essence: Christ is its foundation and head through His redemption; the Holy Spirit works in and through it for sanctification, building up the holy temple, protection, and eventually the presence of Christ in Him; redeemed people, as children of God belong to the truth, God's own possession; and it is in the world and sent into the world without belonging to the world.⁷ In relation to the ministry and mission of the church, Moon-Ok Park pneumatically presents *ecclesia* as the *Sitz im Leben* of Christopraxis through which godless and suppressed people will be saved and freed.⁸ We can notice that *Sunbogeum* ecclesiology, which is derived from the teaching of the Scriptures centering around the definition of *ecclesia*, manifests its Christological and pneumatological features in its nature. This definition is similar to that of other pentecostals.

13.3. THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

The ministry of the church by *Sunbogeumism*'s standards will be divided into the following items: worship, education, fellowship/service, and ecumenism and mission. Its mission will be explained in the next chapter.

13.3.1. Worship

Sunbogeumism regards the worshipping of God as the primary task of the church.⁹ This is different from other Pentecostals, who generally put world evangelization at the head of their ministry.¹⁰ *Sunbogeum* ecclesiology posits that a Spirit-filled worship meeting is the priority of its ecclesial ministry because people not only worship God in the Spirit but also receive salvation, the Holy Spirit, the gifts of the Spirit, healings, and other blessings during the worship meeting in order to be witnesses of Christ in the world.¹¹ In other words, worshipping God is not only the primary ministry of *ecclesia* but is also the spiritual source for all other activities. It seems that traditional Korean religiosity (chapter 3), which has been influenced by traditional *Hananim* faith, authoritative Confucianism, Taoism, *Mahayana*

⁶ Yonggi Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeumism II*, 1979, Seoul, pp.374-375.

⁷ *ibid.*, pp.374-394.

⁸ Moon-Ok Park, "Theological Prologue for Ministry of Pentecost," in *The Collection of Professors' Essays VIII, in Honour of President Kyu-Ho Lee on his 70th Year*, Soon Shin University, 1996, pp.222, 231, 251.

⁹ Cho, *ibid.*, p.396.

¹⁰ Michael L. Dusing, "The New Testament Church," in *STAPP*, 1994, ed., by Stanley M. Horton, p.525-526; Myer Pearlman, *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible*, translated into Korean by Hee Sook Lee, Seoul, 1968, pp.424-425; Guy P. Duffield and Nathaniel M. van Cleave, *Foundations of Pentecostal Theology*, translated into Korean by Yeol-Su Im, Seoul, 1992, p.740. The first two writers belong to the AAOG and the third to the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. All these three writers put world mission or evangelization as the first mission of the church.

¹¹ Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, 1993, pp.76-82.

Buddhism and shamanism, has caused Korean pentecostals to make worshipping God their primary task. Worship is a spiritual need and the sign of faith and obedience to God.¹² Another important factor for a *Sunbogeum* worship meeting is prayer, an essential part of all worship meetings in *Sunbogeumism*.¹³ Worship is regarded as a celebration, a heavenly banquet, rather than a religious ritual.¹⁴

Composed of the four main elements of praise, prayer, the Word of God, and offering, the *Sunbogeum* worship service does not differ much from those of other Korean evangelicals.¹⁵ Therefore, *Sunbogeum* pentecostals can worship God together with Presbyterians, Methodists and Holiness Christians at the local level (cf.6.5.6). Likewise, it also holds the preaching of the Word as the most important element. Because God is Spirit, only those who are born of water and Spirit are qualified to be preachers and worshippers (John 2:24; 3:5). Moreover, having spiritual worship means that one must present his body as a living and holy sacrifice to God in everyday life. This living sacrifice is an element of worship and is a fruit of holistic salvation – the salvation of spirit, soul, body, and circumstances (8.3).¹⁶

13.3.2. Education

Sunbogeum Church does not neglect teaching. Its theological education follows in step with other Protestant churches in Korea (7.3.2.3). The Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church has developed a well-organized teaching programme for Sunday school and laymen. The Charter of *Sunbogeum* Education formulated by the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church states:

The purpose of *Sunbogeum* education is to lead humans who lost the image of God, to find themselves through the cross of Christ, meet God, and personally accept Him, who is the Lord of Creation, Providence, and Redemption so that they will reach the whole salvation of Jesus Christ who saved them through the cross and further leads them to sanctification through the help of the Holy Spirit and the teaching of God's Word in the church, which is the Body of Christ, which instructs them so that they may long for the eternal kingdom of God and preach the joyful news of salvation to the end of the world.¹⁷

To fulfill this purpose, the Yoido Church has developed various kinds of educational organizations and materials for the church. In 1981, Cho published a series of Bible study in twelve booklets, which explain the whole Scriptures in 38 lessons. To train Sunday school teachers, it also established educational institutes in the church (see 7.3.1.7).

¹² Cho, *ibid.*, pp.396-400.

¹³ See 3.2.1; 3.2.2; 4.3.1.4; 6.2.7; and 7.3.1.2.

¹⁴ Myoung, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Clapping hands, unison-prayer with hands up (especially, worship service at prayer house), preaching according to the preplanned text, and tithing are generally found at the worship meeting of *Sunbogeum* pentecostals, but dancing in the Spirit, praising in tongues, preaching without written text (following spontaneous inspiration) are hardly found among them. Traces of Asiatic moderateness and Confucian formality seem to be manifested here.

¹⁶ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *ibid.*, pp.234-241.

¹⁷ Yoido Full Gospel Church, ed., *Sunday School Prospectus-1995*, Seoul, p.4.

13.3.3. Fellowship and Service

The fellowship between Christ and the believer comes first. This *koinonia* is realized through the Holy Spirit (12.2). The horizontal fellowship among believers, which is achieved by *agape*, is rooted in this vertical relationship between Christ and believers. All churches, excluding heretics, on earth must have *koinonia* because this universal church was established by the same Spirit and belongs to the one Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁸ Jeong-Ryeol Pak believes that if fellowship is lacking in the church community, the church cannot experience a revival.¹⁹

The service of the church must start in the congregation and should eventually include outsiders like the poor, the crippled, the lame, and the blind in its *diakonia* and fellowship (Luke 14:12-14), writes Pak.²⁰ Pak further describes how the congregation of believers should serve the pastor by respecting him, praying for him, accompanying him as needed, supporting him with finances, and obeying him.²¹ The services of the pastor and deacons to the congregation need the guidance and gifts of the Holy Spirit (whether natural or supernatural), Pak claims. Criticism for its narrowness in understanding the Christ-centered gathering of *ecclesia* will be discussed in the following sub-section (13.4.3).

13.3.4. Ecumenism

The biography of David Du Plessis (1905-1987), clearly describes how the Holy Spirit plays a leading part in the ecumenical movement.²² Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. contends that “we pentecostals are ecumenical, we just don’t know it.”²³ Walter J. Hollenweger had already noticed that “the pentecostal movement started as an ecumenical revival movement within the traditional churches.”²⁴ The pentecostal movement as a spiritual revival is ecumenical in itself. Even though it is diverse, its driving force for both the unity of the church and evangelization of the world has not been lost. *Sunbogeumism* quickly engaged these tasks compared to most of the Assemblies of God. The application of the cell system, which is based upon the mobilization of lay people (6.4.2) and the foundation of *The Kookmin-Ilbo Daily News* by the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church in 1988, are good examples of its practical participation in ecumenism. The idea of a holistic salvation (spirit, soul, body, and circumstance) through the Holy Spirit indicates its concern for society (7.3.1.6) with openness and ecumenity.

¹⁸ Cho, *ibid.*, pp.406-409. Yonggi Cho generally has an ecumenical vision of Christ’s church.

¹⁹ Pak, *ibid.*, p.259.

²⁰ *ibid.*, pp.259-260.

²¹ *ibid.*, pp.252-255. This practical instruction seems to be a very ‘Korean’ statement. However, Korean Christians generally respect their pastors more than is usual in western society. Likewise, *Sunbogeum* pastors may be more authoritative and respected by their congregations than the pastors of western society by their congregations. The author has experienced this difference.

²² Bob Slosser, *A Man Called Mr. Pentecost: David Du Plessis*. Plainfield, NJ, 1977.

²³ Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., “Taking Stock of Pentecostalism: The Personal Reflections of a Retiring Editor,” in *Pneuma*, vol. 15/1(Spring 1993): 35-60 (cited from p.39). Robeck, who is a pastor of the American Assemblies of God and a professor at the Fuller Theological Seminary, is one of the leaders of ecumenical dialogues.

²⁴ Walter J. Hollenweger, “The Pentecostal Movement and the World Council of Churches,” in *The Ecumenical Review* 18 (July 1966), quoted from Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *loc. cit.*

The Korean Assemblies of God has a Committee of Theological Development and a Committee of Countermeasure to Pseudo-Christianity; however, it does not have a Committee for Keeping Pure Doctrines as the American Assemblies of God does.²⁵ It joined the Korea National Council of Churches in 1996 (cf. 7.3.2). This differs from many European and American Assemblies of God that still resist this. The general secretary of the World Council of Churches visited the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church in 1996. During that time, he mentioned that he felt the explosive power of the Holy Spirit in this church and indicated the necessity of a joint operation between them.²⁶ Two representatives of the Korean Assemblies of God attended the full general assembly of the World Council of Churches by invitation as a member church of the Korea National Council of Churches in Zimbabwe (December 1998).²⁷ In 1995, when Jürgen Moltmann was invited by the Kijang Presbyterian Church, a progressive and ecumenical-oriented Presbyterian denomination in Korea, Yonggi Cho and Moltmann had an ecumenical talk on the theme “Is there a hope for the critical 21st century?”²⁸ Harvey Cox was invited by the International Theological Institute, which belongs to the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church, as one of the main readers for the Fifth International Theological Conference on the Holy Spirit in 1996.²⁹

As we have already observed, the doctrine of the initial physical evidence is not demanded in the Korean Assemblies of God as in other Assemblies of God. The ecumenical tendency of *Sunbogeumism* is a result of Yonggi Cho’s originality in his theological reasoning (6.3.2.2), his worldwide ministry in evangelical circles regardless of denominational backgrounds, and his task-oriented vision of world evangelization. In addition, Hansei University, which was developed from the *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary of 1953, the International Theological Institute (7.3.1.7), and some young denominational scholars also contributed to the Christian ecumenism.³⁰ Despite this ecumenism, however, it does not extend its dialogue to *Minjung* theology because the latter holds entirely different theological viewpoints.

²⁵ KAOG, *Minutes* (1996,1997). The Committee of Theological Development is an organization which mainly studies the development of denominational theological institutes. But it had researched the WCC and the Korean National Council of Churches (KNCC), which is not subordinate to but related to the WCC, and reported positively so that the general assemblies of KAOG were able to decide to join the KNCC. In 1997, it had its 22nd meeting. The Committee of Countermeasure to Pseudo-Christianity is set up for the study of heretic groups outside the denomination.

²⁶ *Kookmin-Ilbo Daily News*, Seoul (17. 10. 1997).

²⁷ Jong Sun Paik, the general secretary of the KAOG, and Young-Man Kang (KAOG), a KNCC member of the International Affairs Committee, attended the general assembly of the WCC (December 3-14, 1998). Yonggi Cho had been invited as a guest (the leader of the pentecostal movement) but he was not able to attend.

²⁸ “A Special Talk: Pastor Yonggi Cho versus Dr. Moltmann,” in *Sinang-Gye* (Faith World) (October 1995), pp.30-37.

²⁹ ICI, ed., *The Holy Spirit and Church Renewal*, the report of the 5th International Theological Conference on the Holy Spirit (26. 8. 1996), pp.99-164. Cox had an interview with Cho and held a lecture at Soonshin (Hansei) University during his visit.

³⁰ For example, Young Hoon Lee (Ph. D. at Temple University) as the leader of ITI, Wonsuk Ma (Ph. D. at Fuller Theological Seminary) as the Academic Dean of Asia Pacific Theological Seminary (Philippines) and the Associate Editor of the *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* (from 1998), and Sunghoon Myoung (Ph. D. at Fuller Theological Seminary) as the director of Church Growth Institute (Seoul).

13.4. THE ORDINANCES AND ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

According to its pneumatological ecclesiology, *Sunbogeumism* discloses a dynamic understanding of ordinances. Its organization into a juridical structure contradicts its organic body. The relationship between the state and the church remains more a theoretical acknowledgement than a practice.

13.4.1. Ordinances

Water baptism and the Lord's Supper (Holy Communion) are prescribed as ordinances³¹ by the Korean Assemblies of God. Infant baptism is denied – dedication of infants is allowed – and believers are baptized by immersion by an ordained minister. The Lord's Supper as a means of God's grace, increases His love and faith for participants³² and signifies the commemoration of and participation in Christ's death and resurrection.³³ This view is the same as that of the American Assemblies of God. The baptismal ceremony follows the example of the Baptist church; however, the doctrine of the Holy Communion is influenced by Zwingli (commemoration) and Calvinism (spiritual presence of the Lord).

Yonggi Cho has three different ideas about ordinances. First, he has an efficacy view of the Lord's Supper, which was introduced by his publication *A Commentary on the I Corinthians* (1983). Until that time, he had followed the doctrine of classical pentecostalism, which is described in his doctrinal book *The Truth of Sunbogeumism II* (1979). In his commentary on First Corinthians 11:23-26, he contends that the Lord's Supper is not a symbol but a living power. He writes that “when we bless the bread before the Lord, the power of God's Spirit is present at/in the bread and when we take the bread, it will bring the same effect as taking the real flesh of Jesus Christ.”³⁴ This principle is applied to the cup as well. Consequently, the effect of the broken body and blood of Jesus is present through the Spirit. Through the Lord's Supper, one can, in practice, receive all the grace that God bestows through Christ's redemption, namely the blessing of the Fivefold Gospel. Even though this view stands close to Calvinistic doctrine, it also goes beyond it and has some similarity with Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation. Cho's idea follows his theological methodology of the fourth dimension, Spirit controls matter (8.3.3).

Second, Cho puts baptism with the Spirit in the realm of the ecclesial ritual after water baptism. He says, “sacraments (or ordinances), where belong baptism and Holy Communion, and ceremony (or ritual) of divine healing are the most central

³¹ The Korean word for this expression can be translated into ordinance, holy ritual (holy ceremony), or sacrament. Sacrament and ordinances can be used interchangeably even though there is difference in theological meaning between them (Michael L. Dusing, “The New Testament Church” in *STAPP*, pp.556-558).

³² KAOG does not prescribe the qualification for the participant, just mentioning ‘all belonged to the church.’ Generally, water-baptized members are allowed. Exceptionally, when one is known to be saved and is baptized with the Holy Spirit without having water-baptism, he may be allowed to it by the performer's discretion.

³³ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *ibid.*, pp.182, 222-231. Participation with Christ's resurrection means that participants would be witnesses of Christ and wait for His coming with hope.

³⁴ Yonggi Cho, *A Commentary on the I Corinthians*, Seoul, 1983, p.238.

ritual of the church.”³⁵ Cho explains water baptism and baptism of the Holy Spirit consecutively. As the Spirit-baptism of Christ is indispensable for the witness of Christ, it was counted as a sacramental order by him.

Third, Cho regards healings as an ecclesial ritual.³⁶ He pointed out several reasons why Christ’s church can and must practise healings: the original sin of humans, from which all disease springs, was redeemed by Christ and healings are included in His redemption; Jesus healed diseases and cast out demons on earth through the power of the Spirit; the Spirit in the church does the same thing that Christ did; the gifts of healing are given to the church (1 Cor.12:28; James 5:14-16); and the church as the foothold of the kingdom of God must carry out healings. As the body of Christ, the church has the right and responsibility to cast out demons and heal diseases like Christ did during His ministry on earth, he argues.

Cho’s thoughts on the efficacy view on the communion, the teaching of the baptism in the Spirit, and holding healings as an ecclesial ritual were labeled as problematic in relation to pentecostalism in general,³⁷ however, Cho does not contend he is introducing new doctrines or renouncing existing ones, but he states that what he has found is in the Bible. In this sense, *Sunbogeum* ecclesiology, as well as its theology, are a growing process.

13.4.2. Organization and Polity

The organic whole of pentecostal structures inevitably needs organization. According to *Sunbogeumism*, the necessity for ecclesial organization is found in the analogy that the church is the body of Christ with many members (Rom.12:3-9; 1 Cor.12:12-30). Therefore, it must be an organic organization. Its objective is defined by the teaching of Paul to the Ephesians – the equipping of the saints for the work of service and the building up of the body of Christ (Eph.4:11,12).³⁸ In the revised constitution of the denomination (1992), the qualifications demanded for ordained ministry are as follows: those who have finished the denominational graduate school of theology or ministry (cf. 7.3.2.3); those who have received the baptism with the Holy Spirit with the initial physical evidence; a minimum of two years’ experience in independent ministry or a minimum of three years’ experience as an assistant pastors under a senior pastor; and a minimum age of 30 years for married men. The prerequisite of a high theological education for *Sunbogeum* ministry (cf. 7.3.2.3) is characteristic among pentecostal circles around the world.

The strict rules for women’s ordination in the Korean Assemblies of God needs to be mentioned. Even though the roles of women in Korean pentecostalism from its infancy included foreign independent women missionaries (5.3.1), the women leaders of the post-war developments (5.5.2.2; 5.5.2.3), the prominent leader Ja-Sil Choe (6.3), women prayer intercessors, cell leaders and pastoral ministers, women are treated differently from men in the requirements for ordination despite their

³⁵ idem, *The Truth of Sunbogeum II*, 1979, pp.414-419. Quoted from 414-415.

³⁶ ibid., pp.424-427. Exorcisms are naturally included in divine healing (6.4.7).

³⁷ The 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination, “A Report of the Result of Study over Yonggi Cho’s Pseudo Christianity,” 1994, recited from *Church and Faith* (January 1995):135-142.

³⁸ ibid., pp.427-429.

importance in Korean Pentecostalism. In September 1984, the draft for female ordination passed the extraordinary general assembly of the Korean Assemblies of God for the first time. The requirements for women ordination at this time included graduation from the denominational seminary; fifteen years serving experience as pastors (seven years of which were spent as independent pastors); and a minimum of 45-years-old. At the same time, men had only a minimum of two years' continuous ministerial experience and a minimum age of 27 years.³⁹ According to the amendment of 1992, however, the requirements for men's ordination were changed from the minimum age of 27 to 30 with married status, while women maintained a minimum age of 45 years with five years experience pioneering an individual church after seminary or seven years dependent ministry of a church.⁴⁰ Today, the women's ordination age is 40 – still 10 years older than men.⁴¹ There are 105 female ordained pastors and 1,250 unordained women assistant pastors among 3,800 pastors of the Korean Assemblies of God.⁴² In the case of the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church, there is only one female ordained pastor along with 296 unordained women pastors among a total of 600 pastors.⁴³ The Yoido Church has a higher proportion of female ministers (the proportion of women to men is almost 1:1) than the denomination's about 1:3, whereas the proportion of ordained women to unordained women by the Yoido Church is 1:296 (only 0,3%) and the denomination's is 105:1250 (about 8%). The Yoido Church needs more assistant female pastors, who serve the church under the leadership of male pastors; most ordained denominational women pastors independently serve congregations. The reason for the higher requirements for women's ordination is that Korean pentecostalism is fundamentalistic in its understanding of the Scriptures (1 Cor.11:3; 14:34,35; 1 Tim.2:11-15) and still follows the Confucian way of conservative Eastern tradition.⁴⁴

The organization of *Sunbogeumism* is also characterized by the “tension between the *charisma*, which is responsible for the formation of the Assemblies of God, and the emergent church-bureaucracy, which must support a successful organization.”⁴⁵ The institutionalized and bureaucratic mechanism, which had been built up by exercising the Spiritual *charismata*, began to restrain the work of the Spirit and eventually became a danger to *Sunbogeum* ecclesiology and the American Assemblies of God.⁴⁶ The representative of *Sunbogeumism* and the church growth

³⁹ KAOG, *Denomination Constitution*, revised, III/chap.6, 1984.

⁴⁰ idem, *Constitution*, III/chap.6, 1996 (revised in 1992).

⁴¹ Hyeon-Seung Sim, telephone interview to the general headquarters of the KAOG (19.6.2002). This revision has taken place since December 1999.

⁴² ibid. This number is the standard of April 2002.

⁴³ Telephone interview to the personnel section of the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church (20.6.2002). This is the standard of 2002. Among 303 men pastors, more than half of them are ordained pastors.

⁴⁴ According to telephone interviews to other denominations in Korea, the author found out that the progressive Kijang denomination has the highest proportion of ordained female ministers, next comes the Methodist denomination. The conservative Haptong as well as Kosin denominations do not have ordinance for female ordination yet. The author was not able to get the exact statistics for these denominations.

⁴⁵ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Charismatisch-pfingstliches Christentum: Herkunft Situation Ökumenische Chancen*, Göttingen, 1997, pp.290.

⁴⁶ ibid., 289-291. Hollenweger only mentioned the dangerous aspects of the institutionalized bureaucracy of the Assemblies of God as well as the general pentecostal/charismatic movement.

movement, the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church, exposes this problem.⁴⁷ This phenomenon is paradoxical because pentecostalism originally strived to follow the guidance of the Spirit. This is a theological problem for *Sunbogeumism* and pentecostal/charismatic movements in general.⁴⁸

Finally, *Sunbogeumism* adopted the system of the American Assemblies of God, which had mainly adopted the Presbyterian format without entirely abandoning the merits of episcopalianism and congregationalism. This system has three levels: the local church government, which has a general assembly of all members and a ruling body of elders (the pastor and a minimum of two elders); a regional organization of the geographical district council; and the general assembly of the denomination. The autonomy of the local churches is relatively great, while the superior authorities are mainly used for constitutional matters. It is worth noting that *Sunbogeum* clergy seem to have more authority than the clergy of the Assemblies of God in the Western world.⁴⁹

13.4.3. Church and State

Pentecostal theology manifests a clear interest in ecumenism (cf. 13.3.4) but has rarely discussed the relationship between church and state. There are, of course, differences between the theologies of the Roman Catholic and Reformation churches (from their beginnings they were involved in discussing the relationship between church and state), and the pentecostal theology of the 20th century, which was developed at a time when religious freedom was generally secured in the West. *Sunbogeumism*, however, in accordance to its view of holistic salvation (spirit, soul, body, and circumstances/ 8.3.2), also began to address this relationship.

