

The Massacre of Civilians Before and After the Korean War:
Feeling in the Darkness Towards a Christian Ethics Point of View

1. Introduction

In the ceremony for the 59th anniversary of Korean Independence Day, which took place on August 15, 2004, the South Korean President Roh Moo-hyun made a speech in which he said something that no former South Korean president had ever attempted. His words included the statement of his will to clarify the truth about some points in Korea's recent history.¹

The first point was that even now, facing the 60th anniversary of independence, the vestiges of Japanophilism still hadn't been removed, and that even the truth of history hadn't been unveiled correctly. The patriots and their descendants, who fought for independence and walked the right path of history, are still suffering in poverty and neglect, while the ones who were the pioneers of Japanophilism are acting as leaders of society and even persecuting them. Even though in reality it is difficult to punish and deprive the vested rights of the counter-nationalist Japanophiles, certain facts should be clarified and reflection should be done in order to create an upright future, where justice and conscience is alive.

The second point is that the truth about the government's encroachment on human rights and their other illegal acts will be examined, so that no such thing will ever happen again. As a solution to this issue, he proposed establishing a special committee; a committee to examine the truth about historical issues. There has been criticism of concealment or the uncooperative behavior of the government whenever there was an investigation into the truth, but the government should confess what has been done and draw a new start in order to set up an upright authority for itself.

As President Roh spoke in his speech, the disruption and antagonism among us (Koreans) comes from our distorted understanding of history. In order for us to establish

¹ *Address by President Roh Moo-hyun on the 59th Anniversary of National Liberation.* (August 15, 2004), in: www.bluehouse.go.kr – the Presidential Office website.

our history correctly, we must first face our disgraceful past. We must not only face it, but we must come up with a solution to avoid that disgraceful history repeating itself.

This essay cannot contain every example that can be seen in contemporary Korea of such “disgraceful history”. It is impossible to do so. Therefore, I will deal, from a Christian ethics point of view, with the issue of uncovering the history of the mass killings of civilians committed by the public powers before and after the Korean War.

First, we will be looking at the objective condition of the massacre of civilians, the necessity of its recollection, and seeking a solution for recuperation. Also, we will be seeking an ethical duty for Christians which will help to reach the ultimate direction that the memory of these massacres is pointing towards – peace making. I hope this treatise will bring forth an in-depth discussion on the issue of the massacre of civilians before and after the Korean War; an issue which is still being kept silent among the Christian community.

2. Civilian massacre before and after the Korean War

To us Koreans, contemporary Korean history is placed in a territory of ignorance, silence, and forgetfulness. The generation which experienced the war, let alone young people today, has no proper knowledge of the conditions of the civilian massacre which occurred at that time.² Even victims or family members of victims, who should have some knowledge of the incidents, were forced to keep silence by the guilt-association system. In most cases, they treated the fact as taboo, intending that they would lose sight of it. Kim Dong-chun insists in his essay, which deals with the issue of the civilian massacre, that the Korean government has made a blunder of committing murder against its civilians three times.³ The first murder is the massacre during the time of war. The second time is when the effort to build a cemetery to restore the honor of the victims of the 4.19 movement (a national movement in 1960 by students against the

² Kim Dong-chun, “The civilian mass killings during the Korean War; a solution and its meaning.” *Yeoksabipyong*, [History Critic] (Spring 2002), 17.

³ Kim Dong-chun, “Why and how we must we solve problem of mass killings during the Korean War.” Manuscript for presentation at Symposium on the civilian massacre, (12 June 2002), 11.

corrupt government and for political democracy) was obstructed. This was done by the military government which took power in the coup of May 16, 1960. The third time was when the family and the descendants of the victims were accused as communists, when they were already suffering from the loss of family members. The Korean government has committed murder three times – shamefully – against the civilians as Kim Dong-chun pointed out above. Would it be possible to remove the resentment, created by the massacre of citizens, and held by the people against the government? Regardless of the answer to this question, it is important to understand the problem and how it should be dealt with. If the Korean government tries to get away with this issue, or to approach it with the logic of McCarthyism, it would be the same as committing another murder against the victims and their families.

