

MISSION TO LABOR AND INDUSTRY

Inchun, Korea

FIVE YEAR REPORT, 1961-1966

Translated from the original document in 1968

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INSTITUTE ON THE CHURCH IN URBAN-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY
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INTRODUCTION

Inchun's Mission to Labor and Industry was begun in September of 1961. At that time, however, it had no name, no staff and no budget. It began as an experiment that could be changed, continued, or cancelled as the situation required; but in fact within five years the experiment had developed definite characteristics and patterns of operation. This is a report of how, during the five years, the Mission took shape and developed character.

The period covered is from September, 1961 to the end of 1966. Since then, new, unpredictable events have begun to shape the Mission in new directions. At the end of this report, these new directions, in as far as they are discernible, will be briefly outlined. The reader should, therefore, keep in mind that this report only covers a period up to December, 1966.

The purpose in writing a report such as this were two: After five years, it became obvious that what started as an experiment had in fact become a definable line of action. Therefore, it seemed necessary for us to evaluate what had taken place. The experiences of the five year period were gathered together in this report. The report was then submitted to a group consisting of two theologians, one labor union leader, one economist, and one professor of labor studies for criticism and comments. The evaluations of this group helped define our position and suggest the directions in which we should be moving.

Secondly, we hoped, by issuing this report, to contribute to the mutual sharing of experiences among those involved in similar missions in other parts of Korea. We did not originally intend that this report would be distributed to other countries. However, due to the encouragement of Rev. Harry Daniels and the cooperation of the Institute on the Church in Urban-Industrial Society of Chicago, the report was translated into English. We hope that those of other countries who read our report will freely share with us their criticisms and reactions.

Inchun Mission to Labor and Industry

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August 1968

I. THE PROBLEM AND THEOLOGY

A. The Problem

In the nineteenth century, Western industrialization penetrated every nation and culture of the world. It overwhelmed them and forced them out of their unchanging patterns into what is known as modernization. The Japanese Imperial Government was the instrument by which modernization came to Korea. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea into its empire. As it pushed its expansionist plans during World War I and the "Manchurian Incident" of 1931, it erected in Korea, for the first time in history, large scale producing factories, thus bringing hundreds and eventually thousands of workers under one roof. The Pacific War with America, of course, accelerated the industrialization; and Korea came to have substantial production of chemicals, textiles, raw materials and munitions.

The Korean government, since liberation in 1945, has continued the pattern begun by Japan. The present regime, which dates from the military coup in 1961, has been concentrating especially on economic development through centralized planning by experts. The first Five Year Plan, which ended in 1966, showed remarkable progress in every area, so much so that some now say Korea has reached the "take-off stage" of development and, as such, should be classified, not as underdeveloped, but as semi-developed.

Such rapid transition from a loosely united feudal system to a "semi-developed" industrial society has, of course, brought many problems. The most basic of these can perhaps be called an imbalance of social power and participation. As many as 50% of the population may now be city dwellers and as high as 700,000 work directly in offices and industry. Twenty years ago city population was probably no more than 25-30 percent of the total population, and industrial wage earners numbered about 200,000. Such a redistribution of population within an industrial setting puts certain new demands upon a society. Among these are:

1. an improvement in the living standards of city and industrial wage earners. To achieve this, however, the system by which the profits of an enterprise are distributed and the methods of management must be called into question and adjusted to modern conditions.
2. participation in some manner by the workers in the processes of determining wages and working conditions. The present patterns of collective bargaining need to be strengthened so that the employer in fact bargains in "good faith" and the union can come to the negotiations as a "power" equal to the company. A modernizing society requires some form of modern, rational relations between employer and employee.

3. participation by the entire urban and lower income population in the political and social structures of society.

There are those who are attempting to adapt industrialization to the feudalistic forms of political structures and human relations. To such people the above assertions are a danger. They would retain the "good old days" when an elite held unrestricted power and the lower classes were docile and obedient.

In the tension between these two worlds of modernization and semifeudalism, Korea is being indelibly shaped and molded. And it is inside this social tension that the institution called the Church exists. The Church's sensitivity to the nature of the tension under which it is living, however, is very dull. Revival meetings and individual decisions to come out of the "world" into salvation have been, almost exclusively, the theological posture of the Church, but in today's society, men do not function and decide on these levels. Faced with inadequate response from the non-believing world, the Church increasingly becomes frustrated and ingrown. Religion, instead of giving meaning and direction, has been the tool of separating the so-called spiritual from the so-called physical.

Modern society is structured around groups, organizations, communities, etc. The Church of Korea has never seriously tackled the question of the relation of its message to society or organizations. It has called for justice, but has not known the ways by which justice is created. It has demanded that the laymen live exemplary lives within the world, but has made no move to assist the individual to create the surrounding where he could live closer to his beliefs. In the organization world of modern Korea, the pure individualism of Korean Christianity has little influence and creates little, if any, response from those outside its small circle. The problem with which we are confronted is the adjustment of the Church to the twentieth century and its commitment to the rights and dignity of modern man as the powers of neo-feudalism attempt to submerge him.

B. Theology

Within this problem-situation the Inchun Mission to Labor and Industry was begun. The territory of the Mission was limited to the factory system, its production processes, and the men and organizations involved in the system. The intent was to begin with as few presuppositions as possible. We were to be unencumbered and experimental. But, obviously, all presuppositions could not be sloughed off that easily. There were four original concepts upon which the work was based:

1. Christ exists not only in churches, but also in factories. Therefore, the industrial or labor missionary is attempting to discover Christ in the work place. Work experience exposes us to Christ,

external to us, but internal to the world of labor and industry. From here, then, comes theology about Christ. Action does not come from theology; but, quite contrary, theology comes from action. Content and methodology of evangelism likewise will concur with the theology that Christ in that given situation reveals to us.

2. The location of the ministry must be in the work places and unions. If God has a message and mission for the factory and its people, it is likely that we can best discover that message and be obedient to it in the factory.
3. The Christian message relates, not only to individuals and their problems, but also to society and its problems and structures.
4. Financial commitment to the Mission must come from the Korean Church and society. It is not only society that the Mission confronts, but also the Church. Unless it is financially involved, little change from the Church can be expected. In addition, there is the matter of integrity of witness. If we were to begin a ministry within industry and labor in the name of the Church, financial as well as personnel resources must be provided by the Korean Church itself.

These were the beginning assumptions upon which the Mission was launched. As it is now obvious, these four items of faith predetermined the future course that the Mission came to take.

II. PROBINGS

As early as 1960, two pastors of the Inchun district were holding preaching services inside a couple of factories. Christians in management in the two shops had made this possible. Using the lunch time, laymen in the factories met for worship in some designated room. Among Korean Christians there is an almost magical belief in the efficacy of the act of worship. The pastors saw the holding of services inside the factory, even through only a very few attended, as a means of edifying the Christians and witnessing to the non-Christians. Christ was present in the act of worship, and the act of worship was conducted by a minister; so from this point of view, Christ was brought to the factory by the "priest" conducting the worship ritual.

These two ministers became members of the Industrial Evangelism Committee formed by the ministers in Inchun and were very cooperative in helping to get the work under way. We literally did not know the best way to begin; but, feeling that significant leads could be obtained only through trial and error, it was decided to begin on four levels.

A. First Probe

First, it was necessary for us to get acquainted with Inchun and its industry as much as possible. This required many hours of walking: walking over the city, visiting every plant, and walking through each factory in the city. At the same time we gathered statistics about Inchun's industrial situation, and the workers' wages and conditions of labor. We also did a preliminary study of the occupations of the members of churches in the industrial areas. It was a probing process to spy out the land that we intended to enter.

B. Second Probe

Secondly, we decided to follow up on the openings that already existed for entry into the factories. Within a period of a few months, three such openings were discovered. Our first step in labor mission is clearly described by the experiences in these three factories.

1. Hankook Industrial Machine Company

This was one of the factories where services were being held. With the cooperation of the pastor, these services were converted into open discussion meetings. Instead of a separate room, we used a noisy plant cafeteria during lunch hour. At first, of course, such meetings created a bit of excitement, and quite a few men came over and joined the fun; but after a few months this approach ran out of steam. Few real subjects of interest came out, and after the first novelty was

over, only a few of the men, mostly Christians, paid us any attention at all. The cafeteria meetings were dropped, but still the experience had not been without value. We had learned something about how to talk with non-Christians about some of the questions they asked; we had built up an acquaintance with many men, even though we did not know their names; and finally, a small group of young men emerged who became the instrument through which our next step was taken.

Though we had met some men in the dining hall, most of the workers ate their lunches on the plant floor. One of the young men mentioned above suggested we visit these men. A couple of the others secured permission for us to do this, and so we launched out on a new attempt. Each Wednesday we visited the shop floor as the men ate their lunches. First we were introduced to each small circle of men, and it was announced that there would be a bull-session after they finished eating. Sometimes ten men came. Sometimes there were fifty. In each department we did this for five or seven times and then moved on to another department. The sessions were run as openly as possible, on any and all subjects. The response of the men was unexpected. Perhaps it was because of the novelty. Nevertheless there was real interest, and we became widely known throughout the shop. After ten months, we had gone through all the departments and decided to bring this phase of work to an end. A second form of probing action had been completed. The results were several: 1) We now had completely free access to the factory; 2) We had learned much about the thinking of workers about their factory, union, family problems and religion; 3) And perhaps the most important thing was that we gained prolonged experience at trying to communicate on a give and take basis. A new confidence and "feeling" for the situation was achieved.

Following the termination of the bull-sessions, weekly discussions with young engineers and a Friday lunch-time Bible Study group was begun. Neither of these lasted very long, but again they were the bridge to a new form of ministry that will be described later on.

2. Heung Han Textile Company

In Korea, textiles account for about twenty-five percent of total manufacturing. Ninety percent of textile employees are young girls between the ages of 16-25. In the Hak Ik Dong area of Inchun, the local Methodist pastor became concerned about the life of some of the textile girls who came to his church. He had met some of the company officers, and when he requested to be allowed to enter the plant to meet with the workers, they were quite agreeable, even though none of them was Christian. Pastor

Lim asked our assistance. This was in December, 1961. Here again we were in the dark as to how to start, but finally the following tentative approach was agreed upon:

- 1) We would visit the factory during lunch time to talk to the male employees. It would not do for men to have meetings with the girls. They would not talk in front of us at any rate. Only a few men were employed, and these were widely scattered over the factory.
- 2) A small library for the girls was begun.
- 3) Once a month we hoped to show a movie at the change of shifts. As in the case of Han Kook Machine Company, these planned approaches did not last long. The library became rather expensive, and the books began to disappear faster than we could replace them. There were very few usable films, and showing movies in the shop was quite a nuisance to the company. Discussions were not possible during lunch time because the lunch times were all staggered and short. We got to know some of the men, but they had little time to talk to us, and after a few times of short conversation there was little left to talk about.

All of the planned programs had failed, but still we had made an advance. The pastor was now known throughout the factory and frequently was asked to assist in certain personnel problems. And about a year later, when the Mission wanted to assign a woman staff member to a textile plant, the Heung Han Company was ready to accept her.

3. New Korea Bearing Company

In another district of Inchun, another local minister was becoming involved in factory life in a different way. The New Korea Bearing Company employed about two hundred workers, of whom about fifteen to twenty were Christian. Many of them went to the nearby San Sok Methodist Church. One of the elders of San Sok Church was the chief foreman of the shop, so he and the pastor gathered the Christians and some of the non-Christians for a worship service inside the factory once each week. Again we were asked to help. At first we went along with the preaching service, but again we tried to convert it into a free discussion group something like the ones we had going at Hankook Machine Company. It did not work. There was almost no response. The meetings petered out. From this group of young Christian men, however, have come several leaders of the laymen's movement that sprang up a year or so later.

C. Third Probe

The third point of take-off centered around the church. The local churches in Inchun are well located to serve the industrial population. About twelve Protestant churches can be found in factory areas and neighborhoods where mainly workers live. A brief survey of the churches, however, disclosed that only a small percentage of the church members were industrial workers and that the church program was arranged so that it had no relation to the surrounding community and industrial life. On several occasions, men whom we had met in the shop expressed a desire to go to church. We took them to the closest church, but the pastor and people were at a loss as to what to do. They were asked to come back, but they did not. The church's routine was upset by these outsiders, and its response was weak and awkward.

In an attempt to get the pastors into the homes of the non-Christians in their communities, joint visitation teams were formed. These were to visit non-Christian workers' families. Korean ministers are perhaps more diligent in pastoral calling than any other clergymen in the world, but their calls all have a set formula: a hymn is sung, a prayer offered, scripture read, a short explanation of scripture, a prayer, a hymn, and a benediction. It is an abridged Sunday worship service. The same routine was followed in our visits to the non-Christian families. It proved very unsatisfactory to everyone, and, after only a short period, everyone lost interest and the visits slowly died out. To this day, the hardest, most unsuccessful part of the Mission's program has been its attempt to get local churches and pastors involved in a ministry to the society in which they are located.

The probings described above all began in 1961 and continued on through most of 1962. In many cases, the initial approach proved inappropriate and wrong. They led nowhere. The foot-work of visiting each factory and getting the "feel" of the city was a necessary foundation. Many of the experiences in the factory were at a dead end within weeks, and the attempt to enlist the active cooperation of local pastors was a failure. Yet a beginning had been made and experience had been built up. The ministry within Han Kook Machine Company was to continue and develop into one of the most significant programs that the Mission of Labor and Industry has undertaken.

D. Fourth Probe

We were not unaware of the experiences of other industrial missions throughout the world, but the missions in England, Germany, France, etc. had been begun by a spontaneous response of some few clergymen and laymen to the demands of social-industrial problems. Our job was not to wait until a spontaneous movement occurred, but to initiate such a movement.

To do so, it was realized that we would need men trained on the inside of a factory. We also needed the kind of information that only an "insider" can have. In a word, we needed someone especially a clergyman, to labor in the shops. The Industrial Evangelism Committee decided to ask a senior seminary student to go into a factory as a worker. Sung Woon Lee volunteered to delay his graduation and work with us for one semester. We arranged for him to be hired by a local glass company. He stayed there only two months and then moved to a plywood factory for his remaining month. His work was hard manual labor. He was given no special favors. After three months, he returned to school. The story of his stay in the factory cannot be told in this report, but his experience at labor equipped us with information and insights that were to set the stage for the real beginnings of the Inchun Mission to Labor and Industry.

First, we knew that the world of industry was complex, but through this student's efforts, some of the outlines of management practices and employee problems began to take shape for us. Secondly, the necessity for silence and humility on our part was driven home time and again. Instead of listening and learning, he talked and witnessed. As a result, he came out not much wiser than when he went in. In the future, the primary purpose of laboring would not be witnessing, but learning and putting forth an effort to become as much of a worker as possible. The third result was that the Industrial Evangelism Committee came to see that it was imperative to employ experienced, mature men in this ministry rather than students. The task was too great to be handled by students or church pastors. A full time staff with enough age and experience to confront the world of work was needed. The decision to try and locate two such men who would labor in a factory marks the real beginning of the Inchun Mission to Labor and Industry.

III. EMERGING FORMS

Within a year's time, five distinct patterns of action began to emerge. As in most cases, early pattern-forms set the scene and limit the range of action that can take place in the future. Today's approach and program are still within the general framework established seven years ago, although the content and type of action within this general frame have altered considerably. The following patterns emerged during the first years of the work in Inchun.

A. Laboring Ministers

Early experience in Hankook Machine Shop and the seminary student's brief experience in the factory convinced us of a truth that had been discovered by many people before us in different situations: a great gulf of social-historical class mentality and values exists between us who are called the Church and those who are called the workers. We assume we know the truth and Gospel for them and proceed to preach it to them. Ours is the standard. Theirs is the sub-standard. So we think! The other camp, however, does not so docilely accept our superiority; thus a great barrier is created between them and us, and the problem of communication develops. Actually, of course, it is not communication that is the problem, but the social class frame of reference. No communication, no witnessing and no service can really be achieved unless this class mentality is escaped.

The decision was made to enlist two young clergymen to labor in the shops on a long term basis. Behind it rested three assumptions, or points of faith, of which we were only dimly aware. First by saturating the men in hard, physical labor, perhaps the psychology of church and class superiority could be corrected and these men could begin looking at the world from the eyes of a worker. Second, during prolonged periods in the shops, perhaps we would be granted a new vision of Christ and His intentions for the world outside the Church. We were hoping to find a new, creating Christ operating inside the factory and union. And thirdly, the future directions and content of the Mission must somehow be discovered from within this world. Already we knew that attempts to reproduce our patterns and class psychology on the work world were useless and self-deceiving. If a Mission were to develop, it must take a shape natural to the workers' world.

Two men volunteered for the experiment. Rev. Cho Moon Sul had finished his military service and been pastoring for about two years before he came to join us in June of 1962. For over a year, he worked at back-breaking labor in front rollers that shoot out red-hot steel rods. He had to catch the rods with hooks and insert them back into another machine. Shop rules say that after three months a worker

is made a permanent employee, which raises his wages and gives him job security. In fact, however, the department supervisor decides whether a worker will be promoted or not. After a year and four months, Rev. Cho became a permanent employee and went on to become a foreman of his section. He has been in the shop now for seven years. Unfortunately, however, he became increasingly disenchanted with the Church and over a period of three years finally withdrew altogether from our Mission and the Church. His experiences and contributions to the Mission cannot be told here, but his years of hard labor are one of the foundations upon which the Inchun Mission has been built.

In September of 1962, Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk joined the team. For four years, he had served as a Marine Chaplain and part time pastor of a small church in a factory area close to Seoul. Rev. Cho went into a large plywood factory. His job was to help carry large logs from the waterfront into the factory where they are sawed up. Like many other workers, he never became a permanent employee. Even after a year and a half, he was still a temporary worker earning fifteen dollars a month. At first, the other workers figured he must be a company spy, since it early became known that he once had been an officer in the Marines, but before he left the company he had been chosen by his fellow workers to run for the position of union president. At this he was not successful. Rev. Cho left the shop in January of 1964 to become the general secretary and director of the Mission.

A third man, Rev. Kim Chi Bok, was added in May of 1963. His assignment was to work on the docks as an independent laborer. To get into regular employment, one has to join the union, and to join the union large fees must be paid. We had no funds, so he went as a floating, daily laborer, carrying an A-frame. This work is extremely difficult and the society was very tough. Rev. Kim was not able to really "get in" with the men and after a short period his attempts at laboring on the docks were dropped. He left the Mission early in 1967.

The fourth laboring-minister was a woman. At first we figured that perhaps it was not necessary for a woman to labor in the mills as the men staff members did. For almost two years a young woman who had recently graduated from seminary worked as pastor and counselor and friend among the girls of Heung Han Textile Mills. As she got further into the lives of the girls, she came to realize that she, too, had to labor in the factory. Getting the permission of the company, she spent every other week working in the mill. By the time she left to be married in 1964, we knew that a woman staff member, too, had to begin with labor. Rev. Cho Wha Soon is a woman minister who served five years as pastor of a very poor island church. For over three years, we had been trying to get some access to the

large Oriental Textile Company in town, but the management was stubborn in its refusal. Then in late 1966 Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk tried again. He explained that all we wanted was a job so that a woman pastor could have the experience of laboring in the shop. We did not intend to hold preaching services or disrupt the order of the factory. Finally they consented, and so Rev. Cho became the first woman pastor in Korea to work as a laborer. The work is a grueling endurance of trying to keep up with the machines for eight to ten hours a day. The noise is deafening and communication almost impossible. Cotton and lint dust fill the air and a damp moist odor pervades everything. The girls who work here are mainly country girls who come to the city for a few years before marriage. They live in the company dormitory or in small, rented rooms. They earn enough to feed themselves and nothing more. Almost a fourth of all Korean production and a fair portion of the export trade is produced by the hands of these young girls.

More recently, two young laymen have joined our staff and are now (September 1968) in the process of doing their labor: one in a glass factory, and one in a heavy electric equipment manufacturing company.

Within the limits of this report, it is not possible to include the record of these men as they labored in the world of the factory. Each one, however, does keep a report of his experiences, and twice a year each member of the team prepares a lengthy report of his ministry and the theology that he has developed through his experience. At a later date, perhaps, these can be translated for distribution.

The locus of our Mission is the work place, and the key act is labor. From here springs everything else. Without it, the man and programs are sterile. To list only the major values of the work experience we must include at least the seven following facts:

1. Through being in the factory, we became directly informed and involved in the lives of individual workers, their problems on the job and in their families. Korean workers live almost constantly under the strain of being in debt because of health problems or education expense or poor management of money. Socially they know that they are considered a "lower class". We became acutely aware of this and much more. Among these people, we must make our home.

2. Feudalism still lingers in the memory of Korea's ruling circles. The employer runs a modern new plant and produces industrial commodities, but in his human relations he nostalgically goes back to the former days when society was simple and the lower classes knew their place. The upper class could give orders in low talk, and all went well. Many are the employers who hope above all else to retain this idyllic state of human relations.

As a result, they refuse to accept the revolution that has taken place among the workers they employ. They attempt to order, cajole, manipulate or treat them as "factors of production". They do violence to the new human dignity that the workers are seeking, and they even do violence to the nature of the production process over which they rule. Management-employee relations are learned from the inside, and we have learned much.

3. Because of the attitude of management and because of the rapid development in industrialization, the demand for a strong, independent union movement has become for us an article of faith. Unions are organized in most large plants, but they are weak and frequently are dominated by the employer. If the worker, however, is to have any protection, any say in his life at all, a union of strength must be built up. Having now many man years of experience as a laborer, the urgency for a stabilized and just relation between employer and employee has become clear to us. Such a relation is possible only where there is a union with strength.

4. There are Christians in the factories. Most, however, are at a complete loss as to any connection between their faith and their work. Many have isolated themselves in order to defend against the hostile environment. Many others have just sloughed off their religion and forgotten about it. The plight of the laymen in fact became the problem of our men as they attempted to go from clergyman to worker. The ministry of the layman has taken on a reality and urgency that it never would have had if we had not been in the factories with them.

5. Another thing we discover was that there are many men in industry and unions who have a deep concern about many of the same problems that we have. Through the experience of being in the shop as an employee, contact was made with many of these men who later were to cooperate with us in many of our programs.

6. There does develop a change of heart, a change of perspective. The men who have stayed at the labor and have prayed and agonized over the problems they have faced there have come to be born again, not only in their identification with the worker, but in their deeper commitment to a working Christ whom they have met there.

7. The conclusion resulting from all the above is that the Church must be reformed. It must move in new channels. There is no other way, if the Church intends to be serious about the Gospel for which it was founded.

Hard labor over a long period of time is the center and source from which the life of the Mission to Industry and Labor comes.

B. Team Ministry

In the beginning, there was no staff as such. Only a missionary, a couple of local pastors and the members of the Industrial Evangelism Committee. When Rev. Cho Moon Sul and Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk joined us, automatically a group ministry came into being. Each week sessions were held where the problems of the week and the theological implications were discussed and prayed about. As the work increased and new members were added to the team, it became necessary to develop a system of staff training with formal requirements of study, research and action. Before 1966, staff training took place informally among the two Rev. Cho's and Rev. George Ogle, the missionary involved in the ministry. The more systematic approach with the deliberate formation of a team ministry has developed only in the last two years.

A team pools experience and expertise and provides the mutual criticism that stimulates constant change and searching. The team plans the approach and policies corporately, but each member is responsible for his part. In our particular case, Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk acts as general secretary and coordinator of the ministry which now includes five full-time members.

C. Factory "Chaplaincy"

The term "factory chaplain" is used for the lack of a better term, but in fact the ministry referred to has little in common with the usual meaning of that term. After a team member has finished his labor, he is assigned to a factory as our "contact man". There is no official tie with the company, but still we have built up a relationship with about ten factories that now allow us to move freely inside the shop. In some instances, a Christian layman was the person who opened the door for us. In others, it was a labor union leader. And in several places the doors were opened by non-Christian men in management. The beginnings of this ministry were described in Section II above. The operation and time rhythm of each factory is different; this means that the approach of each staff member in the shop is also different, but here again certain patterns are discernible. Our intent is to develop close relations with the men in the shop, the union, and the company; but in actual fact our time has been mainly involved with the first two of these three parties.

At least once a week at a set time the staff member goes to his factory. The visit may be at lunch time or it may be during working hours. What actually takes place during our visits may be any one of any combination of the following things:

1. Visits are made to the shop floor where individual workers are met, and, if time permits, conversations are held with them. Some of

the staff take a prepared paper about some problem or item of interest, and as they talk with the men, these short papers are given out.

2. In some instances special meetings for Christians are held, but usually we try to avoid purely Christian gatherings inside the factory. We wish rather to create an image of being "for" the non-Christians. Most all-Christian gatherings are outside the shop. Nevertheless our presence in the shop gives us a contact with the laymen that is very important. Frequently the discouraged brother can be helped by a short talk. And many are the laymen who are trying to help in the union or on the plant floor. Through visiting the plant we can see him in his natural surroundings and be of aid when later we meet to discuss his problems.

3. A routine of free discussions has developed especially in one plant which has an hour lunch period. Everything from wages and sex to philosophy and religion is brought up. The numbers who attend vary from two or three to thirty or forty.

4. Frequently we are asked to help in cases where some worker is having an especially difficult family or personal problem. Often a request for medical assistance for sick or injured workers also comes our way. The Inchun Christian Hospital allows us four free patients a month, and so we can be of some service to the men in this way.

5. Perhaps the biggest proportion of our time is spent with the union leaders. At first we go as one who wants to learn, but in time we have come to be included in quite a few of the unions' deliberations.

6. Our relations with management have not been as close as those with the union. Given the limitation in personnel and money, we have felt that our contribution could best be concentrated on helping in the development of union strength. Nevertheless, in most every factory, we have been able to maintain a friendly relation with the individuals on the management side.

7. Our staff is also required to take courses in universities or other educational institutions on labor relations, management, union problems, etc. This, with long personal experience in the shops, has helped us in several incidents to be of service during disputes and strikes that have broken out in the shops with which we are related. Further involvement in the more technical problems of labor-management relations seems to be one of the discernible trends.

Evaluation and Challenge

This type of ministry has several weaknesses and pitfalls that must always be kept in mind. The first and most serious of

these is that a chaplaincy approach must not be seen as a substitute for labor. Indeed, the chaplaincy approach depends completely on the prior experience of labor. Without that direct involvement, it is questionable whether a clergyman or layman can have enough sensitivity to see and feel life from the position of a worker. To the degree that he is unable to do this, he is unable to bridge the gap between "us" and "them". Labor is the first qualification for a factory chaplain. Another problem that one must be alert to is the almost natural identification of our purposes with those of the men involved in the management side. In most cases, their backgrounds and education are closer to that of the clergy and college graduate than is the background of the worker. It is therefore natural for us to look at matters from a similar point of view, and it is not unusual to have even non-Christian men in management welcome us to their factories because they interpret our work as coinciding with their own intentions--which are to make the workers good, honest men, which in turn will make them more conscientious, diligent workers. This in turn will, of course, produce greater profits for the company. Many are the clergy who would consent to this analysis. But this, of course, is a fatal simplification of the relationship between employer and employee. The industrial chaplain must always think twice and again about his interpretation of the situation and problems, or else he can easily widen the gap between himself and the workers.

The third problem is that of our own weakness. What in fact can one man, an outsider, do to be of any service whatsoever to men in a society controlled by "laws" of production, national economic planners, and foreign trade? There are perhaps individuals whom we can help and encourage, and as our expertise increases we might even receive requests to cooperate in union programs or labor-management relations. Nevertheless, it is true that in fact we are of very little import to the shop and the society in which both management and labor must live and by which their lives are largely determined.

The chaplaincy approach, however, is valid and can be a vehicle of service and learning. In a machine manufacturing shop, a steel mill, a railroad car shop, a glass factory, a textile mill and an electric equipment company, chaplains from the Mission have begun to play roles, minor as they are, in cooperating with unions in their internal problems and in being of assistance in tense dispute situations. In addition, there is the involvement in the more personal-individual matters mentioned above. The question to be considered now is that of why? Much of the answer to this question is similar to that given above in the discussion on laboring-ministers. This additional, however, should be made. Our understanding of Christ is that he is active in the midst of the factory society to create individuals with human dignity and freedom; to establish a relationship of mutual concern and trust between men; and to construct a social structure in which the various groups can be balanced in a just relationship. These are the concerns referred to in the word *salvation*, and they are the concrete, physical

circumstances in which the Incarnation is completed. Human dignity and individual worth in our society is closely related to one's income and wages. The "web of work rules" defines the human relations, and the management-labor relationship is the frame within which it is possible to deal with the issues of justice.

The industrial chaplain, seeing Christ create in these forms, equips himself in prayer, dedication, and study to cooperate with Christ and thereby cooperate with others who are of a like mind in wanting to promote human dignity and justice in the industrial world. Our job is to seek the vision of Christ, and in seeking, to share that vision with all others.

D. Ministry of the Laity

Number-wise Christians are well represented in the industries of Inchun. Of course, percentage-wise they are a very small minority, as they are in society as a whole. But it is not the lack of numbers that makes the question of the laity an acute problem in our day. It is the fact that large numbers have, for all practical purposes, disengaged themselves from the Church and the teaching of the Church. In the factories, a variety of types of Christian laymen can be distinguished. The most numerous are those who have literally quit the Church. These include many who have had only limited experience as church-goers, but they also include those who have for years and years been good church members. The next group would be those who belong to both church and factory with apparently perfect compartmentalization between the two. Among these are the honestly sincere Christians upon whom it has never dawned that these two realms should not be isolated. There are also the very zealous brothers who openly view the world, and especially their factory and fellow workers, as the lackeys of the devil and nothing can be done about it. In a third grouping can be seen the enthusiasts, smaller in number, but much more vocal and active, who miss no opportunity to preach to their buddies. In some instances, their message is "repent and believe in Christ," but more frequently it is "come out to church". On the other end of the scale are those Christians who realize the discontinuity between life and Church teaching and who, through trial and error, have forged a faith for themselves which is an accommodation between the two worlds. Within this group are those who actively take part in union and shop life because they sense it is an exercise of their faith in Christ.

But in all cases, the Church is a source of confusion, frustration, and even embarrassment. Despite the fact that they still attend and do believe, they find in the Church more turmoil than peace and more burdens than guidance. In the Church, it is taught that one must not participate too much in the world lest he succumb to the temptations of smoking, drinking and Sabbath-breaking. On the moralistic side, the Christian is to be an example of light to the dark

world, and he is always to witness and bring men to the Church. The Christian thus may not have too happy a time here, but his reward is in heaven. Revivalistic experience is also emphasized by many churches, thus giving the believer a foretaste of happiness to come.

This, of course, is a simplified characterization, but still a legitimate description. The difficulty for the layman in industry is that this message if followed does violence to the natural order of life that the layman must live in the factory. He works each day with non-believers, but he is not permitted to be too friendly or have a drink with them for this is a temptation. He is to be an exemplary worker putting in more hours and working harder, but this is really quite impossible in a factory situation. He is to be constantly witnessing, but he is equipped only to say "come to church" or "believe in Christ" and is not able to answer the questions or barbs that come in reply. The result is frustration that weakens faith and creates isolated, lonely men. The natural order is violated by the Church, and this not for righteousness' sake, but for the sake of self-righteousness. Somehow the Christian has got to come to know that Christ is not against the world but for it; that Christ is active in the non-church world, in his work; and that a Christian finds Christ in his fellow worker, not in isolation by himself.

It was the experience of labor that introduced us to the predicament of the layman. The Church should be the place where the workers are equipped to deal with human problems. The Church should be the home base with the workers acting as guerillas in spying out the land. But this is certainly not the reality of the matter. The question for those who would engage in laymen's work is simple but radical: How can you shake off the encrustations of the Church and act as free men in Christ? In other words, how can the Church itself be transformed? For if the laity once begin moving as disciples in the world, it will mean a re-ordering of the churches.

Nehemiah Club

Even though we have been experimenting in laymen's work now for over four years, we still are not sure how this transformation is to be accomplished. Our efforts have centered along three lines of approach. The first one is called the Nehemiah Club. Originally this was an idea of ministers who belonged to the Industrial Evangelism Committee. The idea was to gather the Christians of all denominations for a worship service and fellowship. The first session was held in June 1962 with eighteen people attending. This method was used for the best part of a year with local pastors doing a sermon. The few workers who came finally decided that if the group were to continue like this it would be no different from any other church meeting and thus there was no real reason for continuing. The result was a decision to change the purpose and method of approach. This, we can say,

was the second stage of development. At this time, the name Nehemiah was adopted. It signifies labor, calling, and service to the nation. Non-Christians were to be included, and the purpose became study of labor and faith problems. Three areas of study were chosen: problems of laborers, problems of industry, and problems of the Bible and faith. Each month on the third Sunday the Nehemiah Club met. An hour and a half went for the study of the three areas. Each person remained in the area of his choice. An hour was given to singing and recreation and a half hour to worship. Though membership picked up considerably when this method was begun, there were basic problems that cut this approach short also. The biggest problem was that of leadership. Even though the leaders of the group were professors or teachers, they knew little of the workers' situation, and so it ended up that the three study groups did not touch on the matters the men wanted. The second problem was the lack of leadership among the men themselves. They were "followers" in the Church and had very little experience in taking the initiative. Likewise we on the staff were still too new and uninformed to be able to fill in the leadership gap.