While Yonggi Cho only discussed the church and the world (13.2), Jeong-Ryeol Pak dealt with the state. Even though *Sunbogeumism* follows Luther's two governments theory (15.2), Pak introduced three aspects about their relationship,

⁴⁷ Sunghoon Myoung, *Spiritual Dimension of Church Growth*, Seoul, 1995, pp.351-355. Myoung pointed out the dangerous bureaucratic administration of the Yoido Church. He suggested that the Yoido Church needs to change its policy of individual church growth so that the kingdom of God may grow. In practice, he suggested that this church should pioneer about 150-200 branch congregations (op. cit., 184) in the Seoul area.

⁴⁸ Hollenweger, *ibid.*, pp.252, 289-291. Hollenweger introduced the two different meanings and uses of *charisma*: that of Max Weber (*charisma* as the characteristic of extraordinary personality) and that of Apostle Paul (*charismata* as the gifts of the Holy Spirit for the building of church). The danger that is discussed in this paragraph will occur when the *charisma* is exercised in the meaning of Weber's idea, he argues. He also mentioned the routine of charismatic religious movements and their eventual bureaucratic institutionalization. *Sunbogeum* theology needs to pay attention to this point.

⁴⁹ These are the result of the author's observations. The difference in the authority of the clergy between *Sunbogeumism* and Western pentecostals may result from the difference between the Asiatic tradition of respecting elders and authority and the western tradition of democracy. The trend towards autonomy of local churches is caused by the condition of the denomination: an unharmonious atmosphere between large congregations and small ones (7.3.2.2). In *Sunbogeumism*, unsuccessful congregations easily lose their appeal. Therefore, individual church growth is vital. Having grown to some strength, because there is no end of growth in *Sunbogeumism* (think of the Yoido Church), the congregation still exerts all possible efforts to bring in a bigger congregation, so the fellowship between the denominational congregations is not warm-hearted. Therefore, support from the denomination or from other greater congregations is not sufficient, with or without a lack of affection. This kind of atmosphere causes many individual congregations to incline to an autonomous tendency in denominational politics. Its individualistic tendency is greater than in other churches in Korea.

which closely resemble the doctrine of the Reformed church.⁵⁰ First, the church belongs to the realm of faith which rules through faith, hope, and love, while the state belongs to the realm of this world which rules through the law. Both parties are not only distinct but also run independently. Second, because both parties are under the authority of the one sovereign God, church and state are not separate entities but are called to cooperate in establishing the kingdom of God – the church by proclaiming the Gospel and realizing it within its own realm and the state by executing the law and indirectly establishing it. Each party can help reciprocally in establishing the common goal of the kingdom of God.⁵¹ Third, the church should yield to the legitimate order of the state while it must resist immoral or anti-Christian measures. Violence is forbidden. It can pray for the improvement of bad ordinances, preach God's will to the congregation, arouse public opinion through mass communication, and/or present a joint paper as an act of solidarity. Pak writes that the Spirit-filled should take the initiative in such activities; however, it is not involved in protest movements against dictatorships as long as the latter does not hinder the activities (evangelization and worship) of the church.⁵² For *Sunbogeumism*, this reasoning concerning the relationship of church and state seems to be more theoretical rather than followed.⁵³

Moltmann's Messianic ecclesiology can be seen as a critique of the pneumatological-revival ecclesiology of *Sunbogeumism*. Moltmann developed a political theology whereas the latter abstained from entering the political arena. Moltmann's ecclesiology rooted in the *missio Dei* criticizes the narrowness of the evangelical/*Sunbogeum* understanding of church as it tries to spread the church (salvation of individual) instead of the kingdom of God (salvation of the world). This includes the activities of solving the problems of economical exploitation, of social injustice, of ecological demolition and of sin and death so that the Trinitarian God's encompassing reign will be established in the world through His church in an eschatological hope (*symbiosis*).⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Pak, *ibid.*, pp.216-220.

⁵¹ *ibid.* For example, the church (believers) can contribute to establishing laws by preaching the wisdom of God, or they can help the state by obeying voluntarily the orders of the state. The state can also help the church by getting rid of disorders and obstacles (for example, ministers who are unfit, Bible and theological schools which are ineffective, and church buildings which are unsuitable, and shady heretics etc.) in society and furnishing order in society.

⁵² *Sunbogeumism* follows the traditional evangelical view of separation between politics and religion. It has no political theology. *Sunbogeum* believers pray for the reunification of Korea as other conservative/ evangelicals do in Korea. They were against the Sinto worship under the Japanese colonial government (5.4.3.1,5.4.3.2) while they had a revival under Jung Hee Park's military regime because it did not hinder any evangelization/church activities so long as they were not against its politics. *Minjung* theologians suffered at that time according to their different view of theology.

⁵³ See 12.2.1.

⁵⁴ Moltmann, *Gerechtigkeit schafft Zukunft: Friedenspolitik und Schöpfungsethik in einer bedrohten Welt*, München, 1989, pp.41-42. *idem*, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit (Kirche in der Kraft des Geistes)*, London, 1977/ 4ed., 1985, pp.4-18,173-176.

13.5. CONCLUSION

Sunbogeumism understands the nature of the church as the body of Christ, which is the gathering of the 'called-out' or *ecclesia*. This is understood more as a spiritual organism than as an institution. Worshipping God is regarded as the primary task in ecclesial ministry. A Spirit-filled worship meeting becomes the spiritual source for other ecclesial activities. Making the worship of God the primary ecclesial ministry can be related to the traditional religiosity of Koreans. Its understanding of the church as a spiritual body, which is characterized by dynamism and flexibility in theological reasoning, leads to ecumenism, i.e. the willingness to cooperate with other churches. Yonggi Cho's ideas about ordinances include the efficacy view of the Lord's Supper and Spirit-baptism and divine healings as ecclesial ordinances. These ideas are not found among other pentecostals. His methodology of the fourth dimension must be connected with this view. The church as an organic organization paradoxically manifests the tension between exercising the gifts of the Spirit and its consequential by-product of institutionalized bureaucracy. The Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church is a particularly strong example of this problem.

Sunbogeum ecclesiology has helped Korean churches to see ecclesiology in the light of a spiritual organism rather than that of an institutional structure. A pneumatological understanding of ecclesiology helps worship meetings be joyous celebrations in the presence of the Holy Spirit so that people are saved and equipped with Spiritual power to be witnesses in the world. Spirit-filled laymen, especially women, voluntarily involved in ecclesial activities and revival/church growth followed, playing an important role in prompting Korean churches to follow the paradigm of the early church. This is the real strength of *Sunbogeum* ecclesiology. At the same time, the weaknesses in the Korean pentecostal church must not be overlooked. There is a trend for people to worship God for their own sake and consequently produce an individualistic and impure Christianity, a conformity to the materialistic value system of modern culture. It also fails in developing ideas to promote positive participation in the socio-political situation in which the church exists (Moltmann). In addition, the establishment of an institutionalized bureaucracy also needs to be regarded as a matter which endangers the dynamics of *Sunbogeumism*.

14. Missiology

14.1. INTRODUCTION

Pentecostalism cannot be understood apart from world missions. Receiving power in the Holy Spirit naturally leads to witnessing the message of Christ (Acts 1:8). Therefore, evangelization and missions come to the forefront: they are practised more than they are theoretically reflected (missiology). As Jan A. B. Jongeneel has indicated, pentecostal theologians understand missionary theology from the pneumacentric point of view.¹ This implies that the Holy Spirit Himself is the missionary agent. Hence, the movement of the Spirit is the origin of missions. It regards the Spirit as ‘the sent one’ as well as ‘the sending missionary,’ who equips missions through the *charismata* and the fruit of the Spirit and realizes the missions activities through the prayer and work of Spirit-filled (or missionary) congregations.² Practically, pentecostal missiology, especially in the case of the Assemblies of God, has mainly been occupied with redemptive missions in connection with the church, which “is the result of God’s redemptive plan and purpose.”³ Although *Sunbogeumism* has not yet published its own systematic missiology⁴ (Jongeneel), it has engaged itself in practical mission in the 1990s. Therefore, its missiology in the cross-cultural context is less developed (cf. 7.4.2). However, as we have already discussed (cf. 7.4), *Sunbogeum*’s understanding of missions is not separate from world evangelization. Consequently, church growth as a means for missions has been closely connected with *Sunbogeum* missiology. This is characteristic of its understanding of missions.

¹ Jan A. B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Part 1, Frankfurt am Main, 1995, p.93.

² idem, “Ecumenical, Evangelical and Pentecostal/Charismatic Views on Mission as a Movement of the Holy Spirit,” in *Pentecost, Mission and Ecumenism: Essays on Intercultural Theology*. Festschrift in Honour of Professor Walter J. Hollenweger, edited by Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Peter Lang, 1992, pp.231-246. In this article Jongeneel introduced the way the Holy Spirit was typified by some missionary theologians in relation to missions in this century: as ‘missionary Spirit’ (Allen; Berkhof); as ‘Missionary’ (Allen); as ‘Spirit of witness/ witnessing Spirit’ (Boer); as ‘God the evangelist’ (Packer); as ‘chief actor in the historic mission of the Christian church’ (Taylor); as ‘supreme strategist of world mission’ and ‘Lord of the harvest’ (Pomerville) (233). In addition, Jongeneel pointed out the weakness of pentecostal missiology which gives much weight to the *charismata* and the redemptive mission of the Spirit while it pays little attention to the fruit and universal work of the Spirit (creation).

³ Melvin L. Hodges, *A Theology of the Church and Its Mission: A Pentecostal Perspective*, Springfield:MO, 1977,p.10 (introduction). Hodges, a leading missiologist of the AAOG, wrote practical mission theology in relation to ecclesiology; cf. Byron D. Klaus, “The Mission of the Church,” in *STAPP*, pp.567,570.

⁴ Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission ...*, Part I, Frankfurt, 1995, pp.63-64. Missiology can be understood as an academic discipline which covers “the whole field of mission studies” (63). Jongeneel’s definition of missiology is comprehensive: “Missiology is the academic discipline which, from a philosophical, empirical, and theological point of view, reflects on the history, theory and practice of Christian world mission as a means for both preaching the gospel, healing the sick, and casting out ‘evil spirits’ (active in idolatry and immorality), for the glory of God and the well-being of all human beings” (64).

In this chapter we will focus upon two aspects of missions: its nature (14.2) and its method or realization (14.3). The main reference books will be *Pneumatology* (1977) and *More Than Numbers* (1984/1993) by Yonggi Cho and *Church Growth Manual* No. 4 (1992), No. 6 (1994), and No. 9 (1997) edited by the Church Growth International in Seoul. The article, "Some Danger of Rapid Church Growth" (1995) by Bong-Ho Son will be used as a critical source.

14.2. THE NATURE OF MISSIONS

Sunbogeumism discusses missions in a Trinitarian dimension.⁵ The nature of missions is explained in relation to ecclesiology. Yonggi Cho dealt with missions as part of the ministry of the church, while Jeong-Ryeol Pak treated church growth and missions together.⁶ Making the winning of souls the starting point, it anticipates church growth and then missions as its consequence. To understand the nature of its missions, we will deal with three of its aspects.

14.2.1. Trinitarian Base

As contemporary evangelical, ecumenical, and pentecostal/charismatic movements widely support Trinitarian thinking in missions, *Sunbogeumism* also understands missiology in a Trinitarian way.⁷ First, it regards God the Father as the originator and supervisor of missions. Missions started from His love. God sent Jesus as the first missionary from heaven. Second, the incarnation is regarded as the model for God's mission. Jesus' redemptive story became the message of God's mission. In other words, God completed His mission through the incarnated Jesus, who accomplished holistic salvation, the Triple Salvation (8.3.2).⁸ Accordingly, *Sunbogeum* missionaries preach the Fivefold Gospel and expect the Triple Salvation according to the grace of Jesus, who sacrificed His Spirit, mind, body and whole life (Is. 53:4,5).⁹ Then the mission of the church is to incarnate Christ or to realize Christ in the world through the Holy Spirit so that people may be saved from sin and its negative consequences (8.3.1; 8.3.2). In this incarnation model, *Sunbogeumism* is different from a non-pentecostal missiology, which largely focuses upon *kenosis*, i.e.

⁵ Jongeneel, "Ecumenical, Evangelical and Pentecostal/Charismatic ...," in op. cit., p.232.

⁶ Yonggi Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeumism II*, 1979, pp.410-414; Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, 1996, pp.267-399. Pak allowed 133 pages to be taken up with 'church growth and mission which are the Lord's supreme order'; Jeong-Geun Pak, who established a world mission organization (7.4.2) and has been its president, has not dealt with missionary theology in his publications on pentecostalism (see bibliography).

⁷ Yonggi Cho, "The Church Sent by the Holy Spirit," in *Does Poverty Make a Good Christian?*, Seoul, 1983, pp.44-53.

⁸ *ibid.*; J. Herbert Kane, *Christian Missions in Biblical Perspective*, translated into Korean by Jae Bum Lee, Seoul, 1990, pp.61-63. Christian mission will follow the example of Jesus who is its model in three ways: the principle of becoming identified with mission objects; triple and holistic service in proclamation, teaching, and healing; and depending wholly upon the power of the Holy Spirit. This book is one of the main text books for mission theology (Th. M. and M. Div.) of Hansei University (KAOG).

⁹ Cho, *ibid.*, pp.46-50.

the imitation of the suffering and dying Jesus.¹⁰ It also goes beyond a classical pentecostal understanding of the incarnation model in missiology, which points to Jesus as the Christ who destroys every stronghold of sin and establishes the kingdom of God through His life and ministry.¹¹ Even though *Sunbogeum* missiology belongs to missiologies 'from above,'¹² it sustains an incarnational model, which is similar to the idea of contextualization and the *missio Dei* of mainline missiological thinking. Emphasizing the doctrine of holistic salvation, it tries to bring an all-inclusive freedom to both the spiritual and circumstantial realms of human life.¹³

Third, the Holy Spirit is the primary missions agent.¹⁴ Because *Sunbogeumism* emphasizes the presence of Christ through the infilling of the Holy Spirit (12.2.2), the mission of Christ continues after His ascension and Pentecost. Jongeneel emphasizes the role of the Spirit in missions both as a sent and sending missionary. As Christ was the first God-sent missionary to this world, who then sent the Spirit into this world after his ascension, so is the Spirit also a missionary sent and a missionary who sends.¹⁵ Therefore, the Spirit is the Spirit of missions. He works as the executive of missions. Yonggi Cho claims that missionaries are sent by the Holy Spirit, not by any church, denomination, or mission society, even though these organizations are used as His tools for missions (Acts 13:1-4).¹⁶ The Holy Spirit works like fire and wind in the church and stimulates church members to pray and witness Christ through signs and wonders. He calls pastors and missionaries to realize this task.¹⁷ Jeong-Ryeol Pak emphasizes the need to wait upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit before we go out because the Spirit is the initiator, strategist, motivator, and harvester of missions.¹⁸

Sunbogeumism understands missions as a Trinitarian endeavour. God is the mission originator; Christ's incarnation is the model for missions; and the Holy

¹⁰ Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in ...*, Part II, Frankfurt, 1997, pp.71-72. Christ as the 'suffering and dying Jesus' became the source of inspiration to many missionaries and missiologists of non-pentecostal background.

¹¹ Byron D. Claus, "The Mission of the Church," in *STAPP*, pp.570-571.

¹² Jongeneel, Part I, pp.180-181. God/Christ/Spirit-centred, salvation-history-centred, and church-centred missiologies are regarded as missiologies from above whereas context-centred (humanizing, dialogical, liberationist, etc.) are seen as missiologies from below (181).

¹³ Orlando E. Costas, "Contextualization and Incarnation," in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, no. 29 (Dec. 1979), pp.23-30; Hyung-Ki Rhee, "The Problems between Church and Society Which Were Discussed by the World Council of Churches: from Amsterdam 1948 to Uppsala 1968," an appendix in *The Section Reports of the W.C.C.: from the First to the Seventh*, edited by W.C.C., translated by Hyung-Ki Rhee, Seoul, 1993, pp.537-570. *passim*. *Missio Dei* of the W.C.C. understands mission as being Trinitarian God-centred (all humans can be one with God through the Holy spirit in Christ/ 544) instead of the traditional Christ-centred understanding of mission and advocates social salvation (generality which is manifested in incarnational grace). This understanding has some similarity to the holistic salvation of *Sunbogeumism*.

¹⁴ Jongeneel, Part II, pp.78-81. Many missiologists have already discussed the Holy Spirit as a missionary Spirit. Pentecostalism emphasized the gifts of the Spirit for mission.

¹⁵ idem, "Ecumenical, Evangelical and ...," in *Pentecost, Mission and Ecumenism: Essays on Intercultural Theology*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Wien, 1992, pp.233-235. *Sunbogeumism* has not emphasized the Spirit as sending missionary but it clearly acknowledges the fact that if a man is filled with the Spirit he will naturally be involved in mission and evangelization.

¹⁶ Yonggi Cho, *Pneumatology*, 1976/ 2ed., 1977, pp.19, 30, 32-35.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp.190-202. idem, "The Church Sent by the Holy Spirit," in *op. cit.*, pp.50-53.

¹⁸ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, 1996, pp.387-388.

Spirit is the primary missions agent. However, the role of the Spirit is most emphasized.

14.2.2. *The Church as the Agent of the Great Commission*

Missions became the burning vision of *Sunbogeumism* even though it made worshipping God the primary task of the church (cf. 13.3.1). Like classical pentecostalism, it began as a revival movement (cf. 7.3.1). Missions is regarded as the great commission for the church (Matt.28); thus, the church can be understood as a means for missions. Spirit-filled people establish a messianic community which is called to evangelize the world, because, as the Spirit is a missionary Spirit, they are to be missionaries (evangelizers).¹⁹ Basically, *Sunbogeumism* does not make a distinction between evangelization and missions (cf. 7.4), and, therefore, it expects that every single member of the church be involved in missions whether it is evangelization at home, at work, in society, or in a foreign nation.²⁰ This Great Commission of the church is parallel to Robert Schuller's statement that "we are a mission first and a church second."²¹

14.2.3. *Eschatological Task*

Early pentecostals believed that the pentecostal movement originated in the outpouring of the 'latter rain' of God (Joel 2:21-32). As this latter rain in Palestine was related to the harvest, so the 'second Pentecost' was understood in connection with eschatology.²² Therefore, pentecostalism has always had a consciousness of eschatological urgency for missions.²³ *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism shares the same view as other pentecostals that the pentecostal movement is God's latter rain for the preparation of the last days.²⁴

Three aspects are related to the eschatology and mission of *Sunbogeumism*. First, proper pneumatology (with emphasis on the Spirit's gifts) paves the way for missions to be accomplished through the Spirit.²⁵ Second, eschatological urgency should be emphasized in world missions.²⁶ Third, the future of the church is

¹⁹ idem, *Pneumatology*, p.19.

²⁰ Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeumism II*, 1979, pp.412-413.

²¹ "Hard Questions for Robert Schuller about Sin & Self-esteem," in *Christianity Today*, Nr.28 (August 10, 84), p.16. Interviewed by Kenneth S. Kantzer, David F. Wells, and V. Gilbert Beers. Schuller has the view that the church must be a mission to save the lost and to grow instead of becoming a institution.

²² L. Grant McClung, Jr., "Another 100 Years? Which Way for Pentecostal Missions?" in *Azusa Street and Beyond: Pentecostal Missions and Church Growth in the Twentieth Century*, South Plainfield, 1987, p.137; Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, Grand Rapids, MI, 1987, pp.26-28.

²³ L. Grant McClung, Jr., *ibid*; idem, "Pentecostal/ Charismatic Perspectives on a Missiology for Twenty-First Century," in *Pneuma* 16/1 (Spring 1994), p.14.

²⁴ Jeong-Geun Pak, *Defending of Pentecostal Truth*, 1970, p.18. Yonggi Cho, *Pneumatology*, 1976/2ed., 1977, foreword.

²⁵ Cho, *More Than Numbers*, Seoul, 1993, p.137.

²⁶ idem, *A Commentary on Daniel for Laymen*, Seoul, 1976, p.225; idem, *A Commentary on the Revelation for Laymen*, Seoul, 1976, pp.314, 316.

optimistic because the Lord will empower His people with the Holy Spirit so that they will experience an unprecedented revival before His Second Coming.²⁷

No spiritual movement can be entirely unconnected to eschatology. Pentecostalism, as well as *Sunbogeumism*, are examples of this. Its eschatological urgency together with the bestowal of the Spirit's gifts drive it to take evangelization and missions as an urgent task for the church.

14.3. MISSIONS AS ENTERPRISE

The methodology of *Sunbogeum* missions does not have many specific characteristics because its understanding of the nature of missions is almost identical to that of other pentecostal circles. As a result, church growth, power evangelization, and potential means will be dealt with as the unique characteristics of its realization of missions.

14.3.1. Church Growth

Sunbogeum's emphasis on church growth as the means for evangelization and missions is one characteristic among pentecostals. The Church Growth School of Fuller Theological Seminary has linked church growth and world missions. The Church Growth International (CGI), which was founded by Yonggi Cho (7.3.1.5), is a fine example of this.²⁸ One of the members of the board of directors of Church Growth International, James Marocco, stated that "basically, the issue of church growth is the question of God's sovereignty and man's free will."²⁹ In relation to this belief, the Church Growth School of Fuller Seminary contends that "church growth is faithfulness to God."³⁰

For *Sunbogeumism*, church growth is connected with missions and is defined as follows: first, church growth is the will of God; and second, human beings are responsible for church growth because God works through human beings.³¹ *Sunbogeumism* did not develop its own church growth theology, but simply preaches and teaches how grow churches.³² According to its own experiences, church growth

²⁷ idem, *More Than Numbers*, p.136.

²⁸ C. Peter Wagner is a member of the board of directors of the CGI (1997).

²⁹ James Marocco, "How to Grow a Healthy Church," in *Church Growth Manual* No.4, Seoul, 1992, pp.284.

³⁰ Donald A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 3rd ed., revised and edited by C. Peter Wagner, Grand Rapids,MI, 1990, reprinted 1991, p.6.

³¹ Sunghoon Myoung, *Your Church Can Also Grow*, Seoul, 1994, p.13.

