Gospel of the 'Orient':

Koreans, Race and the Transpacific Rise of American Evangelicalism in the Cold War Era

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation is a history of the transpacific rise of American evangelicalism in the Cold War era (1950-80). The Korean War (1950-53), the first "hot" war of the Cold War, brought together a new generation of American fundamentalists and South Korean Protestants who forged transpacific networks that helped to reinvent a parochial American fundamentalism into mainstream American evangelicalism. These networks led to the birth of World Vision (1950), the internationalization of Campus Crusade for Christ (1958), and the largest Billy Graham Evangelical Association crusade (1973). While South Korean Protestants were incorporated into these evangelical "parachurches" through Cold War Orientalist logic, South Koreans also used parachurches to reimagine their place in the world order as they aspired to become the next leaders of Christian empire. Such South Korean Protestant ambitions suggested a critique of U.S. Cold War expansionism in Asia, yet led to the rise of a conservative Korean Protestant right that transnationally reinforced the Christian right in America. Not unlike its eighteenth-century transatlantic roots, evangelicalism remade itself in the twentieth-century by crossing borders. This study employs English and Korean sources from archives in the U.S. and South Korea, and oral histories conducted in both countries. In narrating history from both sides of the Pacific, this dissertation recasts a tradition primarily understood in Atlantic and national terms, and reimagines American religious history in global context.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In elementary school, my family moved from the Quad Cities of Iowa, where I was born, to South Korea, the land of my ancestors. Since then, the Pacific world has shaped my understanding of American history and religion. What follows is the story of the rise of evangelicalism from that purview. Since I first learned the term "evangelical" as a college student at Stanford, evangelicals have been a constant source of intellectual, political, and spiritual intrigue. I felt as though I were living around the edges of a story from their past that I could not access in books – so, I decided to write my own.

I worked with brilliant minds. I am grateful to Jonathan Walton for believing in me as a scholar, pioneer, and woman of color from beginning to end. Paul Chang has been an invaluable conversation partner since my Stanford days, and his research inspired me as our paths re-intersected at Harvard. Marla Frederick showed me how to work boldly, persevere through the program, and study people who are still alive. Catherine Brekus showed me the ropes of building an argument, journeyed closely through the writing phase, and helped me navigate the guild. In Spring 2010, David Hempton opened up his course "The Transatlantic Evangelical Tradition" so that I could write about a transpacific evangelical tradition. Since then, he has been a tireless, humble and steadfast mentor; though a dean, he is foremost a teacher to me. Several nuggets of his wisdom have remained: that there is a weightiness, something "more," to writing history; that the darker parts of the past, while often "unwelcomed," are "still important to tell"; that through me, unlike literatures and worlds would come together – they did. Thank you!

Scholars outside of Harvard also helped me to develop this project. In Spring 2013, I enrolled in the Exchange Scholar Program at Princeton where I refined my

thinking through independent study with Judith Weisenfeld, Albert Raboteau, and Gary Okihiro. The final papers I wrote for Judith and Al respectively germinated into chapters three and four of this dissertation. Gary helped me to begin imagining how I would frame race and the transpacific. That semester, at Princeton Theological Seminary, Bo Karen Lee provided immeasurable encouragement. I also attended the Pacific Asian North Asian American Women in Theology and Ministry (PANAAWTM) conference on the Korean War, which structured my research vision, and I am especially grateful to Anne Joh and Nami Kim. During qualifying exams, David Yoo invested significant time to work with me on a historiographical paper "Asian American religious history," which became the basis for a publication with Oxford University Press and a forthcoming edited volume with UCLA Asian American Studies and University of Hawaii Press.

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I also conducted oral histories in the U.S. and South Korea. In Fall 2014, Marla Frederick trained me to do interviews through her course "Ethnography: Texts and Contexts." Thank you World Vision and members of the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir who opened up their lives to me: Jiyoung Oh, Hyang Ja Moon, Kyung Ha Bae, Sam Jong Sam Park, Ho Gyun Lee, Mi Young Cho, Mi Ja Park, Min Ok Choi, and Marilee Pierce Dunker. Thank you to those at Campus Crusade for Christ in the U.S. and South Korea who spoke with me: Jin Tak Oh, Eun Mi Moon, Judy Douglass, Gertrude Phillips, Jerry Sharpless, Ed Neibling and Bailey Marks. A special thanks to Billy Jang Hwan Kim for making time in his busy schedule to do a crucial oral history.

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line: Dale Gadsden, Charrise Barron, Cori Tucker-Price, Mycah Connor and Kera Street. I could not have made it through the program without Cori's steadfast presence, wise counsel and scholarly brilliance. The North American Religion Colloquium (NARC) prepared me for the rigorous discussion I learned to expect as an academic, and I am grateful to Elizabeth Jemison who went ahead of me in the program and showed me the ropes. Stephanie Paulsell, Laura Nasrallah, David Holland, and Emily Click provided invaluable mentorship along the way, and I am grateful for the work I did with Marie Griffith during my master's program at the Harvard Divinity School. In the Study of Religion, Barbara Boles and Kate Bowen provided excellent administrative guidance. In Fall 2015, I also co-founded the Asian American Studies Working Group. Forty-five years and twelve proposals later, Native American Studies, Latino/a Studies and Asian American Studies still do not have a departmental presence. It was a privilege to work with student, faculty and staff advocates for Ethnic Studies, including Genevieve Clutario, Ju Yon Kim, Ruodi Duan, Tessa Lowinske-Desmond and Juhwan Seo.

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A note about terminology: I will use Korean names in their Anglicized forms with the family name at the end, with the exception of "Park Chung Hee" and "Kim Il Sung" whose family names comes first in scholarship. Given that many of the Korean figures share the same family name, I will refer to them by full names, such as "Joon Gon Kim." I will refer to "Billy Kim" by his full name so as not to confuse him with Billy Graham.

For Esther Ryoung Kim

INTRODUCTION

<Fig. 1. "Billy Graham and Billy Kim," Folder 54 "Korea Photos," Box 140, Collection 17, BGEA – Crusade Activities, Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois. Billy Graham and Billy Kim preaching at Korea Billy Graham Crusade, Seoul, Korea, June 3, 1973.>

On June 3, 1973, a "scorching hot" summer Sunday, Billy Graham preached his largest revival to 1.1 million people. Graham, the "Protestant pope," held his largest revival not in the southern American Bible Belt or the Californian Sun Belt but in South Korea. With the help of Billy Jang Hwan Kim, a Baptist minister educated at Bob Jones University, Graham preached his translated message at the *Yoido* Plaza, not far from where *Yoido* Full Gospel Church, the largest church in the world, stands today. At this evangelistic apex in modern religious history, representatives from the Billy Graham Evangelical Association, along with other evangelical institutions including World Vision and Campus Crusade for Christ, took center stage. Bill Bright, the founder of Campus Crusade, announced Explo '74, a global evangelistic training, which would be held the following year in Seoul, and the World Vision Korean Children's Choir sang "Amazing Grace" to throngs of Korean men, women, young and old, as well as Korean and U.S.

soldiers who sat on the hot concrete, with just a few sheets of newspaper for cushioning.[1] With South Korean military dictator Park Chung Hee's advocacy, Billy and Billy mounted the revival stage and preached "The Love of God." The sermon began with an anecdote that intertwined the martyrdom of Jesus with the U.S. soldier's sacrifice during the Korean War, the first "hot" war of the Cold War. On this last of five days of revival, a total of 73,000 made "decisions for Christ," the most of any Graham crusade, surpassing Graham's 1957 record-setting sixteen-week crusade in New York City.[2]

What did it mean that Graham, the figurehead of twentieth-century American evangelicalism, held his largest gathering in South Korea? Was this moment evidence of the rise of world Christianity or of the global triumph of American evangelicalism? Did it reveal Korean Christian agency or American evangelical imposition? Rather than a binary narrative of Korean agency versus American imposition, this revivalistic story reveals the embeddedness of world Christianity from the very roots to the eventual rise of American evangelicalism in the Cold War era.

In the early twentieth century, modernists and theological liberals believed that the seemingly backward fundamentalist strain of American Christianity would fade away. But, in fact, it did not. Some American fundamentalists quietly reformed themselves into

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[1] "Korea Crusade – '73 TV Film." Archives of the Billy Graham Center. Wheaton, Illinois. The choir was previously called the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir. As discussed in chapter three, note that the choir was previously called the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir.

[2] Newspaper coverage following the 1973 Korea Billy Graham Crusade noted that Graham "preached to more than three million people altogether — [thus] breaking the record total of his 16-week crusade in New York City in 1957, which was 2.1 million. Associate[d] crusades held at the same time by members of the Graham team in other parts of the country drew an additional 1.5 million people." "Billy Graham's Korean Crusade: Million Heard Him Preach," *Religious News Service*, Seoul, Korea, June 5, 1973. "Korea-News 1972-1974." Folder 140-146, Box 140, Collection 17. BGEA – Crusade Activities. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

a more culturally accessible "neo-evangelical" movement in the 1950s and '60s, and then more boisterously into mainstream evangelicalism in the 1970s. *Newsweek* magazine called 1976 the "Year of the Evangelical," and Reagan's election in 1980 exemplified the rise of a reticent evangelical subculture into mainstream power.[3]

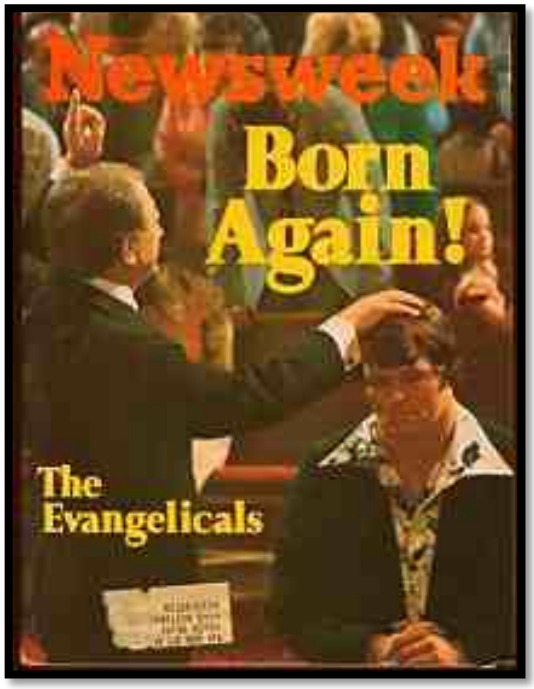
The re-emergence of evangelicalism in America paralleled the rapid growth of world Christianity in general and the so-called "explosion" of Christianity in South Korea in particular.[4] Between 1950 and 1980, South Korea's Christian population grew from less than 5% to 20%, and the nation was deemed a "regional Protestant superpower."[5] Yet the rise of evangelicalism in the U.S. and South Korea was not only parallel but also interconnected. In an era of decolonization and the making of a new global Cold War order, South Koreans became indispensable partners in the ascendance of American evangelicalism. Graham's largest crusade, therefore, sheds light on the transpacific

[3] For the rise of evangelical conservativism in late-twentieth century U.S. history, see Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plan-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics and the Rise of Evangelical Conservativism* (New York : W.W. Norton, 2011); Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[4] The language of "explosion" was commonly used to describe the exponential increase in Christianity in South Korea in the late twentieth century. See Bong-Rin Ro and Marlin Nelson eds., *Korean Church Growth Explosion* (Seoul, Korea: World of Life Press, 1983).

[5] As Chung Shin Park notes, by contrast, in North Korea, the original hub of Christianity in Korea, had approximately 10,000 Protestants and 4,000 Catholics by the mid-1980s. Chung-Shin Park, *Korean Protestantism and Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003). See Paul Freston's use of the term "regional Protestant superpower" in reference to South Korea, considering most Asian nations do not have sizable Christians populations, with the exception of the Philippines, which is mostly Catholic, however. Paul Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 61. Moreover, prior to the growth of Christianity in Korea between 1907-1988, Confucianism, Buddhism and Shamanism predominated the religious landscape of Korea. Timothy Lee cites that approximately 483,366 South Koreans, or about one percent of the population, claimed Confucianism as their religion in 1985. This figure contrasted with 8,059,624 (20 percent) for Buddhism and 8,354,679 (21 percent) for Christianity (combining Catholics and Protestants). Minister of Economic Planning Board, 13th Population and Housing Census of the Republic of Korea 153 (Seoul: Ministry of Economic Planning Board, 1985), 288, table 6. Timothy Lee, *Born Again: Evangelicalism in Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 155.

networks that fueled the rise of American evangelicalism in the Cold War era.