In order to deal with this issue properly, it is necessary for us to recognize the reason for using the expression massacre of *civilians* (min-gan-in) rather than massacre of *good citizens* (yang-min). “Good citizens” (yang-min) means those who were innocent, those who were free from being suspected as radicals or as rebellious. This can imply that, since *good* citizens should not be involved in massacre, it is all right to massacre those who are not good citizens (the radicals). This also means that national ideology becomes a priority over human rights.⁴ We know that before and after the Korean War, ordinary civilians, who were neither of left nor right wing views, were massacred innumerable. We also know that even if a civilian should have a belief towards one side or the other, that is no reason to kill such a citizen. Therefore, as a guideline for the future, it is more appropriate to use the expression *civilian massacre* instead of *massacre of good citizens*.

Another thing that we should recognize is the problem that although the identity of the perpetrators of the massacre is ambiguous, the victims clearly exist. This may come from the fact that there was no single convincing explanation that came from the government or the civilians. What has been said comes mostly from the government’s position, which being the assaulter itself, had the authority and the advantages coming from that. Kang Seong-hyeon gives an appropriate explanation of this issue, “At that time, the Rhee Syngman administration unhesitatingly commented that all the citizens

⁴ Ibid. 2

of Jeju were radicals. These comments were made regardless of whether they were actually radicals or not, but it was done because the citizens of Jeju were anti-government suspects who were standing against the administration, and for this reason alone the citizens of Jeju were branded as radical or communist... The Rhee Syngman administration ordained that whoever stood against them were rebels or rioters, and during the process of quelling the uprising they maximized the punishment and massacre instead of shortening it. Jeju was a victim of the process of establishing a strong anticommunist government.”⁵ Also, in the ideology of McCarthyism during the cold war, those people who gained vested rights justified and glorified the barbarism done by the perpetrators of the massacre. They were setting up propaganda by saying such things as that the massacre was a communist riot movement caused by North Korean instigation, “The leaders of the punitive force have shown an impassive attitude towards their troops’ massacring the citizens for no reason; it was justified as a direct execution of communists or potential communists.”⁶

Among the massacre of civilians before and after the Korean War, we can count some events such as: the Jeju 4.3 affair and the Yeosu civilian massacre before the Korean War, the civilian massacre from the incident of the League of Guidance at the beginning of the Korean War, and the civilian massacre during the Korean War.⁷ We can estimate the number of such civilian deaths to be at least one million.⁸ We will be looking at the Yeosu incident as an example showing the characteristic of civilian massacre in general: “The civilian massacre which occurred in the Yeosu incident was a mass murder involving the death of 5% of all the citizens of Yeosu and Suncheon. It was done in an organized way through a chain of command. A slanderous murder has been done by the same race. It was blown up from political ideology. People then killed each other for vengeance. The indiscriminate massacre included women and children.

⁵ Kang Seong-hyeon, "[The 4.3 Affair and the Mechanism of Mass Civilian Killing]," *Yeoksayeongu* [History Study] (no. 11), 219.

⁶ Ibid, 222.

⁷ Those who killed civilians before and after the Korean War were army troops from South Korea, North Korea, U.S.A., China as well as radical civilians, South Korean policemen, etc.

⁸ Gang Jeong-gu, "The Korean War and National Unification: Conquering a War by the Unification of Peace and Reconciliation", *Gyeongjae wa sahoe* [Economy and Society], No. 48 (Winter 2000), 256-259.

The method was barbaric and brutal. It was done without any sense of guilt.”⁹ Realizing that the facts about the Yeosun incident (as listed above) are not only limited to the Yeosun incident alone, but are characteristic of all the civilian massacres before and after the Korean War, we note how extensive is the barbarism and shame that comes from such massacre. We also should make a request to the Korean and American governments to open up to the public the official documents from that time in order to bring an objective view to the concealed historical facts.

3. Reasons why we should remember the civilian massacre

Some say that remembering such a shameful past will hold us back and interfere from moving on to the future. Others say that it might disrupt public opinion due to the views of people with different interests and bring about an economic crisis. Some others even refute the need to pick on the past, which they say should be left alone. But these reactions seem to result from not reading past history and from being irresponsible towards the present and the future. The economic crisis has no direct relationship with past history, and disruption of public opinion is more likely to result from covering up the past instead of revealing it.¹⁰ Now, we will be looking at the reasons why the past history of the civilian massacre should be remembered.

The first reason is to seek the truth. Jesus said let your “yes,” be “yes,” and your “no,” “no,” and that it is wicked not to do so.¹¹ Saying “no,” to a “yes,” or saying “yes,” to a “no,” is falsifying the truth, and this is an evil which brings suffering to many. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission has classified four types of truth:¹² (1) The factual truth from objectifying the cause of violence that has been done and the conditions of its development, (2) the personal truth from the experiences of both the victim and the assaulter, (3) the social truth that has been built up by sharing a variety of

⁹ Kang Seong-hyeon, 215

¹⁰ CBS News Interview with Lee Lee-hwa, (21 August 2004)

¹¹ Matthew 5:37

¹² Kang Seong-hyeon, [“The Responsibility and Task of Clearing the Past”], *Tonghanui meari*. [Echo of Bitterness], No. 15 (30 June 2004), 11

experiences in places such as a hearing, and (4) the recuperative truth from an attempt to understand the suffering and to retrieve the pride of the victims by listening closely to them. If the objective fact is the only truth, it results in neglecting humans – the main subject of history itself. If the personal truth is the only truth, then the various and conflicting experiences would cause chaos. If the social truth is the only truth, it would not be able to cure both the victim and the assaulter, who is wounded and suffering from the pang of conscience. If the recuperative truth is the only truth, that wouldn't be an essential remedy, but only a temporary one giving the disgraceful history an opportunity to repeat itself. Therefore, we should objectify the factual truth, collect the personal truth, attain the social truth by agreement in order to not only bring recovery to all people who are involved in the civilian massacre, but also establish the right direction so that our future history may move onward.

The second reason is to live today towards a healthy future by not repeating the shameful past. Jesus proclaimed that new wine should be put into new wineskins.¹³ One who has a desire for God's kingdom shall not live their life as it has been. Therefore, one should amputate the shameful past, but also remember it for repentance. An Byung-uk said that clearing the past is correcting and purifying what has been done wrong. It is a process of avoiding the repetition of the mistakes that have been made by unveiling falsified historical facts.¹⁴ Doing such things as gathering the victim's remains, building memorial towers, and preserving the massacre scene is an effort to make the shameful past a warning for people living today. A shameful past cannot be covered up nor forgotten. Attempting to do so will only make it worse by including another disgrace. It might be possible to cover it up temporarily, but at that very moment it leaves the risk of repeating the same mistake. Any possibility of repeating the shameful past is a threat against the present and the future, "Inquiring the right and wrong about the past might bring about an inevitable dissension, or could cause a chaos of the values by the propagation of certain parts of the truth and untruth. But if the past gets covered up because of such circumstances, it would be impossible to gain the chance of throwing

¹³ Luke 5:37

¹⁴ An Byeong-uk, ["We can't make a political compromise of history"], Hankyoreh Shinmun [Hankyoreh Newspaper], (19 August 2004).

off the mistakes of the past and to make a new start. Covering up the past is not more than building up a tower of deception and falsehood.”¹⁵ Therefore, we should recognize that mentioning the shameful past is a movement towards a bright future, and that it also gives a concrete direction to our present lives.¹⁶

The third reason is to move onward to national reconciliation and harmony. Jesus has taught us that when one stands before an altar to give one’s offerings and realizes that one resents a brother or a sister, one should stop immediately and reconcile with the resented brother or sister, and then after that one can give one’s offerings.¹⁷ It is God’s ultimate will and order since the time of creation that all the people of the nations should be at peace with one another and in harmony.

When a massacre first occurred, the victim and the perpetrator of the massacre were clearly distinguishable. The ones who led the massacre were the assaulters, and the ones who were killed or suffered were the victims. But the assaulters would, in many cases, aggravate the victim’s agony by forgetting their assault or by not recognizing what they had done. In other cases, some assaulters might suffer from a pang of conscience because it wasn’t their intent to do what they did. On the other hand, the victims are likely to remember and internalize the casualties from the past and carry them on to their present lives. In this way, the victims and the assaulters would not be able to build up an intact relationship with one another unless the past has been cleared in a proper manner. They would each live their life in atrophy, and in the end everyone is likely to become a victim.¹⁸ Therefore, the assaulter should free his/herself from his/her cramped past by confessing his/her assault to the victim, and the victim should free his/herself from the agony that has been carried from the past by declaring forgiveness to the assaulter. We should confront the fact that genuine peacemaking can be done only when

¹⁵ Editorial, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* [Kyunghyang Newspaper]. (18 August 2004).

¹⁶ The National Commission inquiring into the real truth concerning the civilian massacres before and after the Korean War insisted that we all become historical sinners, if we now lose the chance. (7 September 2004)

¹⁷ Matthew 5. 23-24

¹⁸ Kim Bong-jin, ["Forgiveness and Reconciliation, A remote and near Way"] *Munyeundong* [Art and Literature Movement] no. 67 (2000), 393.

the victim and the assaulter set themselves free from the past and cooperate with one another.

4. A plan to recover from civilian massacre

Who are the ones who have been wounded in the past, and are still being wounded in the present day? The victims are the ones who have been wounded the most. The victims are those who were massacred without even knowing any reason, and their family members who have had to live their whole life in prejudice just for being a family member of the victim. Their deep wounds cannot be offset by anything. The perpetrators of the massacre are also deeply wounded. Living in a time of sudden change, most of them were either forced into an indiscriminate participation with the masses, without even having a chance to establish their own ideological positions, or they had to follow orders from the upper hands of the power system, disregarding their own will. And finally, the people who are neither victim nor the assaulter, but those who lived at the same time as them must also be wounded by the incident also. Most of these people are likely to make a misjudgment from receiving falsified historical information, and if history repeats itself because it hasn't been cleared, these people have a chance of being deeply wounded as well.

The reality is that it is impossible to cure the damages from civilian massacre completely. The lost lives cannot be revived, the lives that suffered from prejudice cannot be brought round, and the experience of the massacre and its falsified history cannot be removed. But the wounds will grow bigger if the people abandon the past history or avoid taking responsibility for it on the basis of the impossibility of doing so. Therefore, we shall make an effort to cure the wounds as much as possible.

First, a meeting should be arranged which will be an opportunity to tell and share the wounds of the civilian massacre in public. This is to acknowledge, through this event, that it is not only the body that has been massacred, but also the words, thoughts, and

the truth as well.¹⁹ Some among us say that there is no point of digging up the old wounds, but Kim Dong-chun provides a persuasive answer for that argument, “In this world where individuals ought to live in harmony with others, it is absolutely necessary to ask an authority or an individual who has taken away the life of another individual without a personal animosity to take responsibility for this. If this does not happen, the administration will lose its stability, and the social relationships will not be established. In other words, the social relationship will not be recovered unless a punishment or a pardon has been sentenced after examining a group or an individual who has taken away the lives of others. Also, the mutual enemies will have a stiff relationship, which will bring about a failure not only to the victims but also the assaulters, and eventually to all the people affected.”²⁰

The story of the victims should not be suppressed and kept as a secret among themselves only, but should be a story publicly owned. The hidden story of the assaulters should be confessed openly to the public. The shameful acts done by the government – creating victims and assaulters – should be open to the public, “A healing begins by talking about the pain. If such things as “how much does it hurt?”, “where does it hurt?”, “what are the difficulties?” remain unsaid, then healing does not occur. Only by talking about the pain, one can be free from the filthiness of the pain. It might be hard in the beginning, but it must be done.”²¹ We shall make an effort to come up with a method so that the stories of sufferings can be shared by the victims themselves, and also try to spread the story through the mass media, which will start a genuine healing.

Second, the story of pain should lead to the confession of sin. K. Jaspers, a German philosopher, has recognized the barbarism of the Hitler administration and has classified the four types of confession; (1) a **legal confession** which consists of the violations of the law that can be objectively established, (2) a **political confession** which consists of

¹⁹ Choi Wan-uk, [“Massacre of Civilians is Continuing Now”] *Tonghanui meari*. [Echo of Bitterness], No. 15 (30 June 2004), 18

²⁰ Kim Dong-chun, “The civilian mass killings during the Korean War; a solution and its meaning.” *Yeoksabipyong*, [History Critic] (Spring 2002), 22.

²¹ Son Un-san, [“From Story of War to Story of Healing and Reconciliation”], *Gidokkyo Sasang* [Christian Thought], vol 44 no 6 (June 2000), 28.

the acts of the politicians who lead the people, and the acts of the people who followed the politicians, (3) a **virtuous confession** which consists of the unmoral behavior that has been done by an individual, and (4) a **metaphysical confession** which consists of all filthiness and the solidarity of the people who were in immorality.²² We should build an environment where the confession of guilt can be continued, so that the stories of suffering won't be without result. This has to be done because the confession of guilt is the only responsible way for those who have committed assaults. If the assaulters have personally committed a legal crime to take an advantage of their relationship of interest, such as to collect property or power, they should confess to doing so and accept a suitable sanction of law. Politicians and their followers, who might not have been involved in the civilian massacre directly but who decided upon an excessive massacre due to a misjudgment of the conditions should also confess their political guilt and provide the associated documents of their acts. The people who although they might not have done an illegal act, but who have assisted others in perpetrating a massacre by taking an action conflicting with conscience, such as betrayal or fabrication of a document, should also confess their virtual crime and recover their conscience. And the people living today should face the immorality of the civilian massacre and should confess their metaphysical crime with the intention of taking the responsibility of the victim. We should keep our eyes open so that such events are unlikely to happen again. If these confessions such as listed above are fulfilled in every aspect, we will have the chance of turning over from the shame of this history of civilian massacre.

Thirdly, in compensation for what has been done, the honor of the bereaved family should be recovered so that the soul of the victim of the massacre can be acknowledged. It is impossible to compensate for the suffocated lives of the bereaved families, but an effort to make compensation has to be made for the virtual and metaphysical responsibility. In history, there is always an assaulter and a victim behind all barbarism. The assaulter loses his/her humanity by indulging injustice, and the victim also loses his/her humanity by being wounded from the casualty. History will continue to repeat itself unless the assaulter looks back on his/her own doings, or the victim frees

²² K. Jaspers, *Die Schuldfrage. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Frage*, 4. Aufl., (Zurich 1947), 52

him/herself from the assaulters' snare. The assaulters should now accept the fact that they have brought forth a disgrace by committing civilian massacre, and should give compensation to the families of the victim. A confession without compensation is nothing more than self-intoxication. Therefore, the compensation for the victim and his/her family should be a priority instead of an easy recovery of the conscience of the assaulter. When the focus lies upon the assaulters' conscience, the victims will only be the means and their sufferings will not be genuinely healed but will be falsely used for the assaulters' wrong intentions. We might not have the legal right to be able to ask the assaulters or their descendents for compensation, but the people should rise up for the victims and their descendents and ask the government to be responsible for making compensation.

With such thoughts, it is proper that the 'Pan-national committee for the examination of the truth and the recovery of the honor upon the civilian massacre before and after the Korean War' has strongly asked in their declaration of foundation: "(To the Government) Make an apology to the bereaved families and to the people of the nation, and compensate them appropriately according to a thorough investigation of the civilian massacre perpetrated by the military and the police. Find out where the victims of the massacre are buried, exhume them immediately, erect a graveyard for them, and build a memorial tower and a center to cherish the victims."²³

Fourth, the falsification of history should be accepted as a fact, and efforts made to try to straighten up the truth. The story about the civilian massacre is being told only in fragments. Sometimes, the mutual contradictions of the stories perplex those who are listening. Also, the history text or the military histories which published by the Ministry of Defense, which can be considered as the authentic history, seem to be written from a right wing aspect. We have to acknowledge the fact that a falsified history cannot recover humanity, and cannot lead us to the upright teachings of history. We become angry with Japan when we see their avoidance or even glorification of their history of colonization and wars of invasion, and also when we see them worshipping at the shrine

²³ Declaration Statement for the Establishment of a National Commission to Inquire into the Real Truth Concerning Civilian Massacre Before and After the Korean War. (7 September 2000)

built for the war criminals. On the other hand, we respect and envy Germany for officially accepting the blunder of Nazism, pursuing and convicting the Nazi war criminals, and trying to be responsible for the nations and the people who were the victims of Nazism.²⁴ According to this fact, we can see that it is by only accepting disgrace in history as a genuine disgrace that one is able to turn around from that disgrace. Misunderstanding disgrace as an honor or attempting its glorification would only reproduce that disgrace. From now, we shall start to picture the civilian massacre in accordance to factual history, and to take responsibility for the reality. That is the only hope for the people of our nation.

5. The Christian-ethical task for turning the memory of the civilian massacre towards peacemaking.

We have to see the background to the fact that the victims and the family of the victims are rather trying to remain silent or forget about the civilian massacre because it is so painful for them. We can choose to forget, but that is a solution too easily chosen and forgetting is the beginning of a new pain. Because of that, memory can be considered as a new chance of eliminating the cause of pain. One who has no memory will be unable to figure out what to forgive, what to heal and what direction of life to aim for.²⁵ But a memory that has not reached reconciliation is dangerous, and can become a vicious circle of retaliation. Therefore, the ultimate intention of dealing with the civilian massacre issue should be focused on peacemaking. It was what Jesus, the son of God, focused his work on, and it is also a task for Christians, who have admitted Christ as their savior and became children of God. Now, we will be suggesting what the Korean churches and Christians ought to establish as a Christian-ethical task in order to reach peace from the memory of the civilian massacre.

²⁴ Dakahasi Detsya, *The Responsibility of Japan after the Second World War: Politics of Memory, Ethics of Forgetfulness*, (Seoul: Yeoksa Bipyeongsa [History Critic Press], 2000), 11.

²⁵ Kim Yeong-su. [*Reconciliation requires Memory more than Forgiveness*] (Seoul: Dongin Press, 2001), 5.

The first suggestion is that the Korean churches and Christians, who were related as an axis of the civilian massacre and the falsification of history, sincerely confess their crime. The West-Northern youth association, which was established mainly by the young Christians who came over to the south from the north, was a recklessly right-wing association which took the initiative in the civilian massacre during the Jeju 4.3 incident.²⁶ The Christian landowners in North Korea experienced the seizure of their land due to the land reformation of the North Korean government. They came down to the south and become extreme anti-communists, who were in active support of strengthening the cold war. Also, some Christians who have gained an advantage from the process of the civilian massacre have purposely chosen the anticommunism ideology not as an issue of the ideology but as a method to protect themselves. The Korean church should confess its apathy, irresponsibility, and incompetence. It should confess its lack in the mission of the king to bring God's kingdom near, of the mission of the prophet who goes against cruelty, and of the healing mission of the high priest. These missions have all failed due to the influence of taking an extreme side. Only by confessing the prominence of its own failings towards the civilian massacre and the period of division,²⁷ and by turning around from this, will the Korean church be capable of a dignified mission towards the world.

The second suggestion is to recover the conscience of the individual, strengthen the exponential level of conscience, and to become aware of the responsibility of the act of an individual or a mass. As Helmut Claß explains generally about conscience: a corresponding understanding does not exist upon the subject of conscience. It works as a spokesman or a judge. Conscience is not a sound of God, nor a last expedient of distinction between right or wrong, but it is something formed by such things as legacy, environment, education, and value. The determination of conscience is not unchangeable, but it is related to the concrete decisions that are made simultaneously, and it may contain a fallacy. The conscience, which may contain a fallacy, does not

²⁶ Im Dae-sik ["The 4.3 Affair of Jeju and the Right Wing's Young Radicals"], History Institute, Researching on 4.3 Affair of Jeju, (Seoul: History Institute, 1999), 207-208.

²⁷ Jeong Jong-hun, *Christian Social Ethics and Human Rights*, (Seoul: The Christian Literature of Korea, 2003), 44-50.

always give the free will of conscience the privilege of an exemption of responsibility. It also contains a task of strengthening oneself through God's words.²⁸ We know that conscience is not unchangeable but changeable, not perfect but imperfect, not absolute but relative. But conscience is a base for making a decision not by the external but by an internal process for the self on the self's own will, a last fortress of asking for human responsibility. Therefore, it is an important task for the Korean church, which confesses that God's will is good, to strengthen the personal conscience, which is closely related to faith, and enhance the conscience of society as a whole so that there will be an appearance of responsibility upon the past of the civilian massacre either individually or corporately.

The third suggestion is to disobey the government if they give a wrong order, because God should be considered one's priority over the structural system of obedience. The reason for any human's life is because God has provided it. It is our duty to follow God's command and glorify him throughout our lives. When an individual's words correspond to God's words, it can be considered as listening to God's words. But, when an individual speaks of something that contradicts God's words, God's words should be a priority over the words of the individual. It is preposterous if humans should be governed not by the words of God but by human words or the demands of the world. Therefore, we should realize that there is nothing that can be compared or be prioritized over God in this world – a world created by God. If the civilian massacre had been done by a concern of interests or an ideological operation not relating to God's will, and if we were capable of civil disobedience for that reason, then the conditions of that massacre before and after the Korean War would have been very different. The Korean churches should teach and strengthen the aspect of prioritizing God over everything.

The fourth suggestion is to warn about the civilian massacre and the barbaric war of negligence of human rights, and to use the doctrine of *just war* if that is necessary. Human rights are a right that everyone should be guaranteed just for being human. Regardless of race, sex, class, knowledge, and ideology, they are given from the birth of

²⁸ H. Claß, "Gewissen und Glaube", hg. von Evangelische Kirchenamt für die Bundeswehr, *Gewissen in Dialog*, Guterloh 1980, 20-23.

anyone, a creation of God and made in God's form. But war is barbaric and inhumane because of its ignorance of human rights. It is also, in the sense that it is violence that leads to mutual destruction, a declaration of the bankruptcy of politics. So, Christian pacifism should disapprove of any kind of war. But the theory of a just war requires a premise of a declaration of war (*jus ad bellum*) by a nation.²⁹ It requires a justified factor, a final means to be adopted to bring changes, a declaration from a lawful authority, an assurance of victory, a suitable means for an aim, and peace as its ultimate goal. This theory of just war also has stipulations that should be fulfilled (*jus in bello*) during the war. These are, the proportionate principle of limiting the offensive damage to the level inflicted by the enemy, and a classification principle of protecting the civilians and facilities not participating in the war. A war that is based on the theory of just war cannot allow a civilian massacre in any circumstances. Therefore, the Korean Church should stand on the side of pacifism and oppose all wars. But, in the case of an occurrence of an inevitable war, they should make efforts to minimize the damage of the war by proclaiming the theory of the just war.

A final suggestion would be to recover the wounded association of Global Life and bring back its intactness. All creations in this world constitute the Global Life.³⁰ Global Life understands that individual lives form a big life that is genealogically and ecologically associated together. So, Global Life can be considered as one big life that embraces all the individual lives, forming a unit of self-sufficiency. If we accept all the creations of the world as members of the Global Life, we shall shake off the selfishness of the human-life-centered mind and preserve other lives and the world as a whole (God's creation) for the Global Life. Causing destruction or falsifying the lives or the created world of others will be the same as doing so to the Global Life, which includes oneself, causing danger to one's own life. We have to look at the issue of the civilian massacre in the same way as we look at Global Life. If there is a suffering victim, the associates of the Global Life also suffer. If the Global Life suffers, not only the victims,

²⁹ John Macquarrie, *The Concept of Peace*, (Seoul: The Christian Literature of Korea, 1980), 87-96.

³⁰ Chang Hoe-ik, ["Modern Science and Whole Life"], in: Hoe-Ik Chang, "Modern Science and Whole Life", Environmental Institute of Korea Church (Ed.), *Spirituality Toward Ecological Life*, (Incheon: Naeil yeo-neun chaek [Book toward Tomorrow], 2000), 29

but other civilians, and even we will suffer. If we are forming a Global Life through one another, the suffering from the civilian massacre is also our own suffering.³¹ Therefore, the Korean Churches should recognize the pain of the victim as the pain of our own, and by non-discriminating against the small ones, and following the life style that Jesus took, should endeavor pastorally and socially to cure the pain.

³¹ Son Un-san. [“Healing, Forgetfulness and Reconciliation”], Korea Journal of Christian Studies, No. 35 (October 2004), 269-275.