³² C. Peter Wagner, "Foundational Principles for Church Growth," in *Church Growth Manual* No.4, Seoul, 1992, p.85. Church growth principles are not doctrines, Wagner asserts. Because church growth intends to use science for understanding God's work, it is rather called a science (idem, *Your Church Can Grow*, 1979, 38-42). Church growth teaching attempts not to identify itself with any particular paradigm of systematic theology so that it can be adapted to fit into any theological tradition and remain evangelical (idem, *Church Growth & The Whole Gospel*, 1981, p.83). Church growth is Bible-oriented and 'theological,' but its theology is criticized by other theological circles (idem, *Frontiers in Missionary Strategy*, Korean version, 1978, pp.32-44); McGavran, *ibid.*, pp.8. "Church growth is basically a theological stance ... church growth rises in unshakable theological conviction." In the introduction of this book (ix-xi), Wagner's formulation of four principal points of discussion, which were raised after the publication of the classic of church growth movement, *The Bridges of God*

is not so much the purpose but a means for God's mission. Spirit-filled laymen have been utilized for evangelization as laymen-missionaries (for example, cell-leaders and women participants) and are involved in missionary enterprises in various areas of society.³³ Revival and explosive church growth followed. Here, the idea of church growth as the means for evangelization and missions was born. The concept of church growth is pragmatic: Spirit-filled believers are to evangelize, which results in church growth; and with its resources, evangelization and world missions will be effectively accomplished.³⁴ Church growth as a tool for missions is a logical consequence of the belief that evangelization and missions will automatically follow after a revival and will lead to church growth. Even though there have been mutual exchanges of ideas between the theology of the Church Growth School at Fuller Seminary and the church growth teachings of *Sunbogeumism*, the latter has been mainly developed by Cho. Peter Wagner and Cho met in the mid-1970s. Since then, they have shared ideas about church growth. Wagner attends the Church Growth International annual conference in Seoul and gives a lecture on church growth at the conference.³⁵

According to Cho, there are five prerequisites for church growth. First, leadership by the pastor is a prerequisite. The pastor must accept the fact that the local church is the most important entity of God's kingdom on this earth. Its revival and growth are necessary for reaching those who are still lost in the world. The Acts of the Apostles teaches this point. Its practical application requires God-given vision, faith, and hard work. Second, mobilization of the laity is needed. A minister has to equip the laity for the work of ministry (Eph.4:11,12). Lay people are the most effective resources for evangelism. The practical application of engaging the laity calls forth the cell system. Third, the sovereign work of the Holy Spirit brings revival and church growth. It means that the subject of church growth is the Holy Spirit. To apply this mandate we not only need to pray persistently in faith until the Spirit quickens our visions and brings the revival through manifesting signs and wonders, but we also need to have a constant fellowship with Him. Fourth, the Gospel of the kingdom of God must be preached and be realized. This is the

(1955), appeared: the theological issue was that the central purpose of missions was to save sinners and to bring them into responsible membership of the church (not only to proclaim or search but to find and make disciples); the ethical issue was pragmatism; the missiological issue was the people movement theory of McGavran (a simultaneous and multiple conversion in a certain cultural environment); and the procedural issue was the distinction between discipling (conversion) and perfecting (sanctification) (the urgency of discipling). These four principal points are almost the same idea as *Sunbogeum* teaching of church growth (especially, the first and the second points). Here, we notice that the church growth school of the Fuller Seminary regards its idea more as principles or scientific method for church growth than as a theological discipline while *Sunbogeum* teaching of church growth is still discussed in the realm of methodology even though it is dealt with in relation to theology.

³³ See 6.4.2; Jan A.B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Part II*, Frankfurt am Main, 1997, pp.158-162.

³⁴ Yonggi Cho, "Practical Church Growth that I Experienced," in *Practical Church Growth that I Experienced*, ed., by Osanli Fasting Prayer House, Seoul, p.150; Cho does not make church growth an absolute requisite. He knows that both small congregations and big congregations have merits and demerits. Therefore, he teaches that each congregation has to have revival and church growth according to God's grace as is given to each pastor and congregation.

³⁵ C. Peter Wagner, *ibid.*, pp.81-94. *idem*, "Introduction," in *Church Growth Manual* No.9, Seoul, 1997, pp. 17-18.

proclamation of the eschatological presence of Christ here and now. This is also related to the message of *Sunbogeumism*. In other words, the preacher must fulfill the need of the people. The practical application of this aspect is to proclaim the Fivefold Gospel and Triple salvation (8.3.1; 8.3.2). Fifth, the church must constantly help others. The practical application of this results in a participation in world missions.³⁶

Cho's ideas for church growth draws worldwide attention because it has been successfully implemented by his church. The crucial point is the leadership – the pastor, who has the vision for church growth. Then the equipping of laity follows. Ultimately, the Holy Spirit is the key for church growth as a whole.

This methodology does have its problems.³⁷ The weaknesses of church growth was pointed out by Bong-Ho Son as follows: there is the danger of quantitative growth by any means; the idea of regarding numbers as the essential expression of reality is materialistic and an anti-Christ philosophy of modern culture; exerting numerical growth by way of God's blessing would bring shamanism-oriented Koreans to the church and Korean churches became a somewhat shamanized Christianity; an aim for increased membership calls forth capitalistic competition among churches; emphasizing gaining numbers leads to mass-producing of immature Christians and to losing the purity of the church as well as neglecting sacrifice and social responsibility; and it may eventually lead to a decline of church growth.³⁸ Nevertheless, on account of the fact that church growth is expected in every Korean congregation and also plays an important role in the development of Korean churches, we have no unified view about it.³⁹

14.3.2. Power Evangelism

The designation 'power evangelism' was first adopted by John Wimber within the Church Growth Movement.⁴⁰ C. Peter Wagner at Fuller Theological Seminary holds similar ideas about warfare for world evangelization and missions (10.6).⁴¹

Sunbogeumism acknowledges the importance of overcoming satanic power in evangelization and missions. This is directly related to prayer. Souls of a particular geographic territory, who are taken prisoners by the spiritual forces controlling that

³⁶ Yonggi Cho, *ibid.* Idem, "Prerequisites for a Growing Church," in *Church Growth Manual* No.6, Seoul, 1994, pp.77-87.

³⁷ See 4.3.2.3 and 7.1.

³⁸ Bong-Ho Son, "Some Dangers of Rapid Church Growth," in *Korean Church Growth Explosion*, Seoul, 1995, pp.256-273. According to him, the church growth theory of the Fuller Seminary is "theological pseudo science" (259); Won-Bae Kim, "Small Is Beautiful," in *Ministry and Theology* (November 1997): 49-53. Kim introduced a new approach to the growth of the Korean Church through promoting small congregations with mature believers. He criticized the tendency of Korean churches to follow the idea of church growth.

³⁹ Cf. See the articles which dealt with the problems as well as the necessity of church growth in Korea (*Ministry and Theology*, November 1997, pp.30-118). The basic idea of church growth as the means for missions is accepted by Korean evangelicals in general. *Sunbogeum* congregations, especially the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church, emphasize it more than other churches.

⁴⁰ Jongeneel, *Philosophy ...* Part I, pp.34-35. Jongeneel writes that the Church Growth Movement, the school of Power Evangelism, and Evangelism Explosion need a thorough investigation.

⁴¹ C. Peter Wagner, *Confronting the Powers*, 1996, translated into Korean by Kyom-II Na, Seoul, 1997. Wagner distinguished 3 levels of spiritual warfare: Ground-level; occult-level; and strategic-level.

territory, will be saved after the territorial spirits have been scattered through fervent prayer. This involves the casting out of evil spirits and the breaking of power of territorial spirits. In order to dismantle satanic fortresses, missionaries must fast and pray and fight against Satan because he never leaves voluntarily.⁴² Without dismantling satanic powers or devils in a certain context, evangelization and missions will be unfruitful. Therefore, this power encounter is viewed as one of the most important strategies of missions. Cho says, “This is almost as important as stressing the fullness of the Holy Spirit.”⁴³ The exorcism of demons through prayer has been very effective for missions in a society where animism dominates;⁴⁴ this is exercised regularly by *Sunbogeumism*. About territorial spirits, Cho says, “Unless you can fight and defeat the demon in charge of that particular town, there is no way the people of that town can be converted to Christ.”⁴⁵

This unusual view of C. Peter Wagner has been criticized as “mythology,” “war games,” “magical approach,” “animistic paradigm,” and “missiologial syncretism.”⁴⁶ Korean pentecostals and evangelicals accept power evangelization in general. Shamanism, which does not have any theological doctrine on spirits, and *Minjung* theology, whose *missio Dei* concentrates on the realities of society,⁴⁷ do not give attention to power evangelization.

14.3.3. Mobilization of Potential Means

To fulfil the evangelization and missionary mandate, *Sunbogeumism* freely employs a variety of potential means. Four aspects can be observed regarding this. First, it employs scientific knowledge to explain the truth of God and to deliver it. *Sunbogeumism* holds this idea in common with the Church Growth School, which understands church growth as a science.⁴⁸ Second, mass media like television, radio, publications, magazines, and newspapers, as well as modern technical tools like computers and telecommunications, are used as means for delivering the Gospel. These two aspects are related to the theological methodology of *Sunbogeumism*.⁴⁹ Third, the teaching of material blessing is connected to these means because finances are not separate from missions.⁵⁰ Because the congregation supports the missions funds from their material blessing, the missionaries are provided for in their activities and the preachers do not have to raise funds through television and radio audiences.⁵¹ Fourth, it uses established organizations like the World Mission Centre (7.3.1.3), the Church Growth International (7.3.1.5), and

⁴² Cho, “Signs that Follow the Believers,” in *Holy Spirit & Mission* 23 (1997 Fall), Seoul, pp.8-9.

⁴³ idem, “Prayer: One Key to Church Growth,” in *Church Growth Manual* No.4, Seoul, 1992, p.47. Cho writes that he has been fighting against this evil power and has been casting out Satan in his life.

⁴⁴ Jae Bum Lee, *The History of Pentecostal Movement*, Seoul, 1985, p.11 of part I.

⁴⁵ Cho, “Basic Principles of Church Growth,” in *Church Growth Manual* No.8, Seoul, 1996, p.34.

⁴⁶ Wagner, *ibid.*, p.40.

⁴⁷ Young Hoon Lee, “The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea: Its Historical and Doctrinal development,” 1996, Temple University Ph.D. dissertation, p.153.

⁴⁸ Wagner, *Church Growth & the Whole Gospel: A Biblical Mandate*, MARC Europe, 1981/rep., 1987, pp.75-77.

⁴⁹ In 8.3.3.2.

⁵⁰ Jan A. B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy...*, Part I, pp.320-328.

⁵¹ For example, some American tele-evangelists used to ask for offerings from the audience.

Church Growth Institute (7.3.1.7), as effective means for evangelization and missions.

As a dynamic spiritual movement, *Sunbogeumism* demonstrates a strong tendency to synthesize elements of antitheses and materialize norms (8.1). This feature brought forth its methodology of mission, which positively employs every potential means for evangelization and missions: knowledge, modern products in technical society, goods, and organizations. As a result, this method is closely related to the idea of the fourth dimension (8.3.3.1).

14.3.4. Chosen Nation

Leo Oosterom, a former doctoral student of Jan A. B. Jongeneel at Utrecht University, made the following remark about the relationship between missionary thought and the view of Koreans as a chosen nation: “national pride and a deep sense of divine calling and responsibility for the salvation of the world are inextricably intertwined in most Korean missionary thought.”⁵² It is a fact that many Korean Christians, especially evangelicals, believe that Korea has been chosen for world evangelization in the last days. This does not mean that Korea was chosen by God as a unique prophetic or Messianic-chosen nation, which only applies to the Israel of the Old Testament. It does imply that Koreans are being used by God as a nation for evangelizing the Gospel today.⁵³ Even some foreigners believe the idea that Korea was chosen by God for evangelization.⁵⁴

Sunbogeumism agrees with this notion,⁵⁵ however, it has its own interpretation of this idea. It understands ‘chosen nation’ as God’s grace and opportunity for Korean Christians than to accept it as a God-given providence. Here, the responsibility of Koreans is emphasized. Yonggi Cho preached in the 1960s that Korea would be blessed because Korean Christians had visions before God. In 1983, he also stated that in a decade, God would bless Korea in all respects so that Koreans could bring the Gospel to the whole world. His point was that Koreans should recognize God’s grace and have dreams and visions so that God could work through them.⁵⁶ Otherwise, if they do not obey God and live as He wants, they may lose their chance. Therefore, according to *Sunbogeumism*, the favourable developments

⁵² Leo Oosterom, *Contemporary Missionary Thought in the Republic of Korea: Three Case-Studies on the Missionary Thought of Presbyterian Churches in Korea*, Utrecht-Leiden, 1990, p.82.

⁵³ Bong Rin Ro, “The Korean Church: God’s Chosen People for Evangelism,” in *Korean Church Growth Explosion*, edited by Bong Rin Ro and Marlin L. Nelson, revised, Seoul, 1995, pp.11-44; Chul-Ha Han, “Involvement of the Korean Church in the Evangelization of Asia,” in loc.cit., pp.74-95. Han’s view on Korea as a chosen nation is not that of a prophetic, messianic chosen people but the result of the development of the Korean Church because the blessing of being a chosen nation is open to all nations (87-91); Jong-Yun Lee, “Reasons for Church Growth in Korea,” in *The Japan Christian Quarterly* (Winter 1984):228-229; Leo Oosterom, *ibid*, pp.57-58, 80-82, 113-115.

⁵⁴ Percy S. Brewster, the former general secretary of the Pentecostal World Conference (PWC), had an open-air crusade in Seoul in August 1971 and said that he sensed the missionary task of Korean churches for Asian and world mission (Yonggi Cho, *Pneumatology*, 1976/ 2ed., 1977, pp.251-252); the founder and president of the University of Nations, Loren Cunningham, said that he was given a vision in his prayer in 1970: God would take four nations into His world mission, which are Norway, New Zealand, Korea, and South Africa (*Kookmin-Ilbo Daily News* (Seoul), Sep.21,1999 (21).

⁵⁵ Jeong-Geun Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, Seoul, 1978, p.19; Yonggi Cho, *Great Business Men*, Seoul, 1984/7 ed., 1992, pp.180, 185, 198.

⁵⁶ Cho, *ibid*, pp.190-198.

in Korean economics and politics are nothing but God's blessing as a means to world missions. This idea is not clearly found among other churches in Korea.⁵⁷

14.4. CONCLUSION

Sunbogeumism understands the nature of missions as the holistic restoration of God's creation according to Trinitarian thinking: God is the originator of missions; the incarnation is the model for missions; and the Holy Spirit is the agent of missions. Its incarnational model, which tends to realize Christ in both the spiritual and the circumstantial realms, reflects the missiological concepts of *missio Dei* and contextualization in mainline Protestantism. In practice, *Sunbogeumism* emphasizes the work of the Holy Spirit as the missions agent who actualizes missions. It believes that the Spirit-filled church is the agent of the Great Commission of Christ, which has an important eschatological task and bright future – it will have a great harvest before the Second Coming of the Lord. *Sunbogeum's* methodology for missions is characterized by church growth. Because it does not differentiate between evangelization and missions, it regards church growth through Spirit-filled pentecostals as a means for both missions and evangelization. The basic theological concept of church growth is to recognize the responsibility of believers in connection with God's sovereign missionary work. The confrontation with satanic powers (power evangelism) and the mobilization of potential means for mission are regarded as necessities for missions.

Sunbogeumism accepts the common view that Korea was chosen for world missions in the last days. However, it emphasizes some views which are not so obvious among other Korean churches: the Christian's responsibility as a chosen people and the socio-economic development of Korea as God's blessing for the nations through missions and evangelism.

The strengths of *Sunbogeum's* understanding of missions are found, first of all, in its emphasis on the Holy Spirit as the agent of missions and its idea of church growth as a tool for missions. It refers to both the task of Spirit-filled believers, especially the lay missionaries, in all realms of society and the involvement of missionaries in missions abroad. Its power evangelism and the use of a variety of means for missions play an important role in missions, even though more research is needed to prove this. Its weaknesses reside in its lack of doing missiology and the practice of church growth bringing qualitative problems to the church (Bong Ho Son). This needs to be explored further. *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism also needs to guard itself from focusing too much on Korea as a chosen nation lest it falls into a nationalism-oriented spiritual sectarian group (cf. 8.2.3) as some modern Korean folk religions already have done (cf. 3.4).

⁵⁷ Oosterom, *ibid.*, pp.80-81. According to Oosterom, there is no coincidence between the idea of chosen nation and socio-economic development of Korea. He only researched the missionary ideas of the Presbyterian churches. He took the view that the national pride of Koreans, which originated in the economic revival as well as the idea of a chosen nation, seems to have affected the missionary thought of Tonghap Presbyterians without making social development the means for mission.

15. Ethics

15.1. INTRODUCTION

Sunbogeum ethics is a complicated subject that has received little discussion. One of the leading theological lecturers at the Korean Assemblies of God seminary, who moved to a Presbyterian denomination, said, "Even though there is no theological problem, namely in understanding the Holy Spirit, *Sunbogeum* people generally have no sense at ethics."¹ This trend is also found in pentecostalism in general, which has taken less interest in social ethics.² *Sunbogeumism* has encountered criticism that it is a shamanistic blessing-seeking religion which has no ethical consciousness.³ As *Sunbogeumism* began to expand in Korea since the 1960s, the legalist ethics of the early pentecostals (refusing military service, abstaining from theatre and television, and prohibiting make-up and short dresses, etc.)⁴ was set aside; however, certain personal moral behaviours (the necessity of tithing, sexual purity, the abstaining from alcohol and smoking, etc.) were emphasized.⁵ Showing a dualistic tendency in its thought, *Sunbogeum* ethics is characterized by the ethics of the Fivefold Gospel. In essence, it can be called a pneumatological ethic.⁶ The concept of a pneumatological ethic is a new approach in Christian ethics which combines God-centred ethics, which establishes moral standards on the transcendental and universal rule, and Christ-centred ethics, which makes new believers transformed through the ministry of Christ the subject of its moral problem. In an attempt to be comprehensive, *Sunbogeumism* tries to overcome the weakness of God-centred and Christ-centred ethics through the link with the Holy Spirit and sanctification.⁷ This is a dynamic and synthetic concept. *Sunbogeumism* can be

¹ Mr. L. Telephone call in Seoul (20.1.1995). Another ex-lecturer of the KAOG seminary, now a member of a Presbyterian denomination, mentioned that the theology of the Holy Spirit which has no ethical concern is a wrong theology because the Holy Spirit is the third person of the Trinity (telephone call/ 20.1.1995). Examples of ethical problems of *Sunbogeumism* according to these two sources are: an unqualified lecturer at the seminary with a false degree certificate (found out and rejected by the authorities); attempts to keep a favourable position by way of ecclesiastical authority; terroristic behaviour. Both men, having broken away, might have their own biases but this is an example of the ethical problem of *Sunbogeumism*.

² Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "Pentecostals and Social Ethics," in *Pneuma*, vol.9/2 (Fall 1987): 103-107. Robeck assumed the reasons why pentecostalism, which followed the heritage of revivalism and holiness movements of the 19th century that were involved in the social transformation, overlooked the social concern: the immediate coming of the millennium; its counteraction against liberalism that was interested in social justice; and its collaboration with evangelicalism that was against the social gospel of liberalism. According to him, since the rise of the charismatic movement, questions about social justice have begun to crop up among charismatics.

³ Jae Bum Lee, *The History of Pentecostal Movement*, Seoul, 1985, p.13 of Part IV.

⁴ Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 1969/ 1988, pp.399-412.

⁵ KAOG, *Constitution*, 1996. Article 33 prescribes the life of believers: no trading on the Lord's day; family worship meeting; evangelization; tithing and offering; prohibition of smoking and alcohol and dealing in them; and monogamy.

⁶ ITI, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church I*, Seoul, 1993, pp.213.

⁷ *ibid.*, pp.213-221. The danger and weakness of God-centred ethics (deductive and heteronomy) is found in its tendency of neglecting the ethical decision in a concrete situation so that it will result in formalism or legalism while that of Christ-centred ethics (inductive and autonomy) would result in relativism or ethical anomie. Pneumatological ethics, on the other hand, can expect both that one can be led to know the will of God as well as equipped with the power to decide and accomplish it through

regarded as a way of life in which a utilitarian value system is implied (8.3.3). Fully engaging in evangelization/missions as a Holy Spirit movement, it has not developed a missionary ethics until recently. However, because it has shown its *ethos* on world evangelization, we can discuss its characteristics regarding missionary ethics.

In this chapter, we will discuss three main ethical themes: its dualistic tension (15.2), its missionary characteristics (15.3), and its pragmatistic ethic of the Fivefold Gospel (15.4). The main sources will be *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church I* (1993) and *Christian Ethics* (1988/1997) by the International Theological Institute at the Yoido Sunbogeum Church.⁸ *The Pentecostals* (1969 in German/1972 and 1988 in English) by Walter J. Hollenweger and *The History of Pentecostal Movement* (1985) by Jae Bum Lee will be referred to as critical sources for this chapter.

15.2. DUALISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF ETHICS

Viewing history as God's salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*), *Sunbogeumism* emphasizes its God-given task of participating in the establishment of His kingdom. Recognizing the universal sovereignty of God, it follows fundamentalistic and conservative heritages in theology, while accepting the two governments theory of Luther. Here, we see a potential tension in its decision-making, originating from its dualistic worldview.⁹ Consequently, its holistic salvation (Triple Salvation) shows an inside-out pattern which can be represented in the following diagram: salvation of spirit → body → circumstances → community → world. This schema not only calls forth a so-called prosperity theology but also gives little attention to social justice, seeing society as a depravity which must be converted by the Gospel.

Acknowledging the fact that the world is still under the power of the evil one, who prowls like a roaring lion seeking to devour (Eph.2:1-3; 1 Pet.5:8; 1 John 5:19), it considers Christian life the life of a warrior (10.4.2). Christians are regarded as a combat unit in a battle zone. The side which possesses the better war strategy defeats the other side. Believing that we can be equipped with the full armor and potential of God, *Sunbogeumists* are success and victory-oriented. Its ethical outlook is both positive and aggressive in a context of an essentially dualistic world view.

15.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF MISSIONARY ETHICS

As a dynamic Holy Spirit movement, pentecostalism has been engaged in missions from its inception¹⁰ as has *Sunbogeumism*. However, neither classical Pentecostal-

the work of the Holy Spirit; Richard J. Mouw, "Life in the Spirit in an Unjust World," in *Pneuma*, vol. 9/2 (Fall 1987):108-128. Principally, Mouw has the same idea as the former source. His point is that Christian decision-making must take place in a Trinitarian context. Therefore, neglecting the work of the Spirit in ethics will fall short of Christian ethics.