Mainichi Daily News, Saturday, August 24, 1974

Soul Searching In Seoul: Spiritual Explosion

By NELL L. KENNEDY
Special To Mainichi Daily News

SEOUL, Korea—More than 1,000 Japanese Protestant Christians are returning to their homes this week after attending special conferences in Seoul called Expio '74, August 14-18.

The Japanese delegation joined representatives from 85 countries which together held mass gatherings of 1.5 million people on a single evening. In open-air meetings at Yoido Island in the Han River, Expio '74 is thought to be the world's largest Christian gathering in all of history.

"It is not insignificant that the largest group of visitors came from Japan, the leading nation of Asia," said presenter from Europe and America. "The Japanese are exporters of materialism and technical progress; there is no reason why they cannot also be exporters of Christian truth, Bibles and Japanese missionaries in the days ahead.

"Japanese youth seem to be a leadership type," observed the editor of the magazine Christianity Today. "And they are reading their Bibles and praying—they have what it takes to teach Jesus Christ."

But in Seoul this week tension was high and the Japanese Christians faced a test of their "brotherly love." In observance of their Liberation Day on Aug. 15, the Republic of Korea reminisced 29 years of freedom from Japanese Imperialism which left bitter memories among the older Koreans. Even as the Japanese Christians went about the city attending seminars and meetings, some were reminded of the earlier deeds of their fathers.

And in the already tense atmosphere of prejudice, there came the assassination by one bearing a Japanese passport. Mrs. Park Chung Hee, First Lady and wife of President Park of the Republic of Korea, died moments after Dr. Akira Hatori took the platform as the main speaker at the Thursday night gathering of some 750,000 in a mass rally at Yoido. Dr. Hatori, director of Total Mobilization Evangelism in Japan, is well known around the world and on Japanese radio.

For two days it was announced in the Seoul newspapers that no Japanese visitors would be permitted to leave Korea until the assassin's identity was made clear. That restriction has been lifted and the 1,000-member Christian delegation seemed rather relieved when the assassin's identity turned out to be Korean and not Japanese.

All the Christian meetings went according to schedule, translated over transistor radios into six major languages of the world.

It was the first time for most delegates to meet and talk with so many Asian and non-Asian Christians—a black evangelist from Africa, a former Hindu from India, others

More than 1,000 Japanese Christians joined others from 85 nations to attend the world's largest Christian gathering in history, held in Seoul, Korea last week. More than 1.5 million were reported to have gathered on a single evening.

Dr. Joon Gon Kim, Korean

Gon Kim, leader of Expio '74, to be killed by the Communist army along with 7,000 others. Experiencing a new freedom was challenged in a press conference whether Expio '74 one night during the Korean from fear, hatred and death, would make any effort to help War. He watched as his father Kim found his feet headed toward his Communist enemy's the clergy that was recently was beaten to death and then home. When the leader came to imprisoned for 15 years.

"I have no authority to tell beaten and left among the dead, the door he was startled by the the facts," said Dr. Kim. And but later he gained conscious- appearance of a man that he in a nonchalant manner he ness and fled to the mountains. believed to be dead. "But I went on to explain, "I have Believed to be the only survivor explained to him that I had the authority to teach Jesus among those the Communists come in the name of Jesus to

church in Seoul. "We pray for one another every day," commented Dr. Kim this week.

Expio '74 is expected to have an impact on the world and not just the Orient, explained Dr. Kim and other leaders of the movement. "I command you to love one another," he quoted from the words of Christ.

Caption: <Fig. 2. Top: "Born Again! The Evangelicals," *Newsweek*, 1976. Bottom: Nell L. Kennedy, "Soul Searching in Seoul: Spiritual Explosion," *Mainichi Daily News*, August 24, 1974. The two headlines reveal the evangelical revivalism in both the U.S. and South Korea in the 1970s.>

From almost the outset, Campus Crusade for Christ, World Vision and the Billy Graham Evangelical Association (BGEA) had depended on non-western nations like

Korea for organizational growth. Graham's crusade in 1973 highlighted the extent to which American evangelicalism's success was bound up with non-western people.[6] Thus, it is no accident that these three evangelical institutions were represented at the largest Graham crusade in Korea, since their roots in Korea stretched back to the Korean War and its immediate aftermath. World Vision was founded in Korea in 1950, Campus Crusade first became internationalized in Korea in 1958, and Graham himself had traveled to the peninsula in 1952. The crusade provided a glimpse of the fulfillment of the world vision for which Graham and others in the fundamentalist strain of American Christianity had hoped since their seeming defeat in the early twentieth century – the total evangelization of the world. It revealed that a new generation of American evangelists could triumph because of their linkages to the movement of world Christianity.

This dissertation argues that transpacific networks forged with South Korea were indispensable in refashioning American fundamentalism into mainstream evangelicalism. This transformation is evident in the story of three of the largest evangelical non-profits, or "parachurches," which mark the re-emergence of modern American evangelicalism – namely, World Vision, Campus Crusade, and the BGEA. Scholars and practitioners have coined the term "parachurch" for such organizations, which are interdenominational, voluntary evangelical networks that conduct missionary and humanitarian work *alongside* ("para") churches.[7]

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[6] Going forward, I will reference Campus Crusade for Christ as Campus Crusade, and the Billy Graham Evangelical Association as the BGEA.

[7] See anthropologist and religious studies scholar Marla Frederick's use of the term, in Marla Faye Frederick and Traci Griffin, "Becoming Conservative, Becoming White?": Black Evangelicals and the Para-Church Movement" in *This Side of Heaven: Race, Ethnicity, and Christian Faith*, ed. Robert J. Priest and Alvaro L. Nieves (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). See also historian John G. Turner's use of the term in his introduction: John G. Turner, *Bill Bright and Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in*

Such voluntary societies are characteristic of the activist impulse of the longer evangelical tradition.[8] At mid-twentieth century, parachurches proliferated as one of the "most important tools of modern evangelism" during a critical time in the restructuring of the American religious landscape, when old denominational structures flagged and a new brand of evangelicalism arose in the age of Graham.[9] As Nathan Hatch suggests, "The organizational structures that house the throbbing heart of evangelicalism are not denominations at all, but the special purpose parachurch agencies that sometimes seem as numberless as the stars in the sky."[10] Although most studies of evangelicalism in this time period have used the nation-state as the primary category of analysis, the evangelical tradition has resisted national boundaries.[11] Since its transatlantic origins, however, the

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Postwar America (University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

[8] Consider that early Methodist societies were first voluntary societies, not unlike parachurches. David Hempton emphasizes the voluntarism of early Methodism in David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

[9] Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt,* 226. See Robert Wuthnow's work for context on the shifting U.S. religious landscape. Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since WWII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

[10] Nathan O. Hatch with Michael S Hamilton, "Epilogue," in D. G. Hart and Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals (Wheaton 111.), *Reckoning with the Past: Historical Essays on American Evangelicalism from the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1995), 398.

[11] John G. Turner's study of the role of Campus Crusade in the renewal of evangelicalism has one chapter on the role of South Korea. See Turner, *Bill Bright and Campus Crusade*; Timothy Lee studies the longer history of Korean Christianity as an evangelical movement and includes U.S. actors but primarily considers religious developments in a national framework. See Lee, *Born Again*.

evangelical tradition has resisted national boundaries.[12] In the twentieth century, many parachurches were first transnational networks before they came to function as "multinational corporations."[13] A transpacific frame is necessary for understanding the twentieth-century birth and success of parachurches, given their unprecedented linkages to South Korea.

World Vision, Campus Crusade and the Billy Graham Evangelical Association were all part of the revival of evangelicalism in the second half of the twentieth century. World Vision, founded in 1950, was focused on emergency relief and aid and emphasized the importance not only of Christian conversions but also of meeting the material needs of "the poor." Campus Crusade, founded in 1951, was focused on evangelizing college students, staff and faculty at educational institutions. The BGEA, founded in 1950, was the most expansive in its scope yet most specific in terms of its focus in organizing mass crusades for the purpose of evangelism.

Now, lest we fall into the exceptionalist rhetoric espoused by many of the historical figures who are featured in this research, it should be noted that South Korea was neither an exception nor was evangelical success an inevitable outcome. Brazil, where the second largest Graham crusade occurred, would be fruitful to investigate, for instance. The following research ought to be a launch pad for more transnational research that traces the linkages between the world and the U.S. But what was, indeed, peculiar

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[12] David Hempton has emphasized the transnational and global reach of early evangelicalism. See Hempton *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*; see also David Hempton, *The Church in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011). Consider also the work of W. R. Ward, who shows the significance of an earlier time period and international spread in the origins of evangelicalism. W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[13] Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*, 227.

about South Korea was that the U.S. had never been so interested in the Asia-Pacific region in general and South Korea in particular than in the 1940s and '50s. Christina Klein notes: "Hundreds of thousands of Americans flowed into Asia during the 1940s and 1950s as soldiers, diplomats, foreign aid workers, missionaries… Never before had American influence reached so far and so wide into Asia and the Pacific."[14] While the American Protestant missionary presence in Korea dates back to the late nineteenth century, American fundamentalists charted a new path by following U.S. military routes into South Korea. Though U.S. militarization of South Korea began in 1945 with the end of Japanese imperialism in Korea, Bruce Cumings provides that it was the Korean War (1950-53), the first "hot" war of the Cold War, which led to a permanent U.S. military presence in Korea and the expansion of the U.S. Cold War state throughout Asia.[15]

The story of transpacific evangelicalism begins with the Korean War, which Grace Cho calls "the first and last conflict of the Cold War, whose beginning is uncertain and whose end has not yet arrived."[16] In 1953, when the war resulted in an armistice, North and South Korea remained divided, and the U.S. and South Korea became inseparable nations.[17] American parachurches grew because of their Korean base and

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[14] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003),18.

[15] Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History*, (New York: Modern Library, 2010) 188-201. As quoted in Yuan Shu and Donald Pease Eds. *American Studies as Transnational Practice: Turning Toward the Transpacific*, (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2016) 4.

[16] Grace M. Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy and the Forgotten War* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2008) 54.

[17] Paul Kramer argues that among the many nations whose otherwise disparate histories became "permanently inseparable" in the twentieth century, the U.S. and Philippines are a prime example. The U.S. and South Korea serve as another example of two nations now inseparable because of the legacies of war. In this dissertation, I suggest that this inseparability is not just at the level of the political and the economic, but also the religious. Paul Kramer, *Blood of Government: Race,*

benefited from the tragedies of the Korean War. Though often called the "forgotten war" in American history, remnants of the war remain in the American evangelical tradition, including in evangelical parachurches. Yet these parachurches were not merely impositions of American-style evangelicalism into South Korea. South Koreans also leveraged these networks for their own gain.

The Rise of American Evangelicalism in Global Context

From its transatlantic origins in the eighteenth century, with figures like John Wesley at the helm, the evangelical tradition has had a long history and the term "evangelical" many meanings, even into the contemporary moment. After the breakdown of the evangelical consensus in the late nineteenth century and the fundamentalist-modernist controversy of the early twentieth century, evangelicalism was remade into a global movement during in the Cold War era.

At the turn of the twentieth century, American Protestants sent out foreign missionaries at a faster rate than the British, but they were also losing their nineteenth-century evangelical Protestant consensus. The fundamentalist-modernist theological controversy, which pitted theological liberals or "modernists" against fundamentalists, was largely responsible for this seismic shift. While liberals accepted German higher criticism and scientific theories of evolution, fundamentalists held onto literal interpretations of seven-day creationism and rejected evolution. The 1925 Scopes Trial prompted the decisive split, with the fundamentalists losing and the liberals winning the debate.[18] Fundamentalists quietly left their liberal and mainstream denominations.

Empire, the United States and the Philippines (Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press, 2006).

[18] Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, 133-173.

However, they sought to revive their evangelical dominance in American society and the world by creating new institutions, such as Bob Jones University and Fuller Theological Seminary, and new missionary societies, including World Vision, Campus Crusade, and the BGEA.

Given their defeat in the early twentieth century, few, especially liberals, and perhaps not even fundamentalists themselves, imagined that these institutions would grow or gain the power they did by the 1970s. But note that American fundamentalism, though reputed for its defense of America, was a movement with a world vision. "Revival in America" and "the evangelization of the world" were inseparable slogans.[19] Thus, not only the threat of theological liberalism, but also the global rise of communism, threatened their vision to evangelize the world.[20] At the end of World War II, the Christian impulse to spread the good news around the world was challenged by decolonization movements that eschewed western missionary imperialism. And yet, American global missionary work continued. Because of their strict biblical adherence to the Great Commission in Matthew 28:18-20, American fundamentalists continued to go out into the world to spread the gospel: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." And they continued to carry out this vision in spite of emerging postcolonial and decolonization movements.[21] By 1952 half

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[19] Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997),177.