A third stage of development can be dated from February of 1964 when Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk, who had by then completed a year and a half stint as a laborer in the Tae Sung Plywood Factory, became the leader and advisor. In preparation for another renovation of the club, Rev. Cho gathered a small number of potential leaders to consider the future course for the Nehemiah Club. The conclusions that came out of this meeting were these: 1) The needs of Christian workmen are three: an understanding of the relationship between Christ and the industrial world; the need for fellowship and solidarity among Christians; and thirdly, more information about the facts of industry. 2) In order to try and meet these needs a two-pronged approach was recommended: a) The monthly meeting was to continue with a lecture on one of the three "need-areas" mentioned above. Time would be reserved for questions and answers with the speaker, but then in the succeeding month this lecture would be used as the basis for discussion among the members themselves. The meetings would continue with the fellowship and worship periods as before. b) The second of the recommendations was that the Mission to Labor and Industry should run week-long training sessions for Christians of the various factories of Inchun. Not only were the participants to be helped in meeting the problems they face in the factory, but also their position and service to the local church was to be studied and discussed. The first of these training sessions was held for one week in June 1966. Because of work schedules, all the sessions were held in the evenings. The follow-up session was in November of that year. Twenty-five men and women were in the first course, and most of these returned for the second of the series in November, though there were some new people also. Some of the main topics included in the course were:

1. A new interpretation of Christ and society
2. Problems of an industrializing society
3. The Korean labor movement
4. The church's industrial movement
5. Lay movements inside the shop
6. Bible study--reinterpretation of creation, sin, salvation, and incarnation

Through the four years between 1962 and 1966, 180 people have joined the Nehemiah Club. Most of these are Christians; a few are not. 140 of them are factory workers, eight are from American military installations, and only two are dock workers. The remaining thirty come from a variety of small shops and other types of employment. Christians from seven denominations and forty-eight different churches are involved. The average age of the group is 34, and the average education is eleven years. In addition to the monthly meetings, members promised to observe the following disciplines: greet everyone, take initiative in helping to meet factory and neighborhood problems, associate with non-Christians, and be of service to fellow workers who are suffering hardships.

Organizationally the Club is led by seven officers with Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk as an advisor. In addition, there are fifteen factory representatives who serve as contact men for the Club in Inchun's largest industries.

The Nehemiah Club is an attempt to help the Christians break out of their isolation and lethargy and to accept their roles as fellow workers with Christ in the factory, but this is not an easy concept or faith. It requires the loosening of the bonds that the Church has forged for them, and it means commitment on a different plan of life. The implications and demands of this new plan must be learned or obeyed day by day. The Nehemiah Club's aim is to help the laymen as they live this manner of faith.

Coupling Club

The Nehemiah Club was an organization that centered mostly on fellowship and study. At times, however, action was called for. The Nehemiah group was not structured for action, nor did it develop leadership that would lead to action. Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk and other staff members came to the conclusion that a new approach was needed. It should center around men who had leadership potential. The numbers should be small, and the purpose should be direct action by the members in factory and union affairs. From the nearly 200 members of the Nehemiah Club, nine men and two women were chosen. All were high school graduates; all were dependable church members; and all, except one, were factory production workers. The one exception was a dock worker. They represented eleven different work places. Each of the

eleven was asked if he wanted to join a special study-action group that would center on the relationship of the Christian faith to factory and union situations. They all agreed enthusiastically, for they too had been looking for some new validity for their faith. A rather stringent schedule was set down. Seven of the eleven worked a swing shift, so the schedule that was finally decided on extended over twelve months. The hours and topics were as follows:

Schedule:

Once each month we all spent a night together, waking up at 5:00 for morning prayers. The schedule for these times went like this:

Saturday: 7:30 - 8:00 P.M. Opening Prayer
8:00 - 9:30 P.M. Bible Study
9:40 - 10:40 P.M. Confession
11:00 P.M. Sleep

Sunday: 5:00 A.M. Get up
5:10 - 6:00 A.M. Individual Prayer
6:00 - 6:40 A.M. Corporate Prayer
6:40 - 7:00 A.M. Break
7:00 - 8:00 A.M. Breakfast
8:00 - 9:30 A.M. Social Survey
9:30 - 10:00 A.M. Closing Prayers

Because of the men's working schedules, we could hold sessions only twice a month. The first meeting was as described above, but the second meeting of the month was held on Saturday evening only:

6:30 - 7:30 P.M. Dinner
7:30 - 7:45 P.M. Prayers
7:50 - 8:20 P.M. Social Survey
8:20 - 9:20 P.M. Bible Study
9:20 - 10:30 P.M. Confession and Prayer

The Bible studies centered on God's continuing creativity, Christ's continuing incarnation, the Church's continuing mission, and the disciples' call to action.

The phrase social survey has a special meaning. Most of the people knew very little about what went on in their own shops, and had no background on which we could base a study of social or industrial problems. Therefore, we began by giving each person a project to learn about some aspect of his own factory, industry, and union. For example, at the first meeting their assignment for the next session was to learn about the organization of their company and the steps of production in the plant. At the second meeting each one would report his findings. Rev. Cho, who

led the session, would point out problems and implications for human relations and faith. From here we would go into discussion and comparison of the findings. Other topics of research for the class were: How is your union organized? What are the benefits of a union? What are the family problems of your co-workers? What is the status of labor-management relations? What does the Church think of labor and unionism? Each of these topics was "researched" in the eleven work places and then discussed at our meetings. In this way the class members got an introduction to the structures and forces that determine their lives, and, under Rev. Cho's leadership, these objective facts were interpreted as to their meaning and influence. This was accomplished through discussion.

The phrase confession also has a special connotation here. Each individual in the class shared with us the personal problems he faced in the shops. The group then entered into a common searching for what would be the right response of a Christian in the situation. If a tentative conclusion could be reached, the individual in question would try to act according to that conclusion and report back at the next session.

Many hours were given to prayer. Much of this prayer was intercessory prayer for the workers, factories, and unions of Inchun. A large portion of time was also given over to prayer for the problems that came out in the confession period. Each session was closed by the celebration of Holy Communion.

At the completion of the training period in December of 1964, the Bishop of the Methodist Church and the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church presided at a commissioning service for these eleven people. They celebrated communion together, and were commissioned, in front of representatives and leaders of all the Inchun churches, as "factory apostles". Space does not permit a lengthy discussion on the role of laity, but we of Inchun are convinced that modern day **p**astoral work in the factories is being done by a few laymen, and these laymen should be recognized as having a legitimate ministry, sealed by an official ordination. The danger in this, of course, is that such a lay ministry may then ossify in the Church just as the clergy in so many places have done.

After the training and commissioning the eleven laymen formed their own organization through which they could operate. They called their organization the Coupling Club. The word coupling has come to be used to designate any belt or gear that joins one machine to another or two parts of a machine to each other. The symbolism is that of uniting action or reconciliation. The Coupling Club's purpose is reconciliation between worker and worker; employer and employee, and God and industry. The club's functions are three. First, there is the corporate discipline that the members took upon themselves:

1. Personal - Each day pray for one member of the Coupling Club; in prayer and scripture study search one's own heart; once a month visit the home of a fellow worker.
2. Social - Once a week pray for the renewal of the nation; cooperate with others in the neighborhood to solve the problems that arise; live an honest life in communion with neighbors.
3. Industrial workers - A Coupling member will faithfully do his work in the shop; when workers' rights are threatened, a Coupling will fight to protect them; a Coupling member will be active in his union.
4. Members - Once each month members communicate in person or by mail with one other member; in case of death or hardship in the family of a member, all will aid and visit him; as often as possible the members visit each others' homes.
5. Meetings - Each day, each member prayers for the meeting; in case of time conflict, the meeting takes priority over every other meeting except work; all problems will be studied, decided, and acted upon in common; there is a monthly meeting; a fee of 100 won is paid each meeting.

The second function of the group is to relate their calling as an "apostle" to the concrete needs and problems of their respective places of work. This entails not passive employment in the shop, but active concern for the men and the system. The members of the Coupling express their concern through taking part in union and shop matters and being involved in the problems.

Thirdly, a Coupling member is committed to action. From "taking part" in the life around him, he becomes part of the problem situation. With his fellow Coupling members, these situations are discussed and prayed about, and a direction for action is sought. If a line of action is forthcoming, the member commits himself to it. Otherwise he continues as he has been within the situation.

The schedule of the monthly meetings, most of which are on Sunday evenings, follows an order such as this:

1. Supper together
2. Prayers - 30 minutes
3. Study of Bible, theology, or industrial problem - one hour
4. Case study - one hour or more - Each member reports the main issues he has faced in the previous month. The group discusses each situation, and where necessary, makes decisions about what actions the said member should take.

5. Assigned Tasks - At times the members are assigned certain tasks or are asked to gather information on certain problems that have a relationship with the Club. Usually such assignments can be finished in a month's time.

The experiences of these eleven people throughout the last two years cannot be related in this report. Every one of them, however, has become very much involved in union and shop matters. In three cases their actions have resulted in considerable loss monetarily and have caused much worry and anguish to the "factory apostle" and his whole family. In a separate publication, we would like to share the stories by these men as they honestly have tried to work out their mission as "factory apostles". A whole theory of and approach to laymen's work has grown out of the ministry of these men.

Christian Engineers

A new social class has emerged in Korea in the last five to ten years. It is the class of technically trained university graduates. These young men now hold the technical positions in industry and within a brief period will rise to become the department heads and company executives. Within this group, there are Christians in fair numbers, but these young, highly trained men find little that meets their needs in the Church. More often they are criticized for their ideas and questions; and being educated in the ways of modern scientific method, they find it difficult to accept the pastors' authority.

Our first introduction to this group of men was in Hankook Machine Works. Here several dozen engineers are employed. Among them Christians or former Christians number about fifteen. During lunch period and at quitting time we held discussion times for these men. For some reason, perhaps our own ineptness, no amount of real enthusiasm was engendered, so after a few months this approach was discontinued. In 1966 a short seminar was held for Christian engineers in Inchun. Twenty men from all over Inchun were selected and a course that included the following was given: Christian understanding of industrial society; union-management relations; problems facing junior executives; and the purpose and approach of the Industrial-Labor Mission.

Work among these young men is still at the beginning. We are not sure about which way to proceed, but we go in faith that Christ has somewhere to lead us and something for us to do among Inchun's engineers.

E. Labor Unions

In Korea about 300,000 workers are organized in unions. In Inchun all of the big firms are organized. Nevertheless, the unions

are weak and have little authority as compared to management. In an industrializing society the key social relationship is that between employer and employee. If this relationship is based on mutual respect and balance of power, a system of justice can develop wherein the individual's rights and dignity can be exercised. This is certainly not the situation in present day Korea, but it is a situation that must be built up if modern Korea is to develop into a society where justice is done and all classes have an equality of rights and responsibilities.

Jesus of Nazareth worked as a carpenter in a small shop and spent most of his life in association with ordinary working people. He participated in labor, and labor and the laborers participated in him. The dignity of the individual and his labor comes from this mutual participation, but dignity is of no value in abstraction. It must be realized and structured into the relationship among classes. That is why the Inchun Mission to Labor and Industry emphasizes the necessity of cooperation with labor unions. Christ working in and through the unions creates the spiritual values of justice and individual dignity. In this way, he also creates new potentials for production and the economic advancement of the whole nation.

Through working inside the factories, we became acquainted with a variety of unions. Some are strictly company unions. Others are quite independent and active. The majority are somewhere in between. Our first exploratory efforts towards cooperation with unions were these:

Much to our surprise, we discovered about thirty Christians among the Inchun union officers. In an attempt to better inform ourselves and to encourage these Christian men in their tasks, in late 1965 and early 1966 a series of three meetings was held. The first session was attended by only ten people, most of whom were related to the Nehemiah Club. This was a preparatory meeting where the names of other Christian men were introduced and the agenda for the second meeting was set up. Eighteen men turned out the second time. The main topic of the meeting was "Participation of Christians in the Union Movement". The main conclusions reached were somewhat surprising since they were the conclusions of faithful churchmen. First, the Church's position has always been negative on participation in union action because it associates unionism with "worldliness" and "materialism". Secondly, the image of the Christian held both by believers and non-believers is of some one who is passive, diligent in prayer, but uninterested in problems of life except as they sometimes must be endured. But the next statement says that the Church and Christians must escape this image and their misunderstanding of unionism and become active supporters of the cause for which unions fight, that is, for the cause of defeating evil and creating justice. Christians must participate and in so doing give a new vision and hope to the working classes. These three statements were made by the

Christian labor leaders. In many instances the thinking of the layman is far in advance of the clergymen.

The final session of these Christian men centered around the contribution of Christians to the local union. There is a definite gap between many of the ethical and moral standards of the Christians and the non-Christians. How is the Christian to act when those around him are using funds dishonestly? Frequently the issues are so complicated that there does not seem to be a Christian solution. What do you do then? At times, the road to solving a problem is the same as that chosen by non-Christians, and it is not unusual to be unsure of what to do. The important thing is to have as much information as possible and to act even when the alternatives are uncertain.

There was consideration given to organizing a group of Christian labor leaders. However, since such a move might create another faction in an already very factious situation, it was decided that a formal organization should not be formed.

Labor unions are a social and economic organization of workers. They set the norms and values not only for their own members, but to some degree for society as a whole. In their relations with the company, they help determine the social system of the nation. Many of the problems are problems of human relations, human values and moral systems. At present the Church and Christianity have almost no connection with this movement. Even the few Christian laymen in the unions have very little influence that could be called Christian influence.

Yet Christ is for these people also and for their organization. How are we as his disciples to tie ourselves into this movement so as to be with Christ for them? Three possible answers have been suggested:

1. Christian workers in the Nehemiah Club and Coupling Club are encouraged and trained to participate in union activities.
2. Union officers who are Christians come together to discuss and study the problems that develop in their unions.
3. A third approach is that of the staff as it makes its visits to the plant floor. In most plants close ties have been built with the union men. The first step in this relation is usually the inquiry we make about the union and its problems. As we appear regularly and enter into conversation with them, a second stage appears. In several cases we have been asked to help some worker who is having a particularly difficult time; usually it is a health problem, but sometimes it is family or financial trouble. Much depends on how we receive these requests and how we handle them. Fortunately the local Christian hospital gives us good support in health problems. Then as we

become better acquainted, the union people come to accept us as men with whom they can talk over their problems.

For our part, we try to prepare ourselves for this level of relationship by attending university seminars and courses on labor, management and personnel problems. The areas where the Mission has been able to cooperate with unions include the following three:

1. In several cases in 1965 and 1966 our staff was involved in dispute and strike situations. Unofficially, but still as a party acceptable to both sides, the factory chaplain was able to be of assistance as the two parties worked out their differences. Strikes are not beneficial to the economy of Korea, but at times the work conditions and relations with the employer are even a greater hindrance to development. Reconciliation has as its prerequisite a mutuality of respect and structuring of relationships that permit some equality of decision-making. Reconciliation must not become the acquiescence of the weak before the strong. It is the job of the factory chaplain to be able to distinguish between the two and to act as he sees Christ building up a relationship where reconciliation can take place.

2. Korean unions are rent by factionalism. A united, strong front before the company is made almost impossible in many cases by the divisions within and between unions. In this situation we are able to be of some reconciling help. We are related to them all and as such can speak as a friendly third party. This has been a ministry that much could be written about, but again space does not permit.

3. The third area of development in relation to unions is that of labor education. Up to 1966 nothing had been actually attempted in this field, but the idea and the support for such a program were voiced and the beginning preparations were laid. The last chapter of the report will briefly sketch the several labor education programs that have developed since 1967.

IV. ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

The organization of the Mission to Labor and Industry is quite simple. The Mission Committee is appointed by the Inchun District of the Methodist Church. Four Methodist ministers, four laymen, and two staff members form the Committee. In addition when a staff member of another denomination begins to work, that denomination may send up to two representatives to the Committee. The Committee makes policy, chooses new staff members, and passes on budget and all financial matters. At a monthly meeting the Committee receives a report from the Staff and discusses problem areas and future plans.

At the end of 1966 there were three members of the team ministry. At present in 1968 there are five. Organizationally the team ministry is the functional organ of the Committee, but in fact most of the direction and policy come out of the experience and thinking of this group. The team members who are not laboring in a factory meet each morning for prayer and a short staff meeting. Once a week the whole team meets in the evening for study. After the study, each member of the team gives a report of his week's work and receives criticism and direction from the others. Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk is the leader of the team. He coordinates the program and generally supervises the new staff members.

From the beginning it has been the belief of the Mission that the finances for the ministry should come, as far as possible, from domestic sources. This has proved to be an extremely difficult policy to carry through. Money is not readily available for a project of unknown quality and purpose. As a result, many, many hours have had to be spent in visiting individuals and churches to seek their financial support for the work. There have been many times when we have been literally broke, and the staff has had to stop everything to go in search of funds. The sources of income that have developed through the years are five:

1. Supporters Club

In May of 1962 a supporters club from among the Christian men of Inchun was formed. There was a monthly meeting where a report of the work was heard, and each member paid his dues. After about a year, however, the monthly meeting was dropped, and the members continued their support on an individual basis. The average gift has been about one dollar a month.

2. Lydia Club

In August of 1966, a women's supporters club was organized on an inter-denominational basis in order to meet the expenses of a new woman member of the ministry. There are about fifty

women in the group. The average gift is approximately seventy-five cents per month.

3. Local Churches

Several churches in the Inchun-Seoul areas have put our Mission into their budgets. The amounts given run from \$2.00 to \$5.00 per month.

4. The Church Headquarters

The source of these funds is the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, but it is channeled through the headquarters of the Korean Methodist Church. These funds come to about 30-35% of our total budget. We would like to retain this approximate proportion, but as the work expands both foreign and national funds will need to be increased which will require even more time be spent in raising local funds. Total budget for the year 1964 amounted to only 377,480 won or about \$1,390.00. In 1966 this had risen to about \$3,110.00. By 1968, however, the yearly budget had nearly tripled; the biggest item is the salary of the four staff members and an office secretary. To put it another way, in 1968, from six to seven thousand dollars will have to be raised in Korea and around three thousand or more abroad. The future demands for budget are likely to rise sharply as we become more deeply involved.

In addition to barely meeting the monthly expenses, we need to save for the future. At present banks pay about 26% interest which provides a good opportunity for increasing one's capital. Each year we try to save about ten percent, but it is very slow going.

V. DIRECTIONS

A detailed report of the two years since 1966 will have to be made at a later date, but in this last section we will briefly sketch the major developments of the period and also suggest a few directions in which our team ministry is being led.

A. Developments Since 1966

1. Involvement in Labor

The most significant characteristic of our present ministry is its participation in the world of labor and unions. Because of the years of experience described above, we now are an accepted part of the labor scene of Inchun. Except for a few union men who are occupied with their own and the company's profit more than that of the workers, a relation of mutual trust and cooperation has been built up with the Inchun union leaders. Members of the team ministry have been involved in several dispute-strike situations, and in a few instances we have been asked to cooperate with the unions as they prepare for new wage and contract negotiations. This close relation allows us to move freely within the unions and also allows them to use us whenever we can be of value to them. Many are the hours spent in union office and tea room with the union men, talking and thinking together about the problems they face in their unions.

Personal ties over a long period of time is one base upon which our ministry to labor is being built. From this base have come two very exciting new areas of ministry. In 1967 and again in 1968, we have cooperated with the district union organization to sponsor a labor education seminar for local labor leaders. Most of the students are sent to the seminar by the unions. The sessions are held each evening over a period of three weeks. In 1968 we experimented rather freely with a workshop, student-participation type of approach and had a very encouraging response from the men. The first week's sessions dealt with collective bargaining, the second with union finances and administration; and the third week centered on the problems and techniques of leadership. For one of the last sessions on leadership, an illustrated paper on labor education for the local union was used as a base for discussion. From this was born the suggestion that an experimental education program be developed and tried in two of the local shops, one a nationalized industry and one a private concern. This will be the first time in Korea that anyone has attempted labor education for the rank and file workers. We are now in the midst of the first experiment.

2. Cooperation with Universities

Three Seoul universities now have special study centers that

deal with labor and management problems. With all three we have close contact and have been able to cooperate in the program and research that they do. Our ties have been especially close with Su Kong University, a Catholic school, that holds three-month seminars for union leaders from all over the nation. At these seminars, we lecture and lead discussions on the subjects of "Industrial Democracy" and "Democracy within the Union". This opportunity not only allows us to come in contact with union leaders from all areas of Korea, but also requires that we formulate in a systematic manner our ideas and intentions in regard to the labor movement. This is an area of operation which we hope to extend.

3. Mission and Church

The most exasperating and frustrating aspect of the ministry is the relation of the Mission to Labor and Industry with the Church. From the beginning, we have maintained that much of the responsibility for this ministry rests with the local church. In an attempt to help the local church relate to the industry and workers within its own neighborhood, we have experimented with a variety of things. The first was an attempt to enlist the local pastors to visit workers' families. This failed. Next we tried study sessions in which problems of the Church in Industrial Society were discussed. Only a very few attended. At present we are experimenting along new lines. Two of the industrial areas have been chosen for the experiment. In each of these areas one Presbyterian and one Methodist Church have been chosen. The pastor and two or three of the laymen in a church make up one team. The laymen in every case are workers in nearby factories. Once or twice a month, the pastors and laymen of the two areas meet to study and discuss the problems of the shop and the situation of the Christians in the shop. Once a week the pastors are to visit the factory in company with the Mission staff member assigned there. The laymen are to direct the pastor in his visits, to inform him about the shop, and to introduce him to the union officers, shop leaders, etc. In this way, we hope to develop an active local church concern for the men and women in industry. After a year or so, the pastors and laymen may become associate members of the team ministry. The initial results on this approach have not been encouraging. It is difficult for church pastors to change their habits of operation and to seriously consider a visit to a factory as a legitimate and necessary part of their ministry. Their role in the shop is unclear and at times awkward, so it is easier not to appear at the scheduled time than to seek for and to make a place for oneself in the factory. We will continue the experiment for at least a year.

4. Mission and Seminary

In the seven years of the Mission's existence, it has gone

through several kinds of relationships with the Methodist Seminary in Seoul. As early as 1962, with the help of the seminary president, one senior student was enlisted to labor in a factory for three months. In the next couple of years, there was very little, if any, tie between us. Beginning in 1964, a students-in-industry program for seminary students was held during the winter vacation in January. The program was terminated after the third session in January of 1966. The students who came did so either because they were sent or because they had nothing else to do. A lack of motivation was apparent in their work and attitudes. None of them was seriously considering a calling to this area. Nevertheless, for almost two months the team ministry was occupied full time with the student program and could do very little else. Financially also it was a very expensive undertaking to room and board six or more students for a month. After 1966, it was decided to discontinue the project.

A new approach was begun in 1967, when as a part of the seminary field work program, two or three students were appointed to the Inchun Mission for one day a week. There are pros and cons to this method also. We are in the process of evaluating it. An additional and important relation with the seminary, however, developed in 1968. Beginning with the new semester in April, a two-hour course on Church and Industrial Society was initiated at the seminary. One of our staff is in charge of the course, but Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk, Rev. Cho Wha Soon and Rev. George Ogle all participate in the teaching. Perhaps as this course progresses, a new dimension of church ministry and the local pastorate can be communicated to the younger generation of clergymen.

5. Mission and Laymen

In 1967, the Nehemiah Club was disbanded. Interest was lagging, but more fundamentally the discontinuance of the Nehemiah Club marks a redirection in our approach to the ministry of the layman. The Nehemiah group was program or activities-centered. The men attended the prepared program and then dispersed. Their participation was minimal and the results impossible to evaluate. Under the pressures of the industrial life that these men lived, it became clear that the resources and energies spent on the Nehemiah Club could better be used in developing a factory-centered laymen's movement. The change is away from a Mission prepared activity toward laymen's involvement in the actual situations of their factories and unions. To provide a vehicle for this type of action-centered movement, the Catholic JOC structure is being adapted to our use. We are only at the beginning of this ministry. There are six laymen who are working with us in this redirecting operation. The Coupling Club continues as it has been. Much of the inspiration for the reorganization of the ministry to laymen has come from the experiences of the men involved in the Coupling Club.

6. Team Ministry

Only in the last two years has a conscious attempt been made to train and equip new members into the team ministry. Prior to this, we were so busy accumulating experiences and making contacts that we gave no thought to training as such. Over a period of time, however, a style of action and a theological groundwork began to take shape. Beginning at the end of 1966 when Rev. Cho Wha Soon joined the staff, it was felt necessary to share with her the experiences and theology developed in the last six years. Since then, two laymen have also joined the ministry and are receiving the year's training in theology, workers' problems, and labor-management issues. This training takes place at our staff meetings that run for three or four hours one evening a week. Developing a team ministry with team participation is one of the hardest tasks that we have faced.

In 1967, a Presbyterian minister joined the team ministry. He was supported half by the local Presbyterian churches and half by the Mission, but unfortunately after only eight months he left to go back to college. We had hoped to build up an interdenominational ministry, but now that hope seems further removed than ever. This year (1968), however, the Catholic church has sent one young priest to work with us part time. We hope that he can become a full time staff member in the near future.

B. Future Directions

Without going into the substance of the various ministries, the shape and form of the Mission to Labor and Industry are as described above. There are, however, certain aspects of the present ministry that are creating greater demands and influencing our future more than others. As a result the future ministry may take a shape somewhat like the following.

There are three large areas that seem to be demanding a greater response and effort from us. The first of these is the labor movement. It is often said that our position should be that of reconciler, but in a given situation where there is a large imbalance of power between employer and employee, reconciliation must be preceded by growth in the strength of the weaker party. Before we can act as reconcilers, we are called upon to act in cooperation with the unions so that they can participate in negotiations with management on an equal level. In addition to cooperating with the unions through our factory chaplains and labor education programs, recently we have been considering two or three day conferences which officers and members of a union will attend. The purpose is first to give them an opportunity to think through some of the problems that they face and to help them become reconciled among themselves. Factionalism within the union is the major problem to be solved. Perhaps open and frank discussion on "neutral" grounds can help them to reach some solidarity.

The second large area for the future is likely to be involvement in labor relations. There is a need to bring practices of modern personnel management to bear in the Korean situation. We need to be able to view the labor problems from a management perspective also, but a perspective that recognizes the human factor in the production process. A little different angle with regard to personnel management is the fear and uncertainty created by the change-over from nationalized industry to private industry. The workers feel that the nationalized concern has been fair to them, but they fear that the new private employer will begin to put on the pressure in order to increase profits. Recently we cooperated in a two day session where this was the issue. Reverend Cho Sung Hyuk chaired the meetings and helped create an atmosphere where free, candid discussion took place.

The third major area is likely to be greater involvement in what is known as urban mission. The problems of labor and industry are inextricably dependent on the economic-political events of the society. To be involved in one leads eventually to involvement in the other.

All three of these areas call for an experienced and trained staff, but at present only two of our staff are qualified to specialize in these areas. It is necessary for us now to think in terms not only of Inchun, but of the Inchun-Seoul metropolis that is being created by the government planners. Therefore the team ministry must be greatly enlarged and the present staff must become increasingly involved in these three specialities. If we are to move in this direction, however, certain conditions have to be met. 1) It is not easy to recruit men of ability but the pressure is on to increase rapidly, even at the expense of quality and discipline. 2) Present senior staff members will have to relinquish much of their present operation to younger inexperienced team members. The older men must have time and resources for specialization. The younger men need the responsibility of decision-making. There will no doubt be tensions and problems created in the turnover. 3) The Mission must become more and more engaged in the industrial world, but to that extent it may find itself in tension with the Church and its leadership, which as yet has little understanding about urban-industrial ministry. 4) Laymen's work will continue to be of importance, but much more initiative must come from the laymen themselves. The demands on staff are so great that it cannot always be program maker for the laymen. We hope that the new structure for a laymen's movement will meet this need. 5) Financially we will be in real difficulty. An expansion of personnel and ministry to meet the demands of these three areas will require a tremendous increase in income. How we are to secure the sums that will be required, we cannot now even guess; but our present budget of about \$10,000 will have to be doubled or tripled within the next

few years if the leadings we now are receiving are to be obeyed.

After seven years, we now have a deeper appreciation for the Incarnation, for Jesus of Nazareth who became involved in human life and society. He preached the Good News, brought sight to the blind, release to the captives, and freedom to the oppressed. To accomplish this he fought the politicians and authorities of his day. To accomplish it he suffered and died. Through the Resurrection, however, the Incarnation is continued. The Christ lives, creates, and fights in our society so that we might all participate in his Incarnation, so that this world might become his body. Ours is the ministry of participating in Christ's Incarnation. This means serious involvement in union and labor relations and urban problems. Only in these contexts are we able to participate in the ministry of giving freedom to the oppressed and release to the captives. In the midst of rapid economic development, Korea is struggling with basic issues of human value and social structures. Within these struggles, we who call ourselves Christian must locate and discipline ourselves so that we can participate in Christ's continuing Incarnation.

ON BECOMING THE BODY OF CHRIST

by Rev. George E. Ogle

June 1971

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INTRODUCTION

Mission in the modern world is an experimental business. The radical nature of industrial-urban life has redefined the meaning and structures of human life. It must no longer be assumed by the church and Christians that the traditional categories of thought and the conventional values of life still retain any meaning to modern man. To say this is to say that the church no longer relates in a meaningful manner to the men and women of today's society. This is as true of the Christians as for the non-Christians. Such an alienation can be explained in either one of two ways: It can be claimed that modern man is evil and has degenerated to the place where he can no longer receive the word of God. This is a position that a conservative, revivalistic religion could take. Leaving off the moral judgment of evil, there are others who come to the same conclusion by claiming that man has progressed to the place where the traditional gods and rituals are no longer needed. They would say that God is dead to modern culture. But whether one is a conservative or a God-is-dead theologian, the locus for the church's disorientation and meaninglessness is society. Society no longer understands or is concerned with religion.

A second possible approach is one that claims that meaningful dialogue between church and society has become disrupted because the church itself has become degenerate. It has allowed itself to accept its rules and rituals as the only sacred sphere of life and has delegated the rest to the devil. In thus doing it has isolated

itself from the creative-redemptive power of God which is operative within man's modern society.

This book accepts the latter definition as the one which more accurately describes the present situation of Korea. Thus mission is seen on one hand as an attempt to liberate Christians from the self-inflicted bondage of churchism and on the other hand as an attempt to participate in Christ as he is discovered from within modern Korean society. The search for liberty and for mission in Christ has become centered within the dynamic areas of urban-industrial society. The pages of this book relate the story of a search. Mission is a seeking, a process of experimenting with Christ. The search never is completed, but the further one proceeds, the deeper becomes the involvement in the human issues of society. It is within the depths of struggle and confrontation for human rights and justice that we are given a glimpse of the image of Christ. The world becomes the vehicle through which we, the believers, come to see and understand the truths of the Gospel.

The content of this book is derived from the experiences of nine years of close contact and fellowship with industrial and dock workers. Almost all of the stories, the issues and the interpretations that are found here have their sources in the actual situations and human relations that exist in their industrial society. My contribution to the making of the book is merely putting it down in writing. The experiences, the hardships and the ideas belong mainly to the workers and to my fellow colleagues in mission.

Chapter I

TAKING SIDES

One of the most common charges laid against urban-industrial mission by its critics is that, "You take sides. You are not standing in the middle helping everybody and acting as a mediator. You are taking sides." This accusation, meant as a criticism and attack, we accept as a correct estimation of our position. Ours is a mission of taking sides. Our theology is one of side-taking. This posture is dictated by both the structure of our society and by the Jesus in whom we believe. This basic orientation of side-taking must be understood by the reader before we go into a substantive discussion of Christian mission. Therefore this first chapter will attempt to locate and define our position. Thereafter whether the reader agrees or disagrees, he will at least be clear as to the direction in which we are going.

side-taking (1) a social necessity

There is a school of economics that claims that a developing society cannot afford the "luxury" of labor unions. On economic grounds they claim that the resources with which developing nations have to work are so limited that the decisions as to how these resources are to be used and distributed must reside in the hands of the economic planners and the entrepreneurs. Demands of unions and workers for wage increases, bonuses, better working conditions, etc. only retard development and obstruct the creative wisdom of the economists. When, however, development has reached a certain point of

stability, unions and workers will have freer boundaries within which to operate. Until that time comes, their role is to cooperate with and follow the lead of the planners and the business men. True, for a while the workers are called upon to sacrifice, but without sacrifice there is no progress.

This particular doctrine of developing societies is held by many scholars, by government officials and is especially loved by capitalists and employers. It assumes both an innate, far-sighted wisdom among a few elite who know and control economic laws. It also assumes a form of natural progress whereby all of society automatically participates in the development of the economic sectors of society. Thus, when the magic number of years has passed, the unions and workers will be in a position to freely and naturally carry out their duties. Neither of these assumptions is exactly based on irrefutable experience. The failures, the bad judgments and corruption of the so-called elite are too universal an observation to need further refutation. Employers and planners, though possessing an absolutely necessary ingredient for progress, when left to their own designs, prove as short-sighted and corruptible as any other level of society.

The assumption that all of society develops automatically alongside industrial progress also runs counter to observable conditions. Germany under the Nazi regime is a bit extreme, but clarifies the point nicely. Economic-industrial development exceeded that of

any nation in the world at the time, yet unions were suppressed, workers were deprived of freedom and citizens were made obedient to the will of the "elite." Here there was an inverse relationship between economic and social development. Communist countries point out the same type of relationship. Countries of South America illustrate a slightly different situation. There economic and industrial development have been absorbed into a prevailing feudalistic form of social system. Therefore the benefits accrued from "modernization" are isolated from the vast majority of the nations' citizens. Other varieties on this same theme can be provided, but these few are sufficient to show the absence of any built-in system of automatic progress even when statistical indices seem to indicate that development is going on.

On the other hand, the progress toward freedom and democracy that some nations have made seems to have come as a result of the tensions and revolutions created by the demands of the citizens and workers of those nations. The years of struggle and fighting of the English workers resulted in a system that now allows them, through their own political party, to participate in their nation's government. Only the concentrated attacks of labor and socialists over long periods of time have given that nation not only a developed economy but also a society famous for its freedom and social welfare benefits. It is the tension between a free, self-expressing laboring class and a conservative, even reactionary, capitalistic class that actually forms the creative nucleus from which social as well as

industrial development becomes a possibility. This can be called the main thesis of this book. A developing nation has many tensions, but the one tension it cannot do without is that critical one created by the legitimate demands of its poor and working classes for participation in their society.