⁸ These two sources are only found as dealing with *Sunbogeum* ethics.

⁹ Yung Han Kim, *Korean Christian Culture Theology*, Seoul, 1992, pp.79-81.

¹⁰ L. G. McClung, Jr., "Missiology," in *DPCM*, 1988/ 19th ed., 1996, pp.607-609; G. B. McGee, "Missions, Oversees (North American)," loc. cit., pp.610-625. See 14.1.

ism nor Korean pentecostalism have discussed missiology in connection with Christian ethics. Jan A. B. Jongeneel discussed missionary ethics (morality) in Part II of his missiological encyclopedia, where he explained missionary ethics as Christian ethics seen from a missionary viewpoint; he further emphasized that missions can be seen as “a good,” “a duty,” or “a virtue.”¹¹ Interpreting *Sunbogeumism* according to this view, we can characterize *Sunbogeum* ethics by missionary ethics on the grounds that it not only has engaged in evangelization/missions but it also makes missions an obligation and a Christ-given command for all Christians.¹² The fact that all who are filled with the Holy Spirit are expected to be missionaries shows the *ethos* of *Sunbogeumism* in relation to missionary ethics.

The characteristics of *Sunbogeum*'s missionary ethics cannot be discussed in the entire range of Christian ethics because its missionary ethics is primarily concerned with the thrust of evangelicalism – the salvation of lost souls. Nevertheless, Jongeneel's formulation that “the essence of missionary ethics is an ethics of *agape* which includes every creature, especially every human being” is a close representation of its ethical view.¹³ The characteristics of the missionary ethics of *Sunbogeumism* can better be discussed within the limits of missionary obligation or missionary conscience under the subsection of missionary morale.¹⁴

15.4. ETHICS OF THE FIVEFOLD GOSPEL

During the decade of interdenominational debate over Yonggi Cho's theology (1983-1994), the small book, *Christian Ethics*, was published by the Yoido Church in 1988. This publication not only corresponded to the contemporary situation of this church but also was a sign that *Sunbogeumism* needed to address ethical problems. In this book, general Christian ethics was dealt with in a wide spectrum not much different from general Protestant Christian ethics,¹⁵ whereas pneumatological ethics was later introduced as a new approach in Christian ethics. The chapter “Christian Ethics of the Fivefold Gospel” was then introduced in the book *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church I* (1993), which connected pneumatological ethics.¹⁶ This *Sunbogeum* ethics is characterized by a realizing of holistic salvation in Christ through the Spirit (cf. 8.3). We will observe its morality (15.4.1), its theoretical side (15.4.2), its practical application (15.4.3), and its utilitarianism (15.4.4).

¹¹ Jan A. B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Part II*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Wien, 1997, pp.109-153. Cited from pp.110, 118.

¹² Yonggi Cho, “Do Not Leave Jerusalem Till You Receive Power From Above,” in *Holy Spirit & Mission* (Summer 1997): 2-3.

¹³ Jongeneel, *ibid.*, p.152.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp.116-119.

¹⁵ ITI, *Christian Ethics*, Seoul, 1988. This book dealt with the definition and Biblical background of Christian ethics, Christian personal ethics, and Christian social ethics where family ethics, vocational ethics, economic ethics, state ethics, international ethics and medical ethics were discussed.

¹⁶ ITI, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church I*, Seoul, 1993, pp.206-241.

15.4.1. Basic Values

The Triple Salvation as the ethical field of the Fivefold Gospel¹⁷ is suggested as an axiological issue rather than as an instrumental or factual value in the sense that it tries to answer fundamental questions raised by human beings.¹⁸ First, it considers the separation between God and humans as the basic human problem: all human problems originate in this broken relationship, which stems from sin. Therefore, ‘soul prosperity,’ which implies a proper restoration of this relationship, becomes the foundation for an ethical understanding. Second, it teaches the holistic salvation of the spirit, body, and circumstances because God’s love for humans through Christ is accomplished through His Spirit (8.3.2). Regarding this, *Sunbogeum* ethics may be called an “ethical maximum” (Jongeneel) of missionary ethics from the viewpoint of evangelism: it tries to be loyal to the twofold will of God – the Great Commission and the Great Commandment.¹⁹

15.4.2. Pragmatic Ethics

The Word of the living God must bear fruit in believers’ lives. The resurrected Jesus should be manifested practically through His body, the church. The Trinitarian God fulfils this by filling Christians with His Spirit. As the Fivefold Gospel teaches a holistic and practical salvation, its ethic is also practical in three ways.

The first is related to materialization. The *Sunbogeum* value system consists to a considerable extent of the realization of metaphysic substance (cf. 8.3.3). It says that God’s Word must live in us. The Fivefold Gospel (doctrine) is realized through Triple Salvation (application): spirit, body, and life situation. This concept can also be enlarged by the fourth dimension of Yonggi Cho’s methodology: spirit controls matter (material) (8.3.3.1), which the Holy Spirit enables.

The second is related to its scientific reasoning of cause and effect. This idea is based on the assumption that believers, who have faith in Him, obey Him and stick to God’s promised Word, and can anticipate an answer. This has an analogy in physical phenomenon and the spiritual realm. This ethical system reasons that if man does not sow, he cannot expect a harvest, and if he scatters only small amounts he can expect a small crop. Much prayer, enthusiastic evangelization, and the positive expectations of *Sunbogeum* people are not only brought about by Spirit-filling but also by this reasoning and faith (second point of 8.3.2).

The third is related to the practical application that people can only give to others when they have received something in advance.²⁰ *Sunbogeumists* make the holistic salvation in Christ’s Atonement the principle of Triple Salvation, and, therefore, they teach the distribution of God-given blessings to others.²¹

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.209-212. The Triple Salvation is the application of the Fivefold Gospel.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.213; cf. Jan A.B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Part I, Frankfurt am Main, 1995, p.199. Axiology has to do with values or basic value.

¹⁹ Jongeneel, *Philosophy ...*, Part II, 1997, p.152. Jongeneel suggests that the *agape* of Christ demonstrated on the cross is the ethical maximum and that it must be realized by practising the Great Commandment (love) and the Great Commission (mission). See 15.3.

²⁰ Yonggi Cho, *Does Poverty Make a Good Christian?*, Seoul, 1983, p.153.

²¹ *idem*, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1983, pp.12-26. See 5.3.1.1; 5.3.1.2; 5.5.4.3; 6.2.1; 6.2.8 and all of section 6.4.6. Korean pentecostals must have realized through the early Western

15.4.3. Transformative Ethics

Seen from a sociological perspective, pentecostalism is regarded as a value-oriented religious movement, which attempts to reconstitute values with an emphasis on restructuring social organization, and as a more radical movement than a norm-oriented social reform movement.²² Pentecostal ethics was also introduced as a situation-conquering ethics.²³ These views illustrate the transformative nature of pentecostal ethics. *Sunbogeumism* clearly reveals these characteristics. Its ethical exploration of the Triple Salvation can be discussed as a transformative form of ethics. We can illustrate this in the context of both personal and social ethics.

First, its concept of personal ethics is founded on the covenantal grace of the Trinitarian God, who restores the image of God through Christ's Atonement and the Spirit's execution. This is not a re-formation but a trans-formation. A new creature in God (1 Cor.5:17; Eph. 4:22-24; Co. 3:10) will not only be a total restoration of the mental as well as the physical, but he will also be able to transform the circumstances of life according to God's creation order.²⁴ This new man, transformed both in the image of God and the image of His Son as the goal of Christian ethics,²⁵ becomes a creative and transformative potentiality of God. Therefore, from a logical point of view, the Spirit-filled life can both be functionally and ethically the same as the Christ-filled life (third point of 12.3.1).

Second, *Sunbogeum's* basic idea about social ethics parallels with that of evangelicalism,²⁶ but its social ethics of the Fivefold Gospel is also characterized by a transformative nature. It teaches that the doctrine of holistic salvation through the power of the Holy Spirit not only transforms individuals but also enables them to live as witnesses of Christ so they can transform society.²⁷ Four aspects are involved here.²⁸ The first aspect is the church seen as an ethical community. In the world it is the community of the Spirit and *agape*, like leaven in bread, which brings dramatic change. The second aspect includes evangelical participation in society by way of relief activities, the saving of souls, the establishing of facilities for social welfare, and the shaping of public opinion through mass media.²⁹ This is indirect participation, different from the direct participation of progressive circles (*Minjung*

pentecostal mission in Korea that those who have received the Gospel as well as material blessings from God can give them to others.

²² J. W. Shepperd, "Sociology of Pentecostalism," in *DPCM*, pp.794-799. Basically, this idea was borrowed from Neil J. Smelser (*Theory of Collective Behavior*, 1962) by Shepperd.

²³ Tae-Sung Eom, "Study of Situation Ethics Seen from Pentecostalist Perspective," M.Th. dissertation at Soon Shin University, n.d., pp. 40-41. Eom formulated the pentecostal perspective of ethical decisions from three angles: relying upon the Spirit; eschatological; and situation conquering (45).

²⁴ ITI, *Christian Ethics*, 1988/ 2 ed., 1997, pp.39-44.

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp.46-50. Restoration to the image of God and Christ is sanctification, too.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.53-92. Social ethics is generally dealt with from an evangelical viewpoint in these realms: family ethics, vocational ethics, economic ethics, ethics of state, ethics of war and international relations, and ethics of medicine.

²⁷ *idem*, *Faith and Theology ... I*, 1993, pp.223-231.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 223-241. The four aspects are formulated from this source.

²⁹ The Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church takes the lead in this social participation (7.3.1.4 and 7.3.1.6). Other capable congregations of the KAOG take part in such activities as well: for example, a local news paper (Seosan Church), a welfare house for old people (Seosan Church), a graduate school for filial duty (Incheon Church), an institute for venture business development and poverty elimination (Suwon Church), and not a few kindergartens belonging to some established congregations.

theology included) who try to change unjust social structures.³⁰ The third aspect revolves around economic ethics. It holds the view that the value of materials depends upon the way in which one uses it. Therefore, it agrees with Wesley's view on money that we should earn and save all in a proper way and use all for God's glory.³¹ The fourth aspect covers the ethics of the environment (ecology). It supports the conservation of creation and encourages believers to improve the environment (cf. 13.4.3).

This transformative dynamism has been vulnerable to criticism from the Christian ethical perspective because in the early stages of *Sunbogeumism*, personal transformation mainly implied personal blessing and witness (Triple Salvation) through the power (gifts) of the Holy Spirit.³² Regarding this, Jae Bum Lee pointed out the negative attitude of Korean pentecostalism in social affairs: the transformation of individuals through the power of the Spirit did not bring transformation to society as much as was expected. He attributed this problem to the disharmony between the rapid growth of quantity and slow development in quality.³³ Its pneumatological ethics in Trinitarian perspective, which implies the balance of spiritual gifts with fruit (12.3.3), did not come to the forefront until the emergence of critics during the 1980s (7.3.2.1).³⁴

15.4.4. *Utilitarianism as a Virtue*

As we have observed, ethical consciousness in *Sunbogeumism* has developed only since the 1980s. The criticisms of being a shamanistic blessing-invoking religion (basically, shamanism has no ethical conception) and having no regard for social responsibility have been discussed both inside and outside the denomination and has provoked reactions.³⁵ Its basic attitude of regarding utility as an ethical virtue, however, has not changed. Here, utility takes precedence over beauty. Hence, the ethics of the Fivefold Gospel gives priority to quantity over quality.

³⁰ Its indirect participation is also different from the Reformed thought which sees the religious realm and the secular realm (culture) totally under the absolute sovereignty of God without separation. The ethics of Fivefold Gospel, therefore, is still inclined to Luther rather than Calvin in the view of culture. We see that there exists a dialectical relation between the Reformed idea which takes 'Christ as a transformer of culture' and *Sunbogeum's* transformative ethics in understanding society and culture (cf. Yung Han Kim, op. cit., pp.55-189).

³¹ ITI, *Faith and Theology ... I*, p.237; Ui-Hwan Kim, *View on Blessing*, Seoul, 1981, pp.31-34. The value of wealth can only be legitimate if it be used for serving God. Prosperity theology is wrong because it confuses the means (wealth) with the ends (God). Consequently, making wealth the end, it applies any means to fulfil it. This view indicates that *Sunbogeum's* idea of blessing can be legitimate if it makes the means and ends clear. Today this kind of ethical consciousness has established itself.

³² See 8.3.

³³ Jae Bum Lee, *ibid.*, pp.12-13 of Part IV.

³⁴ Yonggi Cho, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation*, Seoul, 1983, pp.12-28. The last stage of *Sunbogeum* faith is to distribute blessing to others (faith for others/ 26); ITI, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church II*, Seoul, 1993, p.113. The message and the effect of the Yoido Church underwent a chronological development. For example the life of the congregation developed as follows: the lowest (1958-1961); self-sufficiency (1961-1973); comfortable living (1973-1982); and giving and distributing life (1982-....). This classification runs parallel with the economic development of Korea. Its personal ethics must have been much influenced according to the developments of both denominational (including interdenominational debate over Cho as well) and the change of living standards of the (denominational) congregation(s).

³⁵ Lee, *ibid.*

This utilitarianism has been criticized in connection to church growth methodology.³⁶ Due to its ethical standpoint, the Korean Assemblies of God tends to neglect those people who have manifested no noticeable achievements (7.3.2.2).³⁷ Its utilitarian orientation can be related to Christian ethics if *Sunbogeumism* remembers to heed Biblical instructions (1 Cor.12:1-14:37).³⁸ *Minjung* theology, which promotes social righteousness, may be a criticism to the tendency of individual-achievements in *Sunbogeum* ethics.³⁹

Walter J. Hollenweger's ethical criticism of Pentecostalism can also be applied to *Sunbogeumism*. He criticized pentecostal ethics in terms of individual gains, whether spiritual salvation, material blessing, divine healings, or securing a place in heaven through all possible means (evangelization, keeping moral principles of the Bible, etc.), while neglecting the Christian ethics of living for others or existing for the world. He encourages pentecostals to read the biography of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who wanted to live according to the fundamental ethical principles of the Gospel (the consciousness of Christian responsibility) and follow the way of Jesus' sufferings.⁴⁰ Moltmann also teaches Christians to follow the suffering life and death of Jesus Christ (eschatological life), whereas *Sunbogeumism* encourages them to abolish sufferings and death via the redemptive grace of Jesus Christ (Pentecostal witness).⁴¹

15.5. CONCLUSION

The Fivefold Gospel ethics of *Sunbogeumism* which is practised through the Triple Salvation in connection with pneumatological ethics, began to be discussed in the 1980s. It holds the basic ethical issues of evangelicalism, while demonstrating its own characteristics. Its view of distinguishing the divine realm from the secular realm and its endeavour to realize the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth, reveals a dualistic tension regarding Christian ethics. Its social consciousness can be understood within this dualistic view. Its *ethos* for world evangelization and missions discloses its characteristics for missionary ethics, but only in the restricted

³⁶ Bong-Ho Son, "Some Dangers of Rapid Church Growth," in *Korean Church Growth Explosion*, edited by Bong Rin Ro and Marlin L. Nelson, Seoul, 1995, pp.256-273. Son pointed out the negative aspects of Korean church growth (see 14.3.1). Son also criticized the church growth theology of the Fuller Seminary calling it Neo-Pythagoreanism (worship of numbers), which was based on the positivist philosophy of David Hume (Leo Oosterom, *Contemporary Missionary Thought in the Republic of Korea*, 1990, p.59).

³⁷ This tendency seems to be more evident in the KAOG than in most of the other denominations in Korea. The author had interviews with several pastors of the KAOG who took care of small congregations. They were quite discouraged at their ministries, at the denominational administration, and at utility-oriented virtue. An amicable atmosphere in denominational affairs in totality has hardly been brought about.

³⁸ Those Spirit-filled early churches that were under the supervision of the apostle(s) did not display ethical problems (church in Jerusalem, church in Antioch under Paul and Barnabas) while Spirit-filled Christians not under the instructions of the apostle(s) did (Corinthians, Galatians; and Ephesians, etc.). Therefore, Spirit-filled believers need to grow (1Cor.3:1-3) as well as to be taught (1Cor.12:1-14:37) in order that they be ethically mature.

³⁹ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *A Theology of Christian Spirituality*, Seoul, 1988, pp.184, 190-191.

⁴⁰ Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 1988, pp.399-412; Bonhoeffer's ethical idea that only the suffering God and identifying with such a God can save the world could be suggested as a criticism for *Sunbogeum* ethics which is characterized by pragmatic (positivistic) and utilitarian (dynamic) ethics.

⁴¹ Moltmann, *Theologie der Hoffnung*, München, 1964/ 3rd ed., 1966, pp.11-17. See 11.2.2.

sense of salvation for lost people. Moreover, it regards the practice of Triple Salvation as an axiological issue of Christian ethics which answers fundamental questions raised by people. It embraces a positive and success-oriented view. Its inclination to pragmatism and utilitarianism points to the materialization of God's Word on earth. This ethical concept is further related to the transformative dynamism in personal life and society.

The strength of *Sunbogeum* ethics can be found in the idea and possibility of an "ethical maximum" of Christian-missionary ethics through holistic salvation for human beings. Its pneumatological ethics, which combines a God-centred ethics (deduction and heteronomy) with a Christ-centred ethics (induction and autonomy), may eventually contribute both to the removal of a God-centred formalism and Christ-centred relativism and to the creation of a sounder Christian ethics in a Trinitarian framework. Its weaknesses are its tendency towards dualism in society and not giving appropriate attention to socio-cultural elements (Hollenweger; Moltmann). Also problematic is its inclination to a practical value system which not only causes believers to pursue individual blessings (Jae Bum Lee) but also leads people to identify Christian ethics only by the modern way of life (lacking *imitatio Christi*). Therefore, it needs to further develop its ethics through a critical reflection of missionary ethics and an intensive study of Biblical ethics. More dialogue is also needed with other Christian communities regarding the nature and destiny of Christian morals.

16. Eschatology

16.1. INTRODUCTION

The *Sunbogeum* church borrowed its eschatology from the American Assemblies of God. Therefore, it shares the same theological outlook with that of pentecostalism in general.¹ The article of the Korean Assemblies of God, which is contained in its constitution, writes of the hope for rapture, the millennium, the lake of fire, and the new heaven and new earth.² However, seeing the outpouring of the Holy Spirit as the Latter Rain which has to do with the harvest, and holding pretribulationism and antinomianism in connection with eschatology, *Sunbogeum* eschatology has a more urgent motivation for world evangelization/mission than pentecostalism generally has.³ Jan A. B. Jongeneel, who discusses eschatology in relation to missiology, coined the term 'missionary eschatology.'⁴ *Sunbogeum* eschatology can also be understood as a missionary eschatology even though it does not label itself as such.

There are two currents of thought when discussing eschatology in *Sunbogeumism*. One is Yonggi Cho's teaching about the last days expressed in his book of collected sermons on the *A Commentary on Daniel for Laymen* and the *A Commentary on the Revelation to John for Laymen* (both published in 1976). The other is the theological discussion of eschatology from a pentecostal view produced by the International Theological Institute at Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church and by Jeong-Ryeol Pak. These two different trends of Korean *Sunbogeumism* (Cho's Bible-interpreting radical *Sunbogeumism* and theologically-considered classical pentecostalism of same *Sunbogeumists*)⁵ are especially highlighted in the subject of eschatology. We will discuss the latter as a criticism of Cho's eschatology because his radical view discloses both strengths and weakness in pentecostal eschatology. In a sense, *Sunbogeum* eschatology is still in the process of development just as pentecostalism is.⁶ In addition, we will spend more time addressing general

¹ D. J. Wilson, "Eschatology, Pentecostal Perspectives On," in *DPCM*, pp.264-268. The theological background to pentecostal eschatology is formulated as follows: premillennialism, expecting *parousia* prior to the millennium; futurist-leaning dispensationalism, expecting the fulfilment of prophecies in the future; pretribulationism, expecting rapture prior to the 7 years' tribulation; and antinomianism, viewing latter-day morals as antinomian.

² KAOG, *Constitution*, 5th rev. ed., 1996. Part 2, Creed, Articles 17-20.

³ Wilson, *ibid*.

⁴ Jan A. B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Part II*, 1997, pp.103-108.

⁵ See 6.2.9; 6.4.3; 7.3.2.1; 7.3.2.4. Yonggi Cho's radical pentecostalism (*Sunbogeumism*) has been most debatable.

⁶ In addition to the theological formulation of the ITI about eschatology, Jeong-Ryeol Pak discussed eschatology through introducing other viewpoints and suggesting the view of general pentecostalism (*Pentecostal Theology*, 1996, 403-473) while Cho found room for reconsideration on his eschatology (interpretation of John's Revelation and Book of Daniel). Jeong-Geun Pak has not dealt with eschatology in his publication yet; James G. Glass, "Eschatology: A Clear and Present Danger – A Sure and Certain Hope," in *Pentecostal Perspectives*, edited by Keith Warrington, Carlisle, Cumbria (U.K.), 1998, pp.120-146. The Elim Pentecostal Church and the British Assemblies of God had to reaffirm the classical pentecostal view of premillennialism because of a perceived threat in the 1970s.

eschatology than special eschatology because Cho's eschatology, which follows strict futurist dispensational eschatology, pays more attention to general eschatology.

In this chapter, we will sketch and analyze *Sunbogeum* special (individual) eschatology (16.2) and thereafter its general eschatology (16.3). The main reference books will be *A Commentary on the Revelation to John for Laymen* (1976) and *A Commentary on Daniel for Laymen* (1976) by Yonggi Cho. *Eschatology* (1989/1993) by the International Theological Institute (ex-Yeong-San Institute) at the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church and *Pentecostal Theology* (1996) by Jeong-Ryeol Pak will be referred to for different theological views of *Sunbogeum* eschatology. *Theologie der Hoffnung* (1964/ 3ed., 1966) by Jürgen Moltmann and "A Report of the Result of Study over Yonggi Cho's Pseudo-Christianity" (1994) by the 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Church will be used as the main polemical sources.

16.2. INDIVIDUAL ESCHATOLOGY

Sunbogeumism has not developed any unique doctrines about death and life after death from that of evangelicalism because both take the Biblical descriptions about them literally. This section, then, deals with physical death, the immortality of soul, and the intermediate state.

6.2.1. Physical Death

Sunbogeum emphasizes that physical death takes place as the consequence of spiritual death (cf. 8.3.2; 10.3). When Adam was created, he was innocent, good, and holy according to the image of God. He was free from sin but not free from choosing to sin. He had order and harmony among his spirit, soul, and body. He was able to communicate with God through his spirit. When he sinned, however, his spirit was separated from God. Thus he fell into spiritual death. Now in darkness, his soul also died because it was subject to the flesh. The harmony among his spirit, soul, and flesh was broken, and he experienced physical death. Physical death means the separation of body and the immortal spirit (soul),⁷ and it originates in sin. It marks the end of our worldly physical existence. Yonggi Cho writes that physical death does not mean the termination of existence, rather it is the entrance to the

For the Elim Church, premillennialism was removed from its fundamental beliefs by 1994 while the Assemblies of God restated the previous position. Glass suggested the reasons for the shift or the crossroads of pentecostal eschatology were as follows: the hope of the imminent *parousia* was frustrated and the first and second generations, who had believed that they would be raptured in their life times, began to pass away; the charismatic movement and the third wave, through which the Holy Spirit renewed and restored the traditional churches, gave a new perspective that the kingdom of God was present as a reality rather than expecting the imminent coming of the Lord; the theological development of pentecostalism caused it to reconsider Biblical prophecies in a more critical way rather than following the sensationalism; and the change of social standing of pentecostals, from low class to middle class, provided them with more optimism.

⁷ Yonggi Cho, *The Truth of Sunbogeum, II*, 1979, pp.256-303; ITI, *Eschatology*, Seoul, 1989, pp.16-18.

eternal world.⁸ Human beings are destined to die because all are sinners by birth. Further, every living creature is bound to destruction (death) physically. Only those who are in Christ have the hope to be finally resurrected and to no longer experience physical death.

16.2.2. *Immortality of the soul*

There exists a certain folk faith about spiritual existence after death in Korea. Shamanism is one of them. They generally think that the disembodied soul/spirit goes to a world beyond (heaven) or exists in this world for a certain period of time, later to be annihilated. Nevertheless, the idea of immortality of soul is not clear.⁹ *Sunbogeumism* teaches the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Jeong-Ryeol Pak argues that this doctrine is based on the statement that God created man in His own image by breathing His life into him (Gen.1: 26,27; 2:7) and on other Scriptural references in the Old and New Testaments. Based on the Scriptures, humans as spiritual beings are as immortal as God is.¹⁰ He further argues against the unbiblical views of this doctrine by referring to two aspects of Berkhof's *Systematic Theology*: one objection to this doctrine of personal immortality is the influence of a materialistic philosophy which claims that the "soul has no independent substantial existence" but is only a "function of brain activity"; the other variants of this doctrine are the ideas of a racial immortality instead of personal immortality, immortality of commemoration through leaving one's unforgettable name in history, and the immortality of influence through the influencing of posterity with one's accomplishments.¹¹

16.2.3. *Intermediate State*

Sunbogeum believes in an intermediate state of death. The views of the International Theological Institute of the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church and Jeong-Ryeol Pak on this doctrine are substantially the same.¹² Both saved souls and unsaved souls are headed for *sheol-hades*, which is divided into two levels. The upper level (paradise in *sheol-hades*) is for saved souls, where they are blessed with comfort and gladness, while the lower place (hell or *gehenna*) is for unsaved souls and is a place of torture. There, both kinds of souls wait for the resurrection – righteous ones for the *parousia* and evil ones for the final white throne of judgement. It further divides the lower level into three sections: one for the unsaved/evil souls (Ps.9:17); a lower section for demons (Rev.9:1-11); and the lowest level for fallen angels (2 Pet.2:4; Jude 1:6). *Sunbogeumism* considers these places localities in a literal sense. When its purpose for being has been fulfilled *sheol-hades* will be thrown into the lake of fire (Rev.20:14). *Sunbogeumism* also distinguishes between *sheol* and *hades*. Righteous souls of the Old Testament residing in the upper part of *sheol* were moved to

⁸ Cho, *ibid.*, p.465.

⁹ Tae-Ung Sin, *Study on Korean Demons*, Seoul, 1990, pp.21-55. There is no unified view on this matter because Korean folk religious phenomenon is not an institutionalized religion.

¹⁰ Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, Seoul, 1996, pp.404-407.

¹¹ *Ibid.* L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 1938, pp.676-677.

¹² Jeong-Ryeol Pak, *ibid.*, pp.408-417. ITI, *Eschatology*, Seoul, 1989/ 4ed., 1993, pp.25-33.

paradise in heaven when Christ Jesus was resurrected (Eph.4:8; 1 Pet.3:19; 4:6; Rev.1:18). Consequently, those souls saved after Christ's resurrection will be taken to heavenly paradise directly without stopping at *hades* (Luk.23:43; 2Cor.5:8).

Sunbogeumism believes that souls in this intermediate state have a clear consciousness (Luk.16:19-31; 23:43; Acts 7:59; 2 Cor.5:8; Phil.1:23). Therefore, it rejects the theory that souls sleep after death. It neither accepts the doctrine of purgatory nor the possibility of salvation during the period of the intermediate state (second probation). It also rejects the theory of the annihilation of evil souls.¹³

16.3. GENERAL ESCHATOLOGY

Sunbogeumism can be classified as a type of dispensational premillennialism (pre-tribulation rapture theory).¹⁴ With respect to the interpretation of John's Revelation, it takes a futurist view.¹⁵ It also interprets the prophecies of the Scriptures as literally as the context allows (9.3). Nevertheless, Cho's teaching about the last events of the universe (general eschatology), needs exploration. This section will deal with Christ's return and the rapture of the church (16.3.1), the Anti-Christ and the great tribulation (16.3.2), Christ's Second Coming and the millennium (16.3.3), Israel in relation to its eschatology (16.3.4), and the final judgement and the new heaven and new earth (16.3.5).

16.3.1. *The Return of Christ and the Rapture of the Church*

Sunbogeumism expects a twofold coming of Christ in a seven year interval, which includes the secret rapture of His own saints in the air before the great tribulation and the Second Coming to earth to establish millennium after the tribulation. There will be signs and events preceeding the rapture. Jeong-Ryeol Pak lists them as follows: the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached to the whole world (Matt.24:14); the Jewish people will return to an independent nation of Israel (Is.11:1,12; Matt.24:32); apostacy will pervade and morality, politics, and religion will degenerate (Matt.24:12; 2 Tim.3:1-8); wars and the rumours of wars will be heard (Matt.24:6,7); the earth will experience natural disasters (Matt.24:7b); traffic and knowledge will advance (Dan.12:4); and a temporary presence of peace will be felt (1 Thes.5:1-3).¹⁶ Pentecostalism in general holds similar views as this.¹⁷

Yonggi Cho, however, presented the preceeding events in a sensational way. The discernment of the return of Christ according to the preceeding signs attracts the interest of the pre-tribulationists. His teachings can be found in his collected sermons on the Book of Daniel and the Revelation to John. When he interpreted Revelation chapters 4-19 in connection with the 70th week of Daniel (Dan.9: 24-27)

¹³ Pak, *ibid.*, pp.414-417.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp.420-424, 449-452; ITI, *ibid.*, pp.54-55; Stanley M. Horton, "The Last Things," in *STAPP*, pp.597-638.

¹⁵ Pak, ed., "The Lecture on the Systematic Theology," Seoul, 1985, p.203. This view takes Revelation 4 to 19 for the coming seven years' great tribulation and for the 70th week of the vision of Daniel.

¹⁶ Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, pp.424-425.

¹⁷ D. J. Wilson, *ibid.*

as the seven year great tribulation and linked this with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 (Matt.24: 32-34) and the European Communities (Dan. 2:31-35; 7: 1-28; Rev.13: 1-10), he used the events as symbols of the imminence of the *parousia*.¹⁸ In this regard, it is also needed to refer to expressions such as: “to our surprise, the anti-Christ is already born” (*A Commentary on the Revelation*, 146, 234, 266); “we know that ten European nations will be united and a little horn, the anti-Christ, will emerge from a Syrian lineage in this European republic ... will be the president and rule the whole world ... we do not know the date if it will be in five or ten years, but we know that we stand at the threshold of the last days” (*A Commentary on Daniel*, 45, 126, 148-149); and “today, the Revelation of John is an opened book (Rev. 22:10) ... we can understand all the words of prophecy because the Holy Spirit convinces us as the time draws near” (*Revelation*, 314). These words might have convinced some Korean pentecostals that Christ would come soon, before the new millennium.¹⁹ Here we can observe some “striking parallels between empirical phisosophy”²⁰ and his dispensationalist eschatology. At the same time, we can also see that his eschatology is characterized as a missionary eschatology in that he encouraged believers to evangelize the world in the last days before His return.

Since the interdenominational debate over Cho’s pseudo-Christianity (7.3.2.4), Cho began to tone down his eschatology,²¹ while the International Theological Institute (ex-Yoeng-San Institute) of the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church published *Eschatology* (1989), which complemented Cho’s eschatology in many respects. The leading theologian of the American Assemblies of God, Stanley M. Horton, warns that we must not give too much attention to signs, but keep our attention on Jesus.²²

¹⁸ ITI, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Sunbogeum Church II*, 1993, Seoul, pp.148-162.

¹⁹ Yonggi Cho, *A Commentary on the Revelation to John for Laymen*, Seoul, 1976; idem, *A Commentary on Daniel for Laymen*, Seoul, 1976. As a futurist in understanding the Revelation, Cho had the same opinion of applying seven churches each to the ‘seven periods’ of church history: the church in Ephesus to the church of A.D.33-100; the church in Smyrna to the church of A.D. 100-312; the church in Pergamum to the church of A.D. 312-590; the church in Thyatira to the church of A.D. 590-1517; the church in Sardis to the church of A.D. 1517-1750; the church in Philadelphia to the church of A.D. 1750-1905; and the church in Laodicea to the church of A.D. 1905-rapture. For example, his comparison of the church in Laodicea (Rev. 3:14-22) with the church of the 20th century (*Revelation/ 82-92*), which has experienced worldwide revival and the pentecostal movement, can hardly be welcomed (66-72, 82-92). Actually, the European Communities comprised 10 nations in 1981, 12 nations in 1986, and 15 nations in 1995, but nothing happened.

²⁰ Curtis I. Crenshaw and Grove E. Gunn, III, *Dispensationalism: Today, Yesterday, and Tomorrow*, Memphis, TN, 1989, pp.379-383. Two of Gunn’s contentions about why dispensationalism is popular are: its materialization of the modern world (the rise of Russia, the State of Israel, European Communities, WCC etc.); and its parallelism in philosophical thought (empiricism of Francis Bacon/ George M. Marsden) which employs scientific methodology. It prefers, consequently, literal and precise language to figurative expression and interprets the Scriptures in the literal sense. Here we can see the same tendency between dispensationalism and *Sunbogeumism* (8.3.3).

²¹ Cho, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Mark*, Seoul, 1992, pp.274-275. Cho does not mention the independence of Israel (1948) and one generation as 50 years in the commentary on Mark 13:28-30 (1992). However, in his commentary of Matt. 24:32-34 (30.4. 1986), he mentioned the independence of Israel in 1948 and 50 years as a generation as the symbol of the imminence of the last days. Nevertheless, he emphasized that nobody knows the time and date (ITI, *Faith and Theology ... II*, 1993, pp.160-162); In 1993, Cho’s eschatology became one of the reasons that caused the Tonghap denomination to study further his pseudo-Christianity (7.3.2.4).

²² Stanley M. Horton, “The Last Things,” in *Systematic Theology: A Pentecostal Perspective*, edited by Stanley M. Horton, Springfield, MO, 1994, pp.597-638. Cited from p.603.

In discussing the the *parousia*, Cho takes First Corinthians 15:23, First Thessalonians 4:16,17, and Revelation 4:1 as the same event: the rapture of the believers at His coming.²³ This secret rapture will be only for His New Testament church, namely, those who sleep in Christ and those who are born again and filled with the Holy Spirit. Only they will be invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb as His bride (Matt.25:1-13; Rev.19:6-8). This rapture of the church is different from the first resurrection, which will take place after the seven year tribulation (Rev.20:4-6).

The International Theological Institute and Jeong-Ryeol Pak differ from Cho about who will be raptured. They believe that all the saved saints of the Old Testament and the New Testament periods will be included as the bride of Christ.²⁴ Their views correspond with that of the American Assemblies of God.²⁵ Cho's extreme futurist and literal interpretation about these apocalyptic Biblical texts was moderated by other *Sunbogeum* theologians and the American Assemblies of God. More differences between Cho's view and that of two other Korean pentecostals will be discussed in the following sections.

16.3.2. *The Anti-Christ and the Great Tribulation*

According to *Sunbogeumism*, when the church is raptured and the Holy Spirit has moved at His *parousia*, this world will meet with unprecedented tribulation. This is the period of God's wrath on unbelievers, the tribulation as well as salvation of Israel, and the last opportunity for others to be saved by God. Yonggi Cho expressed his views about when and how the Anti-Christ would appear in his teaching of Daniel and the Revelation to John. Linking the revivals of the State of Israel and the European Communities with the fulfillment of prophecies for the emerging of the Anti-Christ and the great tribulation (16.3.1), he stated his opinion that the Anti-Christ will emerge as "the beast with ten horns and seven heads" (Rev.13:1-10). As the president of the world powers (the president of the European Communities), he will conclude a seven-year mutual peace agreement with Israel (Dan.9:27). During the first half of the period, 144,000 sealed Israelites will evangelize the world and a great multitude from all tribes and nations will be saved through their ministries (Rev.7:1-17). Then the great dragon, Satan, will be thrown down to earth (Rev.12:9) and give his power, throne, and authority to the Anti-Christ (Rev.13) at the beginning of the second half of the period. The beast will then not only break the treaty with Israel (Dan. 9:24-27) but he will also make himself god, and there will be a great persecution of Israel and believers. Another beast, the false prophet, will deceive people on earth by performing signs so that they may follow the Anti-Christ (Rev.13:11-18). Making this false prophet the religious leader, the "church" in this period, a unity of various religions (Islam, Buddhism, Taoism etc., and liberal Christians) will serve the politics of the Anti-Christ as the great harlot (Rev.17).

²³ Yonggi Cho, *A Commentary on the Revelation ...*, pp.96-98; idem, *A Commentary on the I Corinthians*, Seoul, 1983, pp.336-337; idem, *A Commentary on the I, II Epistles to the Thessalonians*, Seoul, 1991, pp.74-75.

²⁴ ITI, *Eschatology*, pp.55-57, 89; Pak, *Pentecostal ...*, pp.428-429.

²⁵ William W. Menzies and Stanley M. Horton, *Bible Doctrines: A Pentecostal Perspective*, Springfield, MO, 1993/ 2ed., 1994, pp.218-219.

Israel will be kept in the wilderness by God (Matt.24:15-22; Rev.12:1-6, 13-17) and believers will be martyred (Rev.15:2-4) during the latter half of the great tribulation. The wrath of God on the Anti-Christ and the world will be terminated when Christ comes again (revelation) with His resurrected saints after the marriage ceremony. He will meet the Anti-Christ and his cohorts at Armageddon. This is the final war and judgement on earth (the great day of God, the Almighty). The beast and false prophet will be seized and thrown into the lake of fire and the rest will be destroyed (Rev.16:12-21; 19:1-21).²⁶

Christ's church will not only escape the tribulation but will also be ushered into judgement for rewards and the preparation for the wedding as the bride of the Lamb. This will take seven years and then there will be the marriage supper of the Lamb at the end.²⁷ *Sunbogeumism* explains why His church will not pass through the great tribulation as follows: first, the church as the Body of Christ cannot be judged again because Christ has already suffered; second, Jesus hinted about the church's avoidance of the tribulation through metaphors from the days of Noah and Lot (Luke 17:26-30); third, in chapters 4-19 of the Revelation, the word 'church' does not appear, which indicates the church will not suffer during the tribulation; and fourth, some verses of the Scriptures testify that the church must awake and escape it (Luke 21:34-36; 1 Thes.1:10; Rev.3:10).²⁸ Then the church will be presented as Christ's bride to God sitting on the throne in heaven .

Cho asserts that Christ's church will be exclusively invited to the wedding. All those who will be saved or martyred during the tribulation will be called the "friends of the bride" at the wedding. They include the souls under the altar (Rev.6:9-11), a great multitude clothed in white clothes (Rev.7:9-17), those who had come off victorious from the beast and from his image ... standing on the sea of glass (Rev.15:2-4),²⁹ and the saints of the Old Testament, who will be the bridegroom's friends (John 3:29).³⁰ This strict literal and futurist interpretation was modified by the writings of the International Theological Institute and Pak (16.3.1). Cho's interpretation implies that *Sunbogeumism* emphasizes the glory of Christ's church and its task as the fullness of Him who fills all in all (Eph.1:22-23). It encourages believers to be filled with the Holy Spirit and be alert at all times with prayer, while engaging in evangelization (a missionary eschatology).³¹

16.3.3. *Second Coming of Christ, Resurrection and Millennium*

The reign of the beast will be terminated when Christ appears with His angels and bride. Christ will destroy him and the allied forces in the last war, at Armageddon

²⁶ Cho, *Revelation*, and *Daniel*, passim.

²⁷ Cho, *Revelation*, pp.100, 114, 275-276. Cho writes that the raptured church will be presented to God on the throne in heaven (114) while he also mentions that the raptured church will meet Christ in the air and celebrate their wedding at the end (275-276). This is confused in his writing because 'air' and 'heaven' are implied by it as localities.

²⁸ Cho, *Revelation*, pp.100-106; Pak, *ibid.*, pp.421-423.

²⁹ Cho, *ibid.*, pp.276-277.

³⁰ *idem*, *The Truth of Sunbogeum II*, 1979, p.501.

³¹ *idem*, *Daniel*, pp.132, 134, 177, 225; *idem*, *Revelation*, pp.97, 104, 293-294, 316-317.

(Rev.16:12-16; 19:11-21). The beast and the false prophet³² will be thrown alive into the lake of fire. The dragon, Satan, will be shut up in the abyss for a thousand years (Rev.19:19-20:3). The second coming of Christ into this world will set up the millennium, then follows the resurrection. Cho teaches three types of resurrections, excluding Christ's resurrection: first, the rapture of the church at *parousia* (Rev.4:1-4); second, the so-called first resurrection before the millennium, which is the resurrection of those who were killed during the great tribulation (Rev.20:4-6); and third, the resurrection of all the unsaved prior to the white throne judgement (Rev.20:11-15). Cho even identifies three different phases of resurrection during the tribulation: the martyred souls under the altar (Rev.6:9-11); the great multitude who are saved by the evangelization of the 144,000 (Rev.7:9-17); and those who are saved by the two witnesses, i.e. the reincarnated Elijah and Moses (Rev.11:1-13). This literal interpretation was not accepted by the International Theological Institute and Jeong-Ryeol Pak, who identify only two resurrections – the resurrection at the *parousia* which will be the first resurrection of the Old Testament saints and the church, and the second resurrection prior to the final white throne judgement.³³

Then the millennium will begin. According to Cho, Christ and His bride, resurrected saints who were martyred during the great tribulation,³⁴ Israelites who were kept in the wilderness during the tribulation, and those who were separated as sheep among those living during the tribulation without receiving the mark of the beast (Matt.25: 31-46), will constitute the citizens. This means that three groups of believers will live in the millennium: the translated bride of Christ who will come down with Him at His revelation; the group at the first resurrection, who will reign with Christ in the millennium;³⁵ and the group (unresurrected) who will remain throughout the tribulation.³⁶

Cho's strict qualifications for Christ's bride, His friends, his separation between the bride and reigning saints in the millennium, and his three resurrections are problematic. For example, he did not clearly mention when the Old Testament saints will be resurrected. If they are to be resurrected at the *parousia* (even though he did not say this clearly), they must be included as His bride, but Cho denied this. Then the Old Testament saints must be resurrected after the millennium and be brought to the white throne judgement, yet Cho claimed that this resurrection will only be for unbelievers; however, he does treat that they are invited as the friends of the Lamb at the wedding ceremony – a logical error. According to him, those who are martyred during the tribulation and are resurrected after the tribulation will reign with Christ in the millennium. But he did not explain what His bride will do in this millennium. His stern, literal-futurist interpretation seemed to cause confusions. These problems were also modified by the eschatologies of the International Theological Institute and Pak. Both believe that all the saints of the Old and New

³² idem, *Revelation*, pp.280-281. These followers and those assembled at the war will be killed by the sword which came from the mouth of Christ and will be headed for *hades*.

³³ ITI, *ibid.*, pp.55-57, 85, 89; Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, pp.428-429, 436-437. Most pentecostals hold the same view as that of ITI and Pak.

³⁴ This is the second resurrection event according to Cho (Rev.20:5-6).

³⁵ Cf. Appendix 10. The dogmatic creed of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church.

³⁶ Cho, *Revelation*, 280-290; idem, *The Truth of Sunbogeum II*, 1979, pp.500-504.

Testaments, who are raptured or resurrected prior to the tribulation, will be the bride and will rule with Christ in the new millennium.³⁷

This universal kingdom, the very first and the last, will be the period in which God restores the blessing of the lost garden in Eden. It will also be a period of peace without war, under the reign of Christ and a period when the Holy Spirit dwells in humans universally. Material prosperity, longevity and the healing of all the deformed will be part of the kingdom. Israel will be elevated among all nations and Jerusalem will be the capital city.³⁸ At the close of this kingdom, Satan will be released and have one last chance to deceive the nations, Gog and Magog, and wage war against the holy government. When the fire from heaven devours them, the long-pending rebellion of Satan and humans will be finally extinguished (Rev. 20:7-10).