[20] George Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1987) 84.

[21] Indians, for instance, developed a strong aversion to "conversion" itself at this time because of their experiences as part of the British Empire.

of the 18,500 North American Protestant missionaries were sent out by evangelical agencies.[22]

Americans continued to send missionaries into the world at a rapid pace, often following global Cold War routes, and, a new generation of American fundamentalists forged transpacific networks with South Korean Protestants. They could do so because the U.S. was refashioning its national identity as a global Cold War power. Unlike the British Empire, Cold War America extended global influence through its image as a non-imperial power and a democracy that espoused racial equality. Using people-to-people diplomacy, Dwight D. Eisenhower encouraged everyday Americans to forge intimate ties with those in noncommunist Asia, including through evangelism, to bridge racial and national differences.[23] Influenced by this political context, fundamentalists were attracted to South Korea as a site where they could find religious partners and exemplars as well as victims of war whose lives cohered with the missionary imperative of American fundamentalism. Thus, American evangelists such as Bob Pierce, who had a fundamentalist background, moved from China to Korea in the 1950s, which sustained his world vision in spite of communist and modernist threats to his worldview. His friend Billy Graham, whom he invited to Korea in 1952, also legitimated his world vision through his travels to Korea, and after witnessing the horrors of war, he published *I Saw Your Sons at War: The Korean Diary of Billy Graham* (1953).[24]

Pierce and Graham were not the first American evangelists to arrive in Korea.

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[22] Carpenter, 185. While the mainline Protestant missionary force decreased from 7,000 to 3,000 from 1945 to 1980, evangelical missionaries grew from about 5,000 to 32,000.

[23] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 19-20.

[24] I analyze this circular in chapter one.

While seventeenth-century Catholics were the first missionaries to plant Christian seeds in Korean soil, late-nineteenth-century American Protestant missionaries had the most success in garnering converts in Korea. Christianity in Korea gained new footing with the arrival of Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries such as Horace Allen and Henry Appenzeller. As exemplified by the Pyongyang Great Revival (1907-1910), Koreans indigenized Christianity, with practices such as *tongsongkido* (charismatic group prayer) and *saebyukkido* (early morning prayer) birthed as hallmark traditions of indigenous Korean faith.[25]

Christianity often served as a salvific and prophetic force for Koreans during the first half of the twentieth century. When the Japanese colonized the peninsula in 1910, they, enforced Shinto as the religion of the colony, but Christianity burgeoned under imperial rule in spite of, and perhaps because of, Japanese persecution.[26] Leaders of the Korean independence movements, both in Korea and in the diaspora, were often Christians who used their faith to protest imperial rule.[27]

The first American Protestant missionaries who arrived in Korea in the late nineteenth century hoped to convert not only Korean souls to Christianity but also the Korean nation to an American style of democracy. Yet the U.S. state had little political

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[25] The Nevius Plan, introduced in 1890 by American Presbyterian missionary John L. Nevius, encouraged indigenous leadership and ownership of the church at an early stage, which has been suggested as the reason for the vitality of Christianity in Korea. See George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970), 422. See also Sung Deuk Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions, 1876-1915* (Baylor: Baylor University Press, 2013); Lee, *Born Again.*

[26] For a discussion of the indigenization of Korean Christianity see Lee. *Born Again*; Park, *Korean Protestantism and Politics*; Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity.*

[27] Park, *Korean Protestantism and Politics*; David Yoo, *Contentious Spirits: Religion in Korean American History, 1903-1945* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010).

interest in the peninsula, and in fact, under the Taft-Katsura Agreement in 1905, the U.S. brokered a deal to permit Japan's annexation of Korea in exchange for U.S. colonial rule over the Philippines. U.S.-Korean state relations, however, shifted dramatically with Korea's liberation from Japanese imperialism in 1945, a transformation marked by the U.S. military presence in Korea and the tidal wave of American missionary organizations founded in Korea. By 1968, thirty-seven out of the fifty missionary organizations in Korea had started after 1945.[28]

In this late twentieth-century period, mainstream Korean Protestantism shifted its political leanings. In the words of Chung Shin Park, "Protestant Christians found themselves supporting the formation of a pro-Christian government... The position of the Christian church in the south was now one of conformity with the government... a far cry from the defiance exhibited by Christians toward the Confucian establishment and the early Japanese colonial regime."[29] Nami Kim also attributes the roots to the rise of a contemporary "Korean Protestant Right" to this late-twentieth century period, the same moment as the rise of evangelical conservativism in the United States, the same historical

[28] Herbert Kane, *A Global View of Christian Missions from Pentecost to Present* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1971), 261-272. Kane writes: "Following WWII there was a large influx of new missions from the United States [to Korea]. According to the 1968 edition of the *North American Protestant Ministries Overseas Directory.* There are almost fifty mission organizations in Korea. Thirty-seven of these entered Korea since 1945….No other mission field, not even Taiwan, is so completely dominated by American Missions. Only three missionary societies out of a total of forty-seven are completely non-American. Two other missions, being international, include non-American personnel." Though Kane's understanding of Korean exceptionalism here needs to be evaluated and critiqued, his reference to the post-1945 missionary presence in Korea is empirically grounded. See *North American Protestant Ministries Overseas Directory.* Waco: Missionary Research Library in cooperation with Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1968-c1970.; 8th ed. (1968)-9th ed. (1970).

[29] Park, *Korean Protestantism*, 171. Park notes: "Protestant Christians found themselves supporting the formation of a pro-Christian government... The position of the Christian church in the south was now one of conformity with the government... a far cry from the defiance exhibited by Christians toward the Confucian establishment and the early Japanese colonial regime."

time period in which scholars such as Darren Dochuk have narrated the rise of evangelical conservativism in American history.[30] In narrating the interconnectedness between the "explosion" of Korean Protestantism and the rise of American evangelicalism, I suggest that South Korean Protestants were not only indispensable in the refashioning of American fundamentalism into mainstream evangelicalism, but also in fueling the rise of evangelical conservativism in America.

By narrating the interconnectedness between the "explosion" of Korean Protestantism and the rise of American evangelicalism, I suggest that South Korean Protestants were not only indispensable in the refashioning of American fundamentalism into mainstream evangelicalism, but also in fueling the rise of evangelical conservativism in America. Under the global threat of modernity, secularism and communism, American evangelicalism succeeded because it was a global movement.

The Transpacific Turn in American Religious History

The U.S. as a Pacific Civilization

"The U.S. is equally an Atlantic as well as a Pacific civilization," writes historian Gary Okihiro.[31] This recognition, however, has largely been absent in studies of America's past, including America's religious past. With a focus on the Puritans fleeing the state church of England, the Atlantic-facing Protestant narrative dominates the writing of American religious history.[32] Historians have suggested alternative directions and

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[30] Nami Kim, *The Gendered Politics of the Korean Protestant Right: Hegemonic Masculinity* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016); Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*.

[31] Gary Okihiro, "Toward a Pacific Civilization," *Japanese Journal of American Studies* 18, 2007: 73-85.

[32] Henry May's 1964 essay "The Recovery of American Religious History" is thought to be one of the key essays in recovering the direction of the field in the late twentieth century; Perry Miller's intellectual history work was also a key framework upon which the field built itself.

tropes, but few have redirected the "spatial vector" toward the Pacific. Laurie Maffly-Kipp takes on this challenge in her seminal essay, "Eastward Ho! American Religion from the Perspective of the Pacific Rim," featured in Thomas Tweed's edited volume *Retelling U.S. Religious History* published in 1997.[33] "All that most of us know and learn about American religion," she writes, "keeps us firmly moored in an east-to-west framework, and the farther west we go, the less important the religious events seem to become, in part because the vast majority of us know much less about them."[34] She proposes key frameworks and periodization for integrating the history of religion on the "Pacific Rim" into larger narratives, with the vision that this will result in a "world

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Building upon Henry May's 1964 essay, Jon Butler writes "The Future of American Religious History: Prospectus, Agenda, Transatlantic Problematique" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Apr., 1985), 167-183. He proposes directions that are not "clerically dominated institutional histories" or "continued concentration on the Puritan origins of American culture." Yet in all of these conceptualizations of American religious history, there is no call to look toward the Pacific for a usable past.

[33] Laurie Maffly-Kipp. "Eastward Ho! American Religion from the Perspective of the Pacific Rim" in *Retelling U.S. Religious History,* Ed. Thomas Tweed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). The same year that Tweed's 1997 edited volume was published, a peer volume assessing the field was published by Harry Stout and D.G. Hart Ed. *New Directions in American Religious History.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Tweed avails that his edited volume was a deliberate "challenge" to American religious historiography. See Thomas Tweed Ed. *Retelling U.S. Religious History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 5. Tweed saw a need to compile essays that would critique the intellectual power structures within the field whereas Stout and Hart's volume positioned itself as a march forward from the traditional intellectual history-driven approach into the new era of the "New Social History." See Stout, 5. Thus, the two works published in the same year provided different visions for "retelling" and providing "new directions" in American religious history. Largely missing from the Stout-Hart volume are Pacific religious subjects, which Maffly Kipp names: "Alaskan Neuts, Nootkas, Tlingits, Pacific Coast Indians of all sorts, indigenous Hawaiians, fur traders and whalers (Spanish, French, Russian, British and American), missionaries (Spanish, French, Russian, British, American Protestant, Mormon, and Japanese), and migrants (European, American and Asian)." Tweed 130. When contextualizing Maffly-Kipp's publication with scholarly work produced since 1997, there is much to be updated in her essay, in terms of synthesizing the racial, imperial and transnational frameworks for conceptualizing America's past via the Pacific.

[34] Maffly-Kipp, "Eastward Ho!" 130.

history of American religion."[35] Maffly-Kipp primarily employs the analytical tools of cultural and human geography to render her spatial re-orientation toward the Pacific, while gesturing toward other analytical frameworks.[36] Her proposal for a "world history of American religion" points toward the transnational/global turn in studying American history. Maffly-Kipp observes: "In the long run, integrating the history of religion on the Pacific Rim into our larger narratives will entail a series of (admittedly enormous) steps."[37] She suggests that scholars proceed "incrementally."[38] Yet the field of American religious history may have taken her charge to proceed "incrementally" too seriously: this mode of inquiry remains significantly understudied. Consider that Ann Braude's seminal essay "Women's History *is* American Religious History" was published in the same volume as Maffly-Kipp's essay in 1997. On the heels of Braude's intervention a significant body of scholarship on American women's religious history emerged.[39]

Why has a Pacific turn to American religious history been largely unheeded? One of the challenges of taking a transpacific turn to American religion is defining the geographical boundaries of this paradigm. The historiographical debate depends on

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Her essay anticipates, though does not directly contribute to, new bodies of scholarship that would prioritize the category of race in studying the religious lives of Asian Pacific Islander Americans and migrants from the regions of the Pacific.

[37] Maffly-Kipp, "Eastward Ho!" 130.

[38] Ibid. Maffly-Kipp suggests doing this by first synthesizing the religious narratives of the Pacific and then narrating them in such a way that they relate to narratives of the Atlantic world, culminating in what she calls a "world history of American religion."

[39] To be sure, the religious history of American women burgeoned for other reasons including the maturation of women's history in American history in general. See especially the following edited volume on women's religious history for a historiographical assessment. Catherine Brekus ed., *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007).

defining and redefining the boundaries of "America." What is the "Pacific" and how is it "American"? Maffly-Kipp defines the "Pacific Rim" as those regions of the U.S. that border the Pacific Ocean, including present-day California, Oregon, Washington, Hawaii and Alaska. She includes migrants to those regions as well as the "conceptual role that the region has played in the religious worldviews" of those people.[40] Other historians have taken a Pacific-oriented perspective in conceiving of the American nation-state.[41] Scholars have conceived of the "American Pacific" as a continuation of the concept of the "American West" – that is, the ever-expanding frontier as identified by Frederick Jackson Turner.[42] Arrell Morgan Gibson employs Turner's "frontier thesis," making the case for the Americanization of the Pacific through multiple frontiers.[43] Jean Heffer

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[40] Tweed, 260. Footnote 4 for Maffly-Kipp's essay. Maffly-Kipp's work builds upon the work of scholars who have conceived of viewing American history in a hemispheric perspective, primarily Herbert Eugene Bolton's work in the 1930s "The Epic of Greater America" in *Wider Horizons of American History* (1939; reprint, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), Patricial Nelson Limerick, "Disorientation and Reorientation: The American Landscape Discovered from the West," *Journal of American History* 79, 3 (December 1992): 1021-1049 and "Healing at the Razor's Edge: Reflections on a History of Multicultural America," *Journal of American History* 81, 2 (September 1994): 571-84. See Tweed, 260-261 (footnote 5). See also Peter H. Wood's assessment of a continental approach to conceiving of the Americas: Peter H. Wood, 'From Atlantic History to a Continental Approach,' in Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal,* (Oxford, 2009), 279-98.

[41] See debates on the very notion of the "Asia Pacific" or the "Pacific Rim." Arlif Dirlik writes: "The Pacific region *is* an idea, if not *just* an idea and terminology that pretends to a physical concreteness in its delineating is misleading to the extent that it conceals its origins in the human activity that produced the ideas" (62). Arif Dirlik. 'The Asia–Pacific Idea: Reality and Representation in the Invention of a Regional Structure', *Journal of World History* 3, 1992: 55-79.

[42] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920).

[43] Arrell Morgan Gibson and John S. Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier.* (Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press,1993) 335. The multiple frontiers include missionary, literary, military perspectives. Gibson conceives of an American "west beyond the water's edge," which includes the Pacific coast of North America, the islands of the Pacific and the coastal ports of China.

continues the discussion of the "Americanization of the Pacific" and argues that, in the wake of Japan's defeat in WWII, "the entire Pacific became an 'American lake' and the former frontier," he argues, "disappears."[44] Thus, defining the "American Pacific" accompanies a discussion of imperialist expansion. American influence has penetrated the Pacific territories so fully that the "American Pacific" is not merely a framework for discussing activity within the boundaries of the U.S. nation-state but also American political, economic and military dominance in the Pacific Ocean.[45] Bruce Cumings notes: "….Americans in recent years have lived through the eclipse of any potential rival in Europe or East Asia. What is now clear is the towering predominance of the United States for the foreseeable future."[46] American ascendancy in the Pacific is key for conceptualizing an "American Pacific."

At the same time, American expansion into the Pacific has been a contested concept because of the latent threat that the Asia-Pacific nevertheless poses, and because narratives of ascendency tend to overestimate American dominance. Okihiro's analysis

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[44] Jean Heffer, *The United States and the Pacific: History of a Frontier*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002) 360. Heffer summarizes: "Is the Pacific the last remaining frontier in the United States? Today we can answer this question in the negative, for the frontier has been as good as eliminated…The Pacific is now as central as the Atlantic." Gibson would go so far as to argue for the Americanization of the Pacific Islands and the coastal ports of China, and Heffer for the disappearance of the frontier in the Pacific altogether. Gibson and Heffer's boundaries of the Pacific, for instance, extend beyond Maffly-Kipp's conception of the "Pacific Rim" which has firmer roots in the coastal states.

[45] Bruce Cumings, *Dominion from Sea to Sea: Pacific Ascendancy and American Power.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). See also Rob Wilson, *Reimagining the American Pacific: from South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond,* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). Wilson's book is more in the category of "cultural studies" and it critiques American imperialism in the region. See also Stuart Banner, *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007). Banner's monograph provides a history of the evolution of laws concerning possessing land in the Pacific territories.

[46] Cumings, *Dominion from Sea to Sea*, 493.

would suggest that the U.S. is not merely an ever-expanding frontier, but also an island: "I suggest that the U.S. is an island surrounded by lands north and south, but also oceans, east and west. And as an island, unlike the imagined insularity of the agrarian tradition and frontier hypothesis, the U.S. must be viewed properly as a center with its own integrity but also as a periphery and a fluid space of movements and engagements that resist closure and inevitable or final outcomes."[47] Rather than a continued expansion of American triumphalism into the Pacific, he conceptualizes the U.S. as both a center and a "periphery" that resists "final outcomes" such as its dominance. He borrows this analysis from Epeli Hau'ofa's essay "Our Sea of Islands" in which Hau'ofa counters the paradigm of an "empty Pacific," a trope used conceive of the islands in the South Pacific Ocean. Even Maffly-Kipp's geographical assessment of the Pacific is that it "is relatively empty," revealing problematic understandings that require scholarly revision.[48] Hau'ofa's re-conceptualization of the islands in a vast Oceania re-creates the islands as a center of livelihood as opposed to an empty, peripheral space, and allows scholars to reframe the U.S. as one island among many other islands in Pacific. Reconceptualization of the Pacific islands, therefore, attenuates narratives of American exceptionalism.[49]

Race, Empire and the Global Cold War

Maffly-Kipp's geographical turn to the Pacific pushes the field far in providing a corrective to a westward expanding "spatial vector." Yet she surprisingly does not go so far as to employ the categories of race and empire as primary modes of analysis,

[47] Okihiro "Toward a Pacific Civilization," 77.

[48] Maffly-Kipp, "Eastward Ho!," 132.

[49] Epeli Hau'ofa. 'Our Sea of Islands' in Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu, and Epeli Hau'ofa, eds., *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, (Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House, 1993).

neglecting an opportunity to more thoroughly engage the histories of inequality between historical actors of Asian and European descent, and the conditions of power that have rendered these subjects invisible in the historiography.[50] To be sure, she notes that Asian labor becomes a driver of the American economy with the end of American slavery, and calls for a parallel study of the African American and Asian American contexts: "To a significant degree, the story of Asian Americans is to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on the Pacific Rim what the story of African Americans is to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Atlantic world, and therefore both accounts require prominence in a balanced account of our religious past."[51] She, therefore, highlights that the dearth of historical scholarship on the religious history of Asian Americans can be attributed to the Atlantic and black-white racial frame that has primarily structured American religious historiography. At the same time, note the lack of attention that Asian American historians have provided to religion as a central category of analysis. [52] In his

[50] For a call for a re-orientation toward the Pacific, see Laurie Maffly-Kipp. "Eastward Ho!." For a treatment of European American Buddhism, see Thomas Tweed, *The American Encounter with Buddhism: Victorian Culture and the Limits of Dissent,* 1844-1912 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). American religious historian Thomas Tweed has researched the presence of Asian religious traditions in the U.S; these historiographical interventions, however, have surprisingly been to the neglect of studying Asian American practitioners who are historically the majority of Buddhist practitioners in America.

[51] Maffly-Kipp, "Eastward Ho!," 143.

[52] The following publications have touched upon Asian American religions from a historical perspective. David Yoo, *Contentious Spirits: Religion in Korean American History, 1903-1945*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010). Derek Chang, *Citizens of a Christian Nation: Evangelical Missions and the Problem of Race in the Nineteenth Century,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). Where Yoo's work charts the religious community and theological thought undergirding Korean nationalist movements among immigrants in the early twentieth century, Chang's work triangulates white missionary work among black and Chinese Americans, respectively in the American south and west. See also Melissa Borja's forthcoming monograph developed from her dissertation. Melissa May Borja, "'To Follow the New Rule or Way': Hmong Refugee Settlement and the Practice of American Religious Pluralism," (Unpublished Columbia University Dissertation 2014). These are some of the first works that

introduction "Reframing the U.S. Religious Landscape," historian David Yoo asserts that "a reconceptualization" of the field Asian American Studies "is necessary, so that the serious treatment of religion becomes the interpretive rule rather than the exception."[53] The Marxist underpinnings of the early conception of the field of Asian American Studies had prevented scholars from approaching the category of what was thought to be the hegemony of (Christian) religion.[54] This historiographical predicament parallels what Albert Raboteau once wrote about the field of African American religious history:

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have attempted to construct a usable past for Asian American religious subjects. Far more work in the subfield of Asian American religions has been sociological and ethnographic in methodology with a particular focus on examining the post-1965 wave of immigration. The literature spans the study of immigrant congregations to Asian American evangelical Christians in college campus settings and new second-generation religious communities. See Antony Alumkal, *Asian American Evangelical Churches: Race, Ethnicity, and Assimilation in the Second Generation*, (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2003). Tony Carnes and Fenggang Yang, *Asian American Religions: The Making and Remaking of Borders and Boundaries,* (New York: New York University Press, 2004). Elaine Ecklund, *Korean American Evangelicals: New Models for Civic Life,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Jane Naomi Iwamura and Paul Spickard Ed., *Revealing the Sacred in Asian and Pacific America,* (New York: New York University Press. 2004). Russell Jeung. *Faithful Generations: Faithful Generations: Race and New Asian American Churches* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005). Rebecca Kim, *God's New Whiz Kids?: Korean American Evangelicals On Campus,* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); Pyong Gap Min and Jung Ha Kim, *Asian American Religions: Building Faith Communities,* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2002).

[53] David Yoo Ed. *New Spiritual Homes: Religion and Asian Americans*. (Honolul : University of Hawai'i Press. 1999), 10. As one of the first collection of essays to be published on the subfield of Asian American religions, the volume compiled essays from East Asian American Protestantism to Shamanist, Buddhist and Sikh practices. Prior to this volume, the *Amerasia Journal* published a series of essays on the theme "Racial Spirits: Religion & Race in Asian American Communities." *Amerasia Journal*. Vol 22.1. (1996).

[54] Ibid., 8. Along with religious studies scholar Rudy Busto, Yoo posited that the erasure of the Asian American religious subject was due to the non-intersecting intellectual lineages of Asian American history's indebtedness to Marxian labor history, which obfuscated the category of religion, and American religious history's privileged analysis of European-American Judeo-Christian subjects. Yoo and Busto respectively make these observations in *New Spiritual Homes* and *Revealing the Sacred*. See Yoo's introduction in David Yoo, *New Spiritual Homes: Religion and Asian Americans,* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999); see Busto's essay "DisOrienting Subjects: Reclaiming Pacific Islander/Asian American Religions" in Jane Naomi Iwamura and Paul Spickard, *Revealing the Sacred in Asian and Pacific America* (New York: New York University Press. 2004).

"Historians have long recognized the crucial role of religion in the social, political, cultural and economic life of black Americans. Nonetheless, the story of African-American religion has often been neglected in books and courses on African-American history and American religious history." Raboteau's assessment parallels the challenge in carving out an intellectual space for writing Asian American religious history, and taking a Pacific turn to American religious history.[55]

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[55] Albert Raboteau, *Canaan Land: A Religious History of African Americans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), x. Note that the study of America in the Pacific, or the transpacific, is not just an (East) Asian and White binary. Okihiro cautions that conceiving of the U.S. as a "Pacific Civilization" ought not to replicate the binary of the Atlantic by inspiring a "white and yellow racial binary (white North America and yellow East Asia)" or a "rim-centered American and Asian binary that slights the transnational ocean and the peoples of Oceania (and Asians other than East Asians)." Okihiro, "Toward a Pacific Civilization," 83. He proposes the study of a "Black Pacific," comparing African and Pacific Islander connections through dance, music and culture, charting new territory for the integration of Black and Pacific Islander histories. Erika Lee also calls for a critical look at the history of the "yellow peril" by examining the Americas, including Latin Americans' reception of Asians. Gary Y. Okihiro., 'Afterword: Toward a Black Pacific,' in Heike Raphael-Hernandez and Shannon Steen, eds., *AfroAsian Encounters: Culture, History, Politics.* (New York: New York University Press 2006), 313-29; Erika Lee, "The ;Yellow Peril' and Asian Exclusion in the Americas." *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (November 2007), 537-562. The transpacific turn to American religious history calls for the study of multiple crossings between Black and Asian, Asian and Latino peoples, and those on the underside of U.S. and world history. Moreover, these attempts at crossing multiple racial and national boundaries deserve nuanced discussion about relations of power. The debate about the "Pacific question" within Asian American Studies, for instance, continues – that is, often times Pacific Islanders have been excluded from the field sometimes to their detriment and at times willfully. Amy Stillman has argued for the integration of the Southern Pacific Ocean peoples to trade routes among Asians and Americans, making the case for their interconnectedness. Amy Kuʻuleialoha Stillman. 'Pacific-ing Asian Pacific American History,' *Journal of Asian American Studies* 7, 2004: 241–70. Scholars are also careful to note that Pacific Islander Studies cannot be lumped together with the rest of Asian American Studies as there are unique questions and considerations for the scholarly work of people of the islands. J. Kēhaulani Kauanui. 'Asian American Studies and the "Pacific Question"', in Kent A. Ono, ed., *Asian American Studies after Critical Mass,* Malden, MA, 2005:123-43; see also Vicente M. Diaz. "To 'P' or Not to 'P'?": Marking the Territory Between Pacific Islander and Asian American Studies," *Journal of Asian American Studies*, Volume 7, Number 3, October 2004, pp. 183-208; Davianna McGregor. "Introduction: Weaving Together Strands of Pacific Islander, Asian and American Interactions," *Journal of Asian American Studies,* Volume 7, Number 3, October 2004, vii-xii. Diaz writes: "[U]nder no circumstance should Pacific Islanders, or Pacific Islands Studies, be subsumed under the institutional framework of Asian American history and experiences. Though I'm sure nobody wishes this to be the case, the question of just how Pacific Islander and Asian American Studies are articulated together will always raise the specter of unequal power relations" (184). He

Since Maffly-Kipp's essay, a transnational and global framework for doing American history has grown, providing further context for studying American religious history in a transpacific frame. The fields of American history, American Studies, Asian Studies and Asian American Studies are particularly relevant in employing a transpacific turn. Since its inception in the 1960s, Asian American Studies delineated itself from Asian Studies, as Asian Studies was critiqued as a field constructed under a Euro-American framework. Asian American historians were, therefore, interested in studying Asian Americans within the nation to cement Asian American subjectivity and to counter to "perpetual foreigner" stereotypes. Yet, Sau-ling Wong's seminal essay provided a theoretical lens with which to reevaluate the divisions between the two areas of study: "Denationalization Reconsidered: Asian American Cultural Criticism at a Theoretical Crossroads."[56] Since then, the field increasingly produced theoretical and literary works that catered to ideas of diaspora and transnationalism, and in his speech to the American Historical Association, Eric Foner acknowledged the contribution of Asian American historians in writing American history from a "Pacific world perspective."[57] Shelly Fisher

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pinpoints the "specter of unequal power relations" between subjects of study and modes of analysis. In a global or cosmopolitan push for studying America's past, the transpacific turn ought not to obscure the relations of power embedded among the peoples of North America, East Asia, the Pacific Islands, Africa and Latin America.

[56] Sauling Wong, "Denationalization Reconsidered: Asian American Cultural Criticism at a Theoretical Crossroads" *Amerasia Journa*l, v21 n1-2 p1-27 1995. Wong has especially emphasized the study of an Asian diasporic sensibility in studying Asian American subjects.

[57] Eric Foner. "American Freedom in a Global Age," *American Historical Review* 106:1 (February 2001). Since then, several notable works have been published. Where Eiichiro Azuma's monograph traces the precarious position of first generation Japanese Americans negotiating trans-pacific citizenship and allegiance between the Japanese and American "empires," Adam McKweon's work culls a history of the modern conception of the passport as a mode of documentation and the border as a site of control for Chinese migration. Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America,* (Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 2005). Adam McKeown. *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration*

Fishkin's address to the American Studies Association similarly called for a move toward understanding American Studies in a global context.[58] Matthew Frye Jacobson provided a helpful assessment for the increasing interest in the transnational/global turn as well: "…as the forces of 'globalization' have reached critical mass…the nation-state as a guarantor of citizens' rights vis-à-vis transnational aggregations of corporate power, have extinguished the proprietary sense of national belonging that earlier generations regarded as a birthright."[59] Thomas Bender's publications have been especially influential for emphasizing a global vision of American history. In 2002, Bender published the edited volume *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* and then the monograph *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History*.[60] Bender writes: "My argument in

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and the Globalization of Borders, (New York: New York Univerity Press, 2008). See also Madeline Hsu. *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration between the U.S. and South China, 1882-1943* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); Augusto Espiritu. *Five Faces of Exile: The Nation and Filipino-American Intellectuals* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

58 Shelley Fisher Fishkin."Crossroads of Culture: The Transnational Turn in American Studies," *American Quarterly*, 57, no. 1 (March 2005); Fishkin has also contributed her thoughts on transnationalism here: "Redefinitions of Citizenship and Revisions of Cosmopolitanism—Transnational Perspectives: A Response and a Proposal" *Journal of Transnational American Studies,* 3(1) 2011.

59 Matthew Frye Jacobson. "More 'Trans-,' Less 'National.'" *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25 (Summer 2006): 81. Furthermore, scholars from these various strands of study have come together at conferences and in journals to collaborate on ideas regarding transnationalism; the *Journal of Transnational American Studies* was created in 2008 with its most recent publication featuring the theme: "Transnationalizing Asian American Studies" in which primarily literary scholars respond to Sauling Wong's critical essay "Denationalized Reconsidered." See also a collection of essays by Asian American historians with responses from Thomas Bender "Widening the Lens and Rethinking Asian American History" *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (November 2007), 605-610; and David Igler, "Re-Orienting Asian American History through Transnational and International Scales." *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (November 2007), 611-614.

60 Thomas Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) and *A Nation among Nations: America's Place in World History*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

this book is not for increasing the study of American foreign relations…The point is that we must understand every dimension of American life as entangled in other histories. Other histories are implicated in American history, and the United Sates is implicated in other histories."[61] Bender's assessments are crucial for the intellectual framework that shapes this dissertation. The rise of American evangelicalism is entangled in the religious and political history of South Korea in the Cold War era. What follows, then, is not a history of U.S.-South Korean relations, but a transpacific history of American religion.[62]

In taking a transpacific turn to the history of religion in America, the unending Cold War in Asia emerges as a critical field of study. In *American Studies as Transnational Practice: Turning toward the Transpacific* (2016), editors Yuan Shu and Donald Pease state: "The Cold War may have ended in Europe, but its colonial and imperialist dynamic continues to mediate colonial and postcolonial history throughout the Asia Pacific."[63] The Cold War's temporality, spatiality, and geopolitical import varied significantly according to region: "What is missing in this still dominant perspective is any account of the Cold War's on-the-ground-violence in what the Korean anthropologist Heonik Kwon has called *The Other Cold War* (2010). Outside of Europe, the Cold War resulted in real wars and in the destruction of communities at the grass-roots level."[64] Though U.S. Cold War expansionism was "in tension with the revolutionary processes of

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[61] Bender, *Rethinking American History*, 6.

[62] To be sure, this dissertation draws significantly from concepts within the literature of U.S.-Korean relations, including the work of historian Tae Gyun Park and political scientist Katherine Moon.

[63] Shu and Pease, *American Studies,* 5

[64] ibid., 4.

decolonization," the U.S. also extended its power through the colonial apparatuses installed by the Japanese empire throughout Asia.[65]

Because the U.S. expanded unprecedented political, military and economic influence throughout the Asia-Pacific in the aftermath of Japan's WWII defeat, a transpacific turn to American religious history includes a close study of the global Cold War. As Heonik Kwon notes: "The term *cold war* refers to the prevailing condition of the world in the second half of the twentieth century, divided into two separate paths of political modernity and economic development."[66] The division of North and South Korea at the 38th parallel since 1945 rendered Korea a mini theater in the global Cold War. The 38th parallel marks not only divisions in a civil war, but also a global Cold War between the two competing world systems, that of Soviet communism and American democratic capitalism. Yet, not only a fault line between two incommensurable world political and economic systems, the Cold War was also a fault line for religion, race and empire.

A burgeoning literature shows how American projects of race and empire building coalesced with the global Cold War. As Douglas Field notes, the "containment of racial conflicts and the containment of communism are two sides of the same coin in modern American history, despite the fact that they are often treated as separate subjects in existing literature."[67] The literature on Cold War Orientalism and American empire

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[65] The Phillippines gained independence from the U.S. in 1946; Indonesia won independence from the Dutch in 1949; Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia gained separation from the French in 1949 and independence in 1954. See also Dirlik 1998 and Cumings 2010.

[66] Heonik Kwon, *The Other Cold War*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010) 1

[67] Shu and Pease, *American Studies*, 41.

building in Asia that is, therefore, critical for this dissertation, and I primarily study race and empire in the key of Cold War Orientalism. Klein suggests that through Cold War foreign policy the U.S. encouraged the exercise of "structures of feeling" to forge personal and sentimental attachments to noncommunist Asia.[68] However, instead of undermining racial hierarchies, they reinforced them. Klein's concept of Cold War Orientalism builds on Said's notion of Orientalism to show U.S.-Asian integration as a form or Orientalism. At the same time, during this time period, as Ellen Wu's work shows, there was also a revision in the racialization of Asians in the U.S. as model minorities. Flouted as "good" racial subjects, the model minority category nevertheless otherized Asians in the American racial landscape.[69] The transpacific subjects in this research contend with these shifting ideas of race and Orientalism in the Cold War era.

Moreover, as this dissertation suggests, the 38th parallel also demarcated a theological fault line and religious Cold War between atheism and Christianity. Thus, the literatures of religion and the Cold War are relevant, especially Inboden's work *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment*, which suggests that

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[68] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 19. Klein draws on Raymond Williams' understanding of cultural hegemony as generating "structures of feeling" through which "ideological principles that support a given arrangement of power are translated into regularized patterns of emotion and sentiment." Also, to review, Edward Said peels back the history of the study of the Orient to expose that it depends on the categorical differentiation between the "Occident" and the "Orient" in which the latter is subordinated to the former. He exposes the lack of a "correspondence between Orientalism and the Orient" and more so an "internal consistency of Orientalism and its ideas about the Orient (the East as a career), despite or beyond any correspondence, or lack thereof, with a 'real' Orient." Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 5.

[69] Ellen Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

the Cold War was a religious war.[70] Yet Inboden's work also rarely extends analysis into the Cold War in Asia. Thus, in bringing these literatures together, I study religion, race and empire in the context of the Cold War in Asia. Moreover, this dissertation is titled "Gospel of the 'Orient'" to highlight the racialized idea of South Koreans as "good" Cold War subjects who were, indeed, like good news to American fundamentalists. South Korean Protestants provided the global legitimation necessary for American fundamentalism to refashion itself into mainstream evangelicalism. At the same time, the gospel, or good news, espoused by South Koreans was also one that they owned, and used to wield to influence the modern world, in spite of and because of, their encounter with American projects of race and empire in the Cold War era.

Historiographical Contribution

This project makes several historiographical contributions in setting the rise of American evangelicalism in a global context and pursuing a transpacific turn in American religious history. I connect unlike histories together, including the history of American fundamentalism and evangelicalism, race and the politics of the global Cold War, and world Christianity, especially Korean Christianity.

First, I revise the extant scholarship's predisposition to narrate the rise of American evangelicalism through a nation-bound focus. In doing so, I make visible otherwise invisible historical actors. Thus, I reveal that a core tenet of the evangelical tradition was its relentless impulse to cross national borders for the total evangelization of

[70] William Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2008); see also Jonathan Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle Against Communism in the Early Cold War,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

the world. Whereas most studies would indicate a unidirectional influence from the U.S. to the world, I build on the insights of scholars such as Rebecca Kim, who have shown that the South Korean evangelical "empire" also influenced the west, although not without significant limits due to American projects of race and empire.[71] Thus, one would need to consider a revision of observations that Korean Christianity resembled U.S. Christianity to suggest, the lines are much more blurry, as influence moved both ways, however unevenly.[72] As Nami Kim suggests, the migration of Christianity across the Pacific in the late twentieth century was not a case of mere "Western export" or "indigenous response free from global power structures."[73] This history engages the transpacific highway on which American and South Korean actors engaged in "contact, translation, exchange, negotiation, conflict" to remake American religion.[74]

Second, I intervene in the literature on the rise of American evangelicalism to set it in a global context. Darren Dochuk's work is especially pivotal in placing religion at the forefront of the conversation.[75] Other scholars are interested in setting American evangelicalism in a global context, including David King's work on the history of World

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[71] Rebecca Kim, *The Spirit Moves West: Korean Missionaries in America,* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[72] Mark Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith*, (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2009).

[73] Nami Kim, "A Mission to the 'Graveyard of Empires'?" Neocolonialism and the Contemporary Evangelical Missions of the Global South" in *Mission Studies: Journal of the International Association for Mission Studies* 27 (Netherlands, IAMS: 2010), 9.

[74] Mae M. Ngai. "Transnationalism and the Transformation of the 'Other'," *American Quarterly* 57.1 (2005) 60.

[75] Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt.*

Vision.[76] Numerous works on the evangelical tradition cite Korean Protestants even if they are not treated as central subjects of study. David Hempton studies the eighteenth-century rise of evangelicalism as a global movement, including among African Americans and Koreans.[77] Grant Wacker's most recent work on Billy Graham also mentions Graham's global influence and at the center of his book is the image of Graham's largest crusade, the very image that this introduction opens with, as evidence of the global influence of the "Protestant Pope."[78] At the edges of these sources in the western academy looms the figure of the Korean evangelical. Why does he or she continuously appear in histories of western and American evangelicalism? My research suggests that it is because Koreans were indispensable in the making of modern American evangelicalism. Thus, I write a history that centers their narratives so as to unpack the details of this influence.

To that end, I have conducted archival research and oral histories in both English and Korean. Many of these archival sources have not been used in either Korean or English language scholarship. This is because much of the history of Korean Christianity in English and in Korean has been centered on the origins of the tradition in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, as well as some studies on Korean Protestantism under Japanese colonialism. Fewer works have focused on the late-twentieth century period, and less so on evangelical parachurches, which are outside of

[76] David King, "Seeing a Global Vision: The Evolution of World Vision and American Evangelicalism" (Unpublished Emory University Doctoral Dissertation, 2012).

[77] David Hempton. *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), His book has been translated into Korean as well, revealing the significant interest in the rise of evangelicalism among Korean academics and students.

[78] Grant Wacker, *America's Pastor: Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014).

the traditional denominational histories that dominate the writing of Korean Christianity. Thus, I gathered archival sources that are new or underutilized. I also conducted fifteen oral histories with figures in the U.S. and South Korea to supplement these archival sources, given that many of the figures I study are still alive.

My third historiographical intervention is to show that the category of religion is not epiphenomenal, but central, to the transpacific rise of American evangelicalism. It is precisely, though not solely, because of the stronghold of conservative religious ideas that makes the story of this dissertation possible. Asian Americanists, as well as transnational Americanists have often taken for granted the secular epistemological frameworks of the academy especially when it comes to the category of religion, and even more specifically, with evangelicalism, which is often politically at odds with the Asian American critique of liberal multicultural notions of American diversity, democracy and capitalism.[79] As a result, scholars may have underestimated the far reach of religion as a motivation for action. Moreover, anti-modern expressions such as evangelical Christianity are vibrant, fast-growing communities in the U.S., which nevertheless, influence the world in remarkable and disturbing ways. Even if one may disagree with the religious or political dispositions of these communities, it is critical to understand their motivations and the ongoing force that religion has in shaping the modern world. Though such traditions may seem antithetical to the progressive or liberal values of the academy, it does not mean that

[79] The literature that engages Cold War Orientalism and U.S.-empire building in Asia rarely treats religion as a central category even as religious actors are central part of the narrative. See Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Global American Families: A History of Asian International Adoption in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Susie Woo, "A New American Comes Home: Race, Nation, and the Immigration of Korean War Adoptees, 'GI Babies,' and Brides" (Unpublished Yale University Doctoral Dissertation, 2010); Arissa Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea: The Cold War Origins of International Adoption* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015); Soojin Pate, *From Orphan to Adoptee: US Empire and Genealogies of Adoption.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2015).

they are a negligible category of people, unworthy of intellectual study. In fact, it may be these subjects' very invisibility that gives them so much power. To expose them as historical actors provides a wider stage for a more thorough critique.

Chapter Overview

In the first section of the project called "Roots," I argue that the Korean War was a cauldron for brewing a transpacific network composed of a new generation of American fundamentalists and South Korean Protestants. In *chapter one*, I show that, via an unprecedented transpacific highway paved by the U.S. military, American fundamentalists Bob Pierce, Billy Graham and Bill Bright, encountered South Korean Protestants, Kyung Chik Han, Billy Jang Hwan Kim and Joon Gon Kim. I chart the mid-twentieth century networks forged between these male religious elites on both sides of the Pacific, which I show, became the foundation for the birth of World Vision, the internationalization of Campus Crusade, and the largest crusade hosted by the Billy Graham Evangelical Association.

At this time, American fundamentalists' core mission to evangelize the world was threatened not only by theological liberalism but also China's communist victory in 1949. In *chapter two*, I argue that South Koreans' anticommunist narratives of conversion and martyrdom helped American fundamentalists believe that the total evangelization of the world was still possible in spite of the devastating blow to the foreign missionary enterprise with the closing of China as a missionary-receiving country. In an age of decolonization, South Koreans' anticommunist Christian narratives, moreover, bolstered the image of the U.S. Cold War state as a racial democracy and non-imperial beacon of democratic hope.

In the second section of the project called "Routes," I argue that the networks forged between American fundamentalists and South Korean Protestants in the 1950s served as a transpacific engine that spurred the evolution of fundamentalism into neo-evangelicalism, and ultimately, mainstream evangelicalism. These networks were like a transpacific engine that made American evangelicalism rev because they were made up of powerful combination of Cold War piety and politics. I show this by charting the piety and politics of three transpacific evangelical "routes": the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir, Billy Graham's largest crusade, and Campus Crusade's Explo '72 and '74.

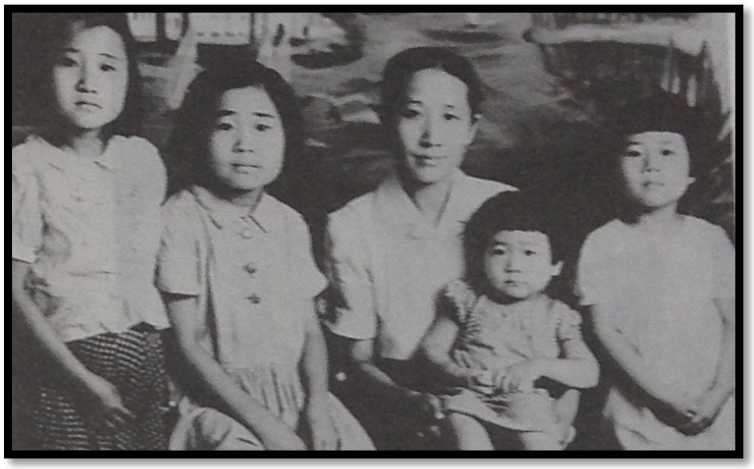
In *chapter three,* I argue that the "little ambassadors" of the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir not only appealed to America's evangelical and humanitarian sensibilities, but also wielded diplomatic power as non-state actors who promised to form "good" Cold War subjects against communism and in defense of Cold War America as a racial democracy. In *chapter four,* I argue that Billy Graham's largest crusade encouraged Koreans to believe in God and America, and to imagine their own ascendancy in the world order through evangelical revival. In *chapter five,* I argue that Campus Crusade's Explo '72 and '74 not only became the high watermark of evangelistic activity in both nations, but also served as a transnational means to reinforce conservative evangelical activism, foreshadowing the rise of the Christian Right in the U.S. and South Korea.

Ultimately, American evangelicalism gained new life though its Cold War imperial and racial projects in South Korea at the same time that South Koreans themselves activated their networks with Americans to expand evangelicalism for their own gain – to build their own religious empire, one that included, at times, collusion with an authoritarian South Korean regime and a Cold War American ally and empire.

PART ONE: ROOTS

CHAPTER ONE

Cold War Innovations: The Korean War Birth of a *World Vision,* 1950-1953



<Fig. 3 Kyung Bae Min, *World Vision 50 Year History, 1950-2000.* Seoul: World Vision Korea, Hong Ik Jae Publishers, 2001, 179. Oak Hyun Paik and her four daughters. Paik's husband Chang Hwa Kim was martyred during the Korean War. Paik and her daughters became the first "sponsor family" that launched World Vision Inc.'s sponsorship business, 1951. This photo is also prominently displayed on the first floor of the Korean World Vision office in Seoul, Korea. >

One month after the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953) on June 25, 1950, North Korean communist officials arrested Chang Hwa Kim, a North Korean refugee, on suspicion of collaborating with "Americans imperialists." On August 4, 1950, Chang Hwa Kim was executed.[80] He was accused of replacing "ancient oriental culture" with the "new Western superstition of Christianity" because he had established a Christian Bible study in South Korea with the American evangelist Bob Pierce. When pressured to recant his faith publicly, he resisted: "I do believe that Christ himself and his truth are the hope of the world, and I believe in everything that I taught these young people and I'm willing

[80] For an overview of Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik's story, see "Our Daddy Died for Truth: A Radio Show by Bob Pierce," World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA; Kyung Bae Min, *World Vision 50 Year History, 1950-2000* (Seoul: World Vision Korea, Hong Ik Jae Publishers, 2001), 178-181; "Christmas in Korea" in *World Vision Pictorial*, 68; "My Daddy Died for Truth," *World Vision Magazine*, June 1959: 12.

to die for the hope I have in Christ."[81] The Korean War battle line between communists and Christians was a theological one, and collaboration with Americans fundamentalists like Pierce cost Chang Hwa Kim his life.[82]

Pierce hailed his death a martyr's "tragic – yet heroic – death," and publicized it as such throughout the U.S. on the radio, in pamphlets, and in a film titled *Dead Men on Furlough* (1954).[83] Chang Hwa Kim's death, though glorified as martyrdom, was also a tragedy that left behind his wife Oak Hyun Paik and four young daughters. Their tragic wartime loss became the launch pad for the creation of World Vision, an evangelical parachurch created in 1950. "If the Korean War had not happened, then World Vision would not exist," recalled Ho Gyun Lee, a member of the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir.[84] "Korea is the root country of World Vision," she continued. "World Vision began during the Korean War and it started by supporting orphans and widows."[85] Chang Hwa Kim's martyrdom and Oak Hyun Paik's tragic loss during the Korean War became the seed for the birth of World Vision.

At mid twentieth century, the emerging global Cold War shifted the geopolitical landscape of East Asia, and with it the American missionary presence in the region. In

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[81] "Our Daddy Died for Truth: A Radio Show by Bob Pierce," World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA. Chang Hwa Kim was a high school math teacher, a father of four, and a North Korean refugee school. He taught at Seoul National University Attached Middle School.

[82] During Pierce's first travels to South Korea in the spring of 1950, he had preached in the cities of Pusan, Taegu, and Seoul where he gathered a group of four hundred students to study the Bible. Rev. Kyung Chik Han recommended Chang Hwa Kim, one of his church elders, to lead this Bible study. Han was the pastor of Young Nak Presbyterian Church, the largest Presbyterian church in Seoul at that time, and by 1992, the largest Presbyterian church in the world. Min, *World Vision 50 Year History,* 178-179.

[83] "Our Daddy Died for Truth."

[84] Ho Gyun Lee, Oral History Interview, August 4, 2016.

[85] Ibid.

light of the communist triumph in China in 1949, the "communists were kicking everyone out."[86] This included Pierce, who was serving as a missionary in China with an evangelistic organization called Youth for Christ.[87] For American fundamentalists like Pierce, the geopolitics of the emerging Cold War in Asia restricted access to China, but it also paved new routes into South Korea, a U.S.-allied nation. Though Pierce had pivotal encounters within China with orphans such as "White Jade," it was not until he forged a transpacific network with South Koreans Kyung Chik Han, the pastor of Young Nak Presbyterian Church, and his congregants Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik, that World Vision officially began in 1950.

Bob Pierce, Chang Hwa Kim, Oak Hyun Paik, and Kyung Chik Han's lives became inseparable as a result of war. Historian Paul Kramer argues that among the nations whose otherwise disparate histories became "permanently inseparable" in the twentieth century, a prime example is the U.S. and the Philippines.[88] The U.S. and South Korea serve as another example of two nations that became inseparable as a result of war in the twentieth century. Scholars have studied American empire building during the Korean War in terms of the Cold War origins of international adoption, transracial global

[86] Gwen Wong, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship Archives, Oral History. Provided courtesy of Inter Varsity USA archivist, Ned Hale. Inter-Varsity began as a British movement among evangelical students in Cambridge and London in the late nineteenth century; it was a conservative evangelical alternative to the Student Christian Movement. The U.S. branch of Inter-Varsity, however, did not begin until 1939. Keith Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, 1940-1990* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 1991).

[87] Youth for Christ was an evangelistic organization that came out of the fundamentalist strand of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy in the early twentieth century. Billy Graham and Bob Pierce met each other through Youth for Christ.