The philosophy which apparently dominates the present scene in Korea is that of the economists who want to avoid the tensions caused by the demands of workers' organizations. It is a philosophy of, "We will develop the country for you. You just listen to what we tell you." This type of philosophy is, of course, common to the ruling elite of most developing societies. But unless this elite is confronted with the counter-power of the citizens, some form of autocracy is unavoidable. In countries where this counter-force and its needed structures are weak, it becomes necessary to take the side of the poor, the workers and the common citizens to help create with them the forms and structures they need to express their own power. Herein lies the potential for progress and development for everyone. This truth is valid for all levels of society for it is the concrete tensions of the local and particular situations where participation and decision-making by the people must be begun.

Let us look at five different concrete situations. These are all events common to and basic in an industrial society. They are also the ground from which democracy and the peoples' freedom must be born. In these five cases we see not only the dominant hold of the economist's philosophy of development, but are also driven to take

sides with the workers and people in order to raise up a counterforce to that which now prevails.

(1)

The workers' right to choose the officers of their own union is, of course, a basic right of unionism, as well as being a fundamental channel through which a worker can help determine his life. Where a union has been organized, the workers in each section choose by secret ballot representatives who then meet in a general meeting to elect the union officers. At least that is the principle. In many cases we find that the company is actually the one doing the selection of officers. By a word through the department heads and foremen, the company's preference for union president is made known. Instead of a free, secret ballot, the choice goes to the foreman, or one selected by the foreman, by voice vote. Or it may be that the chosen representatives are invited into the factory manager's office to "talk over" the question as to who would be the best president for the union.

In these and a variety of other ways the company actually usurps one of the worker's basic rights. The union structure continues for outward show, but it is company controlled and dominated. This is what is called a company union. What are the results? First a basic democratic right is denied. The structure that was intended as a channel for the workers to take part in their factory life is perverted into an instrument of suppressing the worker's opinion. Second, where this basic social right is stymied, there is no means whereby

the demands and power of the industrial population can be expressed upwards into higher and wider areas of society. Therefore that which is commonly called democracy has no ground in which to grow. And thirdly, the individuals who are so manipulated can only sink into despair and frustration. They are classified as second-class citizens as the serfs were of old. Their humanity is denied and thus their potential for creativity and productivity is seriously limited.

For the sake of the individual workers one must take sides. But also for the sake of social and economic development one must take sides against the company which interferes with and dominates the union in its factory. By thus doing, it performs a disservice to the development of the nation.

(2)

Before we made the trip to Kang Won Do we met with one of the officers of the mining company. He was an elder of the Methodist Church. When he learned that the purpose of the visit was to discover something of the miners' situation and their thinking, his simple report was, "Save your time. Those people aren't concerned about God or religion. All they care about is money, sex and liquor." Despite these discouraging words we went on with the visit anyway, and found out that what the elder said just about hit the mark, but for reasons different from the ones he gave. They were completely pre-occupied and concerned with money. Sex and liquor consumed a lot of their wages, but the only available release from the spiritual and physical fatigues that work in the mines produces is large quantities of

liquor. The squalor and burdens of life destroy the family and social mores, making a breakdown in sexual standards inevitable.

The houses, if you can call the miserable shacks "houses," line the stream that flows down the mountain side. Years before, the water was probably clean, but now it is a foul grey color, and its foul grey odor penetrates the whole village. The houses, of course, are owned by someone, but not by the miners who live in them. Every eight hours the mine expells several hundred workers and absorbs an equal number, but in the course of each month a dozen or more of these workers will be injured, maimed, or killed. A hospital in the area is populated with young sturdy men who will never get out of bed again because their backbones have been broken. The numbers of injuries refuses to decline. In some sections it even seems to be increasing.

Wages, of course, increase, but only enough to keep up with inflation and the cost of living increases. Most of the wealth of the area is directed to the government and private owners in Seoul. Much of the nation's progress depends on the productivity of the miners of the area, but while the visible fruits of progress appear in Seoul and the large cities, the miners and their communities experience very little change.

In this situation one's humanity requires him to take sides. The mine owners and the governmental agencies, of course, work for the welfare of the miners, but nevertheless their primary loyalty and orientation is not toward the workers but towards the company and government plans. The situation, however, requires the partici-

pation of the workers in dealing with the life-determining issues of safety, water pollution, housing, wages, and the enforcement of labor laws. The whole area of the miners' contributions to society lies neglected and ignored because the present system has no room for such things.

(3)

Mr. Kim worked for almost ten years at the "A" company, which makes iron rods for construction purposes. He has a family of five and earns about 15,000 won per month. This is low for a man of Mr. Kim's skill. He is an electrician and operates a variety of electrical equipment. His company pays low in relation to other companies in the area. One day one of the large motors of the rolling mills broke down. It was out of operation about an hour. While Mr. Kim was in the midst of repairing it, another motor in another section also broke down causing another hour's delay. But it too was put back into operation. The foreman on the job commented that it was a wonder that the motors did not stop running altogether, they were so old. The foreman filled out his report to the plant manager. The next day Mr. Kim was called into the manager's office and told to write a statement of responsibility for yesterday's breakdown. Three such reprimands would cost him his job. There was no court of appeals. He wrote out the statement of guilt. When two weeks had passed, Mr. Kim thought the incident was over, but two months later when the company decided to raise salaries, he was among several others who did not get a raise. Again he was called into the manager's office.

He was told that the plant disciplinary committee had decided he should be punished for the motor breakdowns and his wages would be docked the amount of the increase for three months. The manager warned him that he had better in the future. Mr. Kim exploded, but the explosion was inside himself. A word of protest would have cost him his job. He accepted the manager's warning with a word of apology and then went in search of the foreman. He must have been the source of the trouble, blaming everything on Kim in order to keep his nose clean. But here too was frustration. One punch and Kim would be out of a job. Without a word to anyone he returned to his job.

One of successful industry's open secrets is that its most important single investment is in its workers. This fact is open to everyone, even to the employers and personnel managers of Korea. Most of them have probably read of it and heard it, or seen it in action in their numerous visits abroad. Yet as in the case of Mr. Kim, time and time again this basic fact of industrial life is ignored. The company unilaterally imposes a "solution." At the same time it humiliates its employees and curtails the creativity that might reside in the worker. In Mr. Kim's case, how could he thereafter be expected to work at his best? For almost a year, before he found another job and left the company, he carried within him a deep hate for the foreman, the manager and the company. Hate and fear do not create productive workers.

There are ways and means whereby the Mr. Kims of industry can be made proud of their work and contribute their best to the company.

Such structures and attitudes can be created. But it means participation by workers in the decision-making processes of their plants.

(4)

Disputes between management and labor are regulated by the Labor Union Law and the Labor Disputes Adjustment Act. The law seems to be interested in providing peaceful ways to settle difficult problems between the employer and employees. It also offers protection to the worker and union in certain cases where management might act unfairly. In the Labor Union Law, section four, a whole series of unfair labor practices are spelled out. Under this law, if the company violates the basic right of unions to independent and free action, the unions can petition for redress. The Labor Committee upon receipt of such a petition is then authorized to swiftly investigate the situation and where necessary to order the offender to desist from his illegal acts.

The law must, however, be enforced if it is to have any value. It happens not infrequently that the dispute-settling machinery does not operate. In such cases, of course, it is the workers who are petitioning for redress who suffer. Not long ago a certain company issued an order that six of its workers would be fired for breaking company regulations. It just so happened that these very six men had been the leaders in an attempt to organize a union in the company. The rules set down by the Labor Union Law were all followed, and the first steps for setting up the union had been completed. When the six leaders were dismissed from the company, they and the national

union appealed to the government authorities for redress. For a long time nothing happened and then the agency in charge let it be known that the dismissal of the six workers was not an unfair labor practice. The new union was destroyed, and six men and their families were without income. The law and legal structure that were intended to protect the workers became inoperative and thus an injustice was permitted.

How can one do anything else but take sides? Here is a basic question about the value and meaning of the law of the land. Laws and agencies intended to protect the weak become the tools for the rich and the strong, not by oppressing them, but by ignoring their rights under the law. Korean labor laws are progressive and express a concern for human dignity and welfare of all the citizens. But where in specific cases the laws are forgotten by the enforcement agencies, the people must bear the humiliation and suppression of those who hold no power in society. To take the side of the poor and workers is not only right for their protection, but also for the protection and advancement of the laws of the land.

(5)

A democratic and free society can take a variety of forms. Each nation seems to be able to create its own. But any society that would aim at being democratic must have one indispensable ingredient: The people must have the dominant say in the selection of the political leaders of their nation. Democracy does not demand an American, or French or German or even Korean type of national assembly, presi-

dency or local government agencies. Any or all of those can be altered or take on new form, and democracy can still live. But if the people of the nation do not actively choose their own political representatives for each level of society, that nation cannot be called a democracy.

Some would say that the universal right of suffrage is the guarantee of the people's participation in politics. The right to vote is an extremely important matter, but yet unless it is coupled with an even more basic right, its efficacy and value is sorely limited. This is the right to actually choose the candidates themselves. The right to vote is usually limited to a right to cast a vote for one or two or more persons who have already been selected by a few professional politicians. In some cases where one political party completely dominates all others, the right of the citizens to vote is reduced to merely rubberstamping what the politicians have already decided. Probably the best example of such a situation is Chicago in the United States. There the Republican Party barely exists. The Democrats control everything. And each election time the citizens troop to the polls to vote for the candidates that the Democratic Party tells them to vote for. From the outside the system looks democratic, but in fact it is autocratic.

As a society becomes industrialized, its laboring and urban populations expand. In time these classes of ordinary citizens will gain a majority of the population. Even now in some of the cities of Korea, the laboring people command a majority of their cities' votes.

Yet those workers remain practically bereft of political power. The law forbids their unions to enter into politics, and the political parties ignore them until after they have chosen the few candidates that they want the people to accept. Thus the very citizens who represent the majority political power of the cities are reduced to impotency. The nation's political leaders are actually chosen by a few men who control the party machinery.

Here again for the sake of one's nation, for the sake of one's people, sides must be taken. Freedom and democracy are not parcelled out by politicians or by national assemblies or by presidents. They are won everyday and every year as the people constantly seek new ways and new structures to participate in and help determine the political policies and laws under which they live. This is possible only as they can choose their own leaders both locally and nationally.

Given the historical stage of development at which the nation now is, and given the high aspirations of the people for democracy and progress, it is incumbent upon Christians as citizens and upon the church as an institution of this society to take sides. The five illustrations above are given not as an attack upon society or a criticism of government, but as a characterization of some of the most demanding problems of our developing society. Along with figures that indicate economic development, there must be actual experience of individual citizens having a say in their factory, of operating without interference from their own unions, and of seeing that the

laws of the land are enforced for their perfection. And the experience basic to all is that of actually exercising a voice in the selection of political leaders. It is to find the courage and the structures through which these experiences can be realized that Christians are called upon to take sides with the people.

side-taking (2) a theological necessity

As citizens of Korea involved in the nation's development, Christians are called to take the side of the poor and the workers. As those who are under Christ's call and as those who seek to participate in his life, we also are called upon to take sides.

"From the point of view of the laborer your position that the church has to be on the side of the worker, and labor in the shop with him may be right, but from the point of view of management, it is wrong. Everyone has his own point of view. Your way is not the only one. You do it your way. Others do it their way. Why do you have to feel yours is the only way? After all we all have the same purpose of preaching the Gospel." These words directed to me, but intended for our team's whole approach, were said not in fraternal love, but in frustrated anger over our one-sidedness. We contend that a missionary, or a church, cannot be in the pay of a company and still with any integrity address himself or his service to the workers. Where a man's salary comes from, even a clergyman, there will his heart be, and others will see him first and foremost as a representative of the place that pays him. It was in rather hot debate over

the involvement and posture of staff that the above words were thrown at me. Actually these words of my opponent raises two of the major issues confronting urban-industrial mission. The first issue is this: Is everyone equally right in whatever posture he takes? Second: Is "proaching the Gospel" the one great common purpose that levels everything else to mere problems of method?

These two problems are questions of theological orientation. The answers which are given in effect define both the content of the message and the manner by which that message is expressed. In effect the first question is this: Is there any standard by which industrial missionaries should decide their posture or position in society? We were claiming that one should stand declared on the side of the poor and the workers. Our opponents in the debate say it is all right to be on that side, or on the company's side, or even in the middle. Everyone has his different way of going about it. Right at the beginning, however, it must be understood that this question is not a matter of individual inclinations or techniques. It is a question of Christology.

The Jesus we see in the Gospels was a poor man, born of poor parents. He probably worked as a carpenter. He knew fishing and farming. As a member of the lower classes he lived his whole life in their fellowship. Because of his potential as an agitator of the masses, and even as a revolutionist, the high and mighty of his day, the politicians and the rich, found him to be a threat and killed him.

Throughout the whole of his life he lived as a common man of the lower class, and though he had associations with the rich and the rulers, there is no record that he ever tried to become anything other than an ordinary common man. This Jesus is the standard we look to. He clearly defines our social position and posture. Indeed, it can be said that the incarnation of God took place on this common everyday level of society, and that the incarnation is even in our own day fulfilling and realizing itself amongst the poor and the suffering of our world. Therefore our posture must be in solidarity with Christ's incarnation taking place even today on the docks and in the workshops of Korea. None of our staff is poor as Jesus was poor, but we take as one of our disciplines to become a worker, to live and be among and with them. This is an entirely different attitude from someone who would attempt to serve or preach to the worker or to the poor as though they were the "unfortunates" of society. Jesus' life is clear on this score. He did not move about on earth as a philanthropist or a high-positioned person trying to gather merit by serving the poor. He was poor.

Recent history teaches us a similar lesson. The scourge of the church has been two concepts: "class consciousness" and "religion is the opiate of the people." When religion plays at being Christian by serving or preaching to the poor while at the same time maintaining its high and lofty security among the rich and employers of society, it becomes a deception to the people. But this deception does not go undiscovered, and the common class mentality of people sees through

it and rejects it. Korean workers have a sharp sense of class position. A clergyman in the employ of the company may have all the sincerity and good intentions of a saint, but he is soon first and last as the representative of the company. He is a company man trying to use religion for the company's benefit. The rather sophisticated mental manipulations that allow the more highly educated to build up images of religion as something good for the workers become nonsense when confronted with the mundane question of "who pays the guy?" One can not serve two masters. A decision must be made. It is impossible in the tense, sensitive relations between Korean employers and employees to stand on the employer's side and try to preach Christ to the workers. Both scripture and history teach us that there is indeed an acceptable posture: the posture of participating in the incarnation through standing with the workers, the poor, the common men of society.

It would not, however, be correct to conclude that Christ is only for the poor and not the rich, only for the laborer and not the manager. Jesus was also for the Pharisees, the rich and the powerful of his day. He did not hate them nor ignore them. Neither did he join them. He was from birth and intent one of the common poor. His truth and gospel was as true for the rich as it was for the poor. Because Jesus lived and died as one of society's rejects, he has brought hope and salvation to millions of his fellowmen. Because Jesus lived and spoke not only in love but also in conflict with the powerful, they participated in Christ's hope and they came under a more severe standard of judgment. It is for their salvation that

Christ directs his sharpest words and even condemnations against them. The presence of the Christ among the poor gives the strong a necessary witness to humility and humanity. It is Christ's barbs that guide the powerful into understanding the necessity to establish justice, for justice is as necessary for the salvation of the rich as it is for the salvation of the poor. In our day Christ is on the same side, working for the redemption of the rich.

It is frequently stated that we in the Mission to Labor and Industry are one-sided and narrow. We should, it is said, give more cooperation to the owners and management. But such arguments completely misinterpret our posture. We are not anti-management. In Christ you are not anti-anyone. You are pro-everyone. But in order to be for the managers, we must, as it were, stand against them as regards to their inordinate power vis-a-vis the employee. In order to check and even clarify the issues of human and corporate sin, it is necessary that the witness of Christ among his poor brethren be given. It is a posture of "being against" for the purpose of redemption. Our relationships with management has been and remains on a very good basis. More than once we have stood with unions in disputes with their companies. This does not make us enemies. Because our relationships are channeled through the unions and workers there is the potential for some creativity of response and direction. There are times and issues over which we may be in hot contention with a company, but it is as much for them as for the worker.

One great field that sorely needs to be met is a mission to

and among employers and managers. They too endure much suffering and face a formidable battery of perplexing problems. Both as individuals and as corporate leaders they too could use Christ's hope and vision. Nevertheless one who would be involved in such a mission would not be in the posture of just another member of the same class. His would be the posture of the man Jesus, and in matters of human relations the missioner would represent the poor, not the rich.

It is said that everyone has his own way of going at things. Therefore those involved in industrial mission should recognize any approach as legitimate. Such statements ignore the historical and social Jesus. They attempt to make Jesus into some general principle of love and peace that makes him easy for everyone. But Christ is not a principle. He is a poor man. To use his name in preaching to the poor while standing in the class of the rich is indeed a grotesque manipulation.

Having answered the first question as I have, the answer to the second question as to whether "the preaching of the Gospel" is the one, all-inclusive common purpose, is obviously, "No." Is everyone who is engaged in what is called urban-industrial mission joined together in one great fraternity of preaching the gospel? Obviously not. The meaning and intent of that phrase, "preaching the gospel" will vary according to theological and sociological orientation of the missioners. For many, "preaching the gospel" can be defined as serving the poor and building up the church. The former is

philanthropy and the latter an exercise in adding and subtracting numbers. The assumption is that though the church may be a little short of technique and method, it is still basically sound and holy. It is also assumed that the church contains Christ and His message. The only problem lies in getting that message to the world so that they will accept our church and our Christ. The preached gospel therefore maintains the institutional church and its members as the containers of Christ's redemption. Individually and corporately the world of industry and men finds the answer to their problems by joining in with the churchmen. Some men of this persuasion are active in "going out to the world," believing that by changing technique the gulf between the church and men can be overcome. Whether one "goes out" or "stays in" is, of course, not the issue. The issue is: where do you locate Christ and the Church? The Christ we see in scripture lives and dies among the weak of society as one of them. The church, in as far as it is his body, participates in this same life. A denomination or local organization of Christians are not by some mysterious automated process transformed into Christ's body. To the extent that the organization called "Methodist" or "Presbyterian" actually participates in the world and in the sufferings of society's poor can it be said to be acting as Christ's body. The organizations called by the various denominational names have no inherent, immutable right to identify themselves as Christ's body. Much of the reality and force of Christ's life and teachings has been reduced to formalities and formulas. There is nothing inevitably blessed in reciting prayers or

performing the same ritual week after week. And there is nothing eternally blessed about the repetition of phrases, or of acts of charity. The Gospel and the Christ must be rediscovered in each age and generation. For us today when the ages are merged into one rapid process of change, it means perpetual pilgrimage. The plight of Christianity is that it still clings to its "Christ" of fifty years ago, and has not yet heard of the Christ of today. It has become static whereas Christ is constantly in motion. "Preaching the gospel" becomes an expression in frustration and frequently a slightly anachronistic expression of class interest.

"Preaching of the gospel," moreover, should in the first place not be preaching at all. It is discovery, experimentation, and involvement. The Gospel may not change, but the reality and vitality of it is revealed over and over again in the world where Christ lives and suffers. The main concern of those who would "preach the gospel" is to discover and participate in Christ. It is in this participating search that the concepts of social justice and individual salvation begin to take on meaning and urgency. It is among the out-manned and over-powered peoples of the poor and working classes that the search is carried on, but carried on not as an academic research project but in solidarity with them as they seek to achieve a greater level of respect for themselves. The search for Christ takes place within a labor dispute where the workers attempt to express their own humanity through participating in the decisions that determine their lives. It takes place in a movement to bring some degree of political rights

to a nation's populace. In a word, it is within the search for justice, and the efforts to establish it in society that Christ is found. "Proaching the Gospel" by an isolated church or by a company-paid chaplain is really void of content, because it is not willing to involve itself in the issues of social justice wherein Christ is acting.

The same conclusion is drawn as regards to individual salvation. There are forces that would tend to ignore or even deny the individual's experience of salvation, but on the other hand there is nothing in so-called modern society or modern man which absolutely eliminates a man from having a personal experience of relationship with Christ. Modern man can and does meet Christ in his everyday life. But the experience tends to be channeled not through an inside-the-church revival experience, but through an in-the-world experience of seeking what is true and just in terms of concrete life. The Christian message is not "repent and come to church," but rather "face up to yourself, take your responsible and creative role in your shop, your union, your community." It is within the tension and conflict of so participating that Christ and his meaning will be found. At the same time that the officers of a certain union were negotiating with the company for a wage increase, they were taking money from the company and spending it on wine and women. The results would have been inevitable, except for the word spoken by an industrial mission staff member. The message was simple. "How easily you sell your comrades! You are not fit to lead a union, let alone negotiate wages for the men in the shop. Who will ever trust you?" And the message

was effective. But it could be used as a means of grace only because the speaker had worked hard, long years along with them in all kinds of problems and situations.

This is the difference! Christ is interpreted and witnessed from within the concrete events of life. There is no easy outside method. Even the word "Christ" takes form and meaning as it is used within to designate the power and victory of suffering for the right. Christ is seen and recognized as the one who calls for personal confession of wrongs committed on others for the sake of one's own good. And he is known as hope and vision that can renew a man's life. But it must frankly be said that not many become interested in going to church. The big obstacle is the church itself, not the men, nor Christ. The church is too far disoriented from the creative forces of society. Its words, its services, its structures are too disconnected from men. Despite the incarnation, the denominations maintain their isolated state and thereby become an almost insignificant channel for man's redemption.

Is "preaching the Gospel" the all embracing, uniting factor of those of us who call ourselves Christians? Obviously not. The very interpretation of the term varies according to how and where you locate Christ. If you can reduce him to some kind of a principle of sweetness and goodwill, then anything goes. If, however, you see him as a man, as the poor man of common origin through whom God's incarnation entered history then you are committed to stand on that side with him.

GRACE THROUGH IMMERSION

In chapter one, the directions and orientation of mission were set. From here on we will go into specific experiments in mission as men and women seek a new understanding and vision of Christ in our modern world. This chapter deals with one of the most basic of experiments: the experiment that takes a clergyman out of his church pulpit and into a factory production line. It is an experiment in mission that would make a daily laborer out of a preacher. The initial work in this type of mission was pioneered by the worker-priests of France.

During the Second World War, in order to increase production for its war efforts, Germany forced French workers to go to Germany to labor in their munitions factories. Among the French workers a few Catholic priests hid themselves. They went as workers, not as priests. In an heroic mood the priests thought that they could continue administering the sacraments and carry out their pastoral duties while at the same time working in the shops. The Germans discovered one or two of them, and they were executed. But more than German persecution, the attitude of the French workers themselves defeated the priests' intentions. For the first time in their lives the priests came to realize that French workers held little or no respect for either the church or the priests. They were considered as class enemies and oppressors of the workers.

After the war, the priests who had gone through this war experience decided upon their return to France not to return to the

pastorate but to take on themselves the discipline of factory labor as their style of mission. They became known as worker-priests. Within six or seven years an order of eighty-five priests was established. All of them worked in factories around Paris. They worked at the same jobs as any other employee. Many of them became involved in union activities, which at this time were very explosive. Communists controlled the allegiance of the majority of the workers. And in the battle between the workers and capitalists of France the Communist Party frequently took the lead. Demonstrations and strikes were common. The priests, while not being communists themselves, judged that the communist unions were the most effective protectors of the workers' rights. So on several occasions the worker-priests ended up cooperating with and fighting alongside the communists both in strike situations and in anti-government demonstrations.

In 1953 the Pope banned the order of worker-priests. Apparently two factors were determinative: first, it was considered that the worker-priests were too lax in their communal life with other priests and too apt to disagree with and disobey the orders of their superiors. They were in danger of violating their holy stations. From the worker-priests' point of view it was their holy calling which required them to go into the factories. Christ was seen a poor man and a worker. His incarnation was taking place within the society of the poor and therefore those who were called to be priests should also be among the world's poor and oppressed. Secondly, political pressure apparently was put on the Pope. The capitalists and

the political leaders whom the worker-priests were opposing had considerable influence in church circles. These circles raised up a cry for the dissolution of the order.

Thus, social and ecclesiastical forces combined to defeat the worker-priest movement. The conventional church, its system and its support for reactionary society were preserved. But the challenge and creativity of Christ were once more avoided.

The worker-priest experience has much to say to the church in Korea. First we who have for so long a time defined our calling in terms of church and its operations must come to grips with the priests' claim that Christ and his calling are discovered in the ordinary world of man's labor and strivings. Holiness is not hid behind church walls, but is created in the market place. Second, there must no longer be a compartmentalization of religion from the rest of life. As the priests demonstrated, economic and political life are religious matters, and religion is inextricably involved in the market place of life. Within the dimensions of society and its crises are the clues for man's salvation and meaning discovered. Religious vocabulary and even religious acts may not carry religious meaning at all. For modern man the religious cannot be separate. The religious experience and meaning have become integrated into his social, economic and political life. Thirdly, a just and democratic society is created only through conflict and tensions. The French workers battled for their rights and for freedom in their society. The Korean society is encrusted with centuries of aristocratic authori-

tarianism. If this pattern is ever to be broken and a free, democratic society constructed, those who call on the name of Christ must join with the workers and poor of the society to give battle with the inherited structures and habits. The alternative is despotism.

The influence of the worker-priest has been great, but in the under-developed nations there has not yet grown up a generation of Christians with the radical concern and physical courage to attempt the experiment in their own countries. In the experiments carried out in the Inchun Mission all staff members are required to do at least one year of hard labor in a factory. One year is not nearly enough, but frankly the work is so hard our staff members have not been able to persevere more than that period of time. Inadequate though it is, this experience at labor has become the basis for all the succeeding experiments that have been attempted. Without the grounding experience of labor, very little of significance could be accomplished.

The most important purpose of the laboring experience is to convert the new missionary away from pre-occupation with his own importance. An ordained man especially is wrapped up in himself to an unhealthy degree. He sees himself as the bearer of Christ, indeed, as the sign of the incarnation. "Even as Christ came into the world of sinners, so I go into the world of industry," is the initial attitude. So once he gets in there he, being Christ, as it were, must be the guide and light to others. He has to work harder than anyone. He must have answers. He must speak the truth to the poor benighted

working class. One young man of this particular persuasion worked two months before he sprained his back trying to outwork his comrades. In such a brief time the self-appointed "incarnate one" was washed up. With each of the new staff the experience has been the same. The first three or four months are spent in physical fatigue and spiritual anguish as to "how can I be an example to these guys? How can I witness or lead these men to Christ?" After this initial phase one of three things happens: they quit work, or they quit thinking or they become converted. This latter, of course, is the whole intent of the work experience. The conversion is basically this: we are not the incarnate one, but rather He is to be found in and among the workers and management of industry. We are not the channels of Grace, but rather those who receive Grace. The missionary in the first place is not the preacher of the gospel, but the one to whom the Gospel is preached by his comrades in the shop. In other words Christ is located not in me but in the common day laborer and his work place. This is a radical conversion, for it gives God, His church and salvation an identity quite different from that which has always been familiar to him. Yet if this conversion experience does not take place, it is questionable whether the new staff member can be of any value to labor industrial mission.

The second purpose behind hard physical labor is involvement in the personal, human relations of industrial men. The church society tends to be genteel with strong influence coming from the women. One pastor confessed that in a week's time he spent no more than

three or four hours with men. All his other hours were spent in the company of women. Partly it is because of the aura that has grown up that the church and preacher are holy and thus are never to be involved in the world's passions, and partly it is due to the feminine influence, but Christians and their clergymen have adapted a posture of detachment as regards to the world's problems. Conflict situations are to be avoided or smoothed over as easily as possible. The result is a clergy and laity divorced and hid away from the real life of the people. The lives of the Christians and non-Christians are formed and determined by forces that are deprived of Christian influence, because the Christians feel they have to stay clear of such entanglements. Men who would be missionaries in a modern urban-industrial society need just the opposite qualifications. They need to feel at home in tense, conflict situations, for it seems that only within tension and struggle can justice and human dignity be created. Thus a missionary is required to work at hard labor. Within the context of the primary group relationships between workers, between workers and employers, workers and community, and between workers and government, can the missionary begin to get a clue as to what is going on in his society. Concurrently he comes to understand the channels within which he must operate and through which he must receive the leadings of Christ. It is true that urban-industrial society is an organized, structured society, but it consists also of persons who live within these structures and who manipulate them. One must know the organization side, but at the same time he must be keenly aware of the

crucial importance of human relationships. The missionary is in the shop to discover and, to the degree possible, become involved in human relations with the workers at work and play, in the shop and in their homes. Often these are extremely tense human relations where conflict is sharp. The missionary through direct experience has the opportunity of learning how to handle himself and function in the midst of strain and struggle.

The third purpose behind the missionary's required labor is so that he can get an inside picture of the workers' side of labor-management relations. In a rapidly developing economy, labor-management relations are important not only because of the economic implications, but also because of the social dimensions. To some degree labor-management relations both reflect and create a wider social context of class relationships, the relationship of the haves and have-nots, the rich and poor, the elite and the common man. Furthermore, this vital relationship between the worker and his employer is almost always seen from the viewpoint of the company or of the government policy or of the five-year economic plan, and seldom considered from the side of the workers themselves. The intent of our mission is to understand the worker's posture and to cooperate with him in increasing his influence in this relationship. Direct, continuing labor is the most accurate and perhaps the only way by which this can be done.

One year at factory labor is probably too brief a time. For men oriented around the institutional church and "genteel" life, as most clergy are, in one year the total conversion of outlook that is

required can hardly be accomplished. Even after a year, the staff missionary may still be basically church-oriented both in thought and program. Actually the seriousness of the situation requires a radical priest-worker movement, but neither our society nor church are producing wayout radicals. Even the rather innocuous requirement of a year's labor is frequently opposed as a waste of time. In the following cases the missionaries write of their experience at work in the shop. The earlier men seemed to grapple more with the question of Church and workers. There is a considerable amount of ordinary church thought and program. In the last two cases the missionaries seem to center more on shop organization and human relations than did the first couple of men. It has been the experiences of these people that provided the posturo from which we can now verbalize our objectives for the discipline of labor.

Missioner 1

I have now been in the mill for six years. From this experience I have come to see the church in a new light. The intent of this paper is to discuss the relation of the church with industrial workers and suggest some possible new directions for the church.

I. Church and Worker

The first statement to be made is an obvious truism: there is a tremendous gap between the church and industrial workers. The church goes about its business and the worker does the same. The two seem seldom to overlap. As industrialization accelerates, the working class increases, but the church evidences no special interest in them nor in the whole crucial area of industry. Correspondingly, of course, the workers find little to interest them in the church. Indeed, the image and influence of the church may be quite negative. Factional fights in the church, corruption among church leaders, revival meetings that go insane, and black-suited pastors, Bible in hand, followed by a train of women, create the picture of the church for many workers. It is far from an enviable image. This is extremely unfortunate, for now is the time that the church should be ministering to the workers who are suffering indignities and injustices. The responsibility for this negative influence cannot be passed off as a sign of the workers' sin and degradation. They, of course, make little effort to find out about the church, but that is to be expected. The responsibility for this situation must rest mainly on the church it-

self. The church's failure centers around four areas:

A. Traditional Evangelism

Factory life is not traditional society. Every five days the workers have to change their hours of work, their hours of sleep and pattern of family life. In the shop they are submerged in an environment of machines, of unremitting tensions, insecurity, and physical dangers. By contrast the church is a society that meets one day in seven in a reverent and quiet atmosphere. Despite this great divergence of nature, the church's only approach has been to get people to attend church. Of ten men in our section who have had some relationship with the church, only one of them continues to attend. The reasons given for dropping out are lack of time and moaning. The one man who continues to go to church used to be, before his conversion, a noisy, hard-drinking man who got along with everyone. Now he has changed completely. He has become a sober, isolated, self-righteous man who gets along with no one. The church in its narrow, ascetic manner creates narrow isolated individuals. These churchmen in their turn create an image of Christianity that is not in the least appealing to an outsider.

B. Smoking and Drinking

The church's prohibition against drinking is a particularly clear example of the contradictions between the church and worker. Smoking and drinking are an integral part of every facet of the worker's life. In times of joy or sorrow, wine is the central ritual. When one is tired or when one is meeting with friends, it is wine

that sets the stage for relaxation and fun. One's virility is measured by the amount he is able to consume. Wine also can be the instrument of reconciliation. One of the men in our gang got into a fight with a fellow from another section, and beat him rather severely. The injured man was going to sue. This could bring considerable hardship to both of the men, but the plaintiff had been humiliated and would have revenge. The foreman of his group came to talk it over with me. I was the foreman of the defendant's gang. At his suggestion I invited the two men to have a drink with me. When they first saw each other, they were ready to go at it again, but we prevailed on them to sit down. After a few drinks and a bit of persuasion, they both confessed they had been wrong in the situation. We shook hands all around. The two men were reconciled. Wine, of course, can be a source of trouble and corruption, but it can also be the means of grace. The church, however, refuses to recognize it as anything but evil, and thus demands complete abstinence.

C. Legalism

The men in the shop have a great misunderstanding about faith. It is equated with church-going. Many are the ex-churchmen who have dropped out of the church because of this confusion. Sunday church attendance is so engrained as the fact of faith, that to miss a Sunday is a cause of guilt. A factory worker finds that he must be on the job about two Sundays a month. This for a Christian creates an intolerable guilt complex. He feels he is betraying his faith. Many feel that the only way to honestly solve the dilemma is

to drop out of church. "Since I can't go to church, it's more honest just not to believe in Jesus," is a remark made frequently.

A second confusion identifies faith as refraining from wine and liquor. Here too, unless the worker completely withdraws from the factory and his fellow workers, he cannot avoid situations where taking a drink is required. In many cases, of course, the pressures are for "just one more." To refuse in some cases such as weddings or funerals is a grave discourtesy, and in all cases it shuts the churchman out from the communion of his brethren. Not to drink brings guilt. Often this guilt is also escaped by the simple expedient of not going to church.

A third form of confusion is that which equates faith and detachment from worldly problems. "The world is going to hell, but if I retain my purity, I can be saved," is the attitude of many church people. It is, of course, a negative and destructive attitude. In talking with five Christian men one evening, four of them agreed that there was no need to preach the gospel in the factory. The men and the factory were so evil that preaching would be of no avail. Only the last days can take care of things. This kind of thinking merely isolates the churchmen and gives a misleading picture of what Christian faith is about.

On the other hand one cannot deny the existence of a degrading corruption. There is almost one hundred percent agreement that one should take all he can get regardless of the means. Bribery or embezzlement, or kickbacks are well understood and even approved. The

whole pull of society seems to be toward dishonesty and graft. I have felt this potential for corruption in my heart. There are, of course, those who maintain an integrity, but their environment is always for expediency and self-seeking. Against this environment most men just have no defense.

Part of the responsibility for this condition must rest on the shoulders of the church. In its legalistic, narrow asceticism it has contented itself with criticizing and condemning society, but has not lifted a finger to be of assistance. During the first year I was in the factory I tried all the churchly methods of witness. I led people to church. I helped organize a Christian Workers' Fellowship and carried on group activities. But these all left a bitter taste in my mouth. The church, and we "Christians" are too satisfied with our self-imputed righteousness and salvation to even be aware of our bankruptcy. We are always pre-occupied with "methods" of getting people into the church, and we pay no attention to the dark emptiness that the church has become. Where can we go? What is demanded of us? Let me share a couple of ideas with you.

A. Repentance

If we are to escape the inertia that is now immobilizing us, we must deeply sense the need for repentance. We deceive ourselves into thinking that we are the selected few called by God and thus are self-sufficient, leaving the world at its own sin and destruction. As long as we do not see this attitude as our sin and begin to bear our responsibility, then all is lost, nothing can be done. Many are

those who have become discouraged and cast down because of the church and Christians. There should be hope and truth, but instead there is negation and questionable moral demands. How great is our need for repentance! The sweat and tears I shed as a daily laborer, I interpret as part of the price of my repentance. I have seen too many men disillusioned by Christians. At times I feel that it would be better if there were no church. Our attitude must be of those who urgently seek release from sin. There can be no witness without radical repentance.

B. Faith is Life

Much of what is at present called the life of faith is a combination of legalism and Shamanistic revivalism. As I have come to see things, however, faith must have its center and its roots in life. The church must opt for life, not death. The will and power of a witness must proceed from the power of life. The church's stand on liquor and the Sabbath must have a harmony with the flow of life. Life lived honestly and faithfully is faith. Traditional faith attempts to force life into the mold of the church. It demands that life be lived by the "law." And it claims abstinence and asceticism as life's chief virtues. But this is a violation of faith. One's faith is not to be judged as to its level or degree by such questions as, "Do you keep certain rules?" or, "Do you participate in the church's program?" The only standard is how honestly and faithfully you live in relation to your fellow man. Many a man in attempting to maintain some inte-

grity to life has come close to the Kingdom of God. The church cannot claim these, however, because it is preaching a different gospel. A Christian faith rooted in and nurturing life would find sympathy and support from many of its present critics. Life is Faith. Living a trustworthy life is the witness to faith. One of the most important things that I have learned is that I as a Christian have no influence to exert or exhortation to make to my fellow workers. My first call is to become trusted, to live in a way that my brothers can believe in me and I in them. Is this not the substance of the gospel? Here is the call to life-time commitment.

Missionor 2

The factory where I worked employs about 1,200 workers. A variety of wood products are produced, but plywood is by far the most important. Logs are imported from the Philippines and about \$30,000,000 worth of finished product is exported to the United States and Europe. For the last year and a half I worked as an unskilled laborer helping to turn out plywood. The logs were floated to the wharf when the tide was high. A crane set them up onto the land. From there we carried them to the cutting machines. When the wood had been cut, we then took it over to the drier. We also answered calls all over the shop when some special kind of heavy labor was involved. I was transferred after a year to the inspection department. Before a piece of plywood leaves the factory it is inspected for defects by a battery of young girls. Our job was to carry the wood to the storage area where it was stacked in large piles.

I joined the Mission to Labor and Industry without having had any special preparation for it, but perhaps that is as it should be. Theology and training must come from experience. For the first six months it was all I could do just to keep up with the other men at work. During this time, through direct experience and aching muscles I discovered a lot about the problems of the factory and the lives of my fellow workers. After six months, however, I began to search for more of a Christian ministry.

The Christians in the shop were a rather retiring group. They do not mix well with the other workers, and it is very rare that they

take the lead in any of the problems or activities of the shop. They tend to stick to themselves. This role of isolation witnesses to the urgent need for renewal among the laity. In an attempt to stimulate the Christians toward greater involvement, I initiated over a period of a year several types of work.

The first step was to organize the Christian laymen into a Workers' Fellowship. The first meeting was held on November 28, 1962. There were about sixty Christian men in the shop. At the beginning we averaged twenty members in attendance. Discussion of common problems followed by a cup of tea and free talking was to be the program. The first few times we met in our homes, but later switched to a church. There did develop, I believe, some understanding about a Christian's responsibility in taking part in the factory life, but a counter influence was also felt. The meetings seemed to drift into a sermon-prayer routine, and the more fundamentalist brethren maintained that our only responsibility was to preach the gospel and set an example. There was a slight move towards Christians visiting each other at home. Gradually, however, the meetings began to drop away. The initial enthusiasm began to fade. After a few months only a few men retained any interest, and the meetings were discontinued.

In a second attempt to get the Christians thinking, I began to write a short article about some topic or issue that was current in the factory. Each Saturday I gave it to the men and had them pass it on to others. I am not sure of the value of this approach, but I continued it up until I left the company.

The Christian Churches do not understand the working classes. Neither do they know how to meet their needs and demands. Present day society is not centered around religion and therefore church attendance time must play second place to work time. Even if one wants to go to church, it is not easy to make the times fit, and those who do manage to go frequently are disappointed with what they find. In order to help fill the gap we experimented with a house church. One of the men who lived near the factory agreed to use his house for the meetings. Later on, two other homes were volunteered and we rotated the meeting place. The intent was to mainly concentrate on those men who had a hard time fitting into the church's worship schedule. We hoped to interest the church dropouts and others who showed an interest in Christianity. The meetings were set according to the workers' shift. They were one hour in length and centered on worship and discussion of mutual problems. Like the other meetings the house church worked for a while and then gradually burned out.

Most of my fellow workers are, of course, non-Christians. At first I thought it was my duty to try to witness to everyone I worked with. The response was not only cold, I soon sensed that I was shuttled off into the isolated Christian category. There was no real human relationship developing between us. I changed my way of operation. "Work together from the same point of view. Participate in the worker's life." As I began to defrost, the relationships with the other workers warmed up. After work I began to hang around with them and even to drop into their homes. There is no free time for

talking over things in one shop. It is at home where the insecurity and even despair of the worker is discovered. The worry and suffering over children and keeping life together stifles any daily joy or happiness that may come. Three of my buddies were actually contemplating suicide.

One conclusion I have come to is that unless there is effective labor organization, improved working conditions or increased production cannot be expected. It might even be said that unless there is a viable labor union, a Mission to Labor and Industry like ours can hope to accomplish very little. The individual workers are too easily manipulated and in themselves are too insecure to do anything. Only a corporate approach had any possibility. If our Mission, or any other organization, hopes to aid in the establishment of justice and human dignity in an industrial society, it will of necessity have to work through and in cooperation with the workers' own organization. Otherwise all that could be created would be a type of outside paternalism.

Problems and Directions for Industrial Mission

From my experience as a daily laborer who worked under the same conditions as other workers, several problem areas forced themselves on my attention. Perhaps it is in confrontation with these areas that labor-industrial mission will find its directions.

1. Industrial society has as its main goal the increase of production and profits. The worker is a tool of production used by the employer. From a Christian point of view this relationship be-

comes a throat to the human spirit. The worker's humanity and religious nature are ignored. It is the employer's concept of the worker as a tool among tools that reduces him to the level of a machine. From the Christian perspective man's primary care is his human spirit. To industry the central factor is human labor as used by capital. In the tension between these two, the problems of preaching the gospel become extremely complicated. The demand is put upon us as the church is for a fundamental reforming of our mental, financial and organizational structures. It also calls for a new kind of dedication whereby we seek to learn and fulfill God's will as it is revealing itself within industrial society. Perhaps the opposing goals of industry and humanity may have a harmony in Christ.

2. As the employer seeks to maximize his profits, the employee seeks to maximize his wages. Values such as personal development or individual ethics do not receive any priority in this struggle. The standards that operate in the shop are who is the stronger? What are the needed skills? Who has the higher wage? What are the work rules?, etc. Within the character of this society the internal authority or discipline of religion finds no great demand. Rather than making religious values authentic, the factory life seems to rob religion of significance. One of the big problems we meet in the shop is that of communication. The difference between our value systems or concepts of life is so great that it is almost impossible for us Christians, especially us clergy, to have any meaningful conversation with industrialized men. Resort to the ethics of Jesus or the moral

teachings of scripture has no particular usefulness since this society does not accept their authority. Much of the workers' conversation consists of cursing out someone else or telling jokes about sex. I do not see this as evil. Rather it is their everyday language. To them the genteel words we use are offensive and lack warmth and friendliness. Our religious words just do not have content to most of the men. Therefore a serious conversation on religion is almost never heard. Aside from their daily life problems, the job, their families and sex, there is little for the evangelist to tie in to. When Christ dwelt among men he used the words of men and their society. Thus was established a communication that has lasted for hundreds of years. But to the workers of today the "church language" evidences almost no point of commonness with their lives. Perhaps the one focus where there can be a common voice is in the assertion of and demand for human dignity. The Christian stand on these matters is close to the workers' own demand for recognition as a human being instead of a mere factor of production.

3. It is not exactly biblical, but nevertheless for the modern man, unless there is some measure of economic security, there can be little sense of spiritual security. Henry Ford is reported to have said that economic improvement is the right. This characterizes our situation exactly. Most of our people are in economic distress. The continuing outbreaks of strikes and labor disputes witness to the workers' desperation. One man in our gang who has a family of five said to me, "For breakfast we have cornmush. At lunch time I eat

what the company gives me and don't dare even wonder whether my family has anything. At night we eat a bowl of noodles. For this I work ten to twelve hours a day. If I went to church my family would be even hungrier." What is the church's response to men like this? What demands do these men and this kind of a society lay on us who are the church? The worker does not consider the church. It shows no interest in him. Unless the church has a radical reformation of its content and organization, it is unlikely that it can overcome its present state of lethargic detachment. The church is to be Christ participating in society, the incarnation within the world among men and not an isolated, self-proclaimed holy order. It is in the first place not the church's business to be society's critic or judge. It can speak words of judgment only to the extent that it seeks first justice and God's leadings for society. We must stop nurturing Christians who move freely inside the church and are helpless outside of it. The church's task is not to ignore the demands of men, but accept them as clues to God's leadings.

4. Of the one thousand five hundred workers in the shops about 4.7% or seventy-one people, consider themselves as Christians. Not one of them, however, is a foreman, gang leader, or officer in the union. Several factors contribute to create this kind of a situation. The relation of the Christian and non-Christians are of such a nature that the latter do not readily choose a Christian as their leader. The situation in our shop is especially exaggerated by the fact that most of the top management men are church elders. Another

factor is the calibre of the Christians themselves. In all frankness there are very few who are leadership material. The few that do have leadership potential somehow feel that it is a sin against their faith to get too involved. The third factor is the stringent demands put on the Christian workers by the church. On Sundays, the worker is required to be at church between 11:00 and 12:00 a.m. Evening services and Wednesday prayer meetings should not be missed. Attendance at revivals and other special meetings are also mandatory. To keep out of hot water at church, he must cut work which puts him in hot water in the factory. There are no rest days there and when the Christian does not show up it adds that much work to the other members of his gang and also upsets the day's operations for the foreman and department heads. The result of all of these factors is that there is no confidence in the Christian as a capable, dependable worker or colleague. If the laity is to become a representative of Christ in the shop, this present low condition of the Christian must not be ignored.

5. As a Christian I think one of the most effective things for me to do on behalf of the rights of workers is to participate in the labor movement. If those of us in industrial mission cannot secure acceptance from unions and workers, it is unlikely that we can long continue in this ministry. At present the church seems indifferent to both management and labor, but has more in common with the foreman. During my stay in the factory I frequently got into conversations about the union and work conditions. As a result, some of

the man in my department tried to run me for union president. Unfortunately I was not able to follow through on it. But I am convinced that the church must take a deep interest in supporting the union movement in its fight for justice.

6. Whatever efforts are made in the field of labor-industrial mission, the local church still remains of crucial importance. Of course in its present state and present form of operating, it is of little consequence. But in the long run, the image and respect of the church and Christianity depends on the local church.

Missioner 3

People speak in relation to their experiences and situations. From my position in the shop as a daily laborer, I see industrial mission mainly as involved in the labor movement in order to establish social justice. This I understand as related to the concept of the Kingdom of God. Within this society created by men, Christ's resurrected spirit struggles to complete the establishment of justice. In this way God's Kingdom is continually being built among us. It is not a place or organization, but acts of justice themselves. To work to fulfill justice is then to be equated with working to establish God's Kingdom. If this be true, then what can we do in industry to participate in the creation of justice? There are two things, I think, that need special attention.

1. We can help seek out the bottlenecks and contradictions within the line of command and organization of management.
2. It is also necessary to examine the role and function of the labor unions. What are they doing? How can we cooperate and be of service to them?
 - 1) In our company the organization of management seems to be in accordance with what the experts suggest. The line and staff setup is exact, and its personnel are well trained. Most of the men in middle management positions are now graduates of technical universities. But as is often the case, the theory and facts operate according to separate laws. Regardless of how well founded the managers are or

how well organized the company is, unless there is a unity and cooperation with the men on the floor, the chain of command remains ineffective. If one looks at our shop there are in fact two systems of command, one that operates on top levels, and another that operates below. The gap between these two have a large negative influence on the production and development of the whole plant. Here are a couple of examples from my own experience.

In making a motor, the casing is first made in the casting shop. Then it is sent to the machine shop for exact cutting and polishing. I helped produce the motor case in the casting section. After the motor case was turned out, our job was to smooth and cut out as many of the rough places as possible before sending it on over to the machine shop. Using a grinder we cut off a lot of the unnecessary adherents, but the process took a considerable amount of time for each piece. The time the supervisors allowed was not nearly enough time to do the job. Orders were piling up. The foreman cursed us, and the top officemen threatened us, but production could not be stepped up. It happened by chance that the foreman sent me on an errand to the drafting room. One of the men there asked me why the work was not being turned out. Rather irritated by all the hell we had been getting, I answered, "Have you ever tried to grind the rough edges off a steel casing? It takes time! We're working our heads off, and all you guys do is chew us out." The fellow's surprising reply was, "Well, I'll be damned! What are you grinding off edges for? The machine shop can do that in a few seconds."

For months upon months, and perhaps even years, before I entered the factory, the whole production of motor cases had been bottled up by an unnecessary process. Yet the official line of command never reached down to the shop floor to discover the problem. By accident we had stumbled upon the description of how the job was to be done. Afterwards we could meet our quota. The relations with the guys upstairs improved immensely. Our foreman became human and the whole section took a deep breath and relaxed. The work lost a lot of its repulsiveness.

No one had actually done anything wrong. There was a difference of opinion as to how the work should be done, and no direct line of command existed that could see that the right procedure was followed. The repercussions of such a situation are great. The constant tension and bad feelings between office people and production workers have their source here. There is frustration on both sides which closes the channels of mutual understanding. The negative effect of this on production and development of the industry is obvious. Instead of a unified organization where all participate, there are two separate ones which often are in conflict.

Let us take another example. I worked longest in the section that makes the electric core for the motors. From the machine shop came the rotors for the motor, and the lathes turned out the bar that is used. Our job was to assemble the various parts, but regardless of how we would work, the rotors and bars just could not be made to match. The bar was to go through the rotor, but it would not fit.

Department heads descended upon us to investigate. A lot of heat was generated. The skill and attitudes of the workers were called into question. Threats were made. Actually the problem was rather simple. The specifications were so minute and exact that the machines could not do the work. The operators were getting as close as they could, but that was not enough. Only after the order had been accepted, plans made and production well on its way, was the capacity of the machines considered. The men in the top positions had not deemed it necessary to consult the shop floor about the job or the machines. Over and over this drama is acted. By now neither side has faith or confidence in the other. New machines are needed, but even more is an organization where the contributions and skills of even the production workers are recognized and made use of.

Safety is another serious problem that creates tension and even hatred. Rather it is the lack of safety devices and education that results in injury or death that causes the trouble. Often the old, delapidated machines are manned by young inexperienced apprentices. Once a man builds up experience, he moves to another company. Thus the machinists are usually the young men. There is no safety education. The company demands increased production and increased speed from the workers. The result is accidents.

About a month ago one young man was made a machine operator. He had been in the shop for only two months. In order to keep up with the others and make himself look good in front of the foreman, he worked his machine at high speed. He not only turned out shoddy

work, but after being on the machine for only a few days, he made one awkward movement of ^{the} right arm and his thumb came off in one clean cut. He is twenty-three years old. What kind of work can he get now? There is a family to support and long years to live. Another man was given no safety precautions when he came into the section. No one told him that some of the drums located near his place of work contained gas. He lighted his blow torch in the wrong place and was lucky to get away with losing only one leg.

Accident safety is of particular concern in a factory not only because it causes individuals to suffer needlessly all their lives, but also because the frequency of accidents creates an atmosphere with fear and suspicion that the top guys are earning their money through the lives and sufferings of the workers. Just a little investment of effort and money could create an entirely new attitude towards work. At present the company sets up its organization and plans without consultation with the workers. Production and safety suffer.

2) The company's organization is unilateral, but on the other hand the unions too seem to be of a similar nature. There is little direct participation by the workers themselves. The union, which is to represent the workers in its negotiations and conflicts with the employer, is not really within the control of the workers at all. Men who are not really laborers, or who form a special class whose profession is the union, run the union. To the ordinary worker there is

the organization of the company and the organization of the union, but both are removed from him. I have heard that unions in developed countries are organizations that grow up among the workers and are responsive to the workers' desires. If this is so, it must have real life and vigor. Our union is not like that. It is a wooden formality. But still it is a terribly important organization. What are its problems and how can it be made responsive to the workers' demands?

In many people's minds a labor dispute has a bad connotation, but in fact it can be very constructive. From disputes come new ideas, new organizations, new skills and new human relations. And, of course, disputes are also an efficient way of deciding appropriate wages while at the same time protecting workers' rights. But underlying these constructive aspects of a dispute is the solidarity of the workers. From here comes the strength and power to enter into a dispute. A few months ago wages were raised in our shop. The union and the company agreed on an overall percentage of increase, but the company was allowed to apply it as they wished. The result was that many men left the company. They had been given little or no raise in comparison to the other workers. One man who left was a union shop representative. He had spoken out strongly against certain practices of the company and union at the last general meeting of union officers. Both the company and union were angry. Of all the union representatives, he was the only one who did not receive a fair wage increase. It was obvious that he was being asked to leave. He obliged and quit. The union took no notice of his departure. This is somewhat

representative. The union gives little indication that it wants to hear from its members. The result is disinterest or bitter criticism; the union fails to develop any solitary bargaining power. The company unilaterally does as it sees fit.

One day there was a large poster on the bulletin board. The company was announcing that the factory's wage structures were being switched to an incentive system. All the present classifications and allowances were being discontinued. The reason behind this move was to break up the hold that older men with seniority held on the better jobs. The aim was to move younger men into these jobs which could be done if it were strictly an incentive system. The young men could outwork the older, and besides, the older men had acquired certain allowances that could be dispensed with under the new system. This was put into effect without any prior notice or consultation. Yet the union did nothing. The workers were angry and outraged, but helpless. Instead of calling the workers, the union pushed them further into apathy. Overnight the older men had been deprived of everything they had been sweating for for years.

There is great need for the union to be a spokesman for the individual in a lot of situations inside the shop. It should be the spokesman and protector of the workers' dignity, but it is not. Each person is left to fend for himself. Human dignity gets little attention. It could also act as the channel through which the workers could express themselves both to each other and the company. The men I work with are intelligent guys who could make contributions in a lot

of areas, but there is no opportunity. No one outside the shop really cares one way or the other. The worker is isolated. Even his relations with his buddies are threatened by loss of status or job. He is alienated from the company and the union. The union becomes somewhat of an empty frame. Its representatives are chosen by the workers, but in most cases the job goes to the foreman without contest. That way there is no interference on the job and the union retains its organization unthreatened by workers.

I have mentioned three main problem areas: First is the problem of poor management organization, second is the question of union isolation from its own members, and third the plight of the individual workers caught underneath both the company and the union. These three problem areas define, I believe, the work task of labor industrial mission. Through study, labor and involvement on all levels we need to help the company, the union and the workers face and solve their problems. We have no special authority to solve anything, but we may be of assistance in getting them to do it. In this way will we not be helping to build up justice and God's Kingdom in our land?

Missiонер 4

I came into Industrial Mission work without any prior preparation, so I make no claim of being an expert. I knew I would be learning as I went, but my first experience was not one to build my confidence. Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk had negotiated with the company about my employment, so on the day set by the company, I went to the employment office at eight in the morning. I told the young receptionist what I had come for and who I wanted to see. She disappeared for a while into one of the offices, and came back with the message that I was to wait. There were a few rough benches there, so I sat down. For two hours I sat there, getting madder with every minute that passed. That was just the beginning. When the man in charge did come out, he looked at me as though I had done something wrong, and in low talk that one uses for a child or bar maid, he told me to report over to the kitchen staff and help get lunch ready. He did not even tell me where the kitchen was. I was ready to quit right then and there. But I found my way to the kitchen. As I walked in, I was treated to more of the same kind of talk. A small girl younger than me by five or six years loosed a barrage as soon as she saw me. "Get those clothes off and into the uniform. Get some water and soap and scrub the tables and floors." All of this in low talk, delivered in tones that identified me as the enemy!

I am not sure how it happened that I kept my mouth shut. Probably I was just too overwhelmed by it all to make any kind of response. All my adult life I had been treated with respect. People spoke high

talk to me. As a church pastor, wherever I went I was given the seat of honor and treated with politeness. Now within a few hours I was toppled from my high perch and made to scrub floors while a young kid glowered over me. At the time, inside me was a burning fire, but now looking back on it I know that it was an experience that taught me quickly and effectively what the life of a textile girl is like. From beginning to end they are submerged in a system that shows no respect. It is a command in sharp terms and to obey in meek subservience. My plant manages to employ almost two thousand girls. They produce a variety of yarns, threads and cotton cloth. Raw materials are imported from the United States and Egypt and some things are exported, but most of our products are sold in Korea. We are always exhorted to work harder and build up production, but the conditions in the plant do not encourage the workers to cooperate much.

My kitchen duty lasted only for about three weeks. It took perhaps two of those weeks before I began to get a little confidence and fool my way around. As I did, of course, I realized that there was nothing personal in the way I had been treated. All now people got the same. Even the girl who bellowed the orders to me had no official authority. After me she was the newest one there. The staff in the kitchen were mostly middle-aged women. There were three shifts, seventeen workers to a shift. The ladies were all widows of men lost in the war, so their lives for the last eighteen or nineteen years had been spent in trying to keep life and family together. The only topics of conversation were money and children and grandchildren.

Friendships were strong, but the jealousies and bitterness were also deep, so that the atmosphere in the kitchen was always full of tension and back-biting. A couple of the women were Christians, and a few others sent their children to Sunday School, but religion was seldom even a topic of conversation.

According to the agreement made by Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk and the company, I was rotated to a new section about once a month. After the kitchen, I was sent to the shipping department where the outbound goods were wrapped. Seventy girls in two shifts made the final inspections, wrapped the goods, and got it ready to be shipped. This was considered to be the most desirable department in the mill. As a result, the girls with the better education, senior and junior high school graduates, were concentrated there. Outside the shop those girls were the epitome of fashion. Inside the shop they talked ceaselessly of clothes, cosmetics, and men. Probably half of them were from Inchun and so lived at home. The other half were from the country and so had to rent small rooms where they did their own cooking. In comparison to other sections, quite a few of these girls were Christians. Some of them were very devoted and evangelistic in their faith.

The next department was a different story. Here the girls worked twelve hour shifts in front of machines that pull the cotton fibres into threads. The work was arduous and the girls always in a state of fatigue. Of sixty girls in our section only eleven had above primary education. Interestingly enough, there were quite a few Christians here. Nine were Catholic, and seven were Protestant.

It seems that the Christian girls managed to get together in some sections.

In the winding room where I went In January, ninety girls worked on each of three shifts. Threads used in weaving and making undershirts are produced. The noise was deafening. The lint and thread in the air turned the girls into walking snowmen in a matter of a couple of hours. There was no rest. The machines demanded unremitting attention. No words were passed between the workers. The machines allowed no time for talk and the noise made it impossible anyway. Even outside the mill these kids did not seem to make the same warm friendships as the girls in other departments. Perhaps the forced isolation in the mill created that type of individual even outside the shop. Or it may be that the extreme fatigue just allows no spirit for anything but sleep. When I first went to this department, my legs swelled up so that I could hardly walk. My whole body ached with pain all the time I was there. It was impossible to discover if there were any Christians here or not.

The other departments are just as demanding. Every minute must be given to the machines. One false move can set production back by minutes or hours. One small flaw not discovered immediately can spoil the whole piece. The tension is never off. Even though I worked in the factory for only a short period of six months, I think I came to know some of their problems. The girls are mostly a little over eighteen years of age. They work eight to twelve hours a day in front of loud, noisy machines breathing in the cotton lint that fills the

air. By any measure their work is hard labor. Even if it is winter outside, inside where the machines are, it is so hot the workers' sweat flows off them like rain. In this hot air work does not stop. There is not a minute's rest. Outside the shop, most of the girls do not even have a family to help them overcome their physical and spiritual fatigue. They go home to one dingy, airless, little room which is often used alternatively by girls of other shifts. Their salaries, which average about twenty dollars a month, do not allow for an adequate human existence. Their treatment in the mill is on the same scale. Their greatest pleasure is being able to lie down and sleep.

Their monotonous life has become a habit to them, but still they have a sharp dislike of it and a sense of being unjustly oppressed by forces they cannot understand. One of the results is that frequently the girls will form relationships with men they hardly know. They will spend their time and money and bodies for these men only to be deserted in a few months. Over and over again it happens. They never seem to learn from the others' tragedies. A few days ago a girl I came to know in the winding department committed suicide. She had worked and saved for four years to get her boy friend through college. He was a boy she had met not long after she had come to Inchun. Her home was in the country in one of the southern provinces. She kept the boy, lived with him. After graduation, he threw her away for a higher class, better-educated woman. She took poison and went to lay down in front of his house, where she died. Tragic things

like this are almost common.

In all of this what are the directions and involoments that should guide a mission that bears the name of Christ? As of yet, I am still in training, but I have come to the following tentative conclusions:

1. I think it is really necessary for the missionary to live and labor along with the girls for at least a couple of years. If the missionary is a minister, he should not disclose it. Once my identity became known, my relations with the girls seemed to become unnatural. This is a hindrance to my learning and my involvement.

2. The girls' lives are so monotonous, and their concept of themselves and their work so low, that we must somehow find a way to give them meaning and a sense of pride in themselves.

3. Above all, the girls want to be recognized as human beings, not as work horses. Their needs are not only material, but also spiritual in that they want understanding and kindness instead of harsh and debasing treatment that they usually get. To help meet this need for human relationships, we should first try to get the Christian girls there to understand the problem and to be a center around which a new bond of fellowship and a mutual respect can be built. We also can develop group work for the girls giving them an opportunity to discuss their mutual problems, take the lead in some activity, and at least momentarily overcome the monotony of their lives.

4. Even though most of the girls have no apparant interest in the church, there are some who sense a great loss because they

cannot attend church like they used to. There are also others who have the beginnings of an interest, but because of their time schedules at the shop have no way of exploring it. It would be possible for us to hold meetings that coordinate with the factory's schedule. The Christians and others who are interested could attend. The content and method could be worked out, but the important point is that they should center on questions of faith and life.

Missioner 5

The factory that employed me was begun about ten years ago, but because of political complications following the downfall of the Syngman Rhee regime, the construction remained incomplete until just last year. I was hired as one of the workers for the construction crews that were putting the building into operating order. In our crew there were fifty men. We handled almost every conceivable type of work. I carried large construction stones on my back, helped build a gate house, mixed cement, operated a centrifugal pump and filter system, helped install the new machines and fit pipes. For a while I was even in charge of the regulator machines in the sugar refinery. My experience was indicative of the way management was going about the job. Men with absolutely no background or experience were put on jobs for short times and then transferred without apparent reason. One of our gang was put in charge of a compression pump. He had never seen such a machine before. He had no idea of what it was about. There was not even a man skilled on that job in the whole section. One day an explosion occurred, destroying the pump. The worker, of course, was held responsible and fired on the spot.

One cannot know for sure, but from the point of view of the man on the floor, it seems that management looks upon the laborer only as a number to do a certain job, and a certain number of workers are needed. The skills and use of the men apparently do not have high priority. Altogether there were eight hundred of us working, but there was no medical service at all for the injured, no bath house

and not even any decent drinking water. A well which smelled of sulphur was the only water supply for the workers, though a truck brought fresh water for the office staff.

The pay system too seemed just as haphazard. The base pay was thirty-two won per hour (about \$.11), but the foreman had means of increasing it for anyone he wanted to. Some were getting fifty won per hour doing exactly the same work. It depended on whether you were in the good graces of the foreman. Needless to say this is a source of constant friction and hard feelings.

I am no personnel man, but the importance of handling workers justly and creating a good atmosphere was impressed on me one night when we were working the midnight shift. Eight of us were working in the starch sections. It involved a lot of heavy lifting and carrying. We were all ready to drop. It was dark outside, of course, and the only sound was the passing trains. This seemed to add to our depression and fatigue. But somehow in the midst of this situation a change came over us. As we were moving the heavy starch tanks, we began to joke and horse around. Our depression passed over into real enjoyment. The same work was transformed from a burden to a game. Someone from another gang happened to be nearby and wanted to know who we were trying to butter up. No one was going to put a star on our forehead. His words did not dampen our spirits. Since we had to be there doing that work we might as well enjoy ourselves. We were unaware of the speed at which we were working or how tired we were. The night's work was done in about half the time, with fewer

losses and certainly with a better spirit than at any other time.

When the boss came around and saw what we had done, he told us to get a couple of hours of sleep, which order we gratefully obeyed.

I have seen just the opposite atmosphere created also. This is the more common experience, and it is usually because the supervisors make poor use of their men and then chew them out mercilessly when something goes wrong.

Most of the men I worked with were between the ages of thirty and thirty-three. Only five of the fifty were unmarried. Educationally, seven men had graduated from high school, fifteen from junior high, and seventeen had only a grade school education. One man had finished college, and one man had never been to school. These men lived on the incomes they got from temporary jobs that they were able to land. The job they were holding as construction workers was also temporary. It paid them about thirty-one dollars a month, which, of course, is sufficient for only a marginal living for a family of four or five. Fortunately some of them have their incomes supplemented by rice from family lands in the country or by money that their wives earn through small scale buying and selling. Nine of the men have been able to buy their own homes, small as they are. All the others, however, rent rooms in the Yung Dong Po area, but they will move from place to place whenever a job opens up.

Having worked with these men and visited in their homes I know that many have a deep love and devotion in their families. One evening as I walked home with a buddy, his wife came down the road to

moet him. She carried a small baby, their first child, on her back. I could feel the love they had for each other. In other places, however, the women have to be away all day working. The children, once they get to be four or five, fend for themselves or are taken care of by neighbors. Several such women worked in our shop. They did the cleaning. But they also picked up leftover scrap metal. Sometimes they picked up other things that could not be classified as scrap. Looked at from one point of view their activities were understandable. On their small salaries no one could live, yet it was against the company rules, and it was stealing.

Once I gave some of them some of the leftover wood and metal that I had been working with. A few days later, one of them came and asked if I could get her some copper tubing. I asked her how much she made in a day; she said she made enough for bus fare plus a little bit of bread each day. "How are you going to get any copper pipe out of the shop?" I asked. She would carry it out under her skirt. The guards were not allowed to search a woman too carefully. "Where do you sell it?" "Oh, there are places." But she would say no more. I told her I would give her what I could, but the material that was still good or useable I could not let her have. She left without a word. I frequently saw her gathering her "scrap" up. One evening as I was going home after work, I looked in the door of a wine house where the men frequently hang out. This woman, who gathered up scrap, was sitting there by herself. She had a glass of wine and was singing to herself. She was alone, and terribly sad. Perhaps the wine

and song gave her wearied mind and body some relief. She was doing the best she could with the life she had.

Another problem that plagues so many of the men is the fact that they have just come to the city and not at all adjusted to the city or factory way of living. One of the men in our crew had been in the city for only two years. His family was still in the country. He had not been able to get enough money to rent a room for both him and his wife. Now two years later, he finally had come to the place where he could get a room but the glitter of the city and the charm of city women had convinced him that his rural background and his countrified wife could only be millstones around his neck. He decided to divorce himself from both. One day he asked me how to go about getting a divorce. By asking a question or two I learned about his intentions. I told him that I was a fortune-teller and that I could read people's faces to see if they are well matched by the fates for married life or not. (Actually I had messed around a little in the fortune-telling business just as a hobby.) If I could see him and his wife together I could tell whether they should be divorced or not. Even yet many people have strong faith in fortune-tellers. I also told him that if he divorced his wife he might have to pay alimony to her. He rented a small room with a kitchen and brought his wife to Seoul. One night after work he invited me to go and visit his wife to see what I thought. After I had talked with them both for a while, I assured the husband that he and his wife were well matched and he

should not consider divorce. This, plus the worry over alimony, must have persuaded him. They are still living together and the wife is beginning to take on the habits and dress of the young city girls.

It is possible to go through a year at hard labor and still be very much of an outsider. Some of our missionaries have done it. Much depends on the missionary's attitude. If he can forget himself long enough to feel the burdens and fatigues of his fellow workers, he can become a changed man. If he can understand that his own weariness and mental lethargy are only a token of what the other workers must bear all their lives, then he will have begun to understand what Christ and his cross are about. For one who would become involved in a ministry to labor and industry, labor in a factory is like a baptism of immersion. Your whole body and head must go under before one receives grace.

Chapter III

CONFUSED PEOPLE OF GOD

There are a lot of high sounding words going around about the church laymen. Because of the dead end that clericalism has resulted in, the mantle of apostleship and Christian "presence" has now been cast upon the unsuspecting shoulders of the laymen. The lack of creativity and genuineness in Christianity is identified with a discredited clergy. Now the only hope left is the layman. Therefore ordinary church people are now lionized as the people of God, the saints, the church in dispersion, the Christian presence, and so on and so on. If one starts from theological statements and makes deductions about laymen all of these epithets are appropriate. Or if we are to consider the present frustration of religion against the background of clericalism that has dominated Protestant and Catholic churches, then the thin ray of hope that "laymanism" holds out is quite understandable. But to approach the question from this direction leaves our head in the sky and our feet off the ground. The subject upon which we must focus is not a concept of the laity, nor an alternative to clericalism. Our subject is the people who go to church or in some way identify themselves with church or Christianity. The subject of "the laity" begins not in a theology book, but on the street. It is Mr. Churchman as he is now in his work place, play place and worship place. He has no need to be canonized. He is far from a saint.

Number-wise, Christians are well represented in the industries

of Inchun. Of course, percentage-wise they are a small minority as they are in society as a whole. But it is not their small number that makes the question of the laity an acute one. The problem is that large numbers are for all practical purposes disengaging themselves from the church and the church teachings. Among the Christian workers of the city several types or classifications can be observed. The most numerous are those who have literally quit the church. Of course, some of these have had only cursory connections to a church, but on the other hand quite a few are men who have been born and raised in the church. It is not at all unusual to find a union officer or shop floor leader who is an ex-churchman. The reasons given are many, but usually it boils down to the fact that church religion really adds nothing to life but a few legalistic burdens.

Another type of Christian are those who have adjusted a compartmentalized existence. They are counted as both factory hands and church members. The one is fairly well isolated from the other. To some there is no sense of the incompatibility of the two worlds, but in many cases the adjustment is always uneasy. The Christian worker isolates himself from his fellow workers in order to defend himself against their barbs or questions. He too is not sure exactly why, but for some reason he feels embarrassed and uneasy about others knowing he is a churchman. Next there are the very zealous brothers who openly view the world in general and their fellow workers in particular as lackeys of the devil. There is nothing to be done about it. They are on their way to hell, and that is that.

Another type are those who join in the above low opinion of the world around them, but feel that if they are given a witness perhaps some will repent and come to church. So they lose no opportunity to witness and exhort. While working or resting, they preach to their buddies. Somotimos their message is "repent and believe in Christ," but usually it is "come out to church and you will be blessed." Believing in Christ and coming to church are used interchangeably.

Lastly, on the other end of the scale are the comparatively few people who are sharply aware of the discord between life and church, but have through their own experionces and efforts forged an individual working faith that provides some intogrity to their lives. Those are the men who have come to the position of affirming life. Faith is not to be a barrier to life, but the ground upon which you can live in a natural relationship with your fellow man. Life is to be enjoyed. Thorofores one's wagos and working conditions are important. It is this group of Christians that one can see busy in the labor unions and factorios trying to stand for justice. Their numbers are small.

Christian laymon, or at least those who are industrial laborers, are caught in a real predicament. They experience all the inscurities and throats that their fellow workers do, but at the same time they have had laid upon them by their religion some kind of a vague command that they must be better than evoryone else. A worker, Christian or not, receives a wago of approximately \$40 por month. This allows for a marginal existence as long as no big expense like sickness

or school fees come along. But since these and other vagaries of life are inevitable, most everyone is in debt to some degree or the other. There is no let-up of the pressure. He lives in a small two-roomed house, rammed right up against the neighbor. His neighborhood is a forest of small huts separated only by winding paths. There are, of course, no playgrounds, not even any roads. In the shop he moves according to the command of the foreman and department head. His place of work is dirty, noisy and extremely dangerous. He has nothing to say about what or how he works. The union that is supposedly there to protect him, apparently could not care less whether he lives or dies. But in all of this there is the one aching drive: to make more money. Money means freedom. It means education, self-respect. Religion and church are important, but life now, and the hope that maybe their lot will improve, are more immediate, more demanding and more important. One might argue that religion should not be spoken of as though it were outside the demands of life, but in fact that is the category that both the layman and the church operate on. The position of the church can be characterized by the saying that Christians are to be in the world but not of it. This is interpreted to mean that of necessity since we are born into this world we are physically in it, but our minds and souls belong to the realms of God. The Christian's ties with the "world" are two: First we are to witness and evangelize so that non-Christians will have a chance to escape from the world, be saved and go to heaven. In a sense, this urgency

toward evangelism of this nature has been the genius and strength of Korean Protestantism. Every Christian feels himself under compulsion to witness. Second is the command to be an example to others. Since we are Christians we should be more righteous, more honest, more diligent than the non-Christians who are children of darkness. The badge of this exemplary life is abstaining from alcoholic drink, but it also motivates some Christians to work overtime for free, to work without a break, to do hard, dirty jobs that no one else will do, and sometimes it leads to an excellence in skill. But this type of attitude has begun to crumple. It is becoming obvious to everyone that something is awfully wrong. The compulsion to witness and be exemplary has mainly resulted in isolated, bewildered Christians. Few people these days accept the authority or truth of a witness on face value. It is derided, kicked around, ignored. The world of the gods no longer holds sway on men's minds. The Christians feel this as deeply as anyone. Their witness is not ineffectual, they themselves doubt its validity.

A young man with a lot of authority in the dockers' union of Inchun decided he wanted to become a Christian. He was a very sensitive man, and the fights and corruptions he had experienced on the docks convinced him he needed the support of a God. He, his wife and children went to church and took instructions for baptism. Among the things he was told was that if he became a Christian he would have to live as an example for others. Therefore he must not smoke or drink. "If I don't drink," he replied, "I will never be able to load my

men. They'll never trust me if I can't sit down and drink with them." The pastor got the point, but still a law was a law, especially one as old and revered as the prohibition against alcohol. On the other hand, if the union man refused to give up drinking, the church would lose two new members, which of course was undesirable. The pastor announced a compromise. If the union man would just declare his intention to stop drinking, the pastor would accept that as the right mental attitude. Thus baptism would be administered. The timing and method by which the union man would stop drinking was left up to him. It could be put off indefinitely, just as long as his intentions were pure. Even so, the pastor's liberal offer was turned down.

He started out feeling the need for God's help, but here he was already engaging in a plan to deceive. He had no intention of sacrificing his position as a labor leader to a church rule like that. He did not take baptism. This is the story of the church. It is the predicament of the layman. Through and in cooperation with this one man the church could have served thousands and aided in establishing justice in an area of endemic corruption. Instead it demanded that the churchman be an example. To conform to the church rule is to lose one's freedom. To resist is either to drop out or accept a lie. The layman finds more burdens than guidance, more turmoil than peace in his church, and this same ambivalence rents his own soul. Given this context and the historical background of the Korean church, an emphasis on the layman as saint, Christian presence, etc., the church

can only further alienate the Christian from the world and increase the contradiction in his own soul. Though those theological terms are not to be ignored, their mental and emotional significance depends on the historical and experiential context. The question has got to be put differently. New experiences and new relationships must proceed the commoner debate over the theological role of the layman. The question for those who would engage in laymen's work is simple, but radical: How can we shake off the encrustations of the church and act as free men of Christ?

Our assumption has come to be that a laity involved in the issues and struggles of their factories and communities will generate a new theology with life to it, and as a consequence this will create the tensions leading to a reformation of the church. The second part of this assumption, however, is not as verifiable as the first part. A new theology can indeed be generated among the laity but this does not of itself lead to any reform in the church, which is for all effects and purposes controlled by the clergy and a few monied elders. A change in the perspective and faith-direction of the ordinary layman may have little or no effect on the church institution as such. The problem also has a reverse side. For individual Christians to really become significantly involved, they need a base of power and encouragement from a body larger than themselves. Ideally this is the role of the church. Renewal of the church is a prerequisite to a significant laymen's apostolate.

In 1962 industrial mission was almost equivalent with laymen's

work. Both Cho Sung Hyuk and Cho Moon Gul spent a good part of their time and energy trying to encourage the Christians and former Christians in their shops. And for almost four years the major program of the Mission to Labor and Industry was centered around Christian laymen. Our first introduction to the plight of the laity came, of course, through our regular visitations to the factory and through the Reverend Cho's labor on the plant floor. The first attempt to be of aid to the laymen took the form of a Christian Workers' Fellowship. Like much of early functioning, the Workers' Fellowship was a church-like program. It began as a worship service, followed with a little time for recreation or singing. Within a few months, however, the attendance, which had never gone above thirty or so, dropped, and only a few men were left. In making an autopsy of the short-lived corpse, the unanimous opinion was that there was no need for another church service. There were already so many that one could not keep up with them. It was decided to try a new approach. The meetings would be held in the Christian Social Center instead of in the churches. The time was switched to three o'clock in the afternoon, every third Sunday of the month. After a brief opening songfest, the participants divided into three groups. One was called problems of industry. A second was problems of workers, and a third centered around Bible study. Each group was led by either a staff member or a local pastor. The group study lasted for one and a half hours. The remaining time was given over to group discussions and recreation. Attendance picked up considerably, and the men showed a lot of initial enthusiasm,

so the Nehemiah Club went successfully on its way claiming an average attendance of about forty-five over a period of twelve months. Then the inevitable decline set in, and once more it looked like the Christian Workers' Fellowship was ready to cash in. Our basic problem was that of leadership. The men who lead the three groups really knew almost nothing of the life of the worker and so almost inevitably the content tended to revert back to ordinary church talk and sermons. At the same time the laymen did not show any inclination to take the initiative into their own hands. In the church they were "followers" and had almost nothing to say. The same pattern was followed.

Once more an overhaul was performed. This time two representatives from each of Inchun's factories were chosen to be the guiding body of the club. Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk was elected as advisor. The Nehemiah Club would be continued but its format changed so that the first hour and a half would be given over to a lecture by some outside speaker. The remaining time would be used for group discussions about the lecture and recreation. A short worship service would be held before closing. But in addition it was decided that twice each year there should be a week's course centering around faith and work. The students would come from all Inchun's factories and churches. Five areas were laid out for study: (1) Christ and Society, (2) Problems of an Industrializing Society, (3) The Korean Labor Movement, (4) The Lay Movement in an Industrial Society, (5) Bible Study on such topics as sin, salvation, incarnation, etc. This type of new content again acted as a transfusion, and the Nehemiah Club continued

on until Spring of 1966 when it was finally disbanded.

During its four and a half years there had been one hundred and eighty Christian workers of Inchun join its membership. Most of these are industrial workers though a few were from the docks and the American army bases. Seven denominations and forty-eight different churches were represented. It was finally discontinued because it had outlived its usefulness. Attendance was dropping badly. It is no easy matter to keep on producing programs of interest and value. Despite all our effort the leadership stayed within our own hands. Part of the problem, of course, was that most of the men were working five-day shifts and thus had no free time for carrying on any responsibility for things like the Nehemiah Club. But at the same time, we had definitely failed at enlisting any deep enthusiasm. They attended much as they would attend any prepared program or church service without any noticeable degree of real identification.

The pluses, on the other hand, were many. We now had a core of lay associates in every factory and church intown. The experience of discussing and studying with the laymen the relationship of faith to the problems they meet in the shops opened for many an entirely new facet of life. It was also a good basic, liberal education for us. Through the Christian workers we learned more of the in's and out's of factory life than we had ever know before. But probably the most significant contribution of the club was to allow men with potential leadership to emerge. Around a small group of these men the next stage of involvement in laymen's work and in Inchun's industry

was to take place.

Coupling Club

The Nehemiah Club was an organization that contored mostly on fellowship and study. At times, however, action was called for. The Nohemiah group was not structured for action, nor did it develop leadership that would lead to action. A new approach was needed. It should center around men who had leadership potential. The numbers should be small, and the purpose should be direct action by the members in factory and union affairs. From the nearly 200 members of the Nohemiah Club, nine men and two women were chosen. All were high school graduates; all were dependable church members; and all, except one, were factory production workers. The one exception was a dock worker. They ropresented eleven different work places. Each of the eleven was asked if he wanted to join a special study-action group that would center on the relationship of the Christian faith to factory and union situations. They all agreed enthusiastically, for they too had been looking for some new validity for their faith. A rather stringent schedule was set down. Seven of the eleven worked a swing shift, so the schedule that was finally decided on extended over six months. Once each month we all spent a night together, waking up at 5:00 for morning prayers. The schodule for those times went like this:

<u>Saturday:</u>	7:30 - 8:00 p.m.	Opning prayer
	8:00 - 9:30 p.m.	Bible Study
	9:40 - 10:40 p.m.	Confession
	11:00 p.m.	Sleep

Sunday:

	5:00	a.m.	Got up
5:10	-	6:00	a.m. Individual prayer
6:00	-	6:40	a.m. Corporate prayer
6:40	-	7:00	a.m. Break
7:00	-	8:00	a. m. Breakfast
8:00	-	9:30	a.m. Social survey
9:30	-	10:00	a.m. Closing prayers

Because of men's working schedules, we could hold sessions only twice a month. The first meeting was as described above, but the second meeting of the month was held on Saturday evening only:

6:30	-	7:30	p.m. Dinner
7:30	-	7:45	p.m. Prayers
7:50	-	8:20	p.m. Social Survey
8:20	-	9:20	p.m. Bible study
9:20	-	10:30	p.m. Confession and prayer

The Bible studies centered on God's continuing creativity, Christ's continuing incarnation, the Church's continuing mission, and the disciples' call to action.

The phrase "social survey" has a special meaning. Most of the people know very little about what went on in their own shops, and had no background on which we could base a study of social or industrial problems. Therefore, we began by giving each person a project about some aspect of his own factory, industry, and union. For example, at the first meeting their assignment for the next session was to learn about the organization of their company and the steps of production in the plant. At the second meeting each one would report his findings. Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk, who led the session, would point out problems and implications for human relations and faith. From here we would go into discussion and comparison of the findings.

Other topics of research for the class were: How is your union organized? What are the benefits of a union? What are the family problems of your co-workers? What is the status of labor-management relations? What does the church think of labor and unionism? Each of these topics was "researched" in the eleven work places and then discussed at our meetings. In this way the class members got an introduction to the structures and forces that determine their lives, and under Rev. Cho's leadership, these objective facts were interpreted as to their meaning and influence.

The word "confession" also has a special connotation here. Each individual in the class shared with us the personal problems he faced in the shops. The group then entered into a common searching for what would be the right response of a Christian in the situation. If a tentative conclusion could be reached, the individual in question would try to act according to that conclusion and report back at the next session.

Many hours were given to prayer. Much of this prayer was intercessory prayer for the workers, factories, and unions of Inchun. A large portion of time was also given over to prayer for the problems that came out in the confession period. Each session was closed by the celebration of Holy Communion.

At the completion of the training period in December of 1964, the Bishop of the Methodist Church and the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church presided at a commissioning service for those eleven people.

They celebrated communion together, and were commissioned, in front of representatives and leaders of all the Inchun churches, as "factory apostles." Space does not permit a lengthy discussion on the role of laity, but we of Inchun are convinced that modern day pastoral work in the factories is being done by a few laymen, and those laymen should be recognized as having a legitimate ministry, sealed by an official ordination.

After the training and commissioning, the eleven laymen formed their own organization through which they could operate. They called their organization the Coupling Club. The word "coupling" has come to be used to designate any belt or gear that joins one machine to another or two parts of a machine to each other. The symbolism is that of uniting action or reconciliation. The Coupling Club's purpose is reconciliation between worker and worker, employer and employee, and God and industry. The club's functions are three: First, there is the corporate discipline that the members took upon themselves:

1. Personal - Each day pray for one member of the Coupling Club; in prayer and scripture study, search one's own heart; once a month visit the home of a fellow worker.
2. Social - Once a week pray for the renewal of the nation; cooperate with others in the neighborhood to solve the problems that arise; live an honest life in communion with neighbors.
3. Industrial workers - A Coupling member will faithfully do

his work in the shop; when workers' rights are threatened, a Coupling will fight to protect them; a Coupling member will be active in his union.

4. Members - Once each month members communicate in person or by mail with one other member; in case of death or hardship in the family of a member, all will aid and visit him; as often as possible the members visit each others' homes.
5. Meetings - Each day, each member prays for the meeting: in case of time conflict, the meeting takes priority over every other meeting except work; all problems will be studied, decided, and acted upon in common; there is a monthly meeting; a fee of 100 won is paid each meeting.

The second function of the group is to relate their calling as an "apostle" to the concrete needs and problems of their respective places of work. This entails not passive employment in the shop, but active concern for the men and the system. The members of the Coupling express their concern through taking part in union and shop matters and being involved in the problems.

Thirdly, a Coupling member is committed to action. By "taking part" in the life around him, he becomes part of the problem situation. With his fellow Coupling members, these situations are discussed and prayed about, and a direction for action is sought. If a line of action is forthcoming, the member commits himself to it. Otherwise he continues as he has been within the situation.

The schedule of the monthly meetings, most of which are on Sunday evenings, followed an order such as this:

1. Supper together
2. Prayers - 30 minutes
3. Study of Bible, theology, or industrial problem - one hour
4. Case study - one hour or more - Each member reports the main issues he has faced in the previous month. The group discusses each situation, and where necessary, makes decisions about what actions the said member should take.
5. Assigned tasks - At times the members are assigned certain tasks or are asked to gather information on certain problems that have a relationship with the Club. Usually such assignments can be finished in a month's time.

Within six months to a year after the training period was over, the eleven Coupling members had become involved in some new dimensions of factory life. Several of them had quite traumatic experiences. Others had less excitement, but still experienced significant changes in their relationship with their fellow workers. A brief look at just some of their experiences gives us an introduction to Korean industrial relations and also an insight into the sense of apostleship that these men and women had.

Kim Kyu Hyung

Introduction

This is the witness of Kim Kyu Hyung. As the other members of the Coupling Club, after completion of his training, he set out to put into action his newborn sense of mission. The progression of Lee's testimony from endeavors of ministry to individuals to involvement in union and shop matters portrays the truth that the Christian mission is always a bipolar mission to individual persons and to the social situation in which the individuals live.

Our company has two plants in Inchun. The main shop produces for export. The second plant is mainly used for production for domestic markets. About two thousand men and a thousand women work in the factories. Almost everyone works a twelve-hour shift, with shifts changing every seven days. My own work is in the drying section of the second plant.

Along with ten other Christian workers, I took part in the special training course that resulted in our commissioning as "factory apostles." Perhaps the biggest thing I got out of our sessions was the sense of calling that helped me see that I had a mission in my own shop. I could not passively wait for a pastor or some other outsider to come into the shop to preach or hold meetings. This was highly unlikely in any case and probably of very little value even if it could be done. If mission is to be carried out it must be by the Christian worker who is in the same work place sharing the same kind of life as the non-Christians. Words are important to the wit-

ness, but the words and acts have to have an obvious unity.

To put my new convictions into action, first I began to visit the homes of the men I work with. I had been in only one or two of their places since it is not common for us to visit back and forth. Like my own, the houses were all one or two rooms, small shacks huddled into a small area. I am not sure I learned anything new in my visits, but they did bring me closer to several of the men. I also tried to make a call on anyone in the shop who was sick or injured. If he was a Christian, I would have a word of prayer; if not, I would offer some words of comfort and if an opportune time presented itself, I would use some story or passage from the Bible.

A third thing I tried was assistance to men who for some reason were off work for a period. All kinds of unexpected accidents can keep a man from work, and to miss work means a loss of income which in many cases means less or no food. In those cases there is not much I can do, but I tried to help a couple fellows get their family problems settled in order that they could get back to work. The fourth thing I ventured into was discussion with the men in my gang about labor union problems and our relations as workers with the foremen and supervisors. This was nothing formal, but as we ate our lunches I'd broach the subject. It is not hard to get men going on subjects like these. I learned considerably about the way others were thinking.

The response and welcome I received as I tried to give witness to Christ in these several ways was encouraging. I learned an awfully

lot about men whom I had been working with for years. Frequently I worked twelve hours and more a day, so I could not make many visits; but small though it was, in this way I tried to serve Christ. Many of my fellow Christians, however, did not agree with me. "What good is it for you to knock yourself out? The problem is money, not visiting and talking," or "This world is corrupt, and there is nothing you can do about it." Certainly their evaluation of the situation was right. Money in the form of increased wages could solve many of our problems. What we could do about wages, I was not sure, but I saw no reason why we could not help our fellow workers who are suffering. We were not inert. Actually several other younger men began talking about joining with me to try and serve others in our shop.

Before we were able to go far on that line, however, the focus of my attention was abruptly changed. For two months the company failed to pay us our wages. In concrete terms this meant hunger and debt for us workers. The company made no explanation except that they were having problems. The attitude shown to us on the floor when we asked the foremen or supervisors was, "If you don't like it, get out. There's a lot of men who would be glad to take your place."

At the same time, it was discovered that the company was actually contracting out new work to smaller places that paid their workers even less than what we received. Everyone was fighting mad. Our wages were two months in arrears. We were told to like it or lump it, and at the very same time they were using money that should have come to us to pay other people to do work that was being taken away

from us. But who was there to stand up for us? No one would say a thing to the plant manager or department heads. Then very unexpectedly the manager held a meeting and told us about subcontracting the work. After he finished talking, I did something I had never before done in my whole life. I stood up in the middle of all the men and confronted the plant manager. "If you take that attitude, there is going to be trouble. We too have to live. How can you live for two months without any income? By contracting out our work, you make our life the more miserable. Even now we can only make ends meet if we work three or four hours of overtime each day."

When I said this, my supervisor yelled at me, "What right do you have to talk like that? You don't even come to work on Sunday. If someone who comes out to work all the time talks like that, it's one thing; but a guy like who takes off one day each week should keep his mouth shut!" A foreman joined in, "Guys like you who don't pull their share make the company contract out work!"

I yelled back, "Don't give me that crap. The company can't pay our wages because I don't work on Sunday? You contract out our work because I don't work Sunday? Bullshit! I'd like to talk with the president of this company and tell him what's going on." This blew the top off things. Everyone started shouting and yelling. We almost had a riot.

Later in the day there was a big meeting of the management to consider the situation. I was called to give an account for what I had said earlier. I reiterated my stand of the morning. "To tell

us that you cannot pay our wages and at the same time contract out our work is foolish. And in the face of it all to ask us to be loyal and work faithfully is to treat us with contempt." I was interrupted. "Why did you say there would be trouble if the wages weren't paid? What kind of trouble?" "How can you treat us like this and not expect trouble?" I replied. "Our lives are completely tied to this factory. Our very existence depends on it. What endangers it, endangers us. Yet you seem to care nothing for the threat you pose to our lives when you give other people our work and refuse to pay us. Wouldn't it be better to be on the level with us?"

I went on then to ask a question of the plant manager. "Is the company really in trouble because some of us do not work on Sunday?" His reply was very cold. "I never said that. It was merely an illustration. We don't need to explain to you about how we manage things. That's not your concern. As far as Sunday work is concerned, we do not say you shouldn't come to work, but when we are busy here why can't you come out to work during the day and go to church early in the morning or late at night? If your neighbor's house caught on fire at church time, you'd put out the fire and then go to church, wouldn't you? At a time like right now when we are in tough straits, we can't rest for even an hour."

The next day I was informed that I had better write an apology for the way I had spoken to the plant manager. I refused. When my foreman heard that I would not apologize, he asked me to do it for his sake. Otherwise he would be in trouble for not being able to con-

trol his men. I told him I had nothing to apologize for, but if he was in trouble because of me, I said I would write the apology. I wrote it and then went and apologized to both the plant manager and my supervisor. The former said that he had intended to discipline me, but since I had apologized, he would not do it. The facts were that there were no rules covering my offense, so he did not know how to discipline me. He did, however, transfer me to another section.

I thought that the matter was closed when at long last our wages were paid and the sub-contracting was discontinued. I was wrong. We have a labor union in our factory. It's not much, pretty well dominated by the company, but each year we go through the motions of choosing our representatives and officers. To my surprise and the company's displeasure, I was chosen as the union representative for our section. I was the only non-foreman among all the union officers. At the same time I was still not working on Sunday. I had always tried to keep Sunday as a holy day for rest and church. I was not convinced that the absence of the few Christians worked a hardship on the company. Now I was to be really put to the test. A new policy was announced. Anyone not reporting for work on Sundays would not be given overtime work. My income of \$144.44 per month consisted of about twenty-five dollars from regular wages, and the remainder was income from overtime work. My family could not live unless I worked overtime. To give in and work Sundays meant I would have to bow my head to the force of the supervisors with a certain loss of prestige among the workers. To hold out was to submit my family to suffering.

I decided to hold out in the hopes that something would happen. Living on half-salary is no picnic. Pressures built up in the shop. I felt I was being forced out, but I had nowhere to go. Just when I reached the end of the rope, help came. Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk, who works with us in Industrial Evangelism was able to work out a compromise with the plant manager. Again I was transferred and put on the swing shift. My income was a little less than it had been, and at times I would have to work on Sunday. I was worse off than I had been, but not nearly as bad off as I could have been. I feel I still have a ministry in the factory. Perhaps the Lord can even use me in the union.

Introduction

Chosun Textile Mills are located on the outskirts of town, not far from an American Army base. At one time under the Japanese it was a large, prosperous concern, but over half of its buildings and facilities were completely devastated by the war of 1950. The remaining parts were again put into order after the war, and production began. Even today the five hundred or so people who work in the plant do so in the shadow of war ruins. The company is owned by a man who has large holdings in a variety of industries, but he has not seen fit to renovate the Inchun mill. The conditions are depressing and the work hard. As in all textile mills, the work is done by young girls, many of them right off the farm. They live one, two or a dozen in a rented room, cook their own meals and work a shift of eight to twelve hours a day. In return they receive at the end of each month a wage of about \$18.00. The following is the witness of a young woman in this factory.

The commission given us as "factory apostles" was a large one, one for which I know myself to be inadequate. I was afraid, I prayed that God would use me. I know I had to do something. The first thing that came into mind was visitation of the sick and calling on the families of the girls who lived in the neighborhood. After a visit, I tried to locate the whereabouts of the girl in the mill and talk with her whenever I had a chance. At the time there was a young woman evangelist, Miss Ahn Yun Soon, who was assigned to our factory

by the Inchun Labor Mission. She had free access to the mill and even spent periods at labor along with the rest of us. With her assistance we were able to help a lot of the girls. Sickness is very frequent. Miss Ahn enlisted the help of our Christian Hospital in the city, and many of the girls were able to get treatment they needed.

On Saturdays either before or after work, Miss Ahn and I visited all the Christian girls we know and reminded them that the next day was Sunday. On Sunday, then, we went around gathering up the girls to go to church. We made it a game and frequently after services we would sit in the church and sing and play and talk. On the last Sunday of each month, we hold a special textile Workers' Hour at the church. We had worship and games and discussion about factory problems. If the weather was good, we would go on a hike or climb a mountain or have a pic-nic. The Christmas parties we got up were simple, but for these girls who know nothing but hard work they were big events. Almost a hundred girls attended. We sang and played and shared a glass of tea and some cookies. There developed between us a real comradeship. I am older than most of the others and so I began to find that I was in the role of older sister. I can feel the loneliness and lostness of those kids. I know how important it is for them to have a faith in Christ. They suffer a lot, and are burdened too much. They are hardly more than children. We talk together and search together. About ten of us have a regular practice of meeting and talking about the problems of faith. In the midst of this fellowship, I discovered a great change had taken place in me. In our mill

there is always an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion. I was as involved in it as anyone. My new discovery was that among lost, lonely girls it is rather senseless to hate someone and fight her when probably her attacks were caused by her own insecurity and loneliness. I began to have the victory of Christ over the situation in which I am involved.

There are many problems that block my attempts to be faithful to my commission. Keeping the Sabbath is one of them. Not to go to work on Sunday means back-biting and poor relations with my foreman and fellow workers. To go to work means being sharply criticised by the church people. I need to go to church. I get encouragement and strength and meaning for my life there. Yet the pressures to work are tremendous.

Another problem that constantly plagues me is fatigue. Frequently I am so tired that it is not easy to laugh or show concern for other people. I have all I can manage to get myself through the day. When I feel like this, of course, I am tense and lose sight of my calling.

But perhaps the hardest burden of all is the dissention among the Christians. Even some of the Christian girls in the factory attack me and others for being busy-bodies and non-Christian. There is much to do for the Lord, but we who call ourselves by his name only fight. The people at church say that going to church is God's work, that the business of industrial evangelism that I am involved in is worthless. In the midst of these troubles Miss Ahn left the factory

to be married. Now I am alone. How do I talk to the girls who go to the fortune tellers? How do I visit the girls in other sections when the foremen dislike it? Where do I get the funds to help the girls who are sick? And how am I to bring peace to the sisters in Christ? I am alone and my commission as a "factory apostle" hangs very heavy. If only I had a sister with the same calling!

Pat: Hong Mok

The company where I am employed produces steel rods and sheets used in construction. There are about four hundred employees. I work in the maintenance and electrical department in charge of repair and operation of all electrical equipment in the factory.

I was chosen as one of eleven people for six months of training centered around questions of theology and labor problems. Upon completion of the six months, I was assigned as an "apostle" to my factory. Such a high commission laid upon me the need to pray for my fellow workers, the company, and myself. I prayed that the Lord would use me. Jesus said, "A city built on a hill cannot be hid." Mine was a similar situation. I began to make visits to the homes of my fellow workers and to call on the sick. Before long, however, I realized this was not a very fruitful expenditure of time and so turned my attention to action within the shop and union.

Several months ago our factory was temporarily shut down because the management was close to bankruptcy. During the period of forced unemployment, the labor union became the center where the men met to plan for the future and figure out ways of protecting our livelihood during the crisis. The union had never worked so well. It was short lived. When the company opened for business, the unity of the men dissolved, and every one seemed to be at odds with everyone else, trying to obtain the better positions or better reputation in front of the boss. Amidst this confusion of tongues and in-fighting I saw a chance to be of some service. I dedicated myself to bringing

reconciliation between the various groups. Instead of succeeding, however, I ended up being mistrusted by both my fellow workers and the company. Rumor had it that I was the cause of the dissention in the union. In attempting to bring peace to each group I tried to point out possible points of misunderstanding of the others' position and to bring out some of the opposition's good points. This earned me the suspicion of everyone. The company saw me as a trouble-maker. In this situation a "Coupling" had to work for reconciliation even if it meant hardship and misunderstanding. I saw no results except bad ones. The need was obvious, but my ineffectiveness also seemed obvious. I was tempted to can the whole business, especially when I got word that the company figured I was behind all the commotion. Men had been fired for less than that. I considered quitting the Coupling Club, but then I also reflected that Christ did not quit even in the midst of a much harder situation. I could not quit. I continued to take a part in the union affairs, praying that I could keep my job.

The company, however, had plans that overshadowed my own private intentions. After the financial situation was stabilized, the company moved to do away with the union altogether. Their first move was to persuade the union president that he should resign and leave the factory. This was done quietly so that the rest of us did not know about it until after it happened. Rumor has it that the company gave him a large sum of money. The union was thrown into confusion. Immediately the shop representatives tried to hold a meeting to elect

a new president. I was chosen as one of the representatives and along with others supported a candidate from the machine shop. But to our surprise the vice-president informed us that when the president resigned, he had turned over his job to him (the vice-president) and thus he was the legitimate president until the next year when the term expired. The company official and a representative from the national union were present and informed us that the vice-president's claim was legal. Our protests were to no avail. The vice-president became the president. He never called a meeting of the shop representatives, and before the year was out he and the company had filed for the dissolution of the union. The Labor Committee gave its consent and we were without a union. The vice-president was given a good position inside the company. Men like myself who had been active in trying to develop the union were given notice that in the future we had better be more careful of our actions.

As a coupling member I tried to help build up the union and to get the men working together. Our failures were due to our inability to cooperate. The company took advantage of our weakness and broke the union. My days as an employee of the company are probably numbered. Already two of the union men have had to resign.

Kong Shin Ku

I am a latho operator in the machine shop where a variety of parts for the railroad cars are made. I have been in the shop now for almost seven years. For two of these years I have been a member of the Coupling Club. This fact has changed my outlook about my place in the shop. I used to be embarrassed to be known as a Christian. Only a few of my close friends knew I went to church. To everyone else I was just another lather operator. As I began to mull over some of the things we learned during our training period, some of the reasons why I could not fit my Christianity into my job began to take shape. The church was concerned with my soul, but it left untouched the whole area of my life in the factory. As a result I was left in a vacuum. There was no light to help me in my everyday life. The church and factory seemed unavoidably opposed to each other. It was as though I was in the enemy's camp and had to be careful lest others find out where I really came from. Those who are anxious about how to get bread to eat and how to exist on marginal wages easily got the impression that the church is for the rich, or for those who have little time or money to spare. They have no contact with the church that would dissuade them from that opinion.

In my reflections, it dawned on me what the purpose of Christ's coming to earth was and what the good news of Christmas is. I decided to try something new, at least now for me. During the winter we eat our lunches around a stove made from a couple of old kerosene drums that stand in the middle of the section. I tried to initiate talk about religion. At first all I got was silence, but a few

questions about the church and denominations did come out. I even had two men who privately expressed a desire to go to church with me to see what it was all about. I have not tried to get men to come out to church, better to let them be in a natural, free group such as the factory. Later, if the desire grows within them to go out to church, it will be time enough to introduce them to a church near their home. To me, of course, this means continued searching and discussion with my comrades to discern where the Spirit is leading. It is not a short-time mission that I am on.

Choe Yong Kyu

A company can make its weight felt in a variety of ways. In October of 1965 when new union officers were to be elected, the plant manager called in a few foremen and suggested that Pak Chae Whon would be a good man for the job. The company could negotiate with the union if they had a man like Pak. The company being rather small with only about 500 employees, the manager's "suggestion" was soon known by everyone. Also because of the size of the shop, the company could fairly easily determine who had taken the "suggestion" and who had not. This time, however, the workers had a different idea. By a large majority we elected Yun Hung Chae to be the president of the union. The company-backed man was put in as vice-president, a position of no authority or prestige.

Then a series of unusual events took place. Kim Hong Hio

was one of the men who obviously had not paid heed to the manager's suggestion as communicated by the foreman. One night he was found sleeping on the job. It was not an unusual practice for workers to take catnaps on this shift when work was slow. This time, however, Kim was called on it, and was ordered to write a letter of apology. In our shop reprimands given to workers take the form of making the worker write a letter of responsibility and apology for the wrong he has committed. Three such reprimands cost a man his job. Kim wrote the apology, but nevertheless three days later the foreman told him that he had better resign from his job. Sleeping on the job was not to be tolerated.

The second incident took place soon after. It had been the custom of the company to give a small bonus in the fall to help the workers prepare their winter kimchi. This year the amount granted was about half that given the year before. Rumor had it that if Pak Chao Whon had been elected as union president he could have secured a larger bonus.

The third incident also occurred on the night shift. Lee Ok was a gang leader and an officer in the union. During the lunch break one of the men in Lee's gang produced a bottle of wine. It was his birthday, and he wanted to celebrate the day with his buddies. There was enough for one small glass apiece. Just as they were about to drink, in walked one of the company guards. He wrote them all up for drinking on the job. Lee Ok was not present at the time, and had not

drunk any of the wine, but being the gang leader, he had to take responsibility. The company demanded his resignation both from the union and as gang leader. In actual fact this meant he was to be dismissed from the company.

It had not been the habit of the company to pick up every little thing as they were now doing. The union tried to stand up for both Kim and Loo, but to no avail. The company would not relent. The union president then made the inevitable gesture and offered to resign because he had not been able to save the jobs for the two men. When Lee Ok heard this, in order to block the resignation of the union president, immediately he resigned from his job and position in the union. He tacked his resignation on the bulletin board and formally submitted it to the company. He had fled from the north by himself and had been married for only one month. He had no one to fall back on, and jobs are not easy to find.

All of this took place within a month after the union election. In November our work contract expired. The union requested a meeting of the Labor-Management Committee to begin negotiations. (The national labor law requires each plant to form a labor-management council to solve plant problems. In most cases these committees are very ineffective and come into play only during the brief periods of contract and wage negotiations, and even then the committees are frequently by-passed by private negotiators between one or two representatives of both sides.) The company's response was, "Let's meet at the plant manager's house and talk things over." Formal negotiations were

avoided, and the union set no deadline. A month passed. Now in December the problem was further complicated by the end-of-the-year bonus issue. Each December a bonus equal to one month's wages was given. This year it was in question. Even though the bonus was stipulated in the contract, it was not always automatically forthcoming. And this year the old contract was now invalid, and no new one had been signed. The company refused to negotiate on the bonus or the contract.

In the midst of this confusion Pak Chao Whan, the company's choice for union president, began a campaign to undermine the union officials. He bragged that if he were the head of the union he could get the bonus, settle the contract, and in addition get a wage increase. It had its effect. When the workers' representatives met, the union officers were asked to submit their resignations because of their inability to negotiate with the company. The men in the plant were dissatisfied and bitter about the bonus and contract problems. Pak's counter campaign finally pushed the workers' representatives into the place where action of some kind had to be taken. The union officers resigned, and Pak was installed as the new president. Negotiations were opened with the company, but almost immediately Pak found himself in trouble. The company wanted Pak because they figured he would say "yes" to whatever they proposed. Pak, however, was not quite that obliging. He had been a worker for a long time and had to live among the other men in the shop. He could not be completely subservient to the company. Negotiations hit a snag and

seemed likely to break down.

One evening Pak came to my house. I considered him a traitor. He had sold us all out just to blow his own horn, and I wanted nothing to do with him. I wouldn't even invite him into my house. He pleaded for me to help him. He wanted me to talk with Yun Hong Chao and get him to back Pak in the negotiations. I had been an officer in Hun's regime. I figured Pak could go stew in his own juice, so I told him to go to hell, but as I said the words, I remembered that I was a member of the Coupling Club. Our purpose was to bring reconciliation. Here I was faced with a case of reconciliation that I would just as soon forget. I relented and promised to talk to Yun. Yun's reaction was the same as mine, "Let the bastard fry."

But by this time I had come to the opinion that though Pak deserved to fry, the rest of us would be in the same fire, and cooperating with him was the only way we could help ourselves. I urged Yun to talk to him. Finally he said he would. The two got together, but Yun could not bring himself to become an active supporter of Pak. During the negotiations Pak came to me and asked about the proceeding in the bargaining. He had no idea of what it was all about. Actually the leadership of the union reverted back to us who had just a few weeks before been asked to resign. Pak, however, maintained for himself the role of head negotiator. The union lost and lost badly. The situation had deteriorated so much that even with Yun's support no one trusted Pak or would have much to do with him. The company, knowing this, pushed him into a corner. There he meekly signed a

now agreement. The bonus was cut down to half of what it had been. The contract itself was extended for only three months. And though there was a slight wage increase, the company retained the right of determining how the increase was to be distributed. The company men were rewarded, the others penalized.

We were beaten and demoralized. It was not only because of Pak. The same results may have occurred even under Yun. We wasted our money and efforts in trying to get help from the company or the police or the government agencies; there is no one really on our side. And we have neither the strength nor wisdom to be able to cope with our own problems. Is Christ really for the likes of us? Does he, and those who are called by his name have any message, any comfort or action to show us?

For almost four years the Coupling Club prayed, fought and anguished together about injustices and corruptions within their shops and unions. They also went through agonizing reflections on their own faith. They had come to see themselves as a vanguard, an action-centered group which would give combat in Christ's name with the sins of factory society. Their approach was not as one who stands outside and condemns, but as the insider trying to stand up for his and his colleagues' rights. Time and again their jobs were threatened and their families exposed to sufferings. To some extent they all passed through intense spiritual experiences. Each one of the men ventured out into some new form of action, but those who really became involved in conflict were beaten on every occasion. They put up, as

it were, a good first round fight; but by the time the second or third round came up, they were unable to continue. Three of the original group have actually had to change jobs because of their involvement in shop or union problems. The others, while maintaining a lively interest in what is going on, have become disengaged from personal involvement.

The second factor that has shaped and cooled the Coupling Clubs for ever was success. In the last few years every one of the members has risen from a position of low income, "oppressed" laborer to one where their incomes are more adequate and their jobs less physically demanding. Five of them have bought or built their own homes. Four have moved over to white collar jobs, and five have received substantial promotions in their own fields. Thus on one hand a sense of defeat and helplessness about direct action was being created at the same time that their individual financial and vocational positions were improving. The Coupling Club still meets, but it is of a different spirit from what it was in 1964. Now it has middle-class interest in injustices. In the beginning it contained low-class rage against suffered wrongs.

Seeing that the Coupling Club was beginning to change, but still very much impressed with what had been done by those men, we decided to cross the experiences of the Couplings with the organization of the Young Catholic Workers. A second group of ten men were well chosen and after considerable preparation, a special six-week course was

initiated. After the training, these men were to become involved in factory and union problems and at the same time recruit a small body of five or six shop leaders for training. This way a small core or team would be organized in each factory. That was the theory of it, but in fact we were never able to duplicate the fervor and dedication of the Coupling. The new group did not develop any fighting esprit de corps. Instead, it has settled into an interesting, small discussion group. There is little action or direction. So at present our laymen's work has returned to a rather orthodox, conventional pattern. Discussion and talking, music groups, recreation and hiking.

What conclusions can be drawn from all this? Perhaps none at all, but there are a few suggestions or clues that need looking at. First, purposes and intents must be clearly and frankly stated both at the beginning and in continuous re-evaluations. We must be clear whether the sought goals are factory reform or general education or fellowship. Each goal has its own organization, its own rationale and values. And above all, each will demand different types of leadership. Social reform will not come from a group led by a non-involved church pastor or a YMCA type program specialist. One of the reasons that our laymen's work is somewhat at a standstill is that the original leader, like the Couplings themselves, was worn out after four years, and the new leader is oriented around program and discussion, but not action. The desired ends have to be matched with the right type of leadership. When the two do not harmonize, there is only frustration.

A second thing that seems like a valid conclusion is that the individual's dedication and spirit for action cannot carry him through many battles. There has to be a body from which he gains strength and which will go with him when the chips are down. The men in the Coupling Club were in fact acting as isolated individuals in their shops. The Coupling Club gave its members a lot of moral support, but when it came down to it, each person was on his own, and the club or our mission was in no position to jump in and fight along side him. The church as such was completely unrelated and therefore of no use. In contrast, however, almost overnight the Catholic Church became the hero of the working class. A company fired eighty members of the Young Christian Workers' group for interfering with the union. They were backing a strong man for union president when the company had their own man to put in. When the local priest took the matter to his bishop, there were no if's or and's, nor any procrastination. Immediately the newspaper reporters were called, and the bishop announced in strong language that the company had insulted the church and been unjust to their workers. He demanded that all the dismissed employees be rehired. Within two days the company printed an apology in the papers and rehired the workers. Now, of course, most matters are more complex and complicated than this case, so dramatic action cannot be applied. Nevertheless, if action from our laymen is to be expected, then they have a right to expect that the church itself will become involved.

Theologically put, the demand is that the church as an organ-

ization and social entity begin to participate in Christ's incarnation and suffering. The identity of the church must not be confused with the identity of its individual members. As an organization it has a character, a history, a financial position and even a direction or "will" of its own. To say that social action is a matter of individual conscience without going on to involve the organization (the church) to which that individual belongs, and from which he supposedly gets his motivation for action, is either a lack of wisdom or a self-deceit.

A third clue that can be derived from the past six years is a suspicion, a suspicion that perhaps all the urgency about laymen's work and their mission is really just another clerical gimmick. Our intentions were honorable. From the very beginning our aim was to discover or develop leaders among the laymen and let them run things. But somehow this has never quite materialized. The initiative and leadership have stayed in our hands. This does not mean that the laymen have been passive or have not participated. They have participated very deeply, but yet the directions and character of the laymen's actions have been determined to a large degree by us clergymen. There are many reasons why this is so. One of the biggest is that we have the time for it, and they do not. Nevertheless, despite all the legitimate reasons we can muster, the remark of a still worker still rings true: "The way you look at it from the outside is not the same as we see it inside the factory." He was referring in particular to a staff member's comments on the need for Christians to participate

in improving work conditions, but it is, I think, a general truth. We clergymen tend to be crusaders to right evils and correct wrongs. The laymen left to themselves are seldom crusaders. They are so constantly surrounded by and involved in evil, it is only the unusual dramatic event that stirs them to action. The demands, I feel, that the laymen are making are to be able to honestly affirm the desire for material pleasures without a guilty conscience and to be able to live a relaxed, natural life with one's buddies without getting hung up on prohibitions about drink. Their position is fairly simple: affirm life. Life is faith. There will naturally be those who, because of their own personalities, become involved in unions and the struggle for human justice, but not many. At times, over particularly exciting issues, there may be a more general movement to action.

Should not the character of laymen's work take its source from here? Above all else the laymen need a theology of hope and affirmation rather than denial, evangelism and legalism. The action approach should center around the Christians who are already involved in his own situation. No separate program as such is needed. Cooperation and support to him and his organization should be our focus. When the crisis is passed or problem solved, we revert to our former relationship without being encumbered with organization. Likewise, when issues of general concern arouse large numbers of workers, among whom are Christians, we support them as Christians and as a group confronting the issue at hand. This approach accepts the laymen's work per se as their action, their "program." A team of missionaries plays the

role of supporting cast when that role is called for, and it always keeps the Christian worker in the context and fellowship of his fellow workers.

An example of what is needed was given a year or so ago in a certain city to the south. The union and company of a large factory had a long history of negotiations behind them, but usually things went along quietly with the union following the lead of the company. It happened however, that when a new union president was voted in, he decided to take a more independent and active approach to labor-management relations. Thus for almost three years the relations between the company and union became somewhat difficult. Strikes were barely averted on two occasions, but always a compromise was found and production was not interrupted. Since the union president's term of office was three years, the company felt it could put up with him for that length of time, but held high hopes that the union would put in someone else after his term was up. In this, however, the company was disappointed because the workers felt the union was doing a good job. So despite company objections the same man was elected for a second three-year term.

Soon afterwards, negotiations on wages were again entered into. As before, the union man proved a hard one to bargain with. Negotiations went down the line without a settlement. A strike vote was taken. Ninety-three percent of the men supported the stand of the union. But as before in past years, at the very last moment a compromise was reached, and the men received a seventeen per cent increase

in salaries. Apparently feeling that they could not put up with this labor leader any longer, the company decided to promote him to the position of department head, thereby disqualifying him from participation in the union affairs. This particular approach to handling the troublesome union man was known to have worked in similar situations in other companies. This time, however, instead of jumping at the chance to better himself through a promotion, the union man turned it down and through an open letter to all his union members claimed the company was trying to break the union. The company, of course, was furious and decided to stick by its guns. The union president was given a second chance to accept the promotion or be fired. His response was that he would not take the promotion, and it was illegal to fire him. The company, however, was not to be dissuaded, and so despite several attempts at some form of compromise, the union man was finally fired. Many of the workers were appalled and angered by what was taking place, but with company assistance new union officers were elected, and the men followed along. Most of them were uncertain as to what was going on, and none of them could afford to lose his job. Therefore the first wave of anger passed over into resignation, and work went on as before. The dismissed union man and a few of his followers made a plea to the Provincial Labor Committee, but nothing came of it.

It is this pattern of human and structural relationships under which the Christians live and develop their habits and values. If the church is to teach Christian ethics and responsible social life, ex-

hortations to stay pure and unspotted by the world will have little effect. Just by the very fact of living and having to work to make a living, the Christian is up to his ears in the world. The church must deal with the problems and situations and power structures under which the Christians attempt to live. The individual Christian's attempt to live a conscientious and responsible life may well be the vehicles of evil and suffering. The dominating, controlling force is the large organizational powers. The individual conscience must first take cognizance of the structural forces under which he lives before he can determine his own individual course of action. In the case cited above, the company chose and elected a new slate of officers for the union. The company's choice, and the man elected to the post, was an elder of the Methodist Church. He felt honor-bound to accept the job because several of the company men urged him to take it. He felt called upon as a Christian to try and restore peace to a stormy situation. The result was that his acts weakened the stand of the rightful labor leader and also split the loyalty of the workers so that they were confused as to what the issues really were. The Christian uncritically accepted the dominance of the company and assumed that the highest good was to restore communications with the company. He neglected to see that the main issue was the right of a labor organization to exist as an independent, legitimate structure without company control. In a word, he accepted the feudalistic concept that the serf owes primary loyalty to the landlord, and the landlord has the right to interfere in and control the life of the serf.

In a modern developing industrial society this form of personal and structural relations is an impediment to progress and an instrument of injustice.

But the Christian workers cannot be expected to understand this basic structural power relationship unless they are taught. The Christian who became the president of the union was acting in good conscience as he had learned it within the church. But his individual conscience was not determining the ethical issues. The organizational relations and their relative power were doing that. The Christian, thus, in his ignorance, reinforced the reactionary forces of the past that are such a burden on human and social development. Of course the now union leader was not the only Christian involved. There were many Christians in the factory, most of whom remained quite aloof from the whole affair. It was not, they thought, the Christian's place to get mixed up in such messy affairs. The Christian does his work well, helps others, witnesses when given a chance, tries to keep from drinking and smoking, and makes every effort to get off on Sunday so that he can go to church. That is all! This is the kind of training and education he has received in the church. But unfortunately such matters are of little significance or influence in an industrial setting where one's life rhythm is determined by the production system, and the basic human values and relations are formulated by economic and political powers. The challenge to the church is for a completely new retooling of ethical and religious concepts so that the church

and its laymen can come to grips with the real issues and ethical questions of our industrial society.

There are Christians, many of them in management circles, who uncritically accept their right to determine the lives of their employees, to control the union or forbid it altogether. This attitude is held not in meanness or desire to do wrong, but just the opposite: the desire to do good for their workers and care for them. But modern, efficient industry and society do not require companies or politicians who think they have a right to serve others and determine what is good for them; rather the modern world requires independent active citizens and workers who are able to freely move and operate within their own organizations.

Lay training that focuses on the individual Christian's conscience and sense of call to discipleship may actually be doing the involved Christian a disservice. One's individual Christian conscience may be an acceptable guide in human relations, but if the Christian is not fully aware of structures and power contexts within which he is operating, his good intentions can easily become the instrument for a greater evil. In a society which is industrializing at an extremely rapid rate, this means that the layman must be educated in the actual structural systems of society and the nature of their power and influence. It also means that the layman must come to understand the methods whereby workers and ordinary citizens can organize and use their own power in protection of their rights. On this level of operation the Christian can perhaps begin to be of service to his

fellow man in society. But such an approach requires a totally new conception of Christian discipleship. It also requires a deliberate and planned attempt by church leaders and missionaries to completely retool their personnel for the modern mission task. The challenge that confronts us is not how to develop a program for Christian laymen or how to get them involved, but rather the challenge is to reform and restructure the church and clergy so that they can recognize the layman's life as their Christian involvement and thus to be able to play a supporting role to their organizational as well as their personal lives. The urgent task now confronting us is not the hurried administration of lay training programs, but the re-orientation of our theology around real ethical, moral issues and the restructuring of our churches and finances so that mission can become a possibility.

Chapter IV

THE INVOLVEMENT PROCESS

The staff member laboring in the shop is the life supply line of industrial mission. It is, however, true that the missionary in the shop moves in very restricted circles. This is especially true in a work situation like Korea's, where the work is physically exhausting and every moment of one's time is consumed by the factory. In addition, therefore, to the worker-priest, the factory chaplaincy approach becomes legitimate. We have found the chaplaincy approach to be quite appropriate to our situation, and it has lent itself to areas of involvement that we otherwise would have been incapable of. The case study that follows traces the various stages that this ministry has gone through in the last eight years. Similar ministries have been carried on in a dozen or more factories.

The methods by which we have gained admission to the factories with which we are now associated have been quite varied. The term "factory chaplain" is used for the want of a better term. In fact there is no official tie with any of the companies. In several shops we have our access only because of the support of the unions. In others we have been able to gain admittance through the cooperation of friends in some level of management. It is only in a couple of places where there have been some form of official approval granted. In no case is there any financial support requested or accepted. From our point of view the missionaries are factory chaplains. From the company's point of view they are individuals who may add something to the factory life. To the union they are often friends, consultants

and supporters.

The rationale or theology behind the chaplain's approach is quite similar to that upon which the worker-priest approach is grounded. Christ the redeeming suffering one is seen to be located in the vortex of the human, organizational, and mechanical world of the factory and the labor-management situation. Indeed, it is his incarnating action that defines the call of the missionary. The missionary does not enter into his chaplain's work as one who is from the side of the incarnation, but as one who is seeking to participate in Christ's incarnation as he sees it in the lives and relationships of industrial society. The chaplain is not a preacher, but a seeker, and as he seeks he discovers he has found both his ministry and his Christ. His seeking might take years and must be with unremitting modesty and honesty. As the following case clearly portrays, he will find himself drawn into ever deeper and ever wider experiences where he becomes exposed to a greater understanding of the objectively real situation and its subjective meaning and significance.

Case Study

In the fall of 1961 Rev. Cho Young Kyu, the District Superintendent of the Inchun East District began to hold preaching services in one of the large factories of Inchun. When the Mission to Labor and Industry began, Rev. Cho was one of the main supporters. He invited us to help him in his work in the shop. About a dozen believers met once a week in a small room inside the plant. Rev. Cho lead them

in a church worship. One evening five of these men met with us in a tea room for a discussion. We learned in talking that night that these men were not really interested in having another worship service. They had plenty of opportunity to attend worship outside the shop. They would like to have a discussion group that would consider general problems of life as well as religious problems. One fellow suggested that we could hold the meetings in the company dining hall. First we would eat together and then we could go to one side of the hall and talk. This way, whoever wanted to could also join in. Everyone agreed that this was a good approach, and so on the next Wednesday at lunch time we began our discussion meetings in the dining hall.

For the next six months, every Wednesday at twelve o'clock we ate lunch with the workers. From 12:20 until 1:00 we tried to carry on an open discussion. The plan was for the workers to select any topic they wanted. One of us would then prepare a ten-minute talk on the given subject. The remaining half hour was to be given over to discussion. At times everyone joined in well, but mostly the participation was very slow. Sometimes there was almost no response at all. At these times, twenty minutes seemed like twenty hours. Most of the questions came from the Christians. "What is love? How can we understand the trinity? How do you keep the Sabbath?" Though such problems are of interest to some degree to a Christian, they do not have general appeal. The six months we spent in the dining hall could not be considered much of a success. The Christians asked the right churchy questions, but the non-Christians never really became

involved. As the discussions lagged, fewer and fewer people came out, and the more we preachers began to talk. To cover up the silence, we talked. Before long we were back in the old church pattern of having the preacher as the center and chief talker in everything.

In the summer of 1962 a drought hit the country. Electricity was rationed. For three consecutive Wednesdays there was no work in the factory, and our meetings were cancelled. Taking advantage of this rather dubious opportunity, we disengaged ourselves from the lunchroom discussion sessions. The experience had not been exactly enjoyable. After the first few times, we took ourselves to the company by force of sheer will power. To stand in front of these men and be met with stony silence was not something that we looked forward to. Yet it was the only opening we had and thus could not be avoided. Several benefits, however, did accrue. We got to know quite a few of the men. We became common, accepted visitors to the plant. As soon as the men saw us they remembered it was Wednesday. We became Wednesday fixtures. And most important of all, the discipline and challenge of standing on one's feet and trying to communicate, though nerve-racking, gives birth by degrees to a new "feel" for the men with whom you are talking. There develops a new confidence and thus a courage to continue the search for mission.

The lead for our next step came from one of the Christian workers, "Most of the men do not come to the dining hall. They bring their lunches and eat right in the shop. Why not have your discussions

there? So with the help of this young man and another worker, we got permission to visit the plant floor during lunch time. As soon as the lunch whistle blow, we went around to each little group of men as they sat eating their lunches. We told them we would like to talk with them after they were done eating. Much to our surprise sixty of about one hundred men came over to where we were waiting. We introduced ourselves in this way: "We are Christian ministers and would like to talk with you about any question or problems that you would like. We don't intend to preach, but we will try to honestly discuss anything you want to. We will come each Wednesday for six or seven times only. If you want to do it, good. If not, that is all right, too. It's up to you."

The response was favorable. Did being in the familiar surroundings of the plant floor put them at ease? Or did the fact that everyone there was buddies leave them less inhibited? Whatever the reason, questions and opinions came freely and discussions were quite lively: "Why are there so many different churches (denominations)? What is your stand on birth control? How do labor unions operate in America? Is there really a God? Isn't God a fiction of the church? When do you think war will break out again?"

The questions of one hour became the topic for discussion at the next hour. One of us ministers would speak for about ten minutes trying to bring out the issues and explaining our point of view. Then it was opened up for anyone to throw in what he pleased. After a talk about Christianity's relation to other religions, one follow

replied, "Don't religions change with the times? Once we had Buddhism and then Confucianism and Spiritism and now Christianity."

Another fellow agreed. "That's right. There is no one true religion. They only fit certain times and places."

"That might be true for other religions but not Christianity," was the reply. "Christ does not change. There are differences of expression, but basically it is the same."

"Perhaps you are right," the reply came back, "but your gospel is too far beyond us."

"What do you mean?"

"The church always talks about heaven and how to get there; but working in a place like this, I can't even think of heaven, let alone work on getting there."

We tried to explain how one could actually know Christ anywhere, but in fact got off the track and ended up with a clear dichotomy between the physical and spiritual worlds, thus confirming the worker's claim that there was little chance of his thinking of heaven. Over and over again this dualistic theology has been a thorn in the flesh. The spiritual-mental is real and is valuable per se; the material and physical is inferior or evil.

On another occasion we went over the works and failures of labor unions. "How much does an American worker make?"

"Oh, about \$500 per month."

"That's over ten times more than we make. How do they get so much?"

"There are a lot of reasons. One of the important ones is their strong labor unions. Do you all belong to a union?"

"Yes, we all belong, but our unions don't do much. All they do is eat up the money we pay in dues."

"You mean you get no benefits at all?" I asked.

"Sure, there are a lot of benefits. Our wages are negotiated. We get a bonus twice a year and a couple of other things."

"Yeah, but not because of the union."

"If the union is so bad, why don't you guys raise the riot act and demand something be done?"

"Oh, to hell with them!"

The alienation of the men from their own unions was to become a familiar theme, but in 1963 and '64 it was a new discovery to us.

Today the worker in this plant will have an average education of one or two years in high school. Just five years ago the average was second or third year of junior high school. Nevertheless, even then the coherence and articulation of these men were quite impressive. Often one hears the cliché that Korean workers are too ignorant to really participate in the union or society. Our experience points the other way. They are probably as capable and alert as any comparable group anywhere in the world. After spending a period of six or seven weeks in a section, we passed on to another one. In this way, we stopped while there was still interest and did not have to wait and see it die from lack of participants. Leaving at the right time is important. It earned us a hearty welcome back and made us innumerable friends throughout the plant. For about ten months we

continued in this pattern. After we had been in every section and department of the factory, we thought of starting over again, but second sense told us that to do so would probably be quite an anti-climax and letdown. We decided to discontinue.

To discontinue one particular approach, however, did not mean that we stopped going out to the factory every Wednesday. Already a year had passed since we first visited the plant, and to some degree we had become a part of the Wednesday operations. Each Wednesday at lunch time we visited individuals in the shop. Then three things occurred that were to determine our path for the next couple of years. First, a delegation of Christians from among the men asked if we would be willing to hold a Bible study for them during the Wednesday lunch hours. Second, a group of young engineers asked if I would teach them English. This I agreed to do for a period of three months only. After that was finished, a small core of about ten men decided to continue to meet after work for discussion and study of social and philosophical problems.

The third incident was of a different nature. One day word came that there had been an explosion in the plant and three men had been seriously injured. Upon inquiry, it was learned that the injured men had been faithful participants at our discussion meetings in the plant. Immediately we went to the hospital and found that one of the men was lucky enough to have only lacerations of the arms and hands. The other two men, however, were not so fortunate. As they had been shoveling scrap metal into the furnace, unknowingly they had

shoveled in a live hand grenade that had been laying around apparently since the war days, some seven or eight years. The one man's face was practically gone. The other would always see us through a cloud. His eyes had been so damaged that he could never again see color, only make out shadows of gray. There was nothing we could do except ask about the accident and express our regrets. Before we left, we asked if it would be all right for us to pray. None of the men were Christians. Two of their wives were in the room.

We prayed, "O God, our Father, these thy children are suffering pain and loss of health. Through no fault of their own they and their families are going through grievous hardship. Grant, O Lord, strength to conquer pain. If possible, restore these brethren to health. Give the doctors and nurses and their loved ones grace to minister to them during this time of pain. And, Father, prevent other comrades from being so injured. Help the company, and union and men to guard the health of all who work within the walls of the factory. We pray in Christ's name. Amen."

After praying, we left. Two days later when we went out to the factory, we were overwhelmed by the reception. Apparently everyone in the shop had heard of our visit to the hospital. They were grateful. Most were not Christians, but still they were grateful that we had shown concern for their comrades. The union president came up and thanked us, and from that day on we found a welcome in the union that was to involve us even more deeply in the life of the workers. In this instance and in countless other situations in this

factory and others we found that a hospital visit, a call at the home of a sick or injured person, or counseling with individual workers not only allowed us to be of service but was the means of grace whereby we could enter into the lives of these brethren. It also resulted in deep human relationship upon which future work with the union and in labor-management relations could be built. The individual must be known and appreciated. Individual human relationships are the foundation upon which labor-industrial mission can be built. The factory chaplain has as one of his duties assisting the men and women of the shop. Visiting them at homes as well as at work, and especially showing concern for the poor among them.

At the first gathering for the lunchtime Bible study some thirty Christians of all brands and emotions showed up. There was an immediate difference of opinion as to how to proceed. Some wanted a full-course worship service. Others wanted to use a part of the time for handing out tracts. For our part we wanted to engage the Christians in discussion and even in confrontation with some of the basic problems of their factory and community. Finally a compromise was worked out whereby we would study Bible passages together. Second Corinthians was chosen. I worked up the schedule. Each week a passage was selected, and two or three questions about the passage was printed up and given ahead of time to all the participants. During the winter months we met on the plant floor usually sitting around a stove made from a cut-up fifty gallon kerosene drum. When it got too cold there, we

moved over to the forging shop and sat in front of the large furnaces. It was only a short time of perhaps three months until the attendance dipped to an average of eight or nine. As Christians, it seemed as though there was very little new left to say.

Despite attempts to direct the discussions away from church life and toward the situation of their everyday factory life, we would usually end up repeating the words, ideas and formulae that church people have been kicking back and forth for centuries now. We continued, however, for almost a year. In early 1964 Rev. Cho Sung Hyuk had been appointed to work as chaplain in the shop. By the spring of 1965 he decided the time had come to lay the Bible study to rest. His reason for so doing reflects the fundamental change that had come over our theology and our operations. Spending his one day in the shop only with the Christians had the effect of creating the image that he, like all preachers, was interested only in Bible and worship. The non-church people thus could dismiss him without a second thought, and the church people merely had their own platitudes about religion confirmed. In order to break the pattern, Rev. Cho determined to re-order his operations. The English class and discussions with the engineers had lasted for six months with nothing of significance developing except that a close tie of friendship with a dozen young men had emerged.

Part of Rev. Cho's new plan was to spend time inside and outside the shop getting to know these young men. Within four years several of these men had become department heads and company executives.

In 1968 and '69 when we became dooply immersed in the problems of labor relations, we already had some firm foundations on the company side. Another approach decided upon was that of regular visitation to the plant floor in order to get better acquainted with the rank and file. Initially this is a difficult business. Outsiders without any special certification are not exactly welcomed as brothers. Rev. Cho's approach was to take a printed sheet extracted from a popular radio broadcast that dealt with a variety of subjects and topics of general interest. As he passed these out, there were always a few who would start a conversation. Over a couple of years there were very few whom he had not passed at least a few words with. Rev. Cho talks and eats with them almost everyday in one factory or another. This is a source of strength in the field of labor relations. This is a unique posture. Not only do he and the other chaplains learn the workers' reactions and feelings, but to some degree they also share the workers' sufferings.

At best, work conditions are hard and income low, but even among those who do the same job there are some who are more unfortunate and are poorer than others. And as the Council at Jerusalem directed that Paul should "remember the poor," so the chaplain in the factory does not neglect them.

One day Kim, who had worked in the shop for thirteen years, did not appear. For five days there was no word. Never in thirteen years had anything like this happened. Two of his buddies went out

to find him. His house was located some ten miles away, but when they got there, they were told that Kim had moved. No one was exactly sure where but somewhere in one of the little mountain areas that ring Inchun. After hours of hunting they finally tracked him down. He was living in the middle of a lopor colony. It was the only house he could find that he could pay the rent on. For two years his wife had been extremely sick with mental depressions. In hopes of finding a cure for her, Kim had used all his wages, had borrowed heavily and lost the room where he used to live. For the last several months there was not even food for his family of four to eat. One night after walking the eight miles home from work, he had collapsed on the floor. There he lay when his friends from the factory found him. Immediately they wanted to rush him to the hospital, but second thought told them that hospitals take money. They had none. After trying to get Kim comfortable and buying a little food for the family, the men went back to the shop to take up a collection. Everyone helped out, but it was enough for only a couple days' care. The company said they could do nothing since Kim's sickness was not related to his work.

Rev. Cho did not know Kim, but he did know several of the men in Kim's department who told him what was going on. Rev. Cho immediately made arrangements with the Inchun Christian Hospital to admit Kim and give him treatment as a charity patient. His friends in the shop carried the bill for some of the medicine. For a few days it looked like Kim might make it. He regained consciousness and talked

intelligibly, but on the fifth night in silence and loneliness he died. Rev. Cho saw to the funeral, helped the mother get the children into an orphanage, and arranged for the mother to get some needed medication. All of this took time, of course. It also took money. But it is a part of the mission of a factory chaplain, and it is the part that lets him see deep into the tragedy of the workers' lives.

From the very beginning we had paid periodic visits to the union, but not until a couple of years passed and Rev. Cho was becoming involved in the life of the shop did our relations become anything more than a cursory acquaintance. It developed, however, that on several occasions the union president consulted with Rev. Cho about some problems of individual workers, so in the normal process of conversation union problems and the relations between company and union became topics of conversation between them. Rev. Cho had a good first-hand contact with the rank and file. He also by 1965 had finished college level courses in management problems and union operations. Those two men took an immediate liking to each other and a very close friendship developed that was to define the directions for much of Rev. Cho's work for over three years. The friendship, however, was to be broken in bitterness and failure in early 1969.

In Korea, unions are organized on an industrial basis. There are sixteen nation-wide union federations, but often the national organization is very weak. Among those who realize the need for stronger national unions was Rev. Cho's friend Kim Chong Ho, the local union

president. When in the spring of 1967 he had the chance of becoming elected to the top national post, he decided to take it. It meant a lot of headaches and fights, he knew, but he thought it would be worth the effort. The head of the national union, however, receives no salary. Therefore, he must retain his position in the local while at the same time trying to keep tabs on what is going around over the nation. To add to the unattractiveness of the job, factional infighting between the heads of the various locals is endemic and brutal. Locals of the same national in the same city, across the street from one another refuse to cooperate. Each leader tries in some form to get the better of the other. Nevertheless, Kim had a calling and was going to try. He was actually well qualified for the job. He had been in the shop for seven years before being elected president. He was a good speaker: mild and friendly, but with considerable substance.

Almost from the beginning, however, things went wrong. He was elected, but almost immediately a candidate who had been defeated raised his banners against him. In the board meetings or in the daily operation of the National or in Kim's relations with the member unions, this fellow unionist obstructed, spread dissention, and made accusations. Kim was able to accomplish nothing. In his frustration he turned quite often to Rev. Cho. Hours upon hours were spent, often late into the night, as the two of them would talk and try to figure a way by which something constructive could be made of the mess. It was during these talks that Rev. Cho learned that Kim

had been born and raised a Methodist. Only after he went into the factory did he stop going to church. How often we have seen this! The men with a real calling and sense of justice have come out from the church because the church talks but does not act. Kim lived his double life between his local in Inchun and the National in Seoul for almost two years until he gave up the latter, a very dejected young man. He had little time to recover himself, however, His company was to be denationalized.

This presented a threat to the union and to all the men individually. They were to be turned over to one of the largest companies in Korea, famous for its anti-union stand. Workers began to look for jobs elsewhere. The union protested the denationalization, but, of course, to no avail. A strike or walkout would only demonstrate the union's own weakness. The new owners announced that they intended to retain the present executives of the company. Those men, who had been with the company for several years, were concerned about the problems of transfer to private ownership and about the panic spreading among the men.

In talking over the situation with Kim, the union president, Rev. Cho expressed the idea that it might be of some value for the union and company men to sit down somewhere in neutral ground and talk the thing out. The Christian Academy House in Seoul would serve as an appropriate place, he thought. Kim took this idea to the plant manager, who in turn talked it over with the higher-ups. The union was willing and eager to have such a meeting where they could talk to

the company on even terms. The company was willing to go along, and the management on the shop level thought it could produce some real results.

Through the efforts of Rev. Cho and the cooperation of the Academy House, a two-day meeting was held. Union men were paired with company men for roommates. In a carpeted, peacefully decorated circular hall in the midst of Seoul's beautiful mountains, the union and company shot fire and shell at each other for two days. Rev. Cho chaired the meeting. The company was angry because of the union's suspicions and lack of understanding. The union feared for the jobs of the men and for its very existence. The final session brought little relief, but considerable understanding. The company representatives said they thought the union could be assured that there would be no large-scale layoffs. The union was willing to cooperate as long as the company was reasonable.

For a while after the Academy House meeting the situation seemed to improve. The company president even stopped in at the union office to talk over some of the new policies. The union was more united than ever. Our office was working with Kim on a labor education program for the rank and file of his union. Then round two broke out with a fury. The new company had factories in many parts of the country, and it tried to administer, in as far as possible, a similar personnel policy for all of them. It is the law that a terminated employoe is entitled to at least one month of pay for each year of service rendered. During the years that the company was nationalized, the union

had, through bargaining, achieved a progressive rate by which termination pay was calculated. Up to ten years of service, an employee received only one month's pay per year of service. After that the rate went up until at twenty years the employee could receive two and a third months' pay per year. The new management now decided that this progressive system of termination pay was unjust and intolerable. It would have to be reduced to comply with the other factories in their system: one month per year regardless of length of service.

Kim was summoned and the orders issued. He protested that the work contract was still in effect and could not be re-negotiated for at least six months. The company replied that they were not bound by the contract reached with the former employer. The change would have to be made immediately.

The union had nowhere to turn for redress or complaint. They had to solve it themselves. The whole story will probably never be known. Kim never called on his men to support him or to walk off the job in protest. Perhaps he felt they were too fearful of their own jobs to make a strike stick. Or it may have been a case where the men in charge felt a complete responsibility for solving problems all by himself. His merit and qualifications as a leader are reflected in doing things for his subordinates, not in getting them to act on their own behalf. Whatever the reason, Kim entered into negotiations single-handedly. He proved no match for the company men, and finally, without consulting anyone else, he signed the document

invalidating the progressive rate for termination pay.

This one man, the president of the local union, can make the decision in such cases. Probably more than any other thing, this habit of unilateral decision-making cripples Korean Labor unions. Rov. Cho had been involved in the negotiations over termination pay from the beginning. His role in the negotiations was that of an "acceptable" third party. He helped clarify the issues and keep down tempers. At the same time, he acted as consultant and friend to Kim. Kim and Cho had gone through a lot of hard times and heartaches together. Now the friendship was destroyed. The union was thrown into a state of paralysis. In a period of a couple of months, Inchun's strongest union was laid waste. The beginnings toward greater solidarity and rank-and-file participation which had begun to develop were destroyed. And a very capable union leader was eliminated. Now the union is being rebuilt. It may be years, however, before it can regain the ground it has lost.

Our ministry in this one shop represents ~~our~~ process in involvement in mission. Nine years ago we began with worship services for a few Christians. From there we went to open discussions in the plant where the participants were almost entirely non-Christian. Then through the ministry of aiding the injured and sick and through constant visitation in the shop, we became closely related to company and union. So when disputes arose we were in a position to be of service to both sides. Our own orientation and posture has become that

of supporting the demands of the workers in their attempts to gain the right to participate in their unions, their companies and society. This posture does not negate the Christian message of repentance and salvation in Christ. It does the exact opposite. It makes the meaning of the Gospel take on flesh and blood. The process of incarnation takes place.

The deeper one goes into mission, the more urgent becomes the need to take sides. The missioner is actually involved in trying to help construct the social structures and relationships within which there can be justice and individual dignity. To be of aid in this situation, the missioner must be fully aware of the present imbalances and injustices. His job is to join forces with those of like mind who are seeking to establish a new equilibrium in society. Therefore we have cooperated willingly and actively with unions on several levels. Negotiations between the company and union is a very difficult and specialized field. Frequently the union men are unprepared by experience or education to enter into negotiations on an equal basis with the company. Through our Mission the unions have on a few occasions met university professors who are equipped to help them prepare for the negotiations. The company will object to the "outsiders" becoming involved in the negotiations, but increasingly the workers are going to have to resort to the use of experts to bolster their own strength. And as the union side grows in strength, the overall value and importance of labor negotiations will increase. Information and expertise are factors of power that the unions must use in their drive

to democratize labor-management relations. In order to assist in this process we act as a source through which the needed expertise can be obtained.

Labor education is another instrument through which our concern for social balance can be expressed. Though there are a variety of education programs for top level union leaders, there is very little for the workers and unions at the local level. Our first attempt at labor education was in 1967. With the cooperation of several of the local unions, a three-week course on collective bargaining, union administration and wages was held. An average attendance of forty students was so encouraging that from that time on one of our main efforts has been in the field of labor education. At first we relied almost completely on professors from Seoul, but we soon became disillusioned. Most of them did not really understand the worker's situation at all. Many of them never even bothered to prepare before they came. Gradually we moved away from a lecture approach to a half lecture and half workshop approach. Frequently we find in the workshops that the men themselves, when engaged in serious study and discussion, can produce more profound and appropriate remarks than college professors. By using case studies, movies and discussions in careful relation with the subject of the lecturer, an effective process of education is achieved.

As a result of these experiences in education for local union leaders, there was born a plan for even a deeper involvement in the

process of worker and union development. Unions were born in the political stress of post-Liberation days when the communists were trying to gain inroads among the laborers of the peninsula. The workers became the focus for a long, hard political struggle between the forces of the left and the right. Because of the commanding power of the political force, the workers never had the opportunity to develop their own organization and sense of solidarity. Unionism was imposed from the top down. Even now much of unionism is very top-heavy and a large per cent of the workers, though passively going along with what the union leaders do, really play almost no part in the union itself. Even such matters as the election of their officers or the decision on whether to accept or reject a wage increase is in the hands of the leaders. Instead of a worker-centered union, it is an officer-centered union.

Nevertheless, there are many leaders who want to develop the workers' participation in the union. Our experiences at labor education have brought us into contact with those leaders who are desirous of developing worker participation. As a result, a new phase of cooperation was ushered in: education programs for the rank and file workers and union members. On this level the use of university professors is almost ruled out. The men want concrete talk about concrete problems. So materials and short talks about specific issues coupled with a lot of discussion and movies are the most effective methods. The union members are intelligent, informed men and, when locked in debate with each other over concrete issues of the

shop and union, carry on as high a level of discussion as any group anywhere. Here is the challenge that confronts Korean society today. How, in this highly centralized and hierarchical society, can the common men and women form their own organizations and begin to participate fully in the economic-political levels of their lives? Their capacities and desires to so participate are well attested to, but the present structures of society, instead of encouraging them to become active citizens, make passivity and compliance the important social virtues. It is the urgent task not only of the church but the government as well to assist the workers and the poor to create new avenues and channels through which they too can contribute to the nation and share in its decisions.

Important as labor education is in the democratization of the union movement and society, it is action within the specific tensions and problem areas that will really create self-confidence among the workers and allow them to contribute to the development process of society. Frequently government officials and economists call for cooperation between workers and employers as though all disputes and struggles are bad and act as an impediment to development. As a matter of fact, it is frequently in situations of tense conflict where real creativity and progress take place. To be in a position of opposition to or struggle against does not mean that total destruction of the opponent is called for, but it is in these relations of tension where the opponents have to use their abilities, their skills

and courage. Thus creativity and development become possible. Unfortunately, the authorities, the companies, and even many of the union men fail to realize the need for tension and conflict. The result too often is a union movement controlled and determined by outside forces. On the other hand, there are dramatic and courageous acts by unions and workers that keep the hope of democracy alive. We have been privileged to be able to cooperate in a few of these events. It is not infrequent that the workers end up defeated, but that is of secondary importance. The fact that each year there are a variety of labor-management disputes gives witness to the hope of the people for a democratic participation in their shops and society.

One foreign firm fired the newly-elected union president for allegedly using 200 won worth of company paper for union purposes. The union responded by calling for a strike. Ninety-seven per cent of the workers voted their agreement. Another company consistently used pressures to keep its own man in as head of the union, but the workers reasserted themselves and elected a man of their own choosing. A company and union could not agree on the amount of a wage increase, so the union went on strike. The strike lasted several days, and a compromise solution was worked out. After it was all over, the company and union men decided to regularize their mutual consultations. The atmosphere of the shop has increased tremendously. In another case, word was leaked out that a private company and the government were carrying on secret negotiations in order to turn over a certain factory to the private concern. When the union men heard of it, they

immediatoly banded all the workers together and marched on the officos of the privato concern to protest the manner in which the fato of their work place was being docided. They stayed at the company's gatos until an apology was givon.

These are conflict issues. To require that there be cooperation on all such things is the same as saying that the workers must abide by what the company says. Such an attitude does violence to the relationship between two independent organizations such as a union and a company. It also creates a barrier to production and an unnecessary block to social development. The power of the company in dispute with the power of the workers creates possibilities for progress for all.

CHAPTER V

PARTICIPATION IN THE CITY

Chicago is a city of about five million. Perhaps a quarter of those live in what could be classified as undesirable or slum housing. Fifty or sixty years ago the old buildings that housed the Polish, the Italian, the East European Jews and other national minorities now house the hordes of American Negroes who have left the Southland. Ever since the First World War they have been coming, hoping to find jobs and new lives. Even yet every year several thousand new arrivals move into approximately the same already overcrowded Black areas of the city. As the Negroes have moved in, the whites have moved out. The Negro, however, because he is Black has been bottled up into tight, preposterously overcrowded ghetto sections of the town. The problems a man faces living in this type of urban society are many. Most visible is the living quarters that he can provide for his family. There are public apartments, but the waiting list is long and if one is unlucky enough to get assigned to an apartment on the tenth or fifteenth floor, just taking care of the children and getting out to the laundry and market become big chores. The halls and stairways of these large apartments have become the playground for the kids and the meeting place of young gangsters and thieves. So, though the rent is cheap, the public apartments are not considered to be desirable places to live. In comparison with a lot of the private housing, however, the public apartments are clean and well taken care of. A large per cent of the old buildings owned by individuals are those built by the foreign immigrants a half century ago. Though the

owners have moved out to a clean suburb, they either rent out to the present occupants or, what is more likely, the owners will have sold the houses to some real estate agent who now keeps them for the income they bring in rent. In either case, the houses will probably not have been repaired for at least the last twenty or thirty years, or since the original owner moved out of the city. Often two, three, or four families will occupy the same house, each paying an exorbitant rent. The city housing code requires basic fire protection, water and sanitation, but since the fines on these are so low & the owners so hard to locate, few of the city codes are actually abided by.

A second almost insurmountable problem facing the resident in this part of the city is the task of getting a job. Though there are want ads in the paper each day, the Negro has two handicaps: he is black, and he is unprepared in experience or skill to hold the jobs which need men. Of these two the latter is more important, for now in American society the hiring of Negroes has become quite accepted and encouraged. But the development of industry requires such high levels of technical skill that many of the Negroes cannot compete. They have not had the job opportunities nor the education to fit them for the demands of the labor market. So whereas there is only about three to four per cent unemployment in the United States, the largest percentage of the unemployed is among the city Negroes. And those who do find jobs get those positions for which there is the least demand and the smallest pay. The result is that the city dweller finds himself economically shackled to his poverty. He does not

control the means whereby he can improve himself in his society.

Education should be of some assistance at least for the next generation. And so it is, but the next generation's educational level must be considered in relation to the educational level of their peers who live in the better parts of the society. What actually happens is that though the educational level of the ghetto children does improve, the difference between their education and the rest of the society actually gets wider. The other children have improved at an even faster rate. The amount of money that it would take to upgrade the schools so that they would be on the same level as other communities is huge, and the city authorities do not provide it. The teachers who come to the ghetto schools are the second-rate teachers who could not find a job elsewhere. School equipment and facilities are subnormal. Education seems to fit the pattern. Instead of reforming the situation, it perpetuates it.

The political situation is similar. Politics could be the means of improving the area, but in fact it also preserves the injustices of the status quo. Because of their large numbers, all concentrated in the one area, the poor of the city have great political potential. If they could organize and pressure for their rights as a political power, something might be done. But the political party is already controlled by others. The people who used to live there, the real estate companies and the politicians of the Democratic Party control everything. Their focus is not so much the interest of the people, but the value to the party and the monetary profit to its members.

A handful of Party leaders select the representatives to the City Council, the state legislature, and even the national assembly. All the people can do is vote for or against the candidates the politicians choose. In Chicago it is particularly bad since only the Democratic Party has any strength. Where the opposition Party is weak, the interests of the people are not heard.

This is life for almost two million people in one city. The result, of course, is chaos. The individual is up against insurmountable problems. There is nothing he can do. His own self-respect withers. The potentials and ideas he once held in his head and body die. The same process is observable in society. Family life breaks up. There is little respect for the parents. The children are educated on the streets and find their main loyalty to their gangs. The gangs run free during the night, making it unsafe for anyone to venture out alone. Society's hope and potential also die. The individuals locked within this society become helpless. In no way can they determine their own destiny. They are at the mercy of the politicians. The politicians are men who live outside their community. They are well-off men who work closely with the landlords, the real estate agents, the rich. Self-respect, self-responsibility, and hope in the future do not appear. Their lives are controlled by forces outside themselves.

Where is Christ in such a situation? What is he doing? What does he demand in this city? Jesus had a few points in common with the poor and dispossessed of the city. He, too, lived in a country where

a few men controlled the people. The Jewish upper classes controlled society through their religious laws and rituals, and, where necessary, they called upon a foreign nation to execute capital punishment for them. The people were powerless. Within this situation Jesus formed his own group of followers. He spoke words of justice and righteousness fearlessly. Often he took direct steps such as throwing money-changers out of the temple or attacking the Pharisees, who apparently held the real political power among the Jews, for their hypocrisy. He did this despite the fact that he knew where it was leading. Within a closed and oppressive society, he acted as a free man. And as he foresaw, he was crucified for being free. From the crucifixion came the resurrection, and the power to be victorious even within such a situation became a live option to everyone.

Now the Church and Christians who call upon his name share Christ's freedom, the freedom to join with him in fearlessly proclaiming justice and acting against those powers which would deprive people of the dignity of controlling their own lives. The claim upon us is not only to be free as Christ was, but to also reconstruct society so that even the poorest can participate in the decisions and powers that govern their lives. Christ's freedom is expressed in the participation of the city's poor in each facet of their individual and social life. Only in this manner can the image of God, lodged in every man, come to realize itself. Only through participation can we begin to approximate the freedom that Jesus let loose in the world.

In concrete terms it means that the people who populate the

slums of Chicago need to have a direct say in the local and national politics which govern their community. It means that they have to exercise control over tholand speculators that steal their homes and inflate ronts. Participation means that the peoplo of the community must be represented on the school boards and in the government education dopartments. They must begin making the decisions about the education their children will receive. Likowiso it requires that the voice of the unskilled and the jobloss be heard in the boards of industry and business so that they too can begin to share the burdens of society instead of reaping all the benefit. To be human means to be creativo to act, to decido, to control ono's futuro. This is God's imago in us. It is this image in action that is freedom. Through participation in the roal forces, organizations and relationships of society is this frocdom created.

But participation and frocdom do not develop automatically. They do not onorgo as though by some natural law. Freedom requires courago, action and sacrificio. In modern urban society it means there must be an organization through which the peoplo can express themselves and make their power felt. Modern society is very closely organized. The individual, unless ho is unusually gifted, has almost no chance of influencng anything. It is only as the poor and the weak organize and counter-balance the existing dominant powers that the individual's dignity can become active and justice can become a possibility.

The peoplo of the city, organized around their own needs for

education, sanitation, political rights, and better jobs, can form a power that challenges and attacks the present authorities. It is within the tensions caused by such a confrontation that creativity, justice and human freedom are formed. It is exactly this that defines what urban mission is. The purpose of urban ministry is to help create tensions between the traditional powers of the city and the organization of people. Its method is organizing the citizens around their needs, and supporting them in actions taken to enlarge their prerogatives. The goal of urban mission is participation. Its method is organization.

Perhaps the most successful organizer for people's participation was Martin Luther King. About fifteen years ago he organized the now famous Birmingham bus strike. The problem was one specific issue: Should a person be made to sit in the back of a bus or train because he is Black? For decades the powers of society denied the Negro the freedom to ride where he wanted to. The individual was helpless. But organized together around this one common issue they began a social revolution. Together they boycotted the buses. Together they attacked the evil of their society, and they won. The result was that the boundaries of human freedom were widened both for the Negroes and for the whites who had been accepting such an inhuman situation. It was from this small beginning that the whole process of people's participation in their society began in America.

As described above, the high apartment buildings for the poor people of Chicago have become the hide-out of thieves, gangsters,

and dope peddlars. Women and even grown-up men are afraid to be alone at night or to walk out on the streets or even in the halls of the apartment. In a parish where the author was pastor of a small church, the people in one such apartment met at the church to discuss their problem. There had been a wave of crime. Women had been molested. Robbery occurred almost everyday and a crowd of young gangsters always loitered in the halls. If one person would go out to complain, he was in danger of being beaten up. The individual was helpless. But together a system was worked out whereby the men who lived in the apartment patrolled the halls and elevators. If trouble developed, a blow on the whistle brought the adult men and women of every apartment out into the halls. Faced with a superior number of people who wanted order and safety, the young gangsters left. The system and habits of society deprived the apartment dwellers of their human rights and dignity. By organizing, their responsibility was shared and their power was rendered effective.

Another example involves the very technical and complicated business of city planning and the problem of housing. Houses are often overcrowded, and since the owner does not live in the building, the building becomes dilapidated and unsafe. Much of the attention of city planners is focused upon how to replace such houses with better houses, but city planners frequently have little understanding of the human dimensions of city life. Roads they can plan. High apartments they can build. Water and sewage they can deal with. But problems of human dignity, and community are beyond them. In

one section of Chicago the planners decided to tear down the old buildings and make room for a new school and education center. This was a very much needed project for the community, but it so happened that the area to be torn down was one of the few places where the people who lived in the houses actually owned them. As a result the houses were in much better repair than in most other sections of the ghetto area. The education center could have been put elsewhere, but the houses there were owned by the real estate men and politicians, who had a lot of influence in city hall. In order to protect their income coming from the dilapidated houses, these men had the planners put the education center in the area where the poor people owned their own homes. Planners can master the problems of constructing a new building or placing a new street, but frequently before their skills are put into practice the prior political and social decisions have already been made. If the voice of the people concerned is to be heard, if their direction and ideas are to be protected, it must be at the political and social level. The technical planners implement the political and social policies of those in control of government.

In the area of Chicago where this education center was to be built, there was an urban mission team called the West Side Parish. Among the staff members of this parish was a man who was an expert in city planning and especially in housing plans. Knowing what was going on in the city hall, he organized the home owners of the area. Together they drew up a plan for the repair and improvement not only

of their buildings, which were old yet still strong, but they also included plans for a community center, a shopping area, and a small playground. All of this would be done with private money if the city would only grant a small loan. These plans were then rushed to the political powers of the city hall. Immediately opposition was voiced by the real estate agents and politicians who stood to lose money if the education center were built elsewhere. The urban missionary went to the city hall with representatives of the home owners' organizations and fought for their proposal. The city's plan would destroy the only stable element in the society and it would allow a few landlords to continue to collect their exorbitant rents from poor people. The missionary's plan would have protected the home owners, and made the whole area a better community. The education center could be put where the bad houses were. Everyone would have profited - except the few landlords, real estate men, and politicians. Nevertheless, the plan put forth by the missionaries and home owners' organization was rejected. The education center was put up in the area where the people owned their homes. They, of course, were paid for their property but were forced out of the community. Why? The landlords and real estate men had more political power than the people.

The three elements of urban mission are clear. First there must be organization of the people involved. Second there must be some form of expertise. This may be expertise in housing problems, city planning, political maneuvering or expertise in education, industry, or work with gangs. And thirdly there must be action.

Martin Luther King succeeded because he took action. The urban missionary failed because, despite the superiority of his expertise, his organization was not able to act with enough strength to defeat the power of the real estate men.

Before we move over into urban mission in Korea, one more fact of the ministry in American cities needs to be explained. It is what we can call direct political involvement. All urban mission is political, but there are times and places where missionaries and the church as a whole need to get directly involved in a political campaign. It is of utmost importance that there be men in the city hall, the national assembly and even in the presidency who understand and represent the poor and the working class of society. In the legislative halls the laws that govern everything from labor relations to taxes to the cost of education are decided, and in the government bureaucracies these laws are administered and enforced. The daily life of every citizen is directly influenced and determined by the political structures and decisions, but it is the poor, the industrial workers, the citizens without property who have almost no representation among those who make and enforce the laws. The individual who lives in the city's ghettos is overwhelmed by the complexity of his surroundings and the impossibility of ever being able to change the situation. He has to live the best he can. The injustices and inhuman treatment are part of life. He becomes fatalistic and bitter. He has no say in who the political candidates will be. The party does that. As in Chicago, if there is only one party, it is even

worse. If there are two candidates representing equally strong parties, the individual citizen can learn a lot about both of them. The candidates will have to state what they are and what they stand for. Thus the citizen can make an intelligent decision. Where one party completely dominates, the citizen can never be sure that he is not being lied to and misled.

As in other situations, organization and action by and among the city's poor is called for. But of all the levels of participation this is the most difficult. It requires a skill and a sustaining power far beyond the capacity of most citizens. Nevertheless, unless some way by which the average citizen can be actively and intelligently involved in the politics of the city and nation, there is little chance that there will be a real participation at any level. There is also little chance that a society will be democratized or humanized.

Because of the complexity of direct political involvement, a ministry by a group of experts is essential. The candidates and issues must be studied and judged from the point of view of justice and the people's benefit. The voting record of each candidate in the national assembly or city hall must be examined and published. The policies and actions of the candidates must be debated and judged. Only an organization of experts can carry on such a service, but the whole purpose is then to make choices and try to get the people of the city to support the candidates and party which through their actions have worked for the benefit of the poor, the workers, the weak.

During the campaign and before, rallies are held, posters made, and every home visited in order to get the chosen candidates elected. In cases where none of the professional politicians are acceptable, representatives chosen from among the people are backed. Even if such a candidate cannot win, the protest vote for him will serve as a warning to professional politicians that they had better get closer to the people.

The process of urbanization is, of course, not unique to the United States. It has become a phenomenon for the whole world, and as industrialization and modernization proceed, urbanization increasingly becomes one of the most difficult and demanding challenges of a nation. According to figures put out by the Economic Planning Board in 1949 there were only a little over three million people designated as urban dwellers. In 1966 the figures had about tripled. By 1968 the city population had increased to over 10,000,000. The large percentage of the increase has centered in Seoul, a city now of 4,500,000, a population comparable to Chicago. If we were to list the problems that plague Seoul City we would find that many of the same problems listed above as problems of Chicago show up in Seoul's list: problems of inadequate school facilities, growing crime rate, slums and lack of low-income housing, sanitation and water supply, unemployment, alienation between citizens and police, and the concentration of news media into the hands of a few large companies. Of all of these the most dramatic, and perhaps the most difficult of solution, is that of providing houses for the poor.

It was once thought in the United States, back in the 1930's and 40's that if only enough high-riso apartments could be built, all of the poor would have adokuato shelter and thoroby the basic human needs would bo taken care of. Tho results, however, have boen frus-
trating. Tho high risos have bocone tho centors of crime and tho modern slums. Thoro doos not soom to bo a positivo corrolation between a large, outwardly strong looking apartment and tho developmont of human community or tho solution of city problems. In addition, tho supply of tho houseless seems to bo ondloss. Thy move from one blighted area to another. Thoro is no stability, no foundations upon which a responsible society can bo built. And, of course, thoro are always tho crooks and evil mon who manipulate land, government and poplo for thoir own financial and political ends. Tho problem of adokuato city housing must not bo separated from tho problem of adokuato community and social foundation.

A concrete caso will clarify tho problem and give us a glimpse of tho tromondous complexity of city planning and housing. Tho residents of a certain area cmsisted of basically threo types of citizens. Many of tho ownors of tho shacks had boen living thoro over since tho Koroan War twenty years ago. Thoir families had boon born and raised in thoso shacks; tho children had played in tho narrow paths and hills and had bocome sick because of tho area's exposure and dirt. This was home, humble though it was. Thoro wero others who also wero residents of long standing. Thy, however, owned nothing. Thy wero renters. An amount of 50,000 to 100,000 won had rented thom a room and kitchen.

They too looked upon this miserable place as their home. The third class of resident was the transient. There were large numbers of those who rented by the day or the month, but moved on after a short while. One of these renters was Pak Kyung Yu. Pak worked in a nearby factory earning about 10,000 - 12,000 won per month. After years of savings and suffering, he gathered enough money to buy one of the houses in the neighborhood. First he cleared with the Koo Chong as to whether there were any plans for clearing the area or putting a road through. The clerk at the Koo Chong assured him there were no plans for his area. Pak bought his house. All of his savings went into it. In addition, he borrowed 80,000 won, on which he promised to pay five per cent per month. His work was steady and within a year he figured the debt could be paid off.

But into this area, which we who live well call a slum, came an order from the city hall. "You will move your house away from its present site to a designated area on the outskirts of the city. This will be done within twenty days. A city fire road is being put in for everyone's protection." Fifty families were affected. One of those was Pak Kyung Yu. Only three months before he had closed the deal and purchased his house. Now that house was to be torn down, and he and his family were to be moved miles away from his work, from his children's school and the community they had known for all their married life. In unbelief and anger Pak went to the Koo Chung to find the man who had assured him that there was no road plans for the area. But the man was not to be found. All of the people related

to the planning for that area had been transferred to other places of work. The transfers took place apparently right before the plans for the road had been made public. So when Pak went to the KooChung to talk and appeal his case, there was no one who knew anything about the plans. They were made and decided upon. There was nothing to be done. Pak was frustrated, helpless and broken. There was no one to appeal to, no way of coming to grips with this bolt of bureaucratic fate that had destroyed him.

The fifty families were to be moved to a place an hour outside of town. The men would have to pay bus fare to get into their work. To go to market or carry on a part time job, the women would have to be gone from the house for longer times. There was nothing in the area except empty ground. Each family would have 12 pyung for its use. Nothing was said about ownership of the land. When the citizens protested, they were told that it was for the best interests of all. They had to move, or be moved, within the set time. The land they were now on did not belong to them anymore. It was the city's, and therefore the city could do as it had planned. Some of the people persisted in their resistance and were forcibly moved. Most of the others, feeling the hopelessness of the situation, went where they were told. Financially they are now in worst straits than before. Familywise and community-wise they have been uprooted. Nevertheless, the area they left now has a fire road. It is a blessing to the majority, but even the ones that are left realize their homes also can be taken with only a twenty-day notice. There is a bitterness toward

the authorities and a despair in their minds created by this twenty-day notice to abandon the only home they have known.

In a similar type of area the command was even more devastating. Instead of only fifty families, the whole neighborhood was being evacuated to make room for a series of high-rise apartments. While the apartments were being built, the residents of the areas would be moved to an area outside of the city. Each resident of the slum area was to be given a ticket that would give them priority rights to an apartment in the new buildings.

At first many of the people complained and showed signs of resistance. People just naturally fight for their homes. But the authorities had decided, and there was no turning back. Living had never been easy in the shacks of the slum area, but during the years it had taken on a rhythm and order of its own. Now, everything was in chaos. The months of waiting to get into the apartments were hard. Many sold their priority tickets and drifted away into some other city slum area. Others saved and borrowed in order to be able to move into the apartment. But the financial burden was too great. They had to pay interest on the 200,000 won they had borrowed in order to pay the entrance fees and repair costs of their apartment. In addition, they had to keep up the monthly rent payments of 2,700 won per month. After staying the required time, the former slum dwellers began to sell. They could get perhaps 400,000 won for their new homes. This would pay off their debt and give them a little to get a room in some

as yet uncloared slum area in another part of town.

The old slum area was gone. So were the community and homes that had been created during long years of hardship. Now there are large, drab apartments filled mostly with the middle-class people who have bought out the slum residents for whom the building was intended. Somewhere else in the city, overcrowding and slum factors are being created by the new immigration of the former slum, former apartment building dwellers.

It has been estimated that almost 205,000 new housing units are needed each year, and in Seoul alone an increase of 50% over the present number of residences are needed if each family is to be provided with a dwelling unit. The problem is of such stupendous proportions that there can be no room for useless criticism of the authorities who have tackled the problem. City renewal, low-income housing, and slum clearance are problems that have yet to be solved by any nation. There are, however, several dimensions of the Korean scene that need to be explored if the problems of urban living are to be met and human society enhanced. The first of these is the recognition by the authorities that the problem of slum housing and over-crowding is one created by the vagaries of history, not by the intent or desire of the inhabitants of the poor areas. War forced many into this form of miserable living, and the present policies of economic, industrial development have enticed other thousands into the cities with the hope of a better living. The residents are not the enemy of the authorities. Nor are they children that can be pushed

around at will. The right attitude and appropriate understanding of the causes of the situation on the part of the administering authorities would go far in easing some of the tensions. It might also lead to more careful and sympathetic planning. It is an ironic and unnecessary injustice for the authorities to back up their twenty-day notices by telling the slum residents that this is government land and therefore the city can do as it wishes. Legally perhaps it does belong to the government, but yet it was corporate hope of development that brought those citizens to this particular piece of land. Renewal and clearance must take place, but a right understanding of the causes of the problem would provide a needed framework from which the problem can be approached.

A second dimension that needs much study and consideration is the very nature of what a so-called slum is. The most superficial definition would identify it in its physical terms of so many square feet of space. But in fact a slum area may contain many factors that are very desirable for city living. Despite the poor and unsanitary conditions, there does develop a human community, a neighborhood of mutual concern and protection. Human relations are built that give individuals meaning and fulfillment. There can be a real security within the community. The vital question for the city planners is how they can help improve the physical surroundings without destroying the human, communal values that have been created. For it is only as the secure, stable elements of the community are supported

and supplemented by the city housing and renewal plans that the city's population develops and is able to contribute to society. A plan of mass apartment buildings may make the city even poorer by destroying the existing human and community structures. And the slum dwellers of one area may disappear, only to reappear in some other slum of the city, poorer now than they were in the first place. City planning and its administration take a depth of expertise in human values and community structures. The task of building an apartment building is actually one of the simpler problems that city renewal programs have to deal with.

Thirdly, men need security. To strip the slum resident of the only shred of security that he has without providing a comparable security is to destroy him. The land is the government's. Even the land that the people are moved to is often of uncertain ownership. What is a man to live for? In what is he to have pride? Where is he safe? The answer is in some place that he can call his own. Some small piece of land or a home which is his will provide a man with pride and courage and hope. Where it is necessary to move people from their homes, a prior planning whereby they can be given legal ownership to a small space of land will go far to secure the cooperation of slum dwellers for clearance projects. The land belongs to the people. It is administered, of course, by the government - but for the citizens. And the residents of the slums are no less citizens than the city mayor or president. They too need some place they can call home.

Fourth, and perhaps most important of all, is the question of citizens' participation on the whole process of planning and administration. It has been discovered after many years of frustration over programs of city planning, low-income housing, and community development, that there must be a balance between the planning authorities and the citizens involved. Urban renewal is not just a technical problem of roads and buildings. It is a human, community affair. Therefore the people and social organizations most closely involved must also have a participating role. There are a variety of forms which such participation can take. Perhaps the simplest form is open discussion meetings of the citizens before the final draft of a plan is made and executed. Such a simple approach where citizens, religious leaders, private institutes, etc. could study and express their evaluations of the proposed plans would create an atmosphere of good will and also prevent the construction of buildings that do not have the necessary sanitation facilities or are structurally weak. This type of participation is minimal. But many experts in the field would claim that participation must be much more basic and thorough. In certain South American countries where the city housing situation is even worse than Korea, the city planning authorities have encouraged the residents to build their own cooperative housing. A basic plan for roads and sanitation facilities is provided. Then these residents who are willing to join their small assets with those of their neighbors become eligible for loans and grants of building materials and capital with which they can construct on a cooperative basis their

own homes. In addition, aid in construction design is given so that there is not only space for each family, but additional space is available for renting or for use as shops or small factories according to the wishes of the participants. The land and the buildings, of course, are the legal property of the people. A balance is sought between government planning and expertise and the creative, responsible participation of the citizens.

It is claimed that, though such citizen participation is not dramatic nor politically expedient, in the long run it provides a more stable community which preserves human values and at the same time provides more housing units per unit of ground than does the indiscriminate construction of high-rise apartments. There are those who claim that such an approach is feasible in Korea. Even if the cooperative building and ownership approach could not be made to function, if the city planners were to lay before the citizens a proposed scheme for the necessary roads and sanitation systems, then together they and other social organizations could begin to plan for the renewal of the area. A five-year basis might be feasible. Where the owners invest and improve their houses and lots to a desired level, then the legal title to ownership would be granted. Government support in the way of small loans and material aid could assist the process. Such help would, of course, also be available to those who now own their land and homes if these happen to be in a blighted area.

Participation so that the citizens themselves have some decision, power, and responsibility in the creation of their own city is

absolutely necessary. The possible methods are almost unlimited. Skills in administering and executing such an approach are available. There are countless experiences of cities and planners in other nations that can be drawn upon. But this brings us to an underlying fundamental question not of skill, technique or approach, but of politics. The context in which the problems of urban living exist and in which they are handled is a political one. And the basic political question is this: Does the government intend to create a social base of free, responsible citizens or does it intend to retain decision and responsibility totally to itself? This is a fundamental question which must not be avoided. Is the nation to be run by a political and technical elite, or are the workers, the poor, the common citizens also to share in the creation of their nation? Is the government to take the responsibility of working for and providing the welfare state for the citizens while they remain inert and passive, or are the creative powers of the common citizens to be tapped and channeled into the development of a high level of humanity? This is the core question of urban renewal and of national development. The concentration of decision and power into the hands of the elite may create an interesting and even economically developed facade, but not a human, democratic society. Yet it is exactly here, over this most basic of questions that bureaucracies and ruling circles stumble. They assume an intelligence and superiority of judgment that results in the conviction that they have to make the decisions and do all the work for a poor benighted citizenry which is too ignorant to take care of it-

self. Until the last few years, this has probably been the basic flaw of urban renewal programs the world over. Only in the last few years has the vital role of citizen participation been discovered. Korea seems to be following the footsteps of the older patterns. City planning and housing problems are imposed upon the populace rather than planned with the populace. Thus is the prevailing philosophy of centralism and rule by the elite reflected in the actual operation of city government.

As long as the ruling elite maintain the fiction that it can and should administer and decide everything, there is little chance that new and creative approaches to development can be tried. The citizens must be encouraged to form their own organizations to supervise and decide about their apartments and communities. The authorities must not be afraid of it for fear that the opposition party will become involved. New structures whereby the workers and poor of society can choose their own candidates for the national assembly, the city, and provincial governments must be discovered. At present, candidates of national assembly are selected by a few party bosses. All the people can do is choose between the couple candidates that the politicians present to them. This can hardly be called responsible democratic operation. It is rule by an elite. Even in areas where the majority of the voters are workers and union members, the only candidates they have to choose from are pre-chosen by a few powerful politicians who have financial backing.

The question of urban planning depends in the last analysis on

the political question of whether the people are to be allowed the powers of decision or not. If the people are, in fact, to participate responsibly in society, then new democratic structures for the expression of the will of the people in choosing their own candidates for national and local governments must be created. Unions must be put into the hands of the workers, and urban renewal must be based upon a balance of citizen participation and government expertise. Everything depends upon the prevailing political ideology. Is the present centralism to become even stronger and all-pervasive? Or are the citizens to be recognized as the nation's most important factor, and as such given the opportunity to help create their own societies and communities? All urban and social problems are decided within the context of this political orientation.

The other problems of modern urban society would also be analyzed in a manner similar to the one problem of housing for low-income citizens. It is the task of the Church to do this, to become so involved in each of the areas of city life so that it will be well-acquainted with the facts of the situation and also be deeply involved so as to act in cooperation with the weak and poor of the city. It is exactly this that is meant by urban mission. The Church participates in mission in so far as it assists the city's masses to gain control over their own lives. It is a theology of taking sides. The city's poor and dispossessed become the location of Christ's creativity and salvation, and it is there where the Church must be alive. As

men and women are helped to exercise their own powers and abilities that God gave them, Christ's love and humanity's goal are made realities. This may require tensions, confrontations and suffering. But that is the nature of Christ himself. It is hardship for the salvation both of the poor and rich, the weak and the strong. Those who would maintain men in their less than human situation of poverty, ignorance and passivity by defending the present and traditional patterns of society are in a greater need of Christ's witness from among the poor than are the poor themselves.

Chapter VI

BECOMING THE BODY

The general characteristics of industrial society are well known. Therefore there is no need to try and analyze at length what an industrial society is. Nevertheless, if we are to speak of the church and its mission, it is necessary for us to isolate a few of the main factors of the society within which the church exists. In order to do this, let us look at a rather isolated industrial mining village. Here in miniature we can discover the major characteristics of modern society, and though the pattern which exists in the small mining village will be quite simple as compared to the society as a whole, the basic characteristics will prove to be the same.

The village I have in mind is not large. The mine employs about a thousand workers. The total population may number about 10,000. Everything, of course, centers around the mine. Village life, its rhythm, its joys, its fears all find their source in the mine. The most characteristic feature of the village as an industrial society is the centrality of the company. Because of its financial influence and ownership of the means of production, it becomes the main determining force in society. Inside the mine, of course, the men work directly under the company's command; but even those outside are just as influenced by and dependent on this central concentrated power. Ideally this power would be tempered in society by the counter power of a labor union and the regulating power of government. But it frequently happens that the ideal situation loses out

to financial power; the union becomes dominated by the company, and the government agencies become the company's closest ally.

There are many other features of this village that are important, but everything else follows from the one core: company power. Since the company has authority over hiring, paying, and firing the employoo, the workers' lives are ones of continuous insecurity and fear. The very nature of the work evokes these two emotions, but in addition even one who has been with the company for a long time can be terminated on short notice. An unskilled or semi-skilled man must always be fearful for his job. His life and that of all his family and even the lives of the merchants that sell him food depend on the money paid by the company. On the other hand, however, there is nothing they can do to erase the insecurity and fear of unemployment.

Within the village society itself, distinctions and values and human relations are centered around money and position. Though the mine owner and president of the company live in Seoul, they and those who are close to them, according to rank within the company, are given the ranks of honor in society. The further one is removed from direct relationships with the top figure, the president, the less prestige and recognition he receives from the stores, the banks, the police, the schools, and even his fellow workers. To a large extent even a man's concept of himself is determined by the hierarchical ordering of society. The worker whose income is small and who has only seen the boss from a distance is not only judged to be a lower class citizen by his society, he even accepts that image of himself and

acts and thinks as though he actually were inferior. The old emotions and habits of relationships that existed between landlord and serf become transplanted into the industrial society. Only now the top rung of society is occupied by employers and politicians.

Yet a new idea and a new motivation has been invading the population for a long time now. It is the concept of democracy and the idea that workers have the right and ability to participate in the political and economic areas of life. Radio, newspapers, and even television educate them to new ideas and new expectations. A frustration is being created as the desire for physical and social benefits increases. Though the old system and mentality still dominate, now there is a dissatisfaction, a ferment, new dreams.

Another general characteristic of the mining town, as of society as a whole, is the predominately it is run not as much by personal or humanitarian considerations as in the days of landlords and serfs. Now the almost mechanical decisions of organizations and government have become the determinative factors of society. The company which can exercise life or death influence over the workers is far more determined by the pace of development in the railroad system and in the market demands for coal, now that oil has become a competitor, than it is by the personal inclinations of the company president or by the humanitarian demands of the workers. The technical and economic necessities of the national and international economic system are powers that determine the details of society. There are men who sit in the president's chair and who act as the board of directors, but

their actions are to a large degree determined by the demands of the organization to expand and increase profits and to perpetuate itself.

All of these various characteristics are easily isolated and identified in a small industrialized mining village. Though in much more complex patterns in the larger society, the same basic factors and forces dominate this mining society. Within this interplay of forces, the individual lives. His freedom and therefore his dignity and development depend on the amount of control he can influence over his world. Society is thus seen as a hierarchy of freedom. No one is one hundred per cent free. Few are absolutely bound. But those who by virtue of their power, education and political connections exercise a high degree of decision over both their own private lives and the nation's welfare contrast sharply with the vast majority of the population which can exercise only a very limited decision over such basic matters as their eating habits. The decisions of the top company men, the government planners, and the economic organizations determine what the poor man has for lunch. Power of decision over their lives and destinies is in the hands of others. Therefore freedom and human dignity are void of meaning. The task of society is to enlarge the boundaries of the workers' power of decision, which is to increase his freedom.

Let us go back to the mining village. As said above, life in all its varied detail is centered around the mine and its control of society. In the midst of this village and across the road from the mine is a small Christian Church, the only one in the village. What

kind of a pattern of life does it follow? What is its relation with its industrial society? The history of the church goes back ten to fifteen years. For most of that time one man has pastored the church and built it up to its present membership of about a hundred. The pastor is in his early forties, a very diligent and devoted man who looks after his flock with care. He has been to the mine only once, and that was to ask for a donation for a church program. The church life revolves around the familiar pattern of worship services on Sunday and Wednesday, dawn prayer meetings, class meetings on Fridays, and pastoral visitation. Of the church's hundred members, about seventy are middle-aged and older women. There is a fair representation of junior high students. The older high school aged people are those who are either unemployed or work in the shops of the village market. There are also a dozen or so adult men who are school teachers, merchants, or civil servants. The church's male officers come from this group. Lastly there are three men from the mines. One of them works underground in the pit. One labors above ground, and one works in the company offices. Almost all of these Christians have been born and raised in the church. There seem to be very few new converts these days. The class leaders are diligent in bringing new women to church services but very few really remain. The pastor and officers are quite evangelistically minded. The pastor invites everyone he can to come out to church, and twice a year, in the spring and autumn, there is a church revival. But unlike what we have heard about the

old days, very few non-Christians show up at revivals. Even the loud-shouting, hand-clapping evangelist seems to have lost his appeal. Feeling that something was missing in church outreach, the pastor and an elder borrowed a loud speaker system and set it up in front of the main gate of the mine and preached for the workers as they were either going to or coming from work. The pastor had been to seminars where he was told that in the modern world the church could not wait until the people come to the church. The church has to go out to meet the people. By using the mike to preach to the miners he was leaving the church and going out into the world, but even so the response was disheartening. Only a very few even stopped long enough to see what was going on. A couple made dirty remarks, but most just ignored them and kept on going.

The pastor and people realize that the church and Christ are for everyone. Christ died for us all. This is preached and believed. By coming to church one can meet Christ and receive his blessings, his forgiveness, and the salvation of heaven. Once one has received this blessing of God, he begins to evidence a certain new pattern in his new life. He keeps the Sabbath. He does not drink or smoke. In as far as possible he will pay his tithe and attend all the church meetings. This is the life of faith. By being faithful in these things he knows himself to be in God's grace and to have the promise of eternal life. It is a somewhat demanding faith, yet there is a strength in it. The Christian fellowship is frequently very enjoy-

able and one knows his own life to be with the love of almighty God.

Basically this pattern of church life and faith is reproduced in the thousands of churches that populate Korea. There is very little distinction between a mining village, a farming village, or a big city church. In the midst of the industrial society characterized by the extreme concentration of financial and political power, working class fear and insecurity, break-up of family life and control by mechanical economic forces, stands the church preaching the blessing of God, giving the call to the world to join it in its life of faith.

Within the same geographical boundaries we have, as it were, two separate and distinct societies. The one represented by the mining company is dominant, but the one represented by the church has its hope in heaven and thus feels superior to and more righteous than the world of the mine. It is possible for these two to co-exist almost indefinitely. The mining company and the village church can continue to co-habitate in the same village without conflict or without any apparent relationship whatsoever. Indeed, the men and organizations that the mine represents would like to keep the church in its present posture, preaching its present message. Such an institution gives a bit of stability to society without in any way endangering their own authority. The critical question is how should the church, its people and its pastor, conceive of itself? It is possible for the church to say that the pattern we now follow and the message we now preach is God's immutable and holy will, and

therefore our present posture is correct. We stand as a witness within an evil and materialistic world to the truth that only the spiritual is of value. The world's hope is to join us. If one is to accept this as the correct posture of the church of Christ, then there is little problem. We can continue as we are. All we need is a bit of development in method so that we can persuade more people to join us.

But Jesus seems to stand against this very posture of religion. As presented in the first three Gospels, almost every phase of Jesus' life was in sharp contrast to those who would reduce man's relation to God to a keeping of sacred rules. And though he has high regard for the individual's soul and salvation, he does not seem at all like a revivalistic preacher. Jesus is a poor man among men. His conflict with the Pharisees and Scribes reflect his posture as one who is outside the accepted conduct for religious life. He contends in Matthew 12 and 23 that evangelizing, paying the tithes, and keeping the Sabbath are all secondary. He turns the standards upside down. He acts and talks as one who lives among and for the poor and outcast. Some of his opponents even go so far as to call him a "glutton and a drunkard." Jesus stands in that society as a threat to the very pattern of religion which our church today defends so strongly. As one of the non-clergy, as one of the people, he demands mercy and justice and human respect. He declares that it will be the poor, the sinners and even the harlots who will go into heaven before the rich and the religious. His message rings warning bells in the minds of the church

leaders of the day; and in their dual position of religious and political leadership, they consort with the police arm of the state to destroy him. Jesus spoke and confronted the church and the state not only as an individual who was a prophet but as the voice of a powerless, second-class citizenry. His consistent refusal to accept religious and state authority at face value provoked their animosity and finally led him to a cross.

This understanding of Jesus is, of course, radically different from that which is accepted in most churches. The observance of church rules and religious rituals take on meaning only if the basic orientation of the church itself is centered around justice and mercy for the poor and the oppressed. It is within this social context and posture that the church's message of Christ, his salvation and love become intelligible to man. Indeed, this is exactly what the incarnation has accomplished. It has located the mercy and justice of God Almighty right in the midst of the poor and suffering peoples of the world. This incarnation is among the poor classes and is a call for repentance to all those who commit injustices and oppressions. Since it is the strong and rich who commit the most grievous sins of oppression and corruption, Christ among the poor stands as a living, eternal symbol of God's demand for justice. He also, of course, is a stumbling block to those who would equate their salvation and importance with high position, political power or religious virtue.

God's incarnation is actually among the minors of that vil-

lage, those who are on the low level of social prestige and importance. The incarnation begun by Jesus extends to our own day and society. Jesus is a risen Lord whose spirit continues to move in the same manner that Jesus of Nazareth did. The miners who risk their lives everyday in the pits of the earth, who bear the brunt of their society's over-concentration of power, and live in fearful dependence on the small wages that their labor brings: these are the people who become the body of Jesus. The incarnation is among and within them. Christians like to refer to the Church as Christ's body, and so it may be; but there is no built-in law that automatically makes those organizations we call Methodist or Presbyterian or Catholic the body of Christ. For a preacher to gather people together and hold worship services is not to be equated as a matter of course with the body of Christ. Likewise, a denomination with a long and honorable history has no guarantee that just because it is known under the title of "church" that it is therefore the living body of Jesus. There is the possibility that it can participate in the body of Jesus, but it is also possible that it has nothing to do with it. The body of Jesus is located not in a building or organization, but among people, the poor, the workers, the second-class citizens. That which is called a church becomes the body of Christ only in as far as it participates in the life of these people and works for the establishment of justice and mercy in our society.

In a certain district of Seoul when the shack dwellers were to be evicted from their homes, representatives from among them went to

a nearby church for help and advice. The pastor told them that the church was for their spiritual salvation, not for such purposes as fighting with the government about land and houses. In human language, that building and the organization it represents is called a church, but it seems far, far removed from the Jesus of Nazareth. It would be hard to identify it as the body of Christ. On the other hand, a small church in the midst of a factory area uses its premises for the family and children of the workers. The men are visited in their shops by the pastor, and they find encouragement and support for demands for a better living. Such a church somehow reminds one of Jesus. It is not hard to consider that such a congregation and pastor are actual participants in Christ's body. Nothing is automatic, especially Jesus. He operates in the most unlikely places. If the church is to share in him, it must be in those places among the same suffering and hardship and raising the same cries for justice that he has.

The problem that we as the church face is not one of using modern methods or changing worship services or preaching more intelligent sermons, though all of these are important matters. We are confronted with a demand for a radical reforming of our understanding of Jesus and thereby of our entire theology. At present Jesus is identified somewhat as a beneficent spirit. Belief in and worship of him bring the individual blessings here and in the world to come. At the same time his ethics become encapsulated into some general principles about loving one another and living together in peace.

What is now called for is the acceptance of Jesus as a social individual who spoke for and represented the poor and weak of his time and all ages. This is the social Jesus, the incarnate Jesus, the prophet Jesus, the Savior of the world. The churches are called to obedience to this Jesus. It does not mean that worship is not required, nor that certain Christian observances cannot be used for the nurturing of faith, but what it does mean is even as Jesus said to the Pharisees, "Woe to you scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites. For you tithe mint and dill and cummin and have neglected the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy and faith. Those you ought to have done without neglecting the others." (Matt.23:23)

On the Day of Pentecost the crowds asked Peter and John, "Brethren, what shall we do?" (Acts 2:37) Peter replied, "Repent and be baptized everyone of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." We as the church are being called upon to repent and to enter into a new baptism of Jesus who lives among us as a minor, as a shack dweller, as a common citizen without political or financial influence. Perhaps then, if we are able to be baptized with his baptism, the Lord will grant us the gift of the Holy Spirit, which is the mind and intent of Jesus the carpenter.

For the small church in the mining village and the church in industrial society what does this mean? It means first that a decision must be made. The present disorientation of the church away from Jesus needs to be openly accepted. It cannot be hid in any case. We

know it. The world knows it. First we accept our condition as it is: dislocation and separation from the man Jesus. Then a decision to again seek after him must be made. It must be made by the pastor and the people. They must help each other to make it. Unless there is a definite decision to try and become a church for and among the people, nothing can really be done. This indicates a radical change in the concept and practice of the church and pastorate.

In one parish in England, a pastor was brought before his board of trustees on charges of frequenting a wine house. After he had heard the charge, he made this reply, "Am I in this church to be your servant or am I here to be a pastor to the people of this community? God's kingdom includes not only the church and its people but also those brethren outside. I feel God has made me a pastor to this one small portion of his kingdom. In this part of the kingdom that God has put me in, there are men who never come to church and regardless of how many times I visit their homes, they are not there. The only place I can be sure of meeting them is in the wine house. Do you think I am a drunkard or a reprobate because I go to the wine house? I go because I am a pastor."

The concept of the church held by the pastor clashed strongly with that held by the congregation. He saw the local church and congregation as an extension of Jesus who moved among the people. They saw it as a sanctuary for those who believe. A choice must be made. Basically which of these two do the local church and the denominations want to become. In today's society the choice of the latter can mean

only ultimate oblivion. The choice of the former will lead the church into new experiences of God's creativity and salvation. But once the choice is made, then the local church, its people and denominations must act. It must begin to center its budget and its personnel and its worship services around God's relation with the people of the community, around labor problems and social needs.

One pastor of a mining village actually spent several days each week working as a laborer underground in the mine. Others held special sessions with the Christian and non-Christian workers just to keep themselves informed on what is going on in the factory and other areas of society. In one city the pastors left their church work for a period of a year or two in order to find employment in a company, a union, or government agency. The intent and purpose of such actions is, of course, to educate the pastor and give him a wider experience from which to think and act. Unless the pastor comes to see that the God he seeks to serve is a God big enough to operate in the world and among the non-Christian people and organizations of society, he will have learned nothing. It is this form of conversion that is being sought after by such approaches. The purpose is not in the first place to give the pastor a bigger base in which he can preach or carry on church work. It is to widen his understanding of the God that he has been serving inside the church for all these years. Unfortunately even the church is not the absolute expression of God's Kingdom. In order to seek a more perfect understanding of God we must seek him outside the church in his world. Therefore the church pastor

should know the workers and the union leaders and the company operators. He should be as regular a visitor to them as he is to the prayer room. Even a small village or small parish becomes large when the pastor and church begin to see that Jesus calls them into it and into the lives of the people.

The next step that will probably appear gradually and even imperceptibly is action. Here, however, a note of caution must be applied. Christians seem to have a compulsion to try and help others or do something for others. Therefore a budget and an organization is needed, and since there is no budget, there is really not much we can do. What has happened is that we have reduced people and even Jesus to some kind of a project. We are not interested in people per se, but in doing something for them, because that is what Christians are supposed to do. Besides, it is a means to evangelize, we think. If we do something nice for someone they will show their gratitude and become a Christian. This, of course, is sub-Christian. It is time to stop trying to do things for people. Let us just be people along with everyone else. If, as suggested above, the pastor and congregation take serious the call of Jesus to be among and with the people of our parish, we will find that the first stage of our new ministry will not take large outlays of money or big projects or involved organizations. It will take time, days and perhaps even months and years during which the church seeks to reorient itself around people, organizations, and issues. It is the retraining period.

Now is not the time for the church to be carrying on large preaching missions or other projects. Now is the time for retooling, re-educating ourselves.

If we are patient and learn well, the time will come when, through our natural relations with our people and their problems, some form of action on our part will be required. The important thing is that the action we take come naturally from the context and needs of our society, not from some supposed or imposed program made up from within the church. Probably at first we will be called upon to respond to some one sick or perhaps injured in an accident. The church may feel called upon to provide recreation for the children or study programs for the women. Cooperation with the union may result in the union borrowing the church for a meeting or for an education program for the workers. The opportunities and possibilities are unlimited if only the church has made a decision and is willing to be patient in the task of relearning.

Lay training will play a large role in the church's reorientation, but as suggested above in chapter three, it must not be training in how to be a better churchman. We already know enough about that. It is to be training in how to be a Christian and brother among one's fellow workers and citizens. The social and organizational structures of modern society and their influence in life needs to be understood. The individual's conscience and his relation to organizations must be studied if the layman is to have a guideline for action in his place of work. International markets and political forces must be seen

as the context in which the society and individual seminar. It is the re-tooling and re-orientation of the total church. This will take time. And it cannot be expected that a local church such as the one in the mining village will be equipped to give such training. In large city churches there is no reason why the local congregation cannot handle it alone, but it is the responsibility of the denomination's central headquarters to provide the local churches with such training. At present probably no denomination is equipped for such an operation. Even more than the local churches, the denominational headquarters and their bureaucracies uncritically accept the church as the "refuge of the saints." All the bureaucracy has to do is to keep count of the new believers and new places of worship, supply money where requested for church building, and turn out the same type of literature for church programs that it has been doing for almost eighty years now. A decision to try and remake the church in the image of Jesus will be much more difficult on the central headquarters level. Here is where the invested interests, financially and politically, of all the programs, institutions and bureaucracies of the church are concentrated. To reform and redirect this colossus may be impossible. But reformed it must be if the church is to get on to talking terms with Jesus.

Actually the church in Korea has many advantages that churches in other lands do not have. It has a history of innovation and energy. Its numbers are large and its potential influence is great. Geographi

cally it is strategically located among all levels of society. By and large it has an educated and intelligent constituency. And though its image has become somewhat tarnished of late, it still retains a fairly good posture within the community. These are all assets that need to be directed and concentrated on the main social and human issues of our day. On the local church level much of this responsibility falls. But it is the national headquarters that must reform and actively support the local churches in their attempts to reorganize and retool their laymen and pastors. Our society has a wealth of resources in its universities, government agencies, independent institutes, etc. that can provide the needed raw material for lay training. It is up to the denominations to be able and willing to use them and form its own new directions.

Another issue that must be dealt with in any new conception of the church is the meaning and practice of worship. The very act of worship seems to have become the central content of the church. It is repeated in and out of the church building very much as though it were the beginning and end of Christianity.

A few years ago I was asked to teach a class in our local Bible Conference. The subject was a comparison between Protestant and Catholic worship. In one of the sessions I asked the question, "What is the difference between Catholic mass and the sacrifice that non-Christians make to their ancestors?"

The answer that came back was, "Catholic mass, Protestant

worship and ancestor worship are all sacrifices. The Catholics sacrifice Christ's body again. We offer our own lives. And non-Christians offer food and wine. They are all sacrifices."

"Then we must consider that the basic nature and intent of Christian worship and ancestor worship are the same."

"Not at all. Christian worship is related to God. But not ancestor worship."

The more we talked the more one central theme seemed to emerge. The object of the sacrifice is different for those of the Christian and non-Christian persuasions, and the offering given as the sacrifice in the rituals of Catholicism, Protestantism, and ancestor worship are all different, but the intent of those performing the sacrifice is quite similar: namely to appease the "god," win his favor, and finally to receive some blessing from him. The rituals are different. The intent comparable.

There is, however, quite a different interpretation of the purpose and content of worship as made by the prophets and Jesus. Typical of the Prophets' attitude is Amos 5:21-24: "I hate, I despise your feasts and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Even though you offer me your burnt offerings and cereal offerings. I will not accept them. And the peace offerings of your fattened beasts I will not look upon. Take away from me the noise of your songs. To the melody of your harps I will not listen. But let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream."

And Isaiah writes in the first chapter, "What to me is the

multitude of your sacrifices? I have had enough. (v 11) You weary my soul. (v 14) Remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes. Cease to do evil. Learn to do good. Seek justice, correct oppression; defend the fatherless and plead for the widow."(v 16,17)

In Matthew 23:23 Jesus makes the same point. "Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites. For you tithe the mint and dill and cummin and have neglected the weightier matters of law: justice and mercy and faith; these you ought to have done without neglecting the others."

At the time of the prophets, the Israelites were proficient in offering sacrifices. Energetically they sought God's approval. But their sacrifices and worship turned out to be self-deceit. Instead of accepting their worship, God spurned and hated it. Israel had come to the place where it ignored and disregarded the purpose and content of worship. Worship had become a sham, an escape from responsibility and guilt. No longer was it a channel through which Yahweh's will was discovered and fulfilled in the nation. It had become isolated from the demand of the Lord for justice and love in human society. Thus it became a ritual somewhat mystical, but devoid of serious depth or meaning.

The situation was comparable in Jesus' day. The scribes and Pharisees were adept at teaching the law and keeping the ritual. Under the occupation of imperial Rome there was not much that the Jews could carry on independently. But one thing they could do was

to perform their acts of worship and thus bring unity and blessing to their people. Jesus looked at things differently. He denounced the Pharisees and Scribes bitterly. "Woe be to you, you hypocrites." From Jesus' point of view, they had committed the same sin as had the priests of old. Worship had been made into an automatic, rule-keeping ritual isolated from the heart of God's demand that justice be done and that people love one another. The heart of worship is "to do justice and to love kindness and to walk humbly with your God." (Micah 6:8) When worship and the worshipping community separate themselves from these three tasks, then worship becomes not a means to seeking God's will, but an obstacle to it.

We are in an historical situation similar to both that of Jesus' time and the time of the Prophets. Worship has become an isolated ceremony. Churches and their members are oriented not on life and Yahweh's demand for love and justice, but rather on the performance of ritual. This performance of ritual has become the foremost method of maintaining our Christian identity. But we must not be deceived. God's word to man cannot be isolated or encapsulated into our rituals. Rituals may continue, but they can readily be the means not of grace but of destruction. From the lessons of Israel we can learn several things about worship: First, worship is an expression of our obedience to God as we attempt to fulfill his will in the social situation within which the church and Christians live. Second, the very content of the act of worship is to be centered on our attempts at bringing love and justice to our citizens. Thirdly, the minister

or priest is not to conceive of himself primarily as a director of ritual, but rather as one called to lead his people in acts of justice, love, and faith (Matthew 23:23).

The ritual of prayer, hymn-singing and preaching is to be a dramatic representation of the acts of God and his people amongst the people of the land. If the Sunday service does not reflect and express acts of God in society, then it has become a snare and a delusion. Our present church in Korea has to a large extent cut its ritual off from society. We are not looking for God's action among men, and so our ritual reflects emptiness more than salvation.

This is not to say that worship is not needed. Even the prophets and Jesus would probably have accepted it as the central corporate act of the believing community. But the act of worship is to reflect and represent the whole of life in its struggles and failures, and especially is it to be carried on by those who are actively seeking to establish and practice justice and mercy in society. It is not to be seen as a sacrifice to appease the gods or to secure some individual blessing. Worship is one of the vehicles God uses for communicating with and about his world. The individual brings his and his neighbor's worldly sins and dreams and problems to the worship, and those become the substance around which the prayer and hymns and sermons are centered. The role of the pastor is in keeping with this concept of worship and the church.

The clergy represent a priestly dimension to life. God and men are reconciled through sacrifice, through the self-offering of

Christ. Christ is both priest and sacrifice. The churchly symbol of Christ, the reconciling priest, is the clergy. Not that the individual priest is of more holy character, or that the laity do not participate in priesthood, but the priest or clergyman is the living symbol of the priest and sacrifice who is Christ. In the Catholic communion the priestly role becomes the offering of the mass. In Protestantism it is represented by a clergyman who is "holy" and separated from the world. The worker-priest, however, suggests an alternative: the priest symbolized not a sacrifice removed from the world but a sacrifice in the midst of the world. The truth which the priest symbolizes thus becomes best depicted within the work world of man. Not through a separated mass or a separated holiness, but within the context of human work, conflict, and sin does the priestly symbol take on meaning. This is the world that the symbol was created for in the first place. The clergyman is purely symbolic. In himself he is neither a mediator nor a holy man. His office points to the real sacrifice and priest which is Christ incarnate in the world. The Protestant Church of Korea definitely looks upon the pastor as a priest, in the sense that he is the holy man and the instrument through which blessings and reconciliation is channeled. His life is to be a living sacrifice, but separated from the world. The witness of the worker-priest is in direct contradiction. The clergyman's life must point to the actual life of Jesus himself which was spent among the poor and the weak of society. So the clergyman's role as symbolic priest must be enacted through his involvement in -

not his separation from - the concrete realities of human society. The witness of the clergyman who takes on himself the call to labor is directed towards the church. It is a witness to the church of whose Lord is. It is a witness that the Korean clergy dare not ignore. Too long has the clergy been satisfied with its own importance and holiness. The symbol of the reconciling priest and sacrifice must become alive in the world, the factory. The order which we clergymen now represent is dead.

As the church and pastor move into the village and community, and become active in helping meet the needs of the miners and other people of the area, they will find themselves confronted with issues. Here is the testing. Perhaps it will be the issue of an individual being given unjust treatment. When a man is put off his job without a fair hearing, what does the church do? A man is injured but given no compensation because the foreman or perhaps the company says that it was the worker's own fault; what does the church do? On issues where does the church stand? This is crucial? Some would say to do nothing, not to get involved. Others would claim that the church should be neutral, trying to act as a mediator. But I think Jesus would stand with the weaker party. True, it cannot be ascertained with a certainty that the man was not the cause of the trouble, but on the the other hand, the claim by the foreman or company that it was the worker's fault does not prove that it was. The only way to come close to the actual truth is to provide the weaker man with enough support so that his word can be heard on an equal basis with

the stronger party. Indeed, this is a good bit of the rationale behind siding with unions and workers. The intent is not to prove that workers are always right and the company always wrong. Nor can one always side with the extravagant demands of labor. But nevertheless the fact remains that the company's dominate power makes it very unlikely that the worker and union side will be able to receive a just and equal hearing. Therefore in order to provide some possibility for the workers' side to have an equal weight and to create a situation where the semblance of truth and justice can be created, the weaker party claims the support of the church.

Entry into issues brings trouble, opposition and attack. Helping the individuals who have been wronged will bring praise from some and condemnation from others. But the church that seeks after Jesus will face even greater problems, for Jesus entered not only into the issues of individual sufferings and grievances, but he also acted as spokesman for those who were suffering the unnecessary and unjust wrongs committed against them by the rich and powerful. His whole conflict with the Pharisees, the Scribos, the Sadducees and the priests must be understood in this context. Likewise, a pastor and congregation must be so engaged in the life and aspirations of the nation's poor and down-trodden that they will be able and willing to voice the demands of the people for justice in particular situations. Specifically for the church in the mining village, it means being so much a part of the life of the miners that automatically the church people will see things from the side of the workers. About specific

problems the pastor or church may have a different opinion from the union or leaders of the workers. That is not important. What is important is that the church stand up for the right of the workers and unions to run their organization free from company or political influence, and that their legal rights to bargain with the company on a fair and equal basis be protected and enforced.

The present stance of the church, however, is not exactly encouraging. Seldom do you see a church willing to risk its quiet security for the sake of the poor. The common stance is detachment, non-involvement. But there is also another stance which is even more dangerous. It can be called the right wing movement in the church. Under the guise of preaching the gospel, it binds itself to the high and the mighty, the power holders of society. Increasingly one finds Christian pastors hired by Christian and non-Christian employers to act as chaplains in their factories or to perform other functions on behalf of the company. Some there are who would even tie their witness to the favors of a political party or a company-dominated union. This is one of the present church's biggest temptations. It accepts the power and authority structures of society as a given creation of God that is to be upheld by the rituals of preaching and praying. In so doing, it keeps itself safe and clean. But at the same time, it reduces Jesus to a few general platitudes that can be applied as desired. The emphasis of modern theology for involvement in the world thus becomes a vehicle for the religious right to combine with the social right under the so-called banner of Christianity.

What is being suggested in this chapter and in the whole book will, of course, mean a radical change in the pattern and structures of church life. The present situation where the pastor is focused almost entirely upon his flock will have to be changed so that the major emphasis will be given to the non-Christian peoples and organizations of his community. This means that the present system of unceasing visitation to church members and large amounts of time spent in denominational and church meetings will have to be broken. It means that worship will become centered around the life and politics of the community's people. Rather than individual blessings for Christians, the prayers, the sermon and the Scriptures will be focused on the men and women among which the church lives and through whom God is speaking to the church. It also requires that the laymen will have to have a new theological orientation. Instead of the present form of prayer meetings and Bible classes, time must be given to retraining the church people in order that they might see Jesus as a living, redeeming Lord within their own society.

Therefore the local church and denominations are under the call to reassess their finances and their present structures. The church needs to be retooled, refinanced and remanned if it is to play a serious part in Jesus' redeeming acts in Korea.