16.3.4. *Israel as the Barometer for Eschatology*

Pentecostals as dispensational premillennialists are concerned about the history of Israel in connection with eschatology because they believe that its development is closely related to the fulfillment of God's prophecy.³⁹ Keeping in step with this thought, Yonggi Cho warns of Christ's imminent return in course with the history of Israel:⁴⁰ the independence of Israel in 1948 was correlated to the parable of the fig tree (Matt.24:32-33); the *parousia* will happen in one generation, a period of 50 years (Matt.24:34-35); the rapture will take place when Israel makes a seven-year mutual peace treaty with the European Communities, which will be the revived Roman Empire of ten nations (Dan.9:24-27); the 144,000 Israelites, who will be chosen as the last witnesses of the Gospel during the first half of the seven years tribulation (Rev.7:1-17), will be taken to heaven while remaining Israelites will be protected from the persecution of the anti-Christ during the latter half of the tribulation (Rev.14:1-5, 12:1-6); and Christ would come to the earth at the Armageddon war so that His hostility be destroyed and would establish millennial kingdom making Jerusalem the capital city (Rev.19:17-21).

Two other *Sunbogeum* eschatologies did not focus on the nation of Israel as Cho did. Jeong-Ryeol Pak simply writes that the establishment of the nation of Israel is a symbol of the fulfillment of the Word of God in connection with eschatology. He also acknowledges the suffering and conversion of Israel during the tribulation. The International Theological Institute interprets the 70 weeks of Daniel's prophecy as relating to Israel with the last week representing the seven years of tribulation (Dan.7:24-27). This Institute also discusses the treaty between the Anti-Christ and Israel, the suffering and national conversion of Israel to Christ, and the restoration of Jerusalem as the capital city of the millennium. Neither Pak nor the International Theological Institute identifies of the last times in connection to the establishment of Israel.⁴¹

³⁷ ITI, *ibid.*, pp.56, 89; Pak, *ibid.*, pp.428-429.

³⁸ Pak, *ibid.*, pp.452-462.

³⁹ D.J.Wilson, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Israel as the unique chosen nation for God's providence in relation to His revelation for salvation is different from the so-called 'Korea as a chosen nation for evangelization of the Gospel.'

⁴¹ Neither discussed the issue that the president of the EC will be the Anti-Christ.

The Tonghap Presbyterian Church dismisses Cho's eschatology, especially his idea of connecting eschatology to the history of Israel. They assert that his eschatology is dangerous and wrong just as the dispensational eschatology which teaches that human history before the millennium is 6,000 years long and then Christ will return around A.D.2000. However, the Tonghap denomination concluded that although Cho's teaching about the signs of the rapture (state of Israel in 1948 and one generation as 50 years) has crossed the boundary of a time-limited eschatology,⁴² his wrong interpretation of the Bible as a dispensational premillennialist should not be regarded as heretical nor peculiar.⁴³

16.3.5. *Final Judgement, New Heaven and New Earth versus the Lake of Fire*

Teaching believers to look and prepare for the *parousia*, *Sunbogeumism* fixes its final and eternal hope on a new heaven and earth.⁴⁴ It believes in the second resurrection prior to the great white throne judgement, even though there is no united view about who will be resurrected. Cho and the International Theological Institute hold the view that all unbelievers throughout the history will be resurrected to face judgement, whereas Pak holds the opinion that unbelievers and those who died during the millennium will be resurrected and the white throne judgement will be applicable to believers as well.⁴⁵ At this judgement, all those whose names are not found in the book of life will be thrown into the lake of fire, the second death, and the new heaven and earth will receive all the redeemed. There will be no more death, mourning, or pain because God makes all things new (Rev. 21:1-7). However, there will be different grades of reward according to the deeds of the believers so each individual joy may be perfect and full.⁴⁶ The capital city of the new heaven and earth, the new Jerusalem, where the headquarters of the Trinitarian God lie and where the bride of Christ, the church, will live, will come out of heaven from God. Yonggi Cho, the International Theological Institute, and Jeong-Ryeol Pak all make a distinction between the new Jerusalem and the new heaven and earth as individual localities. But they do not agree who will be in the city and who would be outside of it. Cho believes that only those who belong to the church, the bride of the Lamb, will live in the new Jerusalem while others, such as Old Testament believers and those who are saved after the rapture, will live outside the city in the new heaven and earth (Rev. 21:24-27).⁴⁷ The theological significance for *Sunbogeumism's* doctrine for the new heaven and the earth can be formulated as follows: first, the

⁴² Taberah World Mission, *The Last Plan of God*, Seoul, 1991. Jang-Lim Lee and his followers insisted that the rapture will take place on 28.10.1992 and Christ will come on earth in October 1999. They claimed they received the message from God directly through young prophets.

⁴³ The 79th General Assembly of the Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination, "A Report of the Result of Study over Yonggi Cho's Pseudo-Christianity," 1994, Quoted from *Church and Faith* (January 1995): 135-142.

⁴⁴ Cho, *Revelation*, p.298; KAOG, *ibid.*, Article 20.

⁴⁵ Cho, *ibid.*, pp.289-290; ITI, *ibid.*, p.89; Pak, *ibid.*, pp.437, 465-473.

⁴⁶ Pak, *ibid.*, 468-469, 473; *idem*, "The Lecture ...," p.227-229.

⁴⁷ Cho, *ibid.*, pp.297-310; ITI, *ibid.*, p.109; Pak, *Pentecostal Theology*, pp.466-473; Horton, *ibid.*, pp.636-637. Horton (AAOG) does not explain about the new heaven and earth because, according to him, they are not described in the Bible. He identifies the new Jerusalem with heaven. Here, we can see that *Sunbogeum* eschatology, especially Cho's, has the tendency of interpreting more details about the prophetic writings.

purpose of God's creation will be fulfilled; second, God's chosen people will live in the presence of God and be blessed with His fullness corresponding to their existence; and third, godliness and ungodliness will be fundamentally judged and eternally separate.⁴⁸

Minjung theology has an entirely different eschatology which excludes the transcendental kingdom of God. Its object is to establish a socio-political environment where the masses are treated equally under righteousness and democracy. Its method is participation in reform activities.⁴⁹ Shamanism has a concept of the world beyond but without a concrete idea of the kingdom of the new heaven and new earth.

Yonggi Cho's intense literal and futurist interpretation of the *Revelation to John* illustrates its characteristics. In addition to the two divisions of thought within *Sunbogeumism* is the leading theologian of the American Assemblies of God, Stanly M. Horton, who also differs from Cho on many points of this apocalyptic book: Revelation 4:1 is not the symbol of the rapture of the First Thessalonians 4:17 (16.3.1); the seven churches are not compared to all the church ages separately (footnote 19 of 16.3.1); there is no mention about the blasphemous world ruler who will be the president of the European Communities (16.3.1); the Lamb's bride includes all the redeemed, including those martyred during the tribulation (16.3.2); those on the thrones in the millennium are all believers (16.3.3); and the new Jerusalem will be open to all God's people regardless of the Old Testament Israel (16.3.5).⁵⁰ *Sunbogeum's* supernatural-vertical and God's judgement-oriented eschatology can be compared and criticized by the eschatology of Jürgen Moltmann, who has a horizontal-hope and eschatological-participation view of eschatology. Moltmann advocates the view that Christ's church should make the cross event the eschatological foundation/beginning and actively share the suffering of the resurrected Christ by the power of the Spirit in this world while waiting for the glorious resurrection of God. This contradicts *Sunbogeum's* belief which teaches that Christ's church can only wait passively for His *parousia*, revelation, judgement and His kingdom while actively evangelizing the world.⁵¹

16.4. CONCLUSION

The fundamental idea of *Sunbogeum* eschatology is identical to the dispensational premillennialism of classical pentecostalism. It also shares a common view of individual eschatology with other pentecostals and evangelicals without showing any noticeable divergence. Noticeable points of its personal eschatology include the emphasis that physical death is the result of spiritual death (separation between God and man) and its detailed classification of the *sheol-hades* into four sections (the upper one for saved souls and three lower levels for the unsaved evil souls, demons, and fallen angels).

⁴⁸ cf. Pak, *ibid.*, 469-473.

⁴⁹ Pak, *A Theology of Christian Spirituality*, Seoul, 1988, p.169.

⁵⁰ Stanley M. Horton, *The Ultimate Victory: Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, Springfield, MO, 1991, pp.37, 187, 294, 316.

⁵¹ Moltmann, *Theologie der Hoffnung*, München, 1965/ 3ed., 1966. pp.11-16, 312.

Sunbogeum eschatology characterizes its general eschatology through Yonggi Cho's radical-Biblical view and the theological-systematic considerations of the International Theological Institute and Jeong-Ryeol Pak. It is Cho's view which arouses our interest. Cho presented his eschatology through his preaching on the Book of Daniel and the Revelation to John on the basis of a strict and literal interpretation of the Bible, within the frame of dispensationalism. His belief that the *parousia* will happen concretely in the framework of modern history characterized his eschatology. He often gave Korean pentecostals the impression that Christ might return around the turning of the new millennium, approximately 50 years after the establishment of the nation of Israel (1948) and the development of the European Union through ten nations (Tonghap Presbyterian Denomination). According to Cho, the president of the 'New Roman Empire' of ten united European nations (the European Union) will be the Anti-Christ. He is greatly concerned about the role of Israel at the end of times. As a preacher, he wanted to interpret all the verses of John's Revelation and the Book of Daniel, an endeavour which can be dangerous.

The sharp distinction between the bride of the Lamb (the church), who will be raptured at the *parousia* and those who were saved before the church age and those who will be saved in the period of tribulation, has the tendency to emphasize the contemporary faithfulness of believers, but it also distinguishes between salvation through Christ in church history and salvation before and after church history. Cho's classification of believers has implications for his understanding of the new heaven and the new earth: only the raptured church, His bride, will live in the new Jerusalem, whereas all other saints will live outside that city. In addition to this, we can find logical discrepancies in his writings about general eschatology (Revelation). These elements show the weaknesses of his eschatology. This radical view, however, has been changed into a moderate one since the last decade of the 20th century. Furthermore, some theological reflections on eschatology by the International Theological Institute and Jeong-Ryeol Pak have criticized Cho's extreme futurist and literal profiling of eschatology. Without a unified view of various aspects of eschatology, *Sunbogeum* eschatology is an eschatology in the making. Furthermore, *Sunbogeum* eschatology needs to reconsider the Biblical apocalypics in a framework of a sound hermeneutics.

The strengths of *Sunbogeum* eschatology, however, is its application of eschatology in daily life. It has resulted in encouraging people to be filled with the Holy Spirit and makes them aware of the soon return of Christ. This eschatology also has a missiological dimension of preaching the Gospel in preparation for the end of times. In addition to this, it needs to be emphasized that its teaching on the rapture, the millennium, and the new heaven and the new earth will help keep the balance between its emphasis upon the contemporary Triple Blessing and eschatological hope.

17. Nature and significance of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism and its theology

We started this research with the objective of investigating the cultural background and theological interrelatedness of *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism. Now we close this project by reviewing the nature and significance from the outset of this study. We will start by analyzing and evaluating its history (17.1) and its theology (17.2). Thereafter, the perspective of the future will be presented (17.3).

17.1. NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF *SUNBOGEUM* PENTECOSTALISM

This study shows that *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism is the complex product of four definite factors: first, rootedness in Korean religiosity and the accommodation to socio-political circumstances; second, the seed of classical Pentecostalism; third, the impact of the American Assemblies of God; and fourth, the ministry of Yonggi Cho. Accordingly, *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism demonstrates the Korean style of spirituality in prayer and devotion, a pneumatological dynamism of modern pentecostalism, an American propensity of achievement and activity, and a positivity and practicality related to Yonggi Cho's personality. In short, it is an indigenized pentecostal movement which can be stamped as Yonggi-ism. Coupled with its unparalleled church growth, it has attracted the attention of evangelical and pentecostal churches in Korea and overseas.

The historical parts (Part I & II) show the relationships among religio-social, the personal backgrounds, and the Korean pentecostalism. Part I explained that Koreans had been prepared with a pentecostal type of faith through its religious heritage of *Hananim* concepts and shamanistic religiosity, which had been syncretized with imported religions. Also preparing Koreans for pentecostalism were the oppressions by surrounding powers through long history, by Japanese colonialism during the Korean modernization process, the division of Korea into North and South, the war-stricken difficulties following the fratricidal war, and the socio-economic shifts in Korea since the 1960s. These factors aided pentecostalism into coming the forefront with inner dynamism and a pneumatic potential, which can penetrate into the modern urbiculture.

Part II explained how classical pentecostalism was planted, how it was transformed into *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism and has grown rapidly, and how it has spread inside and outside of Korea. The period of classical pentecostalism (1928-1953) only succeeded in establishing a fellowship type of organizations with about a dozen congregations. No opportunities existed for pentecostalism to penetrate fully into the Korean religiosity under such an unfavourable situation. In the period of the birth and growth of *Sunbogeumism* (1953-1972), it proved its adaptability to the Korean religious climate and to the new social settings. The dynamics of the American presence coupled with the ministries of Cho and Choe played a key part in bringing Pentecostalism to the Korean context. Korean's religiosity, as well as the

changing society brought through by economic-industrial revival, were well-suited to the spiritual dynamism and holistic salvation of *Sunbogeumism*. During the years of 1966-1972, it stabilized its position in Korean churches, drawing their attention to pneumatology as the forerunner of the Holy Spirit movement. It is significant to observe that, during this time, *Sunbogeumism* also began to relieve the fatalistic negativism of *Han* (resentment)-possessed Korean *Minjung*. The period of expansion, from 1973 to the present, is marked by the spectacular growth of the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church. Yonggi-ism came to the fore as an impressive example of church growth and world evangelization in the 1980s. However, Korean pentecostalism also experienced bitter trials with an internal schism (1981-1991) and external criticisms (1983-1994). Tension emerged between the traditional-classical pentecostals and the radical/progressive *Sunbogeum* pentecostals in the Korean Assemblies of God. Consequently, *Sunbogeumism* was forced to rethink its theology. Under the umbrella of Yonggi Cho's leadership (1992), the Korean Assemblies of God became one of the leading Korean denominations. The United Korean Assemblies of God (1992), which is composed of one mega church, several dozen flourishing congregations and hundreds of small congregations, adopted *Sunbogeumism* as the proper name for Korean pentecostalism. Today *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism has great potential and lingering weaknesses.

17.2. NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF *SUNBOGEUM* THEOLOGY

The systematic research of *Sunbogeum* theology in Part III leads to the conclusion that its constituent elements have been mainly developed by Yonggi Cho. His poor upbringing and protracted illness during the general wretchedness of the colonial era and the Korean War seemed to have contributed to the formation of a radical pentecostal theology. Therefore, *Sunbogeum* theology can be understood as a contextual theology. Cho's co-worker and mother-in-law, Ja-Sil Choe, also played an important role in the establishment of this theology. Her 'triple prayer' shaped this pentecostal theology into a theology of bowing knees and deep prayer experiences. Indeed, *Sunbogeum* theology is nurtured by a devoted prayer life and consequently, by a pneumatological interpretation of the Scriptures. Therefore, *Sunbogeum* theology is more engaged in practical areas than in the realm of theoretical reflections. These emphases reveal both the strengths and weaknesses of *Sunbogeum* theology.

Part III analyzed both the contents and the methodology of *Sunbogeum* theology. Its basic nature is found in its emphasis on the holistic character of the Christian message; therefore, the doctrine of the 'prosperity Gospel' was added to the four teachings of the Full Gospel of classical pentecostalism. Yonggi Cho found 3 John 2 as the Biblical ground for this wholeness message. Its theological basis originated from the covenantal comparison between Adam's total depravity through his fall and Christ's total salvation through His Atonement. Christ's substitutional sacrifice is understood as the holistic restoration of God's spiritual and material sovereignty over human beings. Although the cross of Christ provides the basis for this salvation, it is the Holy Spirit who performs God's will in a practical way for believers. Therefore, *Sunbogeum* theology emphasizes the infilling of the Spirit as a

crucial element. Finally, the formulation of the Fivefold Gospel as its systematic structure and the Triple Salvation as its application constitute the essence of this theology.

All the *loci* of *Sunbogeum* systematic and practical theology are built upon this fundamental ground. The most important features that reveal the nature of *Sunbogeum* theology include the emphasis on God's sovereignty and His goodness, the recognition of a whole redemptive grace through Christ's cross, the promotion of personal fellowship with the Holy Spirit, an adoption of positive attitudes for church growth through the mobilization of women and laity as a method for evangelization/mission, and the valuation of the overall salvation of human beings as the ethical maximum. Within classical pentecostalism, *Sunbogeum* theology takes the lead in positive and open theologies. In relation to *Minjung* theology, which embraces traditional shamanism, *Sunbogeumism*, which rejects shamanism and tries to save *Minjung* (grass-roots) and shamanism-oriented Koreans, shares a phenomenal similarity. However, there is no theological correlation between them in Korea.

The methodology of *Sunbogeumism* has been uniquely developed by Yonggi Cho. It appears to be more revolutionary and radical among other pentecostal circles. As pentecostalism generally emphasizes the materialization of the norm, Cho's *Sunbogeum* theology manifests all the more its synthetic features through this methodological principle. Scientific knowledge, its principle of cause and effect, and modern technical conveniences are utilized to explain Biblical truth and to apply Biblical teachings to daily life, where the Holy Spirit operates the spiritual dimension. Cho's belief that Biblical faith can be actualized through visualization, the renewal of the mind, and the spoken word if it cooperates with the Holy Spirit through importunate prayer and waiting on Him, manifests pure Yonggi-ism. This methodology can either be a good tool for Spirit-filled Christians in applying their faith or can be a confusion for those who do not understand his entire teaching.

Sunbogeum theology has the potential to make Korean churches aware of their need to do theology through a revitalizing pneumatology. *Sunbogeum* theology has proved that it can encourage believers to respond effectively to the teaching of the Bible. In spite of genuine criticisms of the doctrine of church growth, growing churches must not be dismissed because growth comes from the work of His Spirit. *Sunbogeum* theology helped awake this truth in worldwide Christianity. In addition, the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Salvation has the advantage of helping Christians easily grasp the contents of the Gospel and apply the holistic salvific grace of God to their daily lives. However, such advantages are also disadvantages in Christology and soteriology. It emphasizes the part of Christ's substitution for our sins whereas it does not appreciate the reconciliatory dimension of God's morality. Therefore, God's *agape* was not fully represented to believers, let alone in society. *Sunbogeumism* as a Korean pentecostal church has shown its competence to other universal churches. This is seen through the on-going world-wide ministries of Yonggi Cho, the shared theologies of the Korean Assemblies of God with others, and the universal activities of the Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church. The significance of *Sunbogeum* methodology can be understood in light of its theology. Namely, it aids believers in making Biblical faith concrete so that they may anticipate definite and measurable results from God. This methodology, however, also reveals a potential

danger – this method can be used as a tool for emphasizing only the personal Triple Blessing. This can be seen in the criticisms that it is syncretistic with shamanism or that it makes God a blessing for human's sake.

The fundamental weakness of *Sunbogeum* theology is that it is constantly in danger of falling into a kind of positive theology, which provides Christians with the means of seeking their own blessings while neglecting the crucified God. Or, in other words, it is anthropo-centric in its theological approach – a result of Cho's interpretation of 3 John 2, which ignores the context. His unhealthy approach in both Biblical hermeneutics and theology loses the balance of the various teachings of the entire Bible, resulting in a separation of the fulfillment of God's will (verse 3/ walking in the truth) from the fulfillment of human needs (verse 2/ the Triple Salvation). Its tendency is to make the meeting of human needs the cornerstone. An example is Cho's expression "the utmost will of God to us is the Triple Salvation"¹ (3 John 2), which must remain in God's authority because only He knows how to apply His word (3 John 2) according to His omniscience and omnipotence. If believers take Cho's ideas and use it for demanding "structure before God" or a "schema for our blessing," they will eventually separate it from the body of God's whole Word (the Bible) and lose its real meaning. Theology must listen to God and obey His Word (*theos* and *logos*), not be used to fulfill humanity's needs and expectations. All criticisms against *Sunbogeum* theology originate in this fundamental weakness. Therefore, it is a situational/contextual theology, which is implemented in Korean modern society. One must note, however, that *Sunbogeum* theology has exerted efforts to improve itself to overcome its shortcomings.

In summary, *Sunbogeum* theology's weak point is its teachings about God and Christ, while its emphasis on the personality and fellowship with the Holy Spirit is its strength. It also manifests a strong engagement in the disciplines of applying theology like ecclesiology, missiology, ethics, and eschatology, whereas it discloses its vulnerability in these same realms because of its anthropo-centric approach in its theology. Finally, its fundamentalist understanding of the Bible keeps it influential in world Christianity whereas its Biblical hermeneutics is lacking in its reputation.

17.3. PERSPECTIVE OF *SUNBOGEUM* PENTECOSTALISM AND *SUNBOGEUM* THEOLOGY

Sunbogeum pentecostalism as a Korean contextual theology has proved its potential as an influential pentecostalism inside and outside Korea. Compared to its size and influence, however, its theology has been rather superficial. All the main factors that contributed to its establishment have changed. Accordingly, the *Sunbogeum* movement and its theology have also changed. We present here its perspective in the future in three aspects.

The first aspect is that *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalism as a dynamic and transformative pentecostalism, will further play an important role in the future inside and outside Korea, sharing its strengths in pneumatology and its triple prayer. It will

¹ Yonggi Cho, *Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing*, 1983/ 10 ed., 1994, pp.247-249. Quoted from p.249.

further function as a frontier theology, a forerunner of an effective missions church in a new millennial urban culture as long as it further improves itself.

The second aspect for the prospect of *Sunbogeum*'s future revolves around its theology. We point out that its fundamental weakness is its anthropo-centric tendency in theological approach. Further it needs to give more attention to Biblical hermeneutics, the Trinity, Christology, and soteriology in the future. It needs to recognize both the suffering and glorification of the cross so that *imitatio Christi* may be brought to the forefront as the saints in the early church did.

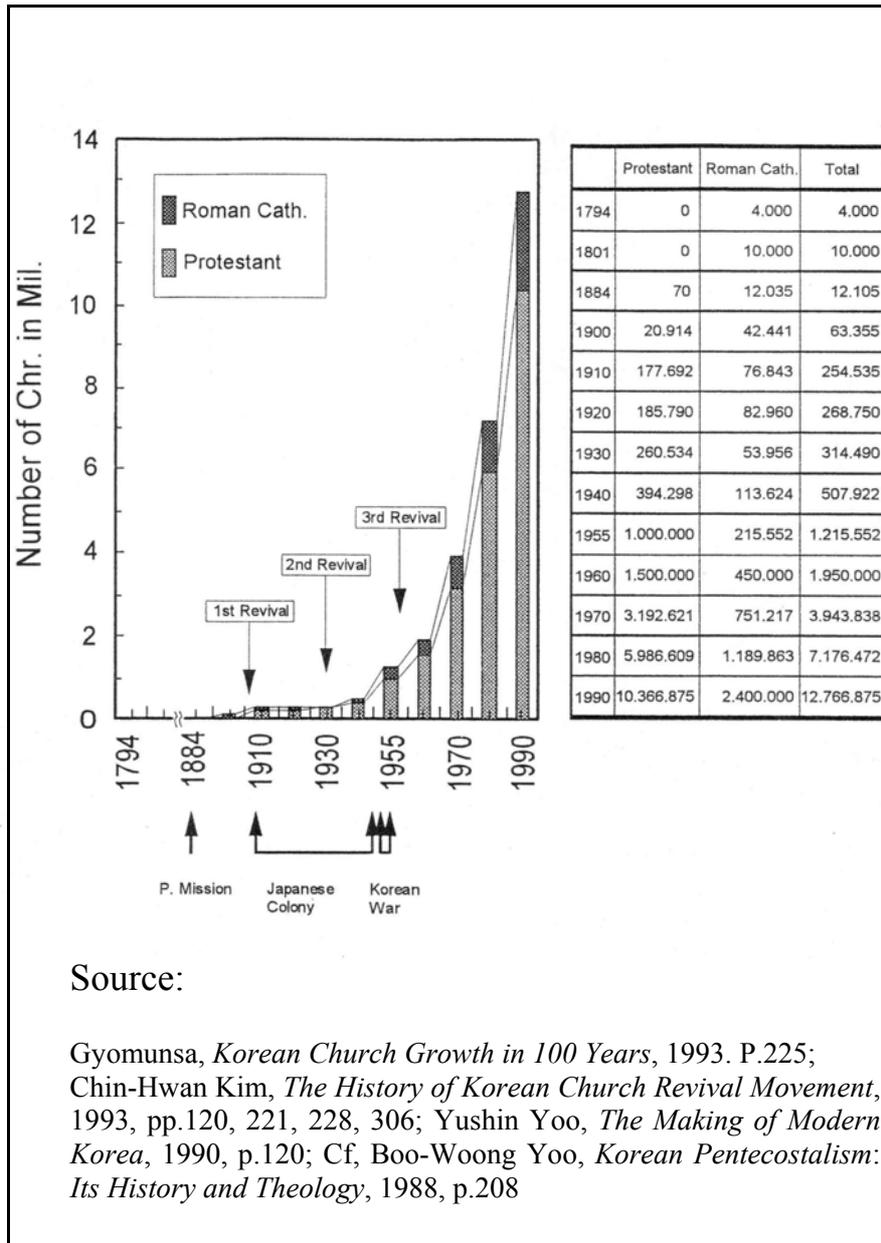
Finally, three questions have been raised as issues through this study. These are related to the future of both *Sunbogeum* pentecostalism and universal Christianity. The first question is the relationship between God's sovereignty and men's free will in the practical Christian life. Apart from the divergence between Calvinism and Arminianism, when a Christian is filled in the Holy Spirit, he needs to discern the relationship between the authentic will of God and man's free will to serve God. Our theology and faith will be affected by different approaches of these polars. The second question revolves around the further study about the fourth dimension – Spirit controls the material. Several theologians or missiologists already dealt with this problem, but Yonggi Cho's methodology calls forth further study on this matter. This is also important in understanding the Trinity as well as pneumatology. The last question is the problem of syncretism. Universal Christianity needs to study whether there is a theologically responsible syncretism. This question should not be limited to the problem of missiology but should also be applied to other disciplines like Biblical hermeneutics or Christian ethics.

APPENDICES

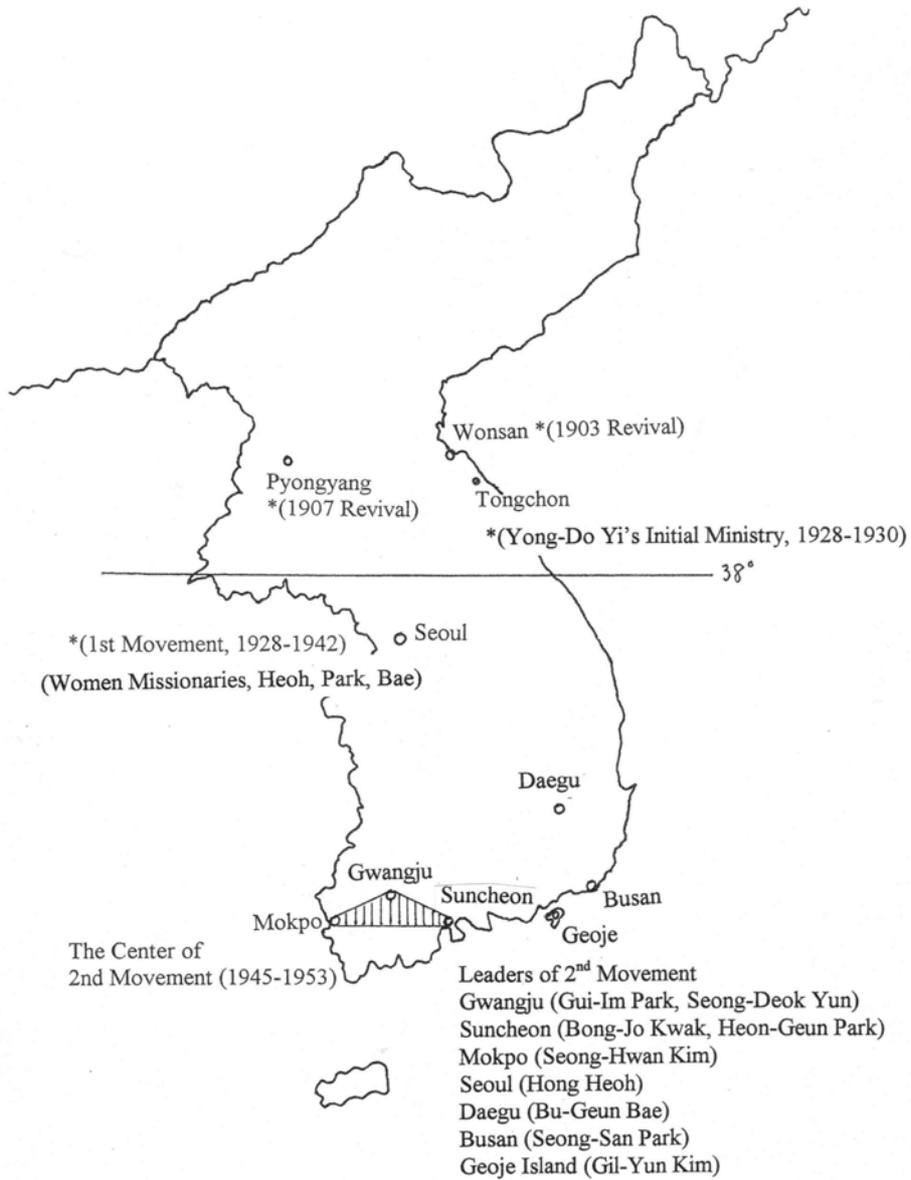
Appendix 1. The Map of Korea



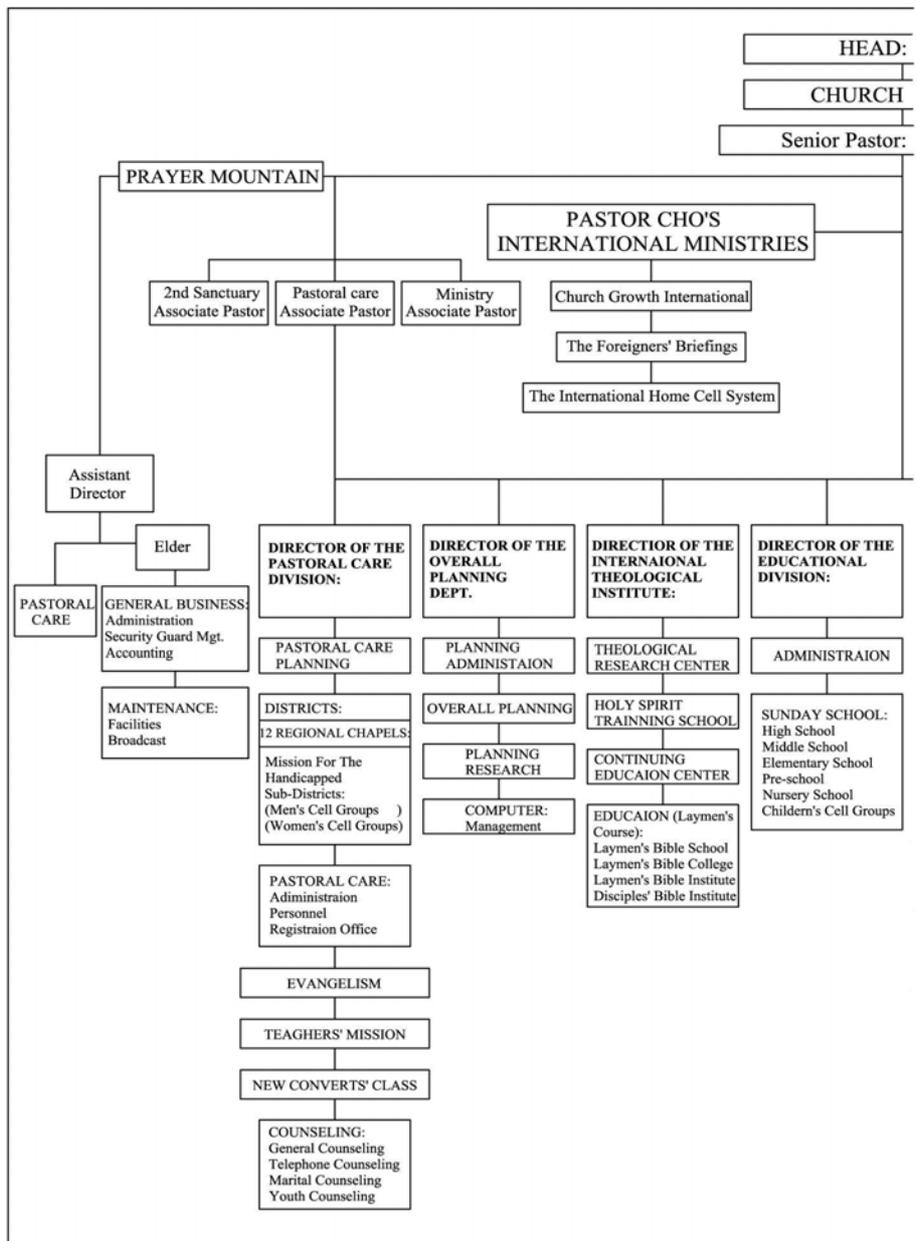
Appendix 2. Korean Church Growth and Three Revival Movements
 {Figure 1}

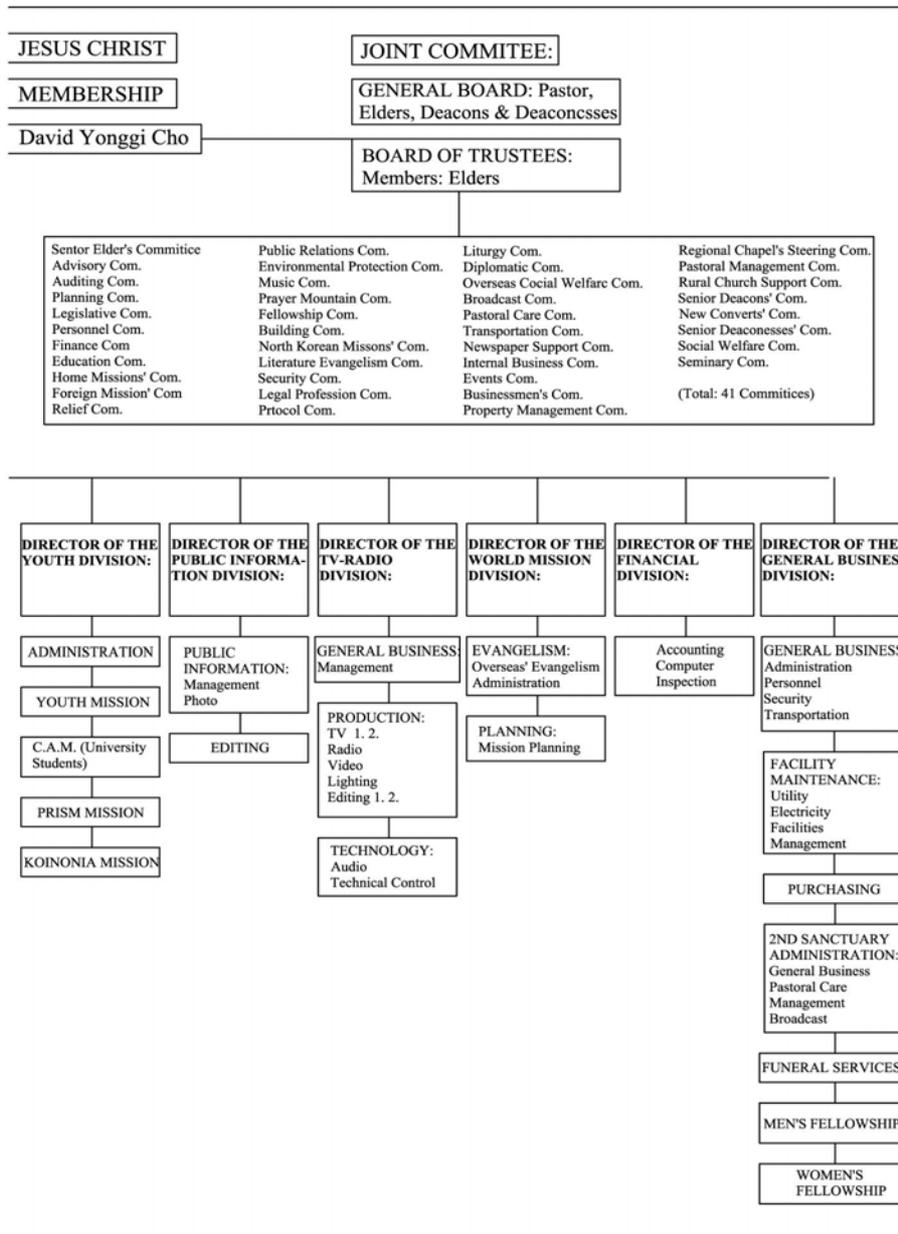


Appendix 3. The Second Movement of Korean Pentecostalism centering around the Obtuse-angle Region of Gwanju, Mokpo and Suncheon (1945-1953) {Figure 2}

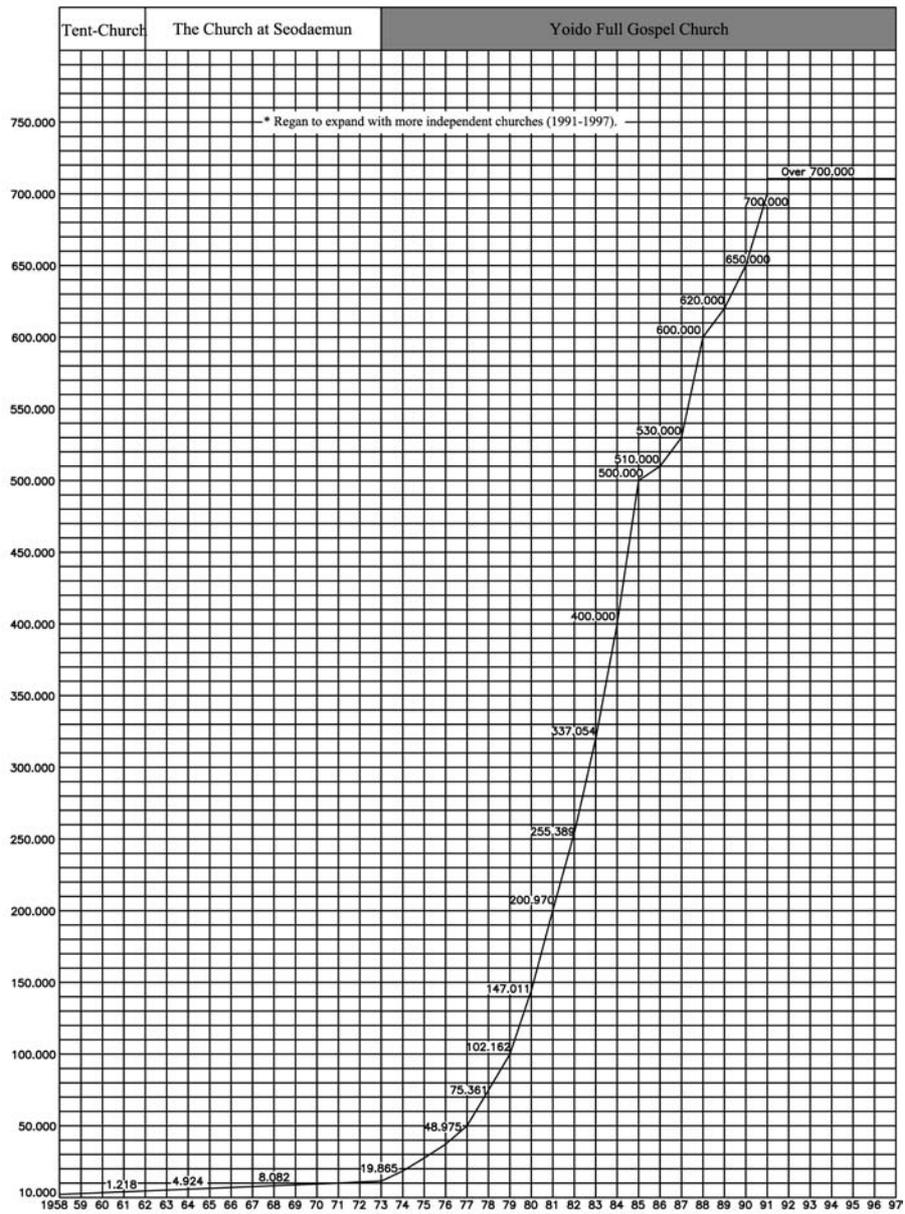


Appendix 4. Organizational Structure of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church
 {Figure 3}





Appendix 5. Annual Growth of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church {Figure 4}



Appendix 6. The Countries/Regions the Korean Assemblies of God Missionaries Located in 1997 {Figure 5}

Continent	Countries (Regions)	Total
Asia/Russia	India. Indonesia. Japan. Philippines. Khabarovsk (Russia). Sakhalin (Russia). Vladivostok (Russia). Republic of Kazakhstan. Republic of Kyrghyzstan. Republic of Tadjikistan. Republic of Ukraine. Republic of Uzbekstan. Russia. Taiwan. Turkey. Vietnam.	13(3)
Australia/Pacific	American Guam. American Samoa. Australia. New Zealand. Papua New Ginea.	3(2)
Europe	Czech Republic. Germany. Hungary. Las Palmas (Spain). Romania. Spain. United Kingdom	6(1)
Africa	Ghana. Kenya. Kingdom of Swaziland. Mauritania. Morocco. Nigeria. Uganda. Tanzania. Zambia.	9
N/S America	Canada. U.S.A. Argentina. Bolivia. Brazil. Chile. Ecuador. Guatemala. Paraguay.	9
Others	Regions keeping secret: 8	0(8)
	Total Countries (Regions)	40(14)

Source: KAOG, *The Directory of KAOG, 1998*. Seoul.

Appendix 7. Table of years 1: Yonggi Cho's Life

1936. 02. 14	Born as the 1st son of 9 children in a Buddhist family at Ulsan-Gun, Eonyang-Myeon, Gyeongsang Namdo
1942	Entered Eonyang Elementary School
1946	Suffered from a measles
1948	Moved to Busan except grandparents Entered Dongrae Middle School
1950	Korean War. Earned money by working at Busan harbour
1953	Entered Busan Technical High School Earned money through English teaching and fruit vendour
1954	Fell on the street. Sentenced to death by TB consumption Converted to Christianity during home treatment and experienced divine healing Rejected from his family Trainee of medicine at a hospital in Busan
1955	Rested at Eonyang farmhouse for a while and read Hermann Hesse's books
1956	Attended World Mission Church in Busan led by Louis P. Richards Experienced the epiphany of Christ in vision
1956. 09	Entered the <i>Sunbogeum</i> Theological Seminary in Seoul by the recommendation of Richards Met Ja-Sil Choe at the seminary Helped missionaries as interpreter
1956. 12	Almost lost his life through flu, which became an occasion to bind Cho and Choe
1957	Formation of triple prayer (all-night prayer, tongues, and fasting) centering around Choe and Cho
1957. 10	Interpreter for Harold C. Herman Campaign in Seoul
1957. 12	Conversion Cho's father to Christianity
1958. 03	Graduation of the seminary
1958. 05	Founded a tent church by Ja-Sil Choe, and Cho was invited to pastor.
1958. 07	Helped Ralph Byrd and John Hurston with their campaign
1958. 12	Prophecy through Cho of the evangelization by Cho and Choe in all over the world
1960. 03	Appointed to a preacher (co-pastor) by the Korean Assemblies of God
1960	Pastoral licence was revoked by the Korean Assemblies of God, by the initiative of Wan-Sik Lee Turned down to interpret for the missionaries at the seminary
1961. 01	Drafted to Korean army and stationed to near Seoul in March (400-registered congregation) John Hurston as the representative pastor of Cho
1961. 04	Suffered from the aftereffect of abdominal hernia operation and pneumonia

1961. 08 Discharged from the army on the ground of weakness
1961. 09 Interpreter for Sam Todd campaign held beside the construction site of the Revival Centre
Restored pastoral licence
1961. 10 Started a new church (*Sunbogeum* Revival Centre) at Seodaemun (West-Gate) with Choe
1962. 04 Ordained to pastoral ministry by the Korean Assemblies of God
1962. 05 Changed the name to *Sunbogeum Jungang Kyohoe* (*Sunbogeum* Central Church)
1964. 04 Invited by the American Assemblies of God for its 50 years anniversary and evangelization tour for 2 months in America
Nervous breakdown
Cell group introduced
1965. 03. 01 Married with Seong-Hye Kim, the daughter of Ja-Sil Choe
1966. 05 Elected to the general superintendent
1968. 10 An honorary doctoral degree (D. D.) at Bethany Bible College
1972. 08 Ja-Sil Choe, ordained to ministry by the Japanese Assemblies of God
1973. 09 The church moved to Yoido Island
- 1975 Began full-scale overseas meetings (annually ca. 38 meetings)
1977. 05 Resigned from the position of the superintendent
1981. 10 Separated from the denomination
1983. 07 Joint crusade with Billy Graham at Amsterdam
1983. 09 Accused of 'pseudo-Christianity' by Tonghap Presbyterian denomination
1985. 01 Played the leading role in organizing the Jesus Assemblies of God denomination
1991. 12 Played the leading role in unifying the separated denominations
1992. 09 Elected to the chairman of the World Pentecostal Fellowship Assemblies of God
1994. 09 Ended the debate over his pseudo-Christianity
1996. 06 Awarded 'The Order of Mugunghwa' by the Health & Welfare Minister for the founding 'The Heart Operation for Children' and its ministry to orphans

Appendix 8. Table of Years 2 : *Yoido Sunbogeum Church*

1958. 05	Founded with 5 members as a tent church
1958. 07	Healing of a paralyzed woman which set the village in an uproar
1958. 12	Prophecy for Cho and Choe about evangelization in all over the world
1960	Rejected by the denomination on account of healing ministry
1961. 01-08	John Hurston took over the ministry during Cho's military service
1961. 10	Cho and Choe moved to Seodaemun to pioneer a new church
1962. 02	Named the <i>Sunbogeum</i> Revival Centre and dedicated a new building (800 members)
1962. 05	Changed the name to the <i>Sungogeuem Jungang Kyohoe (Sunbogeum Central Church)</i>
1964. 12	Reached membership of 2,000 and attendance of 3,000
1966	Began to evangelize through radio broadcasting
1966. 04	8 elders were ordained first
1967. 02	Began to publish the monthly magazine <i>Sinang-Gye</i>
1969. 04	Construction began on the new sanctuary at Yoido Island in Seoul (8,000 members)
1969. 07	Hosted the 3rd Far East Conference of the Assemblies of God
1973. 03	Establishment of the Fasting Prayer Mountain at Paju-Gun, Osanli
1973. 09	Hosted the 10th Pentecostal World Conference
	Dedication of the new sanctuary with 10,000 seats at Yoido
1975. 04	Organization of <i>Sunbogeum</i> World Mission
1976. 03	Organization of <i>Sunbogeum</i> America Mission Fellowship in Los Angeles
	Yeongsan Publishing Company was established
1976. 04	Organization of <i>Sunbogeum</i> Europe Mission Society in Berlin
1976. 08	Organization of <i>Sunbogeum</i> Japan Mission Fellowship in Osaka, Japan
1976. 09	Establishment of <i>Sunbogeum</i> Bible College in Los Angeles
1976. 11	Organization of the Church Growth International (CGI) Ministry
1977. 01	Dedication of the 10-story World Mission Centre
1977. 03	Establishment of the Korean Institute for Social Studies
1977. 06	Held the 1st International CGI conference in Seoul
1977. 07	Establishment of <i>Sunbogeum</i> Bible School in Berlin (closed in the mid-1980s)
1978. 02	Establishment of <i>Sunbogeum</i> Bible College in New York
1978. 04	Establishment of <i>Sunbogeum</i> Far East Bible School in Kobe, Japan
	Began a live TV broadcast via satellite for U.S.A. and Canada
1978. 12	Establishment of <i>Sunbogeum</i> Education Institute
1979. 03	Began to establish children Sunday school branch
1979. 11	Reached 100,000 members
1980. 03	Organization of <i>Sunbogeum</i> South America Mission Society in Sao Paulo, Brazil

1980. 04 Began to be sent Cho's preaching through TV in Korea
 1980. 10 Began to establish regional chapel
 1981. 10 Separated from the Korean Assemblies of God
 1982. 06 Establishment of a juridical foundation of the *Sunbogeum* Mission
 1982. 09 Dedication of 10,000-seats main sanctuary at the prayer mountain
 1983. 02 Opened CGI-TV studio
 1983. 06 Reached 300,000 members
 1983. 09 Accused of Cho's pseudo-Christianity by Tonghap denomination
 1984. 01 Changed the name from the *Sunbogeum* Central Church to the *Yoido Sunbogeum* Church

 1984 Began to help heart operation for children (total 2,358 up to 1997)
 1985. 01 Founded the Jesus Korea Assemblies of God
 1985. 12 Reached 500,000 members
 1988. 07 Dedication of the Elim Welfare Town
 1988. 11 Began the 'donation of blood' (ca. 40,000 participants up to 1997)
 1988. 12 Started the daily newspaper 'Kookmin Ilbo'
 1990. 01 Began to be independent of the regional chapel
 1990. 06 Began to collect rice, waste papers, and relief goods to send where needed

 1991. 12 Unification of *Gihaseong* and *Yehaseong*
 1992. 12 Reached ca. 700,000 members
 1994. 09 Ended the debate over Cho's pseudo-Christianity

Appendix 9. Table of Years 3: *Sunbogeum* Movement in Korea

1928	Mary C. Rumsey entered Korea Met Hong Heoh and took him as her interpreter
1930	Gladys Parson and Elfreda Offstead entered
1931	Elsie Merdith and Lily Vessey entered
1932	<i>Seobingo</i> congregation was founded by Rumsey and Hong Heoh Seong-San Park returned from Japan and became pastor of <i>Seobingo</i> congregation
1933	Returned Bu-Geun Bae from Japan and founded <i>Suchangdong</i> congregation Organization of <i>Choseon</i> Pentecostal Church (denomination) Foundation of <i>Choseon</i> Pentecostal Korean congregation by Pong-Jo Kwak in Osaka, Japan
1934	First baptismal ceremony at the Han River by <i>Seobingo</i> congregation
1935	<i>Yeonhijang</i> congregation was founded by Heoh <i>Heukseokdong</i> congregation was founded by Seong-San Park
1936	United baptismal ceremony
1938	<i>Danginli</i> congregation was founded by Bae <i>Yeonso</i> congregation was founded by Heoh <i>Choseon</i> Pentecostal denomination has 6 congregations with 173 members
1938. 10	Ordination of Seong-San Park, Hong Heoh, and Bu-Geun Bae
1939. 10	Rumsey departed Korea
1940	<i>Seobingo</i> congregation was passed over to the Holiness Church Merdith and Vessey departed Korea and no pentecostal missionaries remained <i>Suchangdong</i> congregation closed
1942	Heoh was selected as the leader of <i>Choseon</i> Pentecostal denomination <i>Choseon</i> Pentecostal denomination and 4 remaining congregations were dispersed
1945	<i>Jinwol</i> congregation was founded by Seong-Deok Yun at Gwangsan-Gun
1946. 08	The American Assemblies of God chaplain John R. Elrod entered for 2 years and met Korean leaders
1948	<i>Suncheon</i> Pentecostal congregation was founded by Gui-Im Park <i>Mokpo</i> congregation was founded by Seong-Hwan Kim at Mokpo
1949. 11	Heon-Geun Park was invited to be the pastor of <i>Suncheon</i> Pentecostal congregation
1950. 01	<i>Yeonsin</i> Saints congregation was founded by Seong-San Park in Seoul (dispersed in June)
1950. 04	The First Pentecostal Convention by Korean leaders at Suncheon
1950. 09	Martyred Heon Geun Park by communists

- Elrod entered again for one year and introduced Korean situation in America by his return (1951)
1952. 04 The Second Pentecostal Convention at Suncheon
- 1952 Howard C. Osgood visited Korea and recommended to send a missionary to Korea
- 1952 *Namsandong* congregation was founded by Bu-Geun Bae in Daegu
Gwangju congregation was founded by Gui-Im Park in Gwangju
1952. 09 (?) Arthur B. Chestnut (single) moved from Japan as a resident missionary
1952. 11 *Busan* congregation was founded by Seong-San Park in Busan
- 1953 *Nambu* congregation was founded by Heoh in Yongsan, Seoul
Geoje Central congregation was founded by Gil-Yun Kim at Geoje Island
1953. 04. 08 Establishment of the Korean Assemblies of God at *Nambu* church (congregation) in Seoul
Sunbogeum Theological Seminary was planned: *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalism was conceived
1953. 05 Opened *Sunbogeum* Theological Seminary at *Nambu* church (congregation)
- 1953 *Seochang* congregation was founded by Seong-Deok Yun at Gwangsan-Gun
1953. 08. 01 Moved the seminary and the headquarters to Chungjeong-Lo 1 Ga, near West Gate
1954. 01(?) Louis P. Richards entered as faith missionary (appointed to AAOG missionary in 1958)
- 1954 John Stetz family entered
- 1955 Chestnut left Korea during the summer
Heoh was elected as the provisional superintendent
Graduation of the first 7 seminary students
- 1956 Bong-Jo Gwak left the denomination at the early part of the year
1956. 03 Seong-San Park passed away
1956. 04 Heoh was elected as the superintendent at the general assembly (33 members)
- 1957 Wan-Sik Lee was employed as the missions manager and legal adviser of the denomination
1957. 10 Campaign of Harald C. Herman
Establishment of the juridical person of the denomination
1957. 11 Separation of Heoh with 6 (7) congregations and founded *Daehan* Pentecostal Church (denomination)
1958. 05 Ja-Sil Choe began a tent church and Yonggi Cho was invited to preach
1958. 07 Wan-Sik Lee assumed as the general secretary of the denomination and the seminary
Reported at the general assembly as 37 congregations with 2,684 adults and 2,867 children
Campaign of Ralph Byrd and John Hurston
Yonggi Cho moved to tent church

- Birth of *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalism
- 1958 Bong-Jo Kwak opened a Bible school and organized a denomination (lasted 10 years)
1959. 12 The American Assemblies of God Selected Korea as the country of Global Conquest Pilot Project
1960. 03 Yonggi Cho was appointed to *jeondosa* (co-pastor) with 3 others at the 9th general assembly
1960. 04 Seminary building was constructed at Daejo-Dong and the seminary moved
- 1960 Yonggi Cho was deprived of his ministry licence by the denomination on account of his healing ministry (the members of central committee: Peterson, Stetz, Mun-Hui Yu, Chan-Seok Yang, Sang-Ho Kim, Seong-Hwan Kim, and Gyu -Chang Jeong)
1961. 01 Yonggi Cho was drafted to the military service
1961. 04 Wan-SiK Lee (with Gyu-Chang Jeong and Mun-Hui Yu) problem was discussed without their presence at the 10th general assembly
Crisis for the Korean Assemblies of God and the missionaries (12 missionaryes at this time)
1961. 08 Cho's dismiss from the military service
1961. 09 Yonggi Cho's licence was restored
An extraordinary general assembly where Wan-Sik Lee and his followers were removed from the denomination. Yonggi Cho took part in the general assembly
Sam Todd Tent Campaign beside the construction site of the Revival Centre
1961. 10 Yonggi Cho and Ja-Sil Choe began a new church at the campaign tent
- 1961 Deaf ministry began in the Korean Assemblies of God
1962. 04 General secretary was elected from the pastors and the central committee was changed to executive committee at the 11th general assembly
Four districts were set up: Seoul-Kyeonggi; Chungcheong; Jeolla; and Kyeongsang district
- 1962 Crusade of Tommy Reid and his team in Korea
- 1963 Literature distribution programme by the Global Conquest Project.
1964. 01 No *Sunbogeum* designation among 48 congregations except 2 congregations founded by Cho
Total 4,261 adult members and 2,730 children in the denomination, of which 2,000 adults and 500 children belong to the *Sunbogeum* Central Church
- 1964 Foundation of *Sunbogeum* theology
Introduction of home cell system by Cho's congregation
1966. 05 Yonggi Cho was elected as general superintendent
Voted down on the proposal of changing the designation of the denomination (1973, 1974)
- 1968 Initiation of night course at the seminary
1969. 07 Far East Asian Pentecostal Conference in Seoul

1972. 10 Unification of the Korean Assemblies of God and *Daehan* Pentecostal Church
1973. 09 10th Pentecostal World Conference in Seoul
Sunbogeum Central Church (*Yoido Sunbogeum* Church since 1984) moved to Yoido Island
- 1975 Sent 11 missionaries for ethnic groups in foreign land by Cho's church
1977. 05 Yonggi Cho resigned from the superintendent
- 1979 Day class of seminary moved to Gunpo
Reached 373 congregations with 151,000 members; Cho's congregation made up two thirds of it
1980. 04 Commemoration conference for its 30 years' anniversary and published its 30 years history
1981. 09 Discussion about Yonggi Cho's position by the executive committee and its appearance in papers
1981. 10 Cho and *Yoido* congregation separated from the denomination and became independent
1981. 12 Schism: original denomination; newly organized denomination; and Cho's congregation
1982. 12 Gunpo *Sunbogeum* Seminary was accredited by the government as 4 year-college-level school
1983. 09 Debate Yonggi Cho's pseudo-Christianity by Tonghap Presbyterian denomination
1984. 01 *Sunbogeum* Central Church was renamed to *Yoido Sunbogeum* Church
1985. 01 Formation of The Jesus *Daehan* Assemblies of God centering around Cho's church and 3 Assemblies of God denominations (*Gihaseong*, *Yehaseong*, and *Samseong* side)
1985. 01 Gunpo *Sunbogeum* Seminary was accredited as 4 year college
1991. 12 Unification of *Gihaesong* and *Yehaseong*. Four denominations in the Korean Assemblies of God: united *Gihaseong*; anti-unification *Gihaseong*; *Samseong* side *Gihaseong*; and *Yehaseong*)
Organization of a Council of Korea Assemblies of God by 3 ununified groups
1992. 10 *Sunbogeum News Paper* (weelky)
- 1993 Gunpo *Sunbogeum* Seminary developed to Soonshin (*Sunbogeum* theology) University
1994. 09 End of Yonggi Cho's pseudo-Christianity debate
1994. 10 World Prayer Meeting in Seoul with the attendance of ca. 1million
1994. 11 Received as a member denomination of the board of directors of the Korea Bible Society
1996. 05 Joined the Korea National Council of Churches (KNCC)

Appendix 10. The Dogmatic Creed of Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church

The meaning of the Full Gospel is the Gospel which stands on the theocentric theology and pure Word of God, making the Bible its principle. The creed and evangelization keywords of *Sunbogeumism* are the Fivefold Gospel and the practice of the Triple Blessing.

The Fivefold Gospel

1. The Gospel of Salvation (born again): accepting Jesus Christ as the Saviour, we shall be saved and be God's children so that we begin to live a holy life through the sealing and guidance of the Holy Spirit.
2. The Gospel of the fullness with the Holy Spirit: those who are born by water and the Holy Spirit (John3: 5-7) shall receive the Holy Spirit according to God's promise (Joel2:28-29; Acts2:4) and be witnesses of Jesus Christ through the power (Acts1:8) and manifest the fruit and gifts of the Holy Spirit in their life to glorify God.
3. The Gospel of divine healing: one part of Christ's ministry was divine healing and he promised that believers will also heal sicknesses as signs (Mark16: 17,18); as Jesus took our weakness and sickness, saved saints will be blessed with healing and it is the privilege and duty of them to pray for healing.
4. The Gospel of blessing: saved saints are redeemed from the curse of the law by the grace of the cross (Gal.3: 13,14); the Lord will bless the saints who seek first His kingdom and His righteousness with clothing and food and they can share the blessing of their abundant life with their neighbours when they keep upright, righteous, sincere and diligent living, a faithful God-centred life.
5. The Gospel of second coming: we believe in His coming in the air and His coming to the earth; we believe that the dead in Christ and those who are alive will meet the Lord in the air upon His coming (1Thess.4: 17,18), that the marriage of the Lamb will last for seven years and that just will rule with Him in the millennium and have eternal life with God in the new heaven and new earth after the judgement at the white throne (Rev.20: 1-21: 27).

The Triple Blessing

The Triple Blessing is the practical aspect of the Fivefold Gospel (3John3: 2). 'Prosperity of soul' means the spiritually abundant life of saved saints in Christ; 'prosperity in all respects' means the blessings which will be given to the life in Christ that God causes all things to work together for good; and 'being good in health' is the blessing of saved saints who are free from the afflictions of diseases.

The Yoido *Sunbogeum* Church holds the proclaiming of the Fivefold Gospel and Triple Blessing in the world as its greatest task.

Yoido Full Gospel Church, ed., *Sunday School Prospectus-1995*. p.12.

Appendix 11. The Charter of *Sunbogeum* Education

The purpose of *Sunbogeum* education is to lead humans who lost the image of God, to find themselves through the cross of Christ, meet God, and personally accept Him, who is the Lord of Creation, Providence, and Redemption so that they will reach the whole salvation of Jesus Christ who saved them through the cross and further leads them to sanctification through the help of the Holy Spirit and the teaching of God's Word in the church, which is the body of Christ, which instructs them so that they may long for the eternal kingdom of God and preach the joyful news of salvation to the end of the world.

Yoido Full Gospel Church, ed., *Sunday School Prospectus-1995*. p.4.

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Het doel van deze studie is om de context en de aard van het Koreaanse Pentecostalisme – het *Sunbogeum* (vertaald: het zuivere evangelie) Pentecostalisme - te bestuderen. Deze studie toont aan dat *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalisme een complex geheel van vier factoren is: allereerst, de Koreaanse sociaal-religieuze omstandigheden; ten tweede, de dogma's van het klassieke Pentecostalisme; ten derde, de invloed van de Amerikaanse *Assemblies of God*; en ten vierde, de persoon van Yonggi Cho. Vanwege deze factoren kan het *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalisme gezien worden als een dynamische, contextuele spirituele beweging/theologie die zich heeft ontwikkeld in de context van het moderne Korea.

De historische delen (Deel I en II) tonen aan hoe Koreanen werden voorbereid op een Pentecostale vorm van Christendom: namelijk door de religieuze erfenis van *Hananim* opvattingen en door het Shamanisme. Daarnaast bleken de lange onderdrukking van Korea door omliggende machten, in het bijzonder China en Japan, de verdeling van Korea in twee landen, en de economische groei van Zuid Korea sinds de jaren zestig van de 20ste eeuw, een vruchtbare bodem te zijn voor het Pentecostalisme dat de nadruk legt ervaring. Vanaf het moment dat de Koreaanse *Assemblies of God* zich begonnen te organiseren met behulp van hun Amerikaanse counterpart, begon de beweging zich te vestigen in Korea. Toen het team van Yonggi Cho en Ja-Sil Choe een tent-kerk begon in de westelijke buitenwijken van Seoul, manifesteerde de echte *Sunbogeum* beweging zich. Vanaf 1973, toen de Yoido *Sunbogeum* beweging verhuisde naar het eiland Yoido, nam de groei spectaculaire vormen aan. In de jaren tachtig van de 20ste eeuw maakte het Yonggicism als Koreaans Pentecostalisme naam als een indrukwekkend voorbeeld van kerkelijke groei en wereldwijde evangelisatie. De beweging, die als visie de evangelisatie van de hele wereld heeft, realiseerde deze groei door met de Heilige Geest vervulde mensen te mobiliseren en organiseren met behulp van huis-cellen en door de nadruk te leggen op de noodzaak van een intieme persoonlijke relatie met de Heilige Geest en een continue gebeds- en persoonlijk geloofsleven.

Deel III gaat over de theologie. Het drievoudig gebed – de nachtwake, het gebed in tongen en gebed gecombineerd met vasten – vormde de bron van kracht voor zowel de voortgang van de beweging als voor zijn theologie. Het kenmerkende van de *Sunbogeum* theologie is dat het voorspoed (*prosperity*) koppelt aan het Volle Evangelie van het klassieke Pentecostalisme. Yonggi Cho gaat er vanuit dat de totale verdorvenheid in Adam door de zondeval volledig wordt hersteld in de gelovigen door Christus' plaatsvervangend offer aan het kruis. Dit volledige herstel kan alleen worden begrepen in een pneumatologische samenhang: het kruisgebeuren legt de basis voor deze holistische redding terwijl de Heilige Geest deze redding in Zijn heiligen realiseert. Deze opvattingen werden tezamen geformuleerd in het vijfvoudig evangelie en de drievoudige verlossing. De pneumatologie wordt gekenmerkt door het hebben van een persoonlijke relatie met de Heilige Geest.

Yonggi Cho's theologische methodologie – de vierde dimensie (de geest heeft macht over het materiele) – lijkt nogal revolutionair en radicaal zelfs in andere

Pentecostale kringen. Als mensen geleid worden door de Heilige Geest, kunnen wetenschap, het beginsel van oorzaak en gevolg en moderne wetenschappelijke verworvenheden, worden aangewend om de Bijbelse waarheid uit te leggen, en om de Bijbelse leer in het dagelijks leven toe te passen. Deze methodologie kan een ‘bovennatuurlijke’ wetenschap genoemd worden. Hier wordt duidelijk hoe *Sunbogumisme* een sterke synthese aangaat van het bovennatuurlijke/norm met het natuurlijke/materie.

De *Sunbogeum* theologie kent een aantal sterke kanten: het leert Koreaanse Christenen en kerken wereldwijd op een effectieve manier leren gehoor geven aan de Bijbelse leer en het propageert kerkelijke groei als een methode van evangelisatie. Maar daarnaast kent het ook een aantal zwakheden zoals het gevaar om in een ‘positieve theologie’ te vervallen, die Christenen wel voorziet van een methode om hun eigen zegeningen en welzijn te zoeken, maar het aspect van de gekruisigde God verwaarloost. Dit laatste moet niet over het hoofd worden gezien. Deze antropocentrische tendens binnen de theologie is een fundamentele zwakheid van het *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalisme.

Het *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalisme heeft, als een Koreaanse contextuele theologie, zijn potentie laten zien als een invloedrijke vorm van Pentecostalisme. Echter, de theologische reflecties zijn tot nu toe niet echt uitgediept in vergelijking met de grootte en invloed van de beweging. Deze studie komt daarom met drie vragen c.q. suggesties: ten eerste de vraag hoe, voor mensen die met de Heilige Geest zijn vervuld, de relatie ligt tussen God’s soevereiniteit en de menselijke vrije wil; ten tweede de noodzaak van verdere studie naar de vierde dimensie als theologische methodiek; ten derde, de vraag of hier sprake is van een verantwoord theologisch syncretisme.

Door haar sterke kanten van pneumatologie en het drievoudig gebed zal *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalisme ook in het nieuwe millennium een belangrijke rol blijven spelen in de stedelijke cultuur. Dit kan echter alleen onder de voorwaarde dat de beweging zijn theologie verder uitdiept.

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