[88] Paul Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 3.

families, the immigration of Korean G.I. wives, and U.S. military prostitutes.[89] The war, however, also generated inseparable religious institutions. Given evangelical America's early role in the history of international adoption and global kinship building, it is not possible to understand the bonds between the U.S. and South Korea without their specifically religious dimensions.[90] This chapter traces the transpacific birth of World Vision, situating late-twentieth-century evangelicalism in its global context, and highlighting the interconnectedness between U.S. and world Christianity. Though incorporated as a non-profit organization in Portland, Oregon by Bob Pierce, an American fundamentalist, World Vision was founded in collaboration with, and in response to the concerns of, Korean Protestants.[91]

Moreover, this network further expanded into the U.S., and contributed to the revival of a strand of American fundamentalism that would later burgeon into mainstream evangelicalism. Thus, not only Pierce, but also Billy Graham—American fundamentalists who would go on to lead the reformation of American fundamentalism into the New Evangelicalism or neo-evangelicalism—met South Korean Protestants, including Kyung Chik Han, Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik.[92] These Korean and American figures

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[89] Kathryn Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Ji-Yeon Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown: Korean Military Brides in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2002). Choy, *Global American Familie*s; Woo, "A New American Comes Home"; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*.

[90] This chapter treats religion as an independent category of analysis, highlighting the role of transnational religious actors in the Korean War.

[91] This chapter highlights the historical agency of characters, especially Korean Christians, heretofore obscured in the narratives about the rise of American evangelical institutions in the late twentieth century.

[92] Neo-evangelicalism was an outgrowth of American fundamentalism. For more on the emergence of neo-evangelicalism out of fundamentalism, see Chapter 2, as well as George

met in South Korea, a new evangelical hub. They formed a transpacific network that not only grew the evangelical inflection of Christianity in South Korea, but also in the U.S. The Korean War was a cauldron for birthing a transpacific network that connected a new generation of American fundamentalists and South Korean Protestants. This network not only signaled the growth of world Christianity in the twentieth century, but also the Pacific turn in U.S. interests that fueled the endurance of American fundamentalism.

Central to the beginnings of World Vision is the context of the Korean War and the network established between both the U.S. evangelical Bob Pierce and the Presbyterian pastor Rev. Kyung Chik Han, and the war widow Oak Hyun Paik and the martyr Chang Hwa Kim. Yet the names of these religious figures are absent from the secondary literature on the history of World Vision.[93] Why are Koreans, including pastors, widows, and martyrs, unnamed as historical actors in the secondary research on the origins of World Vision? What are the consequences of obscuring their roles as historical agents?

Both sets of narratives underscore an American exceptionalism that places Bob Pierce at the center of the action, rather than uncovering the networks of relations, the transnational linkages beyond the U.S. nation-state, as well as the exigencies of war and American empire-building in Asia that structured the foundation of World Vision.[94] In

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Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1987); Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion.*

[93] See footnote 7. In both David King and Gary Vanderpol's religious histories on the global and social justice orientation of World Vision, Oak Hyun Paik, Chang Hwa Kim, Kyung Chik Han, and Tabitha Widow's Home are not named. Moreover, in Arissa Oh, Catherine Ceniza Choy, and Susie Woo's transnational histories of Korea and World Vision, these names and stories do not appear either.

[94] David King and Gary Vanderpol's religious histories recount the origins of World Vision not

David King's research entitled "Seeking a Global Vision," he critiques scholars who study post-WWII American evangelicalism for its "American features" to the neglect of the "effect of global forces on American evangelicals."[95] Ironically, he began his work with an American-centered focus: "World Vision emerged out of the passion of one man, the American evangelist Bob Pierce."[96] But the passion of one man could have no expression without its object of affection. At the same time, historians of Asian America and U.S-Korean relations named Pierce's role in establishing World Vision to the exclusion of the role that Korean Christians played in collaborating with Pierce. "World Vision's sponsorship program in Asia was not a new idea…" wrote historian Catherine

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with Koreans, but with a Chinese woman named White Jade. They recall this "founding myth" with similar details: Pierce began his missionary work abroad with Youth for Christ in China where he was invited in 1947 by Dutch Missionary Tena Hoelkeboer to preach in Amoy, China to four hundred female students. When one of the girls named White Jade told her father that she had converted to Christianity, legend has it that her father beat her and kicked her out of the house. "What are you going to do about it?" Hoelkeboer challenged Pierce. Each account of this story, however, suggests that Pierce gave White Jade different sums of money – $5, $10, $15, or all of the money he had – but the accounts agree that in response to White Jade's religious persecution, Pierce gave generously. In Pierce's own account of White Jade in *Orphans of the Orient*, however, he recalls that White Jade's mother was the one who opposed her attending a Christian school, and he makes no mention of an angry father; when Pierce gives White Jade $15, she is able to pay for school, an answer to her prayers. See Bob Pierce and Dorothy Clark Haskin, *Orphans of the Orient: Stories that Will Touch Your Heart* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1964), 60. Given the multiple versions of this story, it is hard to pin down what is empirically verifiable and what is legendary in the origins of World Vision. Moreover, this method of narrating the organization's origins obscures White Jade's social history. She is less an empirically verifiable historical figure and more a mythological one whose existence primarily serves Orientalist desires and imagination. Furthermore, the mythic figure of White Jade replaces the social history of Oak Hyun Paik as well as the countless other Koreans whose encounter with Pierce during the war justified World Vision's existence.

[95] David King, "Heartbroken for God's World: The Story of Bob Pierce, Founder of World Vision and Samaritan's Purse," in *Religion in Philanthropic Organizations: Family, Friend, Foe?* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); David King, "Seeing a Global Vision: The Evolution of World Vision and American Evangelicalism" (Unpublished Emory University Doctoral Dissertation, 2012); Gary Vanderpol, *The Least of These: American Evangelical Parachurch Missions to the Poor, 1947-2005* (Unpublished Boston University School of Theology Doctoral Dissertation, 2010).

[96] King, "Seeking a Global Vision," 14.

Ceniza Choy in *Global Families*. "[R]ather, it was part of a broader cultural movement in the United States that forged bonds between Asia and America in familial, and more specifically parental, terms by inviting American 'parents' to sponsor 'their' poor and helpless Asian 'children.'"[97] Choy largely characterized World Vision's child sponsorship program as motivated by paternalistic orientalism.[98] Choy omitted the crucial role that Koreans and specifically Korean Protestants themselves played in creating these systems of sponsorship, including Han, Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik.

On one hand, scholars have cast World Vision as the innovation of one American man's contribution. On the other hand, scholars have emphasized the paternalistic roles that figures such as Pierce played in establishing World Vision in Korea. Highlighting the agentive role of Korean Protestants not only modifies the myth that World Vision was an organization created by one man, but it also shifts the narrative that World Vision was solely the product of an imposition of American Christians. Rather, indigenous Korean Protestants also propelled the organization's birth. World Vision began as a network indebted to the transpacific migration of people and resources under the demands of war.

The Korean War, Migration, and a New Transpacific Network

[97] Ceniza Choy, *Global Families*, 79. See Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*; see Susie Woo. "Imagining Kin: Cold War Sentimentalism and the Korean Children's Choir," in *American Quarterly*, 2015.

[98] The reduction of religion is a commonplace practice in Asian American historiography given the Marxist underpinnings of the field of Asian American Studies. See *New Spiritual Homes*, in which historian David Yoo argued for the "reconceptualization of Asian American Studies" so that a "serious and critical treatment of religion becomes an interpretive rule rather than an exception. Yoo, *New Spiritual Homes*, 10. Obscured in this rendering of World Vision's history is the intricate network of relations spun by religious affinity between American and Korean Christians.

When North Korean leader Kim Il Sung, with the support of Stalin, attempted on June 25, 1950 to force North and South Korean reunification, he believed the skirmish would last three days, not result in a three-year war. Kim Il Sung and Stalin had not anticipated that the U.S., under the auspices of the UN troops, would defend its interests in the Korean civil conflict as one of its first efforts to contain communism in the East Asian region. Historically, the U.S. state had few political interests in Korea, the small nation sandwiched between China and Japan. In fact, through the Taft-Katsura Agreement (1905), the U.S. permitted Japan's annexation of Korea in exchange for colonial rule over the Philippines.[99] In the aftermath of WWII, however, the geopolitical landscape of Asia shifted. Thirty-five years of Japanese imperialism in Korea ended and the U.S. relinquished colonial rule in the Philippines. As a result of the 1945 Potsdam Conference, Korea was divided at the 38th parallel, with the Soviet Union and the U.S taking respective control of the newly formed North and South Korea.

With Mao Tse-Tung's 1949 communist triumph in the People's Republic of China, the U.S. eagerly sought to contain communism through its new military position in South Korea, which escalated the Korean civil conflict onto the global stage of the Cold War.[100] Historian Sheila Miyoshi Jager reflects on the significance of Korea in the early days of the global Cold War:

> The former Japanese colony that few had ever heard of and had been on the periphery of America's post-war interests suddenly became the epicenter of America's first armed confrontation against communism. Truman had drawn the

[99] The Taft-Katsura Agreement was established in the aftermath of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).

[100] Sheila Miyoshi Jager, *Brothers at War: The Unending Conflict in Korea* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013). See also Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes 1945-1947* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981-1990); Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2010).

> line in Korea between freedom and slavery. Haphazardly and fatefully, Korea's local civil war morphed into a war between the centers of power in the post-World War II order.[101]

The division of North and South Korea not only transformed the political landscape of the once unified nation, but also shifted the hub of Korean Christianity from the North to the South.

Before the 1945 division of North and South Korea, the North had been the center of Korean Christianity. To defend the Christian tradition and ideals of democracy in the North, Kyung Chik Han, a Presbyterian pastor who was educated at Princeton Theological Seminary (1926-1929), in 1945 organized the Christian Democratic Social Party in Sinuiju.[102] He recalled: "Considering our ideology had nothing in common with theirs and none of our members agreed with their socialist ideals, there was no way for us to not fight them at every step."[103] Han's party, however, was unsuccessful and led to one of the first violent clashes between North Korean Protestants and the North Korean army in November 1945, prompting the exodus of northern Christians to South Korea.[104] He fled Sinuiju for Seoul and others, including Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik, followed suit. When he arrived in Seoul, he built a new church building with twenty-

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[101] Jager, *Brothers at War*, 73.

[102] Established in September 1945, it was the first political party in the country since liberation, established to promote democracy and reform the nation according to Christian ideals. Kai Yin Allison Haga, "An Overlooked Dimension of the Korean War: The Role of Christianity and American Missionaries in the Rise of Korean Nationalism, Anti-Colonialism, and Eventual Civil War, 1884-1953," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The College of William and Mary, 2007). See also Kai Yin Allison Haga, "Rising to the Occasion: The Role of American Missionaries and Korean Pastors in Resisting Communism throughout the Korean War" in *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012).

[103] Ky*ung Chik Han Collection: Volume 1* (Seoul: Kyung-Chik Han Foundation, 2010), 285.

[104] Haga, 148-151.

seven other North Korean Protestant refugees, and called it Young Nak Presbyterian Church. "Young Nak" meant "everlasting joy," for the church founders declared that though they had "lost everything" they owned, they still possessed their "everlasting joy in Jesus Christ."[105] The migration of North Korean Protestant refugees, such as Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik's family, and the reconstruction of Han's church in the South, exemplified Christianity's geographical shift from North to South Korea.

South Korea became not only a new religious safe haven for North Korean Protestant refugees, but also a site where a transpacific network of American fundamentalists and South Korean Protestants gathered in defense of the concomitantly religious and political threat of communism. Evangelical fervor from North Korea as well as the American Sun Belt and Bible Belt coalesced in South Korea in the early years of the Cold War. To be sure, American missionaries had a longer history in Korea. Late nineteenth-century American Protestant missionaries were especially successful in garnering converts in the Korean peninsula.[106] Thus, the evangelical missionary turn toward Asia in general and Korea in particular at mid twentieth century should not be overstated. However, the geopolitics of the Cold War marked an unprecedented shift in U.S. political as well as religious interests in Korea. by 1968, it was reported that a majority of the missionary organizations in South Korea had been founded after 1945.[107]

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[105] *Kyung Chik Han Collection: Volume 1*, 414.

[106] Lee, *Born Again*; Park, *Korean Protestantism*; Yoo, *Contentious Spirits.*

[107] Kane, *A Global View of Christian Missions,* 261-272. Kane writes: "Following WWII there was a large influx of new missions from the United States [to Korea]. According to the 1968 edition of the *North American Protestant Ministries Overseas Directory*, there are almost fifty mission organizations in Korea. Thirty-seven of these entered Korea since 1945…No other mission field, not even Taiwan, is so completely dominated by American Missions. Only three missionary societies out of a total of forty-seven are completely non-American. Two other

Not only orientalist fascination and humanitarian interest but also fear marked the U.S. evangelical gaze toward Asia at mid twentieth century. Darren Dochuk attributes the rise of the new American Right to the "southernization" of the west, namely southern California. He suggests that Sunbelt evangelicals, located in California, the "gateway to Asia," were eager to spread the gospel in Asia to mitigate the communist threat into their sunny, free world.[108] California's proximity to Asia fueled anticommunist political fervor and evangelical anxiety, which solidified a desire to preserve traditional ideas about Christianity, race, and capitalism in the Sunbelt. Pierce first heard about the outbreak of the war while worshipping at a Los Angeles church, after which he rushed preparations to return to Korea.[109]

To be sure, anticommunist sentiment was commonplace among Americans and religious Americans in particular. U.S. Catholics, under the leadership of the pope, were among some of the most fervent anticommunists.[110] The meaning of communism and the degree to which it was feared, however, differed among U.S. religious traditions. Liberal Protestant leaders such as Reinhold Niebuhr held communism at arm's length for unjustly manipulating the poor and for failing to "understand the ambiguity of all human virtue

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missions, being international, include non-American personnel." Though Kane's understanding of Korean exceptionalism here needs to be evaluated and critiqued, his reference to the post-1945 missionary presence in Korea is empirically grounded. See *North American Protestant Ministries Overseas Directory* (Waco: Missionary Research Library in cooperation with Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1970).

[108] Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*, 188-189.

[109] Marilee Pierce-Dunker, *Man of Vision: The Candid and Compelling Story of Bob and Lorraine Pierce, Founders of World Vision and Samaritan's Purse* (Waynesboro : Authentic Media, 2005).

[110] Patrick Allitt, *Religion in America Since 1945: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 22.

and the foolishness of all human wisdom."[111] He also critiqued those Christians who professed faith "but claim[ed] [God] too simply as an ally of their purposes." He had the moralism of figures like U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in mind and he suggested that they, too, were people "who bring evil into the world."[112] In contrast, Americans associated with fundamentalism, and the emerging neo-evangelicalism, paired anticommunism and soul saving with little critique.[113] They differentiated themselves from the Social Gospel orientation of their liberal counterparts and framed soul saving as an alternative to communist (and secular) identity.[114]

The psychological menace of "Red China" fueled American anxiety, but also evangelical action. The desire to solve international problems with individual conversions compelled evangelicals to travel to Asia to mitigate the threat of communism directly. Fundamentalists from the Sunbelt such as Pierce and those from the Bible Belt such as Graham traveled to South Korea to convert and build alliances with American missionaries, Korean Christians, the U.S. military and Korean government officials, to

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[111] William Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 64. He warned other American intellectuals for allowing communism to infiltrate their minds at the cost of rejecting the American values of democracy. See also Jonathan Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle Against Communism in the Early Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[112] Ibid., 69. Dulles served as U.S. Secretary of State under President Dwight D. Eisenhower from 1953 to 1959 and was an aggressive anticommunist whose religious discourse, Inboden argues, strongly shaped the course of the Cold War between the Christian U.S. and the atheistic Soviet Union; Dulles, he provides, was not a fundamentalist but his religio-political worldview created a moralistic discourse of good and evil between the U.S. and Soviet Union.

[113] For further discussion on neo-evangelicals and anticommunist rhetoric during the Cold War see Elizabeth Barstow, "These Teen-agers Are Not Delinquent": The Rhetoric of Maturity for Evangelical Young Adults, 1945-1965 (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2010).

[114] William Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

combat communism through Christian conversion. Not only from the Bible Belt to the Sunbelt, as Dochuk suggests, but also across the Pacific to South Korea, American fundamentalists revived their conservative religious tradition through partnership with Korean Protestants.[115]

Oak Hyun Paik's story in the aftermath of her husband Chang Hwa Kim's martyrdom is particularly illustrative as it reveals in detail the Korean War origins of World Vision. As a mid-twentieth century parachurch, the founding of World Vision was critical for the revival of American fundamentalism in that it spawned a world vision for a wide range of fundamentalists, from Graham to everyday Americans.

The Origins of World Vision

In January 1951, when North Korean troops pressed harder into the South, Oak Hyun Paik and her four daughters fled the advances of the North Korean Communist Party for Pusan, the southernmost city of South Korea. She carried her youngest daughter on her back and held hands with her two middle daughters, while the eldest carried a bundle of coverlets on her back.[116] With their home now twice removed because of national division and then war – from Sinuijui to Seoul, and now Pusan – Oak Hyun Paik placed her daughters in an orphanage called Home of Birds while she sold rice cakes on

[115] Here, I am extending Dochuck's *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt* thesis to push through California, the "Gateway to Asia" as he calls it, to consider how evangelicalism migrated to South Korea and became intertwined with Korean evangelicalism. Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt.*

[116] Kim Ok Hyun, "God Leads Me." Testimony of the First Sponsorship: Widow Ok Hyun Kim and Her Four Daughters Were the First to Be Sponsored by World Vision, 1951. World Vision Central Records. Monrovia, CA. 2. (Note that this source incorrectly gives Oak Hyun Paik her husband's last name — Kim Ok Hyun).

the streets of Pusan.[117] She found an alternative means of financial survival when she discovered that Kyung Chik Han, whose Young Nak Presbyterian Church she had attended in Seoul, had established Tabitha Widow's Home, a home for war widows.[118] Han constructed Tabitha as a home especially for those families whose husbands had died during the war for religious causes.[119] Han recalled: "During the Korean War…so-called fatherless families came into being more in the church. As they lost their husbands, the church had to take care of them, that is, widows."[120] At Tabitha, Oak Hyun Paik relied on the paternal comfort of her heavenly "Father's house."[121] In June 1951, Pierce

[117] War widows often had to abandon their children at orphanages and could not afford to return for their children once they left them. As historian Arissa Oh reports, war widows were especially vulnerable, sometimes by coercion, to recruitment into sex work: "In 1952, the U.S. State Department reported that 2,658 "UN Aunties" – one of the many terms used to describe prostitutes who served foreigners – had been arrested in a five-month period in Seoul alone; of this number, half were widows. Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 49. Since the U.S. military first entered the southern region of Korea in 1945, camptowns or *kijich'on* providing sexual services for troops emerged nearly simultaneously. The number of Korean women working at camptowns increased to about two thousand during the war. See Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown*, 19-23.

[118] Tabith Widow's Home was called Tabitha *Mojawon* in Korean. When Han lived in North Korea, he constructed an orphanage called *Borinwon*.

[119] Duck Hei Kim was another North Korean Christian refugee who resided at Tabitha Widow's Home as a result of her husband's religious persecution. She recalled 1946 as a "very blessed" year because her first son Chul Woong was born, and thirty-five years of Japanese imperialism ended. "We shouted 'hurrah' as loud as we could, filled with unbounded happiness to have our freedom. Even now, the ecstatic scene of that time rises before my sight…But who would have wished our country be divided into two with 38th parallel? (*sic*)" Much like Han, Oak Hyun Paik, and Chang Hwa Kim, Kim Duck Hei and her husband left their home upon national division due to religious reasons. During the war, Duck Hei Kim ultimately became a "heroine" of "a novelistic tragedy" when her husband left home to flee from the North Korean Communist Party, and never returned. The war was a "great wound" in her life, as her son Chul Woong became fatherless at the age of four. "Case History of Lee-Kim Duck Hei (widow in Tabitha Home). H#6 A#411." Korea Projects 1956-1978. World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA.

[120] *Kyung Chik Han Collection,* Volume 1, 455-456.

[121] Her favorite verses were from John 14:1-4. Kim Ok Hyun, "God Leads Me." This source cites the following King James version of the verses from John 14: 1-4: "Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions: if it

visited Tabitha Widow's Home in Pusan with Han, and there, met Oak Hyun Paik and her four daughters. Upon learning about their father and husband Chang Hwa Kim's death, he urgently sponsored Oak Hyun Paik and her daughters financially with $15.00 per month, and then, $25.00 per month.[122] The money Oak Hyun Paik received did not challenge the imperial conditions of war or the vilification of Communists and Christians, but it did provide her with a temporary means of financial survival. Oak Hyun Paik used some of this money to purchase burlap bags and collect army uniforms, which she would then unravel into thread to sell in the market or on the streets of war-torn Pusan.[123]

In September 1950, Pierce had incorporated a new organization called World Vision, which would be "an evangelical inter-denominational missionary service organization meeting emergency world needs through established evangelical missions."[124] World Vision began with a small office in Portland, Oregon, and set out to

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were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."

[122] There is some discrepancy in the amounts Bob Pierce gave to Oak Hyun Paik. In the following source, it says that after Paik met Pierce with Han in 1951 at the Tabitha Widow's Home in Pusan, she and her four daughters received $25.00 per month and then $50.00 every other month from World Vision. Kim Ok Hyun, "God Leads Me." Testimony of the First Sponsorship: Widow Ok Hyun Kim and Her Four Daughters Were the First to Be Sponsored by World Vision, 1951. World Vision Central Records, Monrovia, CA. Also note that World Vision began its official child sponsorship program in 1953, historically the organization's main program, but before that, they sponsored a war widow – Oak Hyun Paik – whose husband died because of his collaboration with Pierce.

[123] Kim Ok Hyun, "God Leads Me."

[124] As a result of his spring 1950 travels to Korea when he met Chang Hwa Kim and Kyung Chik Han, and in response to the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, Pierce hastily prepared to return to Korea.

serve the needs of those in Asia, especially Korea.[125] Oak Hyun Paik's family was the first that Americans supported financially through World Vision, Inc. For approximately the first decade, a majority of World Vision's budget was devoted to Korea.[126] The fact that in the twenty-first century World Vision is the largest evangelical humanitarian organization should not obscure an understanding of its origins and past as a small transpacific network that started in the rubble of the Korean War.[127]

Those internal to the organization recall the transnational and Korean War origins of World Vision. When Pierce recounted how he first began to "work among Korean orphans," he recalled Kyung Chik Han. He wrote: "Among my friends was Pastor Kyung Chik Han… He and I fellowshipped during the war… And it was he who encouraged me to begin work among the Korean orphans. He came to me and said, 'Paksa (teacher), can you appeal to the people in your country to help us take care of orphans?'"[128] Pierce grew a transpacific network by befriending indigenous Korean Christians such as Han.[129]

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[125] Pierce first traveled to Korea when, in the summer of 1949, the Kilbournes, who were Oriental Mission Society (OMS) missionaries in Korea, had invited Pierce to join them. He was purported to be one of the few evangelists who knew "how to reach across the pulpit to touch the people." Phone conversation with Bob Pierce's daughter, Marilee Pierce-Dunker, August 2015.

[126] "World Vision Inc. Missionary Disbursements 1951-1959." World Vision Inc. Central Records, Monrovia, CA. See Appendix B for percentage breakdown in budget spent on Korea from 1951-1959.

[127] Thereafter, he paved a path that not only set international adoption into motion but also the formation of a new religious institution. Bob Pierce introduced the story of Korean War orphans to Harry Holt who is largely responsible for beginning the international adoption movement in the U.S. See Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*; see also their video together about sponsoring and adopting Korean babies: "Mercy's Child." BGEA Billy Graham Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

[128] Bob Pierce, *Orphans of the Orient: Stories that Will Touch Your Heart* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1964), 18.

[129] Chung-Nan Yun, *Korean War and Protestantism* (Kyŏnggi-do P'aju-si: Hanul, 2015). David King mentions that Pierce eagerly worked with "indigenous Christians" to launch his work in

When Han recounted the origins of World Vision, he also remembered the centrality of the Korean War: "World Vision is a Christian organization that was founded by the young Pastor Pierce in Seoul, South Korea, the spring of 1950 when the Korean War broke out." Former World Vision President Dean Hirsch recalled in an essay titled "World Vision Began in Korea" the importance of Han and Pierce's friendship:

> No one could possibly have imagined 50 years ago that a friendship between an American evangelist and a Korean pastor would result in what would become the largest Christian relief and development organization in the world. The Rev. Bob Pierce and the Rev. Kyung-Chik Han had little in common beyond a shared commitment to Christ and a passion to do something for suffering children. But that commitment and that passion led to development of an organization through which American Christians supported Korean orphans by becoming their personal sponsors. Their donations were used to feed, clothe and shelter these abandoned children. Child sponsorship of poor and vulnerable children soon grew beyond America and beyond Korea. A half-century later, World Vision donors sponsor nearly two million children in developing countries and poor communities around the globe.[130]

Remembering the development of World Vision as the accomplishment of an individual American man diminishes the role that Korean Christians more broadly, such as Oak Hyun Paik, