

## **Human Rights, Pandemic, and Cosmopolitanism: A Christian Cosmopolitanism for the Post-Pandemic Anthropocene**

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### **Abstract**

This article aims to endorse Christian cosmopolitanism, which deconstructs cosmopolitanism of the strong and victors and at the same time reconstructs new solidarity of the least. The post-Cold War globalization, inheriting a series of global antagonism and crimes against humanity from the short but deeply wounded twentieth century, faced a new challenge of integration and fragmentation. This globalization resulted in massive global subaltern in Gayatri Spivak's term, which requested that globalization be more ethical-moral to take care of the new global subaltern, the least, or minjung. Now the prece-

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.26590/madang..35.202106.127>

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dented pandemic demands cosmopolitan care and charity for humanity. Christian cosmopolitanism at the outset of Christianity was an inverted cosmopolitanism. Christian inverse cosmopolitanism did not pursue the unification of the empire but undifferentiated care and charity for the least in the enveloped life-world. Three discourses will be argued for inverse cosmopolitanism: spirituality for the least, the spirituality of hospitality, and spirituality of pilgrimage.

- **Keywords**

Care and Charity, Globalization, Human Rights, Hospitality, Inverse Cosmopolitanism, Pandemic

## I. Introduction: Cosmopolitanism with justice and love

In this article, moral cosmopolitanism shall be argued for questions and efforts to build our globalized world with peace and justice. Some terms, such as globalization, globalism, planetarism, and planetarity, regarding cosmopolitanism, should be clarified before articulating the main argument. Globalization is an empirical phenomenon of the complex reality of our web in the current world. It is not 'what ought to be' of the world but 'what is.' David Held and his colleagues define globalization as "a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power."<sup>1</sup>

Whereas globalization is an empirical reality, globalism is 'how we understand' our experience of globalization. Thus, it is an interpretation as a "discourse in globalization is a descriptive discourse of an empirical phenomenon as, rather than prescription, which the very idea of globalization is articulated, disseminated, justified, debated, in short, constituted as an object of reflection and analysis."<sup>2</sup> Thus, there are three kinds of discourses: hyperglobalist, skeptical, and transformationalist descriptions of globalization.<sup>3</sup>

Planetarism is a relatively new concept to embrace the symbiosis between human beings on planet Earth. It is an alternative to both na-

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1 David Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 16.

2 Engin F. Isin and Patricia K. Wood, *Citizenship and Identity* (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 94.

3 David Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, 3-10.

tionalism and internationalism. Humanity on our planet heavily suffers from world politics based on the system of nation-states. Planetary imagination requires to overcome national-international imaginary. It is also a symbiosis of societal politics and ecology because all our social communities are constructed on the planet Earth. Planetarity, according to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, the postcolonial theorist, is a notion of deconstructing common idea which is related to “notions of the planetary, the planet, the earth, the globe, globalization,” because the ‘common idea’ “provides the alibi for *good* global capitalism.”<sup>4</sup> In this sense, Spivak uses the notion of planetarity as that of anti-theory, alterity, or *différance*.

Cosmopolitanism, however, is a philosophically charged idea. It is more prescriptive than descriptive. Thus, there are different philosophical discourses of cosmopolitanism. One of them is the cosmopolitanism of Stoicism, which is illustrated by the story of Digenes who answered “I’m a citizen of the world” to a question of “where he came from.”<sup>5</sup> Another is cosmopolitanism charged with the spirit of the Enlightenment, which is demonstrated in the statement of Montesquieu: “If I knew something useful to myself and detrimental to my family, I would reject it from my mind. If I knew something useful to my family but not to my homeland, I would try to forget it. If I knew something useful to my homeland and detrimental to Europe, or else useful to Europe and detrimental to Mankind, I would consider it a crime.”<sup>6</sup>

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4 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Planetarity,” in *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon*, ed. Barbara Cassin, trans. Steven Rendal et al (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1224.

5 Diogenes Laërtius, *The Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, ed. James Miller, trans. Pamela Mensch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 288.

6 Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University

Kantian and neo-Kantian cosmopolitanism, including Habermasian cosmopolitanism, is one of ethically and legally charged philosophical discourses. In this paper, the main argument is to construct more ethical-moral cosmopolitanism to enhance fundamental human rights and confront humanity's unprecedented threat by a new virus. With these working definitions, the arguments shall be articulated in the following.

In the wake of the Cold War, there was an aspiration of cosmopolitanism for global peace and justice. Despite efforts to contrive cosmopolitanism, global fragmentation, including re-emerging identity politics, devitalized cosmopolitan aspiration. The recent global outbreak of coronavirus requires cosmopolitanism again to unravel the unprecedented worldwide pandemic.

There is, however, a pitfall to use cosmopolitanism for global peace and justice because it could be ideologically misused for the sake of the neoliberal interest of the strong nations and institutions. From historical hindsight, cosmopolitanism has been abused by superpowers to brainwash their colonialized people.<sup>7</sup> Despite historical defects of cosmopolitanism, Christian ethics at the outset have been construed under the cosmopolitan tilt. Christian cosmopolitanism from the beginning has been a potent antidote for imperialistic cosmopolitanism and hostile fragmentation based on identity politics. Christian cosmopolitanism has always been inverse cosmopolitanism to deconstruct oppressive cosmopolitanism for the sake of "the least"(the

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Press, 1991), 130.

7 "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere"(大東亞共榮圈) was a cosmopolitanism by which Japan justified their imperialism and hegemony over East Asia including Indochinese peninsula.

Gospel of Matthew), “widows and orphans” (Old Testament), “subaltern” (Gayatri C. Spivak), “minjung” (Korean theology). Christian cosmopolitan ethics, however, requires being contextualized in the global system. Otherwise, it can end up as a mere dream. Justice and love, two norms of Christian cosmopolitan ethics, should be actualized or institutionalized for inverse cosmopolitanism.

The Pinochet and current global pandemic cases are examples of these two norms to apply. Indeed, the Pinochet case should be developed for transnational jurisdiction and justice to protect fundamental human rights.<sup>8</sup> This transnational justice can be regulated and institutionalized through the constitutionalization of international law. In the post-Cold War era, the constitutionalization of international law should be developed for universal fundamental human rights. Otherwise, it can be doubted and, finally, fail as one kind of imperialistic cosmopolitanism.

The case of coronavirus pandemic, which hit hard our life-world, requires cosmopolitan charity and care urgently. Cosmopolitan charity, in addition to justice, should be pursued with global care ethics. It is a moral imperative for humanity in the ecumene where everything is interconnected and codependent. In a global context stained and tormented by the pandemic, what is needed is the cosmopolitan charity for those who are suffering. In this sense, Christian ethical discourses and practices on justice and love could provide ample moral resources for cosmopolitanism.

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8 According to Habermas, “human rights and democracy” are translations of the Judeo-Christian ethic of love and justice. Jürgen Habermas, “A Conversation About God and the World: Interview with Eduardo Mendieta,” in *Religion and Rationality: Essays on Reason, God, and Modernity*, ed. Eduardo Mendieta (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), 149.

## II. Integration, Fragmentation, and Pandemic: Post-Cold War Globalization Requires an Ethical-Moral Cosmopolitanism

Right after the “short” twentieth century (1914-1989), which was stained by a series of global antagonism and crimes against humanity such as colonial domination, World War II, the Holocaust, the Cold War, and brutal military dictatorships in the Third World, the post-Cold War globalization has been exacerbated widely and deeply.<sup>9</sup> This post-Cold War globalization, internationally and intranationally, affects the political, economic, cultural, and religious practices in our global system. It increases, ironically, both global integration and regional fragmentation. After the bankruptcy of communism, symbolized as the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the process of global integration and the expansion of capitalism became exacerbated without having any ideological, political, and economic opponents. A series of protests against the WTO, WB, and IMF international systems and the G7 international politics symbolically portrayed the pathological consequences of favoring corporate interests at the expense of children, women, minorities, consumer safety, workers’ rights, and the environment. Many economists, opponents of globalization claimed that capitalism has always produced poverty along with wealth. Poverty is one side of the coin of capitalism, whose other side is wealth. Proponents of globalization make a chorus for global capitalism, which will promote wealth for everybody in the long run.<sup>10</sup> Studies, however, show a correlation be-

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9 Jürgen Habermas, “Learning from Catastrophe? A Look Back at the Short Twentieth Century,” in *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays*, trans. and ed. Max Pensky (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 43-49.

tween wealth and poverty and that globalization causes the suffering of people in the world.<sup>11</sup> Global integration, by market and geopolitical interests and without any normative regulations, challenges secular and religious intellectuals to develop cosmopolitan ethical-moral forms of human economic and political interaction.

The current diversity in terms of culture, religion, and ethnicity is a reaction to the artificial and oppressive demarcation of Cold War politics. This renaissance, however, has not developed into a resource for harmonious civilization but, instead, has deteriorated into chauvinistic antagonistic forms of regionalism, nationalism, tribalism, or ethnocentrism culminating in disasters of ethnic cleansing, mass deportations, the systematic abuse of minorities, and genocide (as found in Rwanda, Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, Iraq, and Palestine). In addition to exclusivism in religion, culture, and ethnicity, extreme poverty increases global instability. There are studies of the connection between poverty and violence: “there is a correlation between conditions of extreme poverty, injustice, hopelessness, marginalization, political oppression, and the likelihood that people may use violence, including terrorism, to protect their fate.”<sup>12</sup> Global fragmentation requires a cosmopolitan consideration of the ethical-political responsibilities for others who suffer in conflicts.

One of the cosmopolitan ethical-moral responses to global frag-

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10 Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1999); *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the 21st Century* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2005).

11 Pamela K. Brubaker, *Globalization at Wha Price? Economic Change and Daily Life* (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 2007); Thomas Frank, *One Market Under God: Extreme Capitalism, Market Populism, and the End of Democracy* (New York: Doubleday, 2000); Doug Henwood, *After the New Economy: The Binge ... And the Hangover That Won't Go Away* (New York: The New Press, 2005).

12 Thomas Frank, “The Rise of Market Populism: America’s New Secular Religion,” in *The Na-*



mentation is that humanitarian intervention is necessary to prevent massive crimes against humanity such as genocides, massive displacement of people, and war crimes.<sup>13</sup> One of them, besides humanitarian intervention, is transnational justice through exercising transnational jurisdiction such as the Pinochet Case.<sup>14</sup> An effort to constitutionalize international law is a cosmopolitan ethical-moral consideration to make cosmopolitan laws affecting all humanity to enhance and protect their fundamental human rights.<sup>15</sup> These cosmopolitan discourses for global peace and justice, which come from the lessons of the “short” twentieth century constituted by human-made tragedies, are efforts to end antagonism and its consequences. These discourses confront the current process of globalization that causes antagonism and suffering. They provide a new vision for the future.

However, despite these efforts to make a better world system, transnational justice, humanitarian intervention, and cosmopolitanism can be seen as logics of the strong or of the superpowers. Cosmopolitanism can be misused by the powerful countries for the sake of their

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tion (October 30, 2000): 18.

- 13 Michael Doyle, “The New Interventionism,” in *Global Justice*, ed. Thomas Pogge (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2001), 219-242; Declan Walsh, “When Fighting Erupts Between Israel and Hamas, the Question of War Crimes Follows,” *The New York Times*, May 16, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/16/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-hamas-civilian-casualties.html?searchResultPosition=2> (accessed May 20, 2021). Israel and Hamas in recent military conflicts attack civilian residents without discretion and caused many civilians deaths. They should be scrutinized as war crimes by the “laws of war- a collection of international treaties and unwritten law, also known as international humanitarian law.”
- 14 Madeleine Davis, ed. *The Pinochet Case: Origins, Progress, and Implications* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2003).
- 15 Jürgen Habermas, “Does the Constitutionalization of International Law Still Have a Chance?” in *The Divided West*, trans. and ed. Ciaran Cronin (Cambridge UK: Polity, 2006), 113-193.

national interests, as they misused the ideology of human rights in Cold War federalism. Despite the need for cosmopolitan cooperation for global crises, cosmopolitanism has been eclipsed, in addition to misuse of superpowers, by resurgent nationalism and populism based on identity politics and xenophobia. Resurgent identity politics is a kind of modern Manichean movement where everything is divided in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them.’ Modern Manicheanism is so volatile to transform violence and hostility to ‘them.’ But the eclipse of ethical-moral cosmopolitanism revives after the unprecedented pandemic smash the world hard.

Due to the pandemic, all countries on the globe have profoundly suffered for more than one-year-long. Like any other viruses, coronavirus is theoretically not discriminating against people due to their class, ethnicity, gender, and race. It is inequality in class, ethnicity, gender, and race that discriminates people.<sup>16</sup> The social inequality with the pandemic, in reality, exacerbated the suffering of the poor, women, workers, the aboriginals, and the minority. For instance, Donald Trump, the former president of the US, contracted COVID-19, had been treated with enormously special medical care and privileges that ordinary people in the US could not have dreamed of. After special treatment, Trump posted a message on his SNS, which was “Don’t be

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16 Fareed Zakaria, “Opinion: A pandemic should be the great equalizer. This one had the opposite effect,” *The Washington Post*, October 16, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/a-pandemic-should-be-the-great-equalizer-this-one-had-the-opposite-effect/2020/10/15/ca5af870-0f20-11eb-8074-0e943a91bf08\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/a-pandemic-should-be-the-great-equalizer-this-one-had-the-opposite-effect/2020/10/15/ca5af870-0f20-11eb-8074-0e943a91bf08_story.html) (accessed May 2, 2021); “Coronavirus doesn’t discriminate, but inequality does.” Oxfam Briefing, March 2020, <https://oi-files-d8-prod.s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2020-04/Coronavirus%20doesn%2C%20discriminate%20but%20inequality%20does%20-%20Brief.pdf> (accessed May 2, 2021).

afraid of Covid. Don't let it dominate your life."<sup>17</sup> Coronavirus of a society of inequality deepens discrimination and causes further suffering. Those who are suffering under the virus in an unequal society require urgent charity based on cosmopolitan love and care in addition to justice.

Even if any nation-states achieve herd immune by vaccinations, they are not utterly safe in the so-called enveloped world. For more solid and contagious new variants are constantly emerging until the outbreak ends ultimately. Because human beings are hosts of coronavirus, continuous human-to-human transmission gives a chance for COVID-19 to mutate due to different human hosts.<sup>18</sup> New variants of COVID-19 are more persistent and dangerous to threaten even fully vaccinated countries such as the US, the UK, and others. There will be more new coronaviruses if governments do not help each other to end COVID-19. It cannot be done by one or a few countries but, literally, all countries on the same globe with the moral spirit of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitan solidarity is required more urgently than ever before to deal with the global threat of the virus.

### III. A Critique of Cosmopolitanism

#### 1. The Pinochet Case

It was one of those unusual but essential events that set history off

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17 Sarah Kliff, "How Much Would Trump's Coronavirus Treatment Cost Most Americans?," *The New York Times*, October 7, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/07/upshot/trump-hospital-costs-coronavirus.html> (accessed May 2, 2021).

18 <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/full/10.1146/annurev-micro-020518-115759> (accessed May 2, 2021).

in a new direction when Augusto Pinochet was arrested in London on October 16, 1998.<sup>19</sup> Pinochet was a military dictator in Chile for seventeen years. In other words, he had committed crimes against humanity for seventeen years in Chile. October 16, 1998, was a historic day. It opened new possibilities humanity has dreamed about, which is transnational justice through universal jurisdiction for crimes against humanity. An uncountable number of people were abducted, tortured, and killed under his rule in Chile. Thousands are still missing. But in the legislation of a particular domestic law, he let himself be immune to all crimes against his own people. There is no positive law with which Pinochet can be prosecuted in Chile. It is unjust in terms of the whole system of justice if one who kidnapped, tortured, and killed thousands of people is at large and has never been prosecuted. This outrageous injustice is protected and promoted by the concept of national sovereignty, which is possible only in the system of nation-states invented after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 to integrate tormented Europe by endless religious wars. These exclusive rights of sovereignty, presupposing non-intervention from other parties, have provided havens for violators of human rights

Chileans who suffered from Pinochet's crimes made efforts to indict Pinochet in European countries in which universal jurisdiction is legislated because it was impossible to prosecute Pinochet for crimes against humanity such as abduction, torture, rape, and murder in Chile. Baltasar Garzon, a courageous Spanish judge, requested England to extradite Pinochet to Spain for human-rights crimes committed by Pinochet. It is a historical event and has symbolic power for the

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19 Cf. Naomi Roht-Arriaza, *The Pinochet Effect* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

sake of human rights and against crimes against humanity. Those who commit crimes against humanity cannot get away from redress on our planet.

If universal jurisdiction is legislated in the system of positive law, transnational justice can be pursued even in the nation-state. This kind of universal jurisdiction makes it possible for any national court to prosecute perpetrators of human rights who are not citizens in the nation-states located in those courts. It may overcome the shortcomings of a domestic system of justice built upon the chauvinistic concept of the nation-state. Universal jurisdiction demands a universal moral standpoint and duty toward our fellow human beings, not only our fellow citizens.

The Pinochet case cannot be limited as a legal argument about whether the chief of a sovereign nation such as president, prime minister, or chancellor has a right to immunity from what he or she has done, which was debated in the judicial committee of the House of Lords in the UK. It is the case that is a strong affirmation of universal human rights.<sup>20</sup> In the legal debates, one of the arguments is that former heads of state are granted immunity for life from prosecution of performance of their official duties in their countries. The other argument is that they cannot be legally immune to crimes against humanity. In this argument, Pinochet's arrest, extradition, and trial are fully supported in law because international conventions call for observance that nation-states who ratified them must prosecute serious criminals against humanity or extradite them to other states which can indict them. It was Chile that was one of the voluntary parties who

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20 Andrea Bianchi, "Immunity versus Human Rights: The Pinochet Case," *European Journal of International Law* Vol.10, No. 2 (1999): 237-277.

signed the Convention against Torture, including the UK and Spain. Pinochet escaped from prosecution and returned to Chile on the grounds of his ill health, which was obviously debatable. Nonetheless, the arrest itself sent a very chilly message to those violators of human rights who believe their domestic courts have exclusive rights to prosecution.

The Pinochet case is a strong affirmation that we human beings have universal moral obligations to our fellow human beings despite different citizenship. This is what Seyla Benhabib argues, inspired by Arendt's agony over the nullification of the "right to have rights" in totalitarian regimes.<sup>21</sup> Human beings *simpliciter* have rights to have rights. From the perspective of victims of Pinochet's brutal rules, the Pinochet case is an effort to restore their rights. All concerned in the attempt to put Pinochet under justice is a struggle to compensate those whose rights had been violated and impinged on. It is also an effort to protect rights to have rights from inhumane crimes legitimated by an unjust court of a nation-state.

The Pinochet case has shown the power of "democratic iterations" argued by Benhabib.<sup>22</sup> In the process of democratic iterations, Benhabib argues, "the formation of the democratic people with its unique history and culture can be seen as an ongoing process of transformation and reflexive experimentation with collective identity" In this process, "We the People" has been extended and enlarged inclusively enough to accept those who have been excluded from the collective identity because every act of self-legislating is also an act of identity-

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21 Seyla Benhabib, "The right to have rights: Hannah Arendt on the Contradictions of the Nation-State," in *The Rights of Others* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 49-70.

22 Ibid., 64.

constituting.

It is true that both the Chilean and the British have their own identities in terms of the rights of citizens. Both of them, however, share the same collective identity in terms of their universal human rights, or cosmopolitan rights. The Chilean can be recognized, respected, and protected as well as the British in terms of their rights to have rights or universal human rights. Obviously, the Pinochet case cannot be claimed as a panacea for humanity tormented by inhumane crimes. It, however, provides symbolic power. It promotes our imagination to fight the fight. It insists that universal human rights with institutional supports cannot be an illusion. Instead, the cosmopolitan rights of humanity can be achieved by our democratic transformation, which is possible through our political will and practice.

Despite not extraditing Pinochet to Spain, the decision from the majority of the law lords, the UK is a simply striking one. They argued that an international convention against torture, such as the United Nations Convention against Torture (1984), led to the possibility of universal jurisdiction among all states to agree to comply. According to them, all approved states to the convention have obligations to extradite or punish public officials who committed torture. They insisted that the UK have jurisdiction over acts of torture committed by Pinochet because by British legal authority ratified the convention in her legal body. Legal duty and rights against tortures, they concluded, superseded the immunity of former heads of state.

## **2. The Pandemic Case: COVID-19**

An unidentified cluster of pneumonia which was reported in Wuhan, China, on December 31, 2019, was identified as a new virus

named COVID-19 later. One month after, this new virus was recognized as an outbreak by the World Health Organization (WHO), which made the somewhat reluctant announcement of the Public Health Emergency of International Concern to a global society. A new virus called coronavirus, due to its crown-spike figure, spread so fast and wide that WHO finally characterized the COVID-19 outbreak as a pandemic on March 11, 2020.<sup>23</sup> The Black Death, the most deadly pandemic, killed fifty million people among eighty million people in 1346 around the Black Sea. It spread all around Western and Central Europe by 1350.<sup>24</sup> It took around four years for the Black Death to affect all of Europe. It, however, brought about two and half months for COVID-19 to act all around the world. Despite the relatively low fatality of coronavirus, more than 3 million people already died by COVID-19, and more than 151 million people have been infected by May 2, 2021.<sup>25</sup> Still, the number of new global coronavirus contraction cases and death caused by a coronavirus does not dwindle but grows. New cases surged by new epicenters of COVID-19 such as India, and the number of new cases reported in India takes more than forty percent of global cases.<sup>26</sup>

The pandemic of COVID-19 brings quite a new experience to the whole of humanity. Unlike other pandemics which attacked society

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23 Archived: WHO Timeline – COVID-19, <https://www.who.int/news/item/27-04-2020-who-timeline---COVID-19> (accessed May 2, 2021).

24 J. N. Hays, *Epidemics and Pandemics: Their Impacts on Human History* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 41, 43

25 WHO Coronavirus (COVID-19) Dashboard, <https://covid19.who.int/> (accessed May 2, 2021).

26 Remy Tumin and Marcus Payadue, “India, Voting Rights, Kentucky Derby: Your Weekend Briefing,” *The New York Times*, May 2, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/02/briefing/india-voting-rights-kentucky-derby.html?searchResultPosition=3> (accessed May 2, 2021).



previously, the coronavirus pandemic hit humanity so severely. It is an unprecedented global pandemic that we never experienced this fast and widespread in such a short time. Its impact on all countries in the world is outstanding. Its challenge, however, requires cosmopolitan solidarity and actions promptly. Unfortunately, rather than cosmopolitan cooperation, nation-states, based on their national interest and geopolitics, take their paths to fight the coronavirus. Coronavirus is so contagious that it took less than three months to be a global pandemic due to globalized infrastructures. The virus takes advantage of globalization, but we fight the virus locally. This is a losing game. Uncollaborated efforts to fight a global virus fails. WHO failed, too. It did not carry its responsibility to protect world health. It declared the outbreak a pandemic too late to warn all countries of the virus to prepare. The worst thing is that WHO took the side of one country, such as China, at the cost of other countries. In order to deal with pandemics like COVID-19, it should have collaborated with international players, including NGOs, with “agility, transparency, and participation.”<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, the behaviors of the current WHO damp the spirit of cosmopolitan solidarity.

Pandemics are both crises and opportunities for humanity from collective historical experience. Opportunity means that it can bring forth cosmopolitan imagination and solidarity, which Isaiah, a Biblical prophet, visioned cosmopolitan peace. Otherwise, not only coronavirus but other future pandemics and natural disasters eventually become the ultimate equalizer, like death. For around two thousand

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27 M. Jae Moon, “Fighting COVID-19 with Agility, Transparency, and Participation: Wicked Policy Problems and New Governance Challenges,” *Public Administration Review* (May 2020), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7267241/> (accessed May 2, 2021).

years, humanity has experienced fifty epidemics and pandemics, without counting the current pandemic of COVID-19, which impacted human civilizations.<sup>28</sup> The current challenge caused by the coronavirus demands us to rebuild global society with the spirit of moral cosmopolitanism. According to Habermasian social theory,<sup>29</sup> society is advanced by its development of normative structures rather than productive forces advocated by materialists. Normative structures, of course, are developed through a collective learning process in terms of practical morality. The learning process can be achieved by interactive discursive interactions of citizens as social constituents who can rule themselves through their own norms.<sup>30</sup>

Global society faced with the pandemic crisis has an excellent opportunity to advance its development rather than go back to the stage of pre-COVID-19 pandemic. Jürgen Habermas, in an interview, said that he realized the fact “that the pandemic imposes today, at the same time and on all, a reflexive push which, until now, was the business of the experts.” He insisted that “we must act in explicit knowledge of our non-knowing.”<sup>31</sup> According to him, the global emergency caused by the coronavirus pandemic awakened all citizens to reflect on what previously belonged to the “business of experts” such as scientists, medical experts, virologists, and experts of disease control and pre-

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28 Hays, *Epidemics and Pandemics*, ix-xii.

29 Jürgen Habermas, *Communication and the Evolution of Society*, trans. T. McCarthy (Boston: Beacon, 1979).

30 Piet Strydom, “Collective learning: Habermas’s Concessions and Their Theoretical Implications,” *Philosophy and Social Criticism* Vol.13, No.3 (1987): 265–7.

31 Jürgen Habermas, “Dans cette crise, il nous faut agir dans le savoir explicite de notre non-savoir,” April 10, 2020, interviewed by Nicolas Truong, [https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2020/04/10/jurgen-habermas-dans-cette-crise-il-nous-faut-agir-dans-le-savoir-explicite-de-notre-non-savoir\\_6036178\\_3232.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2020/04/10/jurgen-habermas-dans-cette-crise-il-nous-faut-agir-dans-le-savoir-explicite-de-notre-non-savoir_6036178_3232.html) (accessed May 2, 2021).

vention. The pandemic of COVID-19 formed a kind of limbo reality that no one, even medical authorities, knew what to do in an emergency. Without explicit knowledge, those who face an emergency should make decisions that affect their security. He demonstrated a possible case regarding who will be chosen for medical treatment if the saturation of medical facilities by virus contracted patients may cause the collapse of the public medical service. It is a risk caused by limited medical services and overcrowding of patients. Who will be admitted and treated in this situation? It is not morally right that the medical doctors in the front line bear the heavy burden "to make a tragic decision because in all cases immoral."<sup>32</sup> It can be a violation of the inviolability of human rights and dignity. It would be a significant loss of what we have achieved in the principle of equal treatment regardless of class, ethnicity, gender, age, race, and so forth. This pandemic forces us to reflect on a possible scenario with practical morality. Any human being cannot be reduced as less valuable than another human being. It means that this moral question and decision cannot be handed over to medical experts only. They cannot be "the god of life and death." We, the people, collectively reflect the question. No one has the correct answer. This kind of learning process from unprecedented emergency should be expanded into the cosmopolitan level because we all humans face the same fate together.

There will be some winners and losers temporally, but we all become losers eventually if we do not learn from the current pandemic. For instance, the Hindu government in India, which did not realize the coronavirus harmed Hindus as well as Muslims within their borders, used the coronavirus as a tool to control Muslims who are the virus in

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

their antagonism. Muslims had been aggressively tested for the virus but did not receive adequate medical treatment.<sup>33</sup> In reality, an unexpected outbreak of the virus occurred in the heavily population-dense Hindu community. Now India is one of the most dangerous countries in the world, where more than three hundred thousand people are infected per day. By the beginning of May, around two hundred thousand people died due to the virus in India. There are no Hindus and Muslims in the pandemic because society within the border is a highly enveloped society. People brainwashed by identity politics use the virus as a tool to make their opponents a virus. Now those people who become a virus are controlled, sometimes decimated, by their opponents.

During the struggling pandemic, a new coinage was made and spread on social media. One of them is the “new normal,” which denotes that we have to adjust our new way of living, such as social distance, to protect ourselves from the contraction of the virus.<sup>34</sup> Individuals have to take their possible steps to protect their own health while living and interacting with others. Another expression that goes around social media is that “coronavirus has transformed everything.”<sup>35</sup> Everything in our life-world, as well as the system, has been changed during the pandemic. These experiences, however, should

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33 Gerard Delanty, “Six Political Philosophies in Search of a Virus: Critical Perspectives on the Coronavirus Pandemic,” *LSE ‘Europe in Question’ Discussion Paper Series* 156 (May, 2020): 8-9, <https://www.lse.ac.uk/european-institute/Assets/Documents/LEQS-Discussion-Papers/LEQSPaper156.pdf> (accessed May 2, 2021).

34 Anahad O’Connor, “Gearing Up for the ‘New Normal’,” *The New York Times*, April 16, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/16/well/mind/jennifer-ashton-new-normal-building-resilience.html> (accessed May 6, 2021)

35 Johathan Freedland, “As fearful Britain shuts down, coronavirus has transformed everything,” *The Guardian*, March 20, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/20/as-fearful->

be stagnated into new tribalism that they pursue their own group's security without considering others. As Habermas mentioned, we have to reflect on the moral relationship between people and eventually with nature. The pandemic that we experience now is one of the natural disasters. The climate crisis, for instance, brings forth enormous suffering to humanity and other living creatures. If our way of life in pre-pandemic keep intact without changing the fundamental way of life in relation to fellow world-citizens and nature, our cohabiting globe will be under irreversible damage and, in return, we world citizens should confront continuous natural disasters, including pandemics.

In the situation of a pandemic like Covid 19, lifeboat ethics in an interconnected and interdependent world of coexistence cannot work in the long run because political and natural instability will make everyone a loser in the cohabiting world.<sup>36</sup> A case of coronavirus in Wuhan becomes a global pandemic in less than three months. We, humans, are enveloped with nature in our shared environment. Natural disasters like the coronavirus pandemic could be a great equalizer. Hobbes, a political realist, already gave us a lesson that "even the strongest must sleep; even the weakest might persuade others to help him kill another."<sup>37</sup> Not only realistic awakening but also moral im-

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britain-shuts-down-coronavirus-has-transformed-everything?CMP=Share\_iOSApp\_Other (accessed May 6, 2021).

36 For Garrett Hardin concept of "lifeboat ethics" see the followings, Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Journal of Natural Resources Policy Research* Vol.1, No.3 (July 2009): 243-253; "Living on a lifeboat," *BioScience* Vol.24, No.10 (October 1974): 561-8; "Lifeboat ethics: the case against helping the poor," *Psychology Today* 8 (September 1974): 38-43.

37 Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Edwin Curley (Hackett, Indianapolis, 1994 [1651/1668]),

peratives may we need to live together in the space of coexistence which is, figuratively speaking, a room without exit. In this room, all of them collapse together if the others are treated as hell to each other.

Nevertheless, also moral awakening, as Habermas thought the driving force to transform the society into a more advanced one, requires cosmopolitan ethics for a devastated humanity. Global solidarity to deal with global challenges will be necessary for the post-pandemic. It is excellent news for the worldwide society that Joe Biden, the US president, makes efforts to waive intellectual property for coronavirus for the sake of the developing countries.<sup>38</sup> However, this kind of effort, which the US pharmaceutical industry may resist, will bring forth the spirit of cosmopolitan solidarity.

#### IV. Whose Cosmopolitanism?

Echoing Martin Luther's argument that we are free from all but subject to all, Benhabib, following Habermas' principle of discourse ethics, argues that we, the people, are the author of legislating but also subject to the law. What she means by law is enforceable positive law which presupposes administrative institutions. Universal human rights, for Benhabib, aspire to embody universal ethical obligations within the form of law; otherwise, those rights are in vain. It means that human

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XIII.1-2, Requote from Garrath Williams, "Thomas Hobbes: Moral and Political Philosophy," *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <https://iep.utm.edu/hobbmoral/> (accessed May 2, 2021).

38 Thomas Kaplan, Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Rebecca Robbins, "Taking 'Extraordinary Measures,' Biden Backs Suspending Patents on Vaccines," *The New York Times*, May 5, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/us/politics/biden-covid-vaccine-patents.html?action=click&module=Spotlight&pgtype=Homepage> (accessed May 5, 2021).

rights law must be authoritative. For Benhabib, democratic authoritative laws should be recourse to the authority of democratic self-determination. Benhabib's argument for how to institutionalize universal human rights laws is agreeable. Nevertheless, there is a hesitation to fully endorse Benhabib or other universalists who reflect the spirit of the Enlightenment. There are three reasons to rehabilitate Western rationalists' cosmopolitanism into more justice- and charity-oriented cosmopolitanism. One of the reasons comes from recent historical experience. The Pinochet case mentioned above, for instance, reveals to us that universal jurisdiction through transnational justice is possible, and no more can help perpetrators of human rights abuse hide or be at large. The legitimacy of universal human rights is not a problem in theory but in practice. Double standards in its application have seriously challenged its legitimacy. It is unlikely, for instance, that Chinese leaders will be prosecuted for a crime against humanity in Tibet, that George. W. Bush and his administrators will be called to account for the crimes in Iraq and Guantanamo prison, that Israelite political leaders will be charged with killing innocent civilians in Palestine. It is improbable that we will see the indictment of Vladimir Putin, including Russian military officials, who allegedly committed war crimes in Chechnya and killed political opponents.

In addition to current evidence of double standards, human rights discourse was abused in Cold War politics. Liberal democratic leaders, especially US leaders, used the idea of human rights to get political leverage in the UN and to achieve ideological effectiveness against communist countries without implanting the idea of human rights into the world. It is they who are human rights violators in the world, especially in Latin America. The double standards in applying human

rights have placed universal human rights and universal jurisdiction in jeopardy. If universal jurisdiction, like the application of human rights in the Cold War era, keeps being practiced in partial, selective, neo-colonial ways for the sake of neo-colonial interests of Superpowers, it becomes delegitimized.

Another reason for hesitation comes from Western secular discourses of universal human rights, universal jurisdiction, or cosmopolitanism based on Western modernism. Western modernism is solely secular immanentism, which is that there is no other transcendental way to save the human predicament. No more can custom, tradition, or charismatic leadership provide adequate and proper authority to the post-traditional society or political body. As Max Weber predicted, rationality becomes the sole ground of authority.<sup>39</sup> Without rationality, we cannot exist in our daily life. If rationality becomes universalized without ethical-moral limits, it can cause enormous suffering to all humanity. Rationality is one of the faculties we inherit. Like other faculties, our rationality is not pure.<sup>40</sup> Instead, it is inclined to corruption. All we have in *civitas terrena* is impure. As St. Augustine of Hippo argues that human nature always has a tendency toward darkness, our rationality has degenerated with our corrupted will. Our misdirected will can deteriorate rationality, whether it is

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39 Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 115; Martin E. Spencer, "Weber on Legitimate norms and authority," *The British Journal of Sociology* Vol.21, No.2 (June 1970): 129; Roberta Lynn Satow, "Value-Rational Authority and Professional Organizations," *Administrative Science Quarterly* Vol.20, No.4 (December 1975): 526.

40 Cf. Namsoon Kangs brings up an Asian critique of essentialism of rationality. Namsoon Kang, *Cosmopolitan Theology: Reconstituting Planetary Hospitality, Neighbor-Love, and Solidarity in an Uneven World* (St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2013), 69.



communicative or instrumental. For Augustine, misdirection of the will is not necessarily related to a lack of intellectuality or rationality. It is rooted in human pride (*hubris*).<sup>41</sup> For Augustine, freedom of the will and human nature do not give any warrant for human products, whether they are material or spiritual, emotional or intellectual, individual or social, private or public, and secular or religious. Rationality or reason cannot be exempted from this curse.

It is undoubtedly an essential argument that Habermas proposes communicative rationality as therapeutic rationality to our space of coexistence bombarded by blind instrumental and technical rationality. Habermas, however, does not recognize the seriousness of the human predicament. St. Paul gave testimony about human nature in *The Epistle to the Romans*.<sup>42</sup> Our rationality, whether it is communicative, can be deprived because of our corruptible or fallible will. We do not need to give up all our reasonable efforts to make peace and justice in our shared world. What we have to argue is the limit or corruptible nature of our efforts. Even though we know how to do good, we do evil. Rather than cheered by the optimistic spirit of the Enlightenment, we need sober recognition of our limitations. In this sense, the secret of anthropology is theology in contrast to Ludwig Feuerbach's argument that "the secret of theology is nothing else than anthropology."<sup>43</sup> Like St. Paul's, theological anthropology shows that the limited experience can be an experience of the transcendental. The human predica-

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41 Cf. Augustine, *City of God* (New York: Random House, 1948), 243-5. It is Augustine's argument in *Confessions* in which problems of human pride and evil as misdirection of the will are well indicated.

42 Rom 7:15-23.

43 Ludwig Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity*, trans. George Eliot (Walnut, CA: MSAC Philosophy Group, 2008), 166.

ment cannot be only a curse according to a Christian understanding of humanity.

The last reason is that the discourse of justice in cosmopolitanism can be a critical lack of global care and charity. Habermas and Benhabib, who pursue ethical-moral cosmopolitanism as the regulative solution to globalization, should listen to care-oriented and religious ethical discourses. Cosmopolitan relational responsibility based on the ethics of care and charity should be added to their discourses.<sup>44</sup> Emmanuel Levinas, the Jewish thinker, argues the philosophy of “Thou shalt not kill” (Ex. 20:13). According to him, illegitimate violence can be camouflaged into the discourse of justice.<sup>45</sup> For Levinas, the discourse of human rights is not a grand narrative. The application of discourse should not be only global but very local and very personal. Levinas insists that the other orders one to take one’s bread in one’s mouth, give to the neediest: “To give, to-be-for-another, despite oneself, but in interrupting the for-oneself, is to take the bread out of one’s mouth, to nourish the hunger of another with one’s fasting.”<sup>46</sup>

Those critiques of Western rationalists’ cosmopolitanism do not intend to underestimate the importance of vital current ethical-moral discourses of cosmopolitanism but to expand their universalism to be universal. Nevertheless, regardless of how big and universal it is, any discourses of universalism are always limited and fallible. Our efforts to respond to and from globalization might cause the same problems

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44 Joan C. Tronto, “Partiality based on relational responsibilities: another approach to global ethics,” *Ethics and Social Welfare* Vol.6, No.3 (September 2012): 303–316.

45 Emmaneul Levinas, *Entre Nous: On Thinking-of-the-the-Other*, trans. Michael B. Smith and Barbar Harshav (New York: Columbia University Press.1998), 105-106.

46 Immanuel Levinas, *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1998), 56.

that globalization causes unless we recognize our fallibility. An antidote to universalist cosmopolitanism is inverse cosmopolitanism. From the outset, Christian ethical discourse is another cosmopolitanism, but an inverse one. It cares all of all but starts from the least: children, widows, the sick, the suffered, the thirsty, the neediest, the marginalized, the alienated, the oppressed, the poor, immigrants, minority, subaltern, and minjung. Christian care and charity for pandemics in the Roman empire, such as the Antonine Plague, are historical examples of the Christian ethics of cosmopolitanism.<sup>47</sup>

In the following section, three ethical discourses from Christian traditions shall be proposed to construct ethical-moral cosmopolitanism: Care for the least, the spirituality of hospitality, and charity as the economy of giving and receiving. Christian ethical traditions have a solid ethical-moral relevance that might be lacking in other secular cosmopolitanisms. Also, Christian cosmopolitanism could provide strong ethical-moral foundations to current debates of cosmopolitanism for a better peaceful human habitat on our only planet.

## V. A Christian Discourse of Cosmopolitanism

### 1. Cosmopolitanism for the Least

The movie *Schindler's List*, directed by Steven Spielberg, relates the tale of Oskar Schindler, a German Catholic businessman who saved the lives of over one thousand Polish Jews during the Holocaust. The 1,100 Jews whom Schindler hired to work in his factory were kept

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47 Epidemics and Pandemics, 17-21; Rodney Stark, *The Triumph of Christianity: How the Jesus Movement Became the World's Largest Religion* (New York: Harper One, 2011), 114-119.

from being sent to the Nazi concentration camp. In the last part of the movie, Schindler had to flee from the Soviet Red Army. Right after dismissing the Nazi guards to return to their families, he was about to escape in the night. In front of his packed car, he bade farewell to his saved workers. Itzhak Stern, one of the so-called “Schindler’s Jews,” gave him a ring and a letter explaining his actions of helping Jews. Looking around them, Schindler was crying with regret and guilt, all the while saying that he could save ten more Jews with his car and two more people with his golden pin. He cried that he could save more Jews with his pin and car. Itzhak Stern, the leader of Schindler’s Jews, was approaching Schindler to comfort him, saying that the ring was engraved with Talmudic teaching: “Whoever saves one life saves the world entire.” Stern assured Schindler, “You have saved so many.” The terms “world cosmopolitanism” or “world-citizen” might seem to be another grand imperialistic narrative, for instance, to those who have suffered from the Japanese imperialistic ideology of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Japanese imperialists who broke out the Second World War persuaded their conquered people to think big and act big, forget their chauvinistic nationality, and become world citizens. For imperialists, to be a world citizen means to be a member of East Asian Common Wealth. As a result, many Korean young men were drafted for the imperial army and sent for slave labor; Korean young women were sent to the front with brutal violence to serve as Comfort Women (sex slaves) of Japanese soldiers. World citizenship can be a world of a nightmare for those who suffered from that propaganda.

Cosmopolitanism can also be dismissed as a postmodern ideology of capitalistic or cooperative globalization. Cosmopolitanism can be suspected of being a project of a making world republic or govern-

ment dominated and manipulated by superpowers for their exclusive interests only. In this setting, Christian cosmopolitanism robustly rejects any chance to be an ideology of the strong and saves secular ethical-moral cosmopolitanism from being trapped in that chance. Christian cosmopolitanism is another cosmopolitanism. It is inverted cosmopolitanism. The smallest is the biggest. The biggest becomes the smallest. Christian cosmopolitanism is for the least who are hungry, thirsty, naked, imprisoned, and sick, and who is a stranger.<sup>48</sup> In terms of Korean minjung theology, the least can be understood as minjung who are oppressed politically, exploited economically, and alienated culturally.

Christian cosmopolitanism is concerned with and cares for the least, or minjung. The grand discourse of cosmopolitanism is to concern the ninety-nine sheep rather than the lost one. Christian cosmopolitanism differentiates from utilitarian cosmopolitanism for the “greatest good of the greatest number” in John Stuart Mill’s terms. Cosmopolitanism cannot be reduced to the number. However, the cosmopolitanism of Jesus is to concern for the lost one.<sup>49</sup> It might seem irrational to leave the ninety-nine and go after the one that is lost. Christian cosmopolitanism is all about this irrationality: “But God chose what is foolish in the world to shame the wise; God chose what is weak in the world to

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48 “Then he will say to those at his left hand, ‘You that are accursed, depart from me into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels; for I was hungry and you gave me no food, I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, I was a stranger and you did not welcome me, naked and you did not give me clothing, sick and in prison and you did not visit me.’ Then they also will answer, ‘Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison, and did not take care of you?’ Then he will answer them, ‘Truly I tell you, just as you did not do it to one of the least of these, you did not do it to me.’” Mt 25:41-45, NRSV.

49 Lk 15: 1-7, NRSV.

shame the strong; God chose what is low and despised in the world, things that are not, to reduce to nothing things that are.”<sup>50</sup> It is an upside-down cosmopolitanism.

This inverted cosmopolitanism can be foretold in Mary’s *Magnificat* (Mary’s Song of Praise). God chooses humble Mary as God’s preferential option for the poor. The economy of God’s salvation is utterly different from the capitalist economy. God elects the lowly to be God’s co-workers to fill the empty stomach of the hungry, to bring down the strongest, and to scatter the proud. Mary’s claim of “*Magnificat anima mea Dominum* (My soul magnifies the Lord)” is a response to God’s cosmopolitanism for the least.<sup>51</sup> Christian cosmopolitanism defies the cosmopolitanism of the strong. Christian messianism repudiates royal messianism. Christian messianism does not pursue victory with war but service for the least. It is a humble messianism proclaimed by Jesus. In Jesus’ ethics, everything of the powerful and the proud is inverted and upside down. Instead, charity and care of the least become the essence of cosmopolitanism. In Jesus’ messianism, the least do not play only a passive role to be consoled, filled, and lifted. The least play an active role for a messianic redemptive power. Whoever saves one of the least saves the world entire. Whoever saves one of the least saves herself. To save the least is to save oneself. The messianic power comes

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50 I Cor 1:27-28, NRSV.

51 “My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour, for he has looked with favour on the lowliness of his servant. Surely, from now on all generations will call me blessed; For the Mighty One has done great things for me, and holy is his name. His mercy is for those who fear him from generation to generation. He has shown strength with his arm; he has scattered the proud in the thoughts of their hearts. He has brought down the powerful from their thrones, and lifted up the lowly; He has filled the hungry with good things, and sent the rich away empty.” Lk 1: 46-53, NRSV.

from the robbed. The Good Samaritan responds to a messianic cry-out of the robbed. Cry-out in the midst of suffering is a messianic invitation. To save the robbed is to save the Samaritan. The beam from the eyes of the oppressed is the messianic beam to and for which we can respond with our care and love.

Christian cosmopolitanism is an inverted messianism. The heavenly kingdom will be inherited by those who make an effort to love and care the least: to give food to one who is hungry, to provide water to one who is thirsty, to welcome a stranger, to put clothes on the naked, to take care of the sick, and to visit one who is in prison. One who gives food to the hungry will be fed. One who saves others will be saved. The spirit of inverted cosmopolitanism can be found in Christian traditions, for instance, “Instrument of Your Peace” by St. Francis of Assisi.<sup>52</sup> To give is to receive. To forgive is to be forgiven. To love is to be loved. To save is to be saved. Cosmopolitanism for the smallest and the least can be a preventive antidote for cosmopolitanism which tends to be an ideology of the strong.

## **2. Cosmopolitanism of the *Ecclesia*: Spirituality of Hospitality.**

It is St. Paul who transforms parochial messianism into universal messianism that is open to all humankind. The prevenient grace of God includes everybody in God’s universal project of redemption. He

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52 “Lord, make me an instrument of your peace. Where there is hatred, let me sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is darkness, light; and where there is sadness, joy. O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek to be consoled as to console; to be understood as to understand; to be loved as to love. For it is in giving that we receive; it is in pardoning that we are pardoned; and it is in dying that we are born to eternal life. Amen.” *The Life and Prayer of Saint Francis of Assisi* (Wyatt North Publishing, 2012), 54, e-book.

transforms a small Jewish sect into a universal Church (*Ecclesia*) that consists of all humanity with the spirituality of hospitality. For Paul, the *ecclesia* is to be the universality of the “people” beyond people. The *ecclesia* is the place differences transcended, not negated, by means of faith in the resurrected Christ. There is no reason to discriminate people according to their difference based on property, gender, ethnicity, language, education: “There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus.”<sup>53</sup>

All differences which cause discrimination do not possess any grounds, because discriminative differences are all eliminated in faith in Christ. All equal all. No one is privileged, but all are equal and free. It is definitely revolutionary. It is much more radical than revolutionary. All difference is restored back after negating it. Restored or rehabilitated difference does not bring out discrimination but builds a *societas* where a multitude of individuals are united. Paul’s *societas*, *ecclesia*, is nothing but a multitude of differentiated individuals linked and bound by their differences. Their unifying bond is their differences. They form a *societas* with their differences. Their differences are necessary to unify the multitude of individuals as a building block for the house. It is Paul’s genius approach to the difference in the Hellenistic cosmopolitan world. He understands each difference of individuals as each function:

For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For in the one spirit, we were all baptized into one

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53 Gal 3: 28, NRSV.



body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one spirit. . . Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it.<sup>54</sup>

It is in Paul's ecclesia that differences are accepted without rejection or assimilation. All differences are accepted with the spirituality of hospitality. The otherness of others cannot be negated but instead accepted in the spirituality of hospitality. In this spirituality, the difference in ecclesia is not a source of conflicts but that of harmony, beauty, and wholeness. Paul's understanding of difference is functionality. That is why difference should not be eliminated, but instead enhanced and protected: "For as in one body we have many members, and not all the members have the same function, so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and individually we are members one of another."<sup>55</sup>

The spirituality of hospitality is a communicative medium of the ecclesia. All foreigners are welcomed in ecclesia. As Jesus is a stranger in this world, we are all strangers. The economic logic of ecclesia is hospitality in the faith of the Body of the resurrected Christ. Paul's Christian cosmopolitanism is new universal solidarity equipped with communicative hospitality.

### **3. Cosmopolitanism of Pilgrimage: Spirituality of Charity**

Augustine, the author of *De Civitate Dei*, provides a Christian philosophy of history. History is not filled up in the empty time without any aims. History has the end with its definite *telos*. The time between the beginning and the end is a struggle to transform the city of earth

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<sup>54</sup> I Cor 12-13, 27, NRSV.

<sup>55</sup> Rom 12:4-5, NRSV.

into the city of God. History culminates in the final victory for the city of God. Two cities coexist until the end of time. It is until the end of time that we cannot know who belongs to which cities with external characteristics. Only those who love God belong to the city of God. There are no other qualities (such as nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, age, education, property) to be in the city of God, except *caritas* (the love of God). Those who love God are a noble race of pilgrims.

Augustine's theory of two societies indicates that the two societies cannot be mixed or confused. They are mutually exclusive. Formally, they are separated from each other: Those who love God and those who love themselves more than God. Nevertheless, there is a problem in the dichotomy because there is no place the race of the heavenly city can live until the eschatological end, except *civitas terrena*. Augustine's solution is that those who belong to the heavenly city should live in *civitas terrena*. There is no place except *civitas terrena* where the holy people can stay. However, they are not citizens of the earthly city but the heavenly city. They are precisely alien residents who cannot return to their place. Their final destination is final victory over the earthly city.

Those alien residents do not have any exterior difference in comparison to citizens of the earthly city. Two different citizens can be distinguished only by their wills: will to love God and will to love them. The only interior difference exists between both races. It means that nobody knows "who is who" according to their exterior characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, nationality, culture, property, and education. It is Augustine's radical inextricability of two citizens who live in *civitas terrena*. Two social groups coexist in the same *civitas terrena*. Those two groupings cannot be distinguished by their sociological differ-

ences. It is radical inextricability between two groups that cause radical ambiguity. Two societies cannot be separated. Two cities are inextricably interwoven into each other. There is the city of God in the earthly city. The city of God does not consist of its walls, tax and voting systems, and political parties, but people who love God. For Augustine, the city means society, and society means people.<sup>56</sup>

For Augustine, the relationship between the two cities is formally apparent. They are mutually exclusive by definition only. They cannot be distinguished until the end of time, the final judgment. Their identity cannot be separated from outer appearance. These two groups cannot be separated sociologically but only eschatologically. The boundaries only existed in definition, not in actual reality. They are mixed. In this sense, there are no boundaries between two groups: "In this world the two cities are inextricably interwoven and mingled with each other, until they shall be separated in the last judgment."<sup>57</sup>

There are tasks and duties of alien residents who live in *civitas terrena*. They have to work for the welfare of the *civitas*. Everybody desires peace. Peace is what everybody wants. The earthly city pursues temporal peace, which can be achieved through satisfaction of material needs, security, and social order. Alien residents whose citizenship is in the heavenly city need this temporal peace and need to work to achieve this peace. For their daily lives in *civitas terrena*, this temporal peace is necessary. It is worth achieving. Thus, the state, the political system, can be valued as long as the apparatus works for peace. There is a significant difference between two different citizens in terms of

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56 R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 58-66.

57 Augustine, *The City of God*, 39-40.

temporal peace. For citizens of the earthly city, temporal peace is their enjoyment, but for those of the heavenly city, temporal peace is *uti* (use) for the enjoyment of the eternal peace: “All use of temporal things is referred by the members of the earthly city to the enjoyment of earthly peace; by the members of the heavenly city to the enjoyment of eternal peace.”<sup>58</sup>

*Caritas* is another name of neighborly love. Love of God is exerted by neighborly love. For Augustine, *caritas* is another name of love for others universally, as much as God loves our neighbors.<sup>59</sup> Undifferentiated love is neighborly love based on *caritas*. Universal love for others is possible only if *caritas* should be *frui* rather than *uti*. Neighborly love should not be enjoyment (*frui*) but use (*uti*). If neighborly love becomes *frui*, this love becomes deteriorated. Neighborly love becomes an extension of selfish love. Without the presupposition of *caritas*, all temporal love becomes fetishized. Only if the love of God is pursued at first, our love for neighbors cannot make another effort to appropriate others as mine. We can avoid killing the otherness of others only if *caritas* proceeds. We can avoid consuming others only if *caritas* is *frui* rather than *uti*. Also, we can avoid giving up our undifferentiated love for others only if the love of others is *uti* rather than *frui*. It is an order of love.

Bodily loveliness, though made by God, is nevertheless temporal, carnal, and a lowly good; it is wrongly loved if it is valued

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58 Ibid., 400.

59 Correlations between *caritas* and neighborly love are studied deeply in Arendt’s Ph.D. dissertation: *Love and Saint Augustine* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996). For Julia Kristeva *caritas* is understood as universal love for others: *Strangers to Ourselves* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

above God, the eternal, inward and lasting good. Just as the covetous man subordinates justice to his love of money – though no fault in the money, but himself – so it is with all things. In themselves they are all good; they can all be loved well or badly. They are loved well when the right order is kept in loving, badly when it is upset.<sup>60</sup>

For those who belong to the heavenly city, alien residents, *civitas terrena* is like a field that farmers cultivate to yield good crops. There is no land to which alien residents can migrate. Because pilgrims, alien residents, cohabit in *civitas terrena*, they have experienced what people in an earthly city have experienced. Alien residents are not exempted from what people suffer in *civitas terrena*. No extra land pilgrims seek not havens, but rather a rough field to wait for the labor of Christian pilgrims. This temporal world battered by violence waits for our praxis like a pregnant woman expect to give birth. Hope can be brought into the temporal world by pilgrims who have different value systems. These new values can be regulative, alternative values when old values fail to restore peace and justice. Alien residents or the noble race of pilgrims cannot stay but keep their journey until transforming the whole world into the city of God.

*Caritas* is the universal love for others. In this love, all discriminations are transcended. The economy of the universal love for others (*caritas*) is run by the circulation of gifts (giving and receiving). The economy of gifts is another name of charity. Christian charity exists in the journey of pilgrims. The difference is not a reason for discrimination but harmony in charity. Every gift is different. That is why the gift is cir-

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60 Augustine, *The City of God*, 306-307.

culating in the journey. Giving and receiving unite the pilgrim. Giving and being given helps the alien residents on their challenging journey. They give and receive endlessly in their journey. It is their communicative medium. It is the spirituality of gift (giving and receiving) among the pilgrim. The otherness of each pilgrim is the grace of God. Each is a gift from God to the other. It is through giving and receiving that new solidarity is formed. This is an Augustinian view of new cosmopolitanism against the false cosmopolitanism based on the Roman Empire.

## VI. Conclusion: Christian Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Globalization

What would be a Christian contribution to the current discourse of cosmopolitanism? It is a universal love for the least. The Talmud said,

“Why was man created alone? Is it not true that the creator could have created the whole of humanity? But man was created alone to teach you that whoever kills one life kills the world entire, and whoever saves one life saves the world entire.”<sup>61</sup>

The statement that “whoever saves one life saves the world entire” is a robust argument of Christian cosmopolitanism. Christian spirituality of hospitality and charity should be an ethos of cosmopolitanism,

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61 Gideon Frieder, “To Save the World Entire,” November 1, 2013. <https://www.ushmm.org/member/holocaust-reflections-testimonies/echoes-of-memory/to-save-the-world-entire> (Accessed May 6, 2021).

especially in the crisis of the unprecedented pandemic. Universal love for others can be practically actualized as the fundamental protection and enhancement of human rights. In Christian tradition, human rights are political rights and economic, social, and cultural rights.

Who are the least? According to Matthew the Apostle, the least are the hungry, the thirsty, stranger, the naked, the sick, and prisoners. Matthew the Apostle did not call for justice but care and charity for those suffering in the Roman empire. Suffering, rather than gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality, is the criterion to provide care and charity to those needed. Who are, however, the least in our global era? We cannot but think that the poor contracted by the coronavirus, refugees battered by political and natural disasters, displaced persons, stateless people who are out of the protection of the law should be included among the least. They are *homo sacer* (bare life) in our contemporary.<sup>62</sup> Universal love for the other strongly argues for the universalization of the current international law. It could be a cosmopolitan law that protects people's fundamental human rights beyond the tyranny of national sovereignty. Universal love for the other argues for cosmopolitan care and charity for the least.

The ethos of cosmopolitanism, a spirituality of hospitality and giving, should be a foundation for ethical cosmopolitanism. Spirituality of hospitality and gift not only rejects any effort to assimilate or eliminate differences but also increases and enhances differences. It is differences that make it possible to coexist in the struggle for the world of peace and justice. It is the spirituality of hospitality and gift that protects and enhances the otherness of the other. Christian ethical cos-

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62 Cf. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

mopolitanism, for the least, is inverse cosmopolitanism to be included in the current public debate on cosmopolitanism. This cosmopolitanism transcends and exacerbates differences at the same time, with its spirituality of hospitality and giving and receiving. Christian cosmopolitanism enlightens those who want to make the world of peace and justice for the pandemic anthropocene. Care and hospitality for the least, provided by Christian ethical discourse into the global public sphere, are urgently required in our tormented life-world.



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Received 2021.06.07.	Revised 2021.06.18.	Accepted 2021.06.20.
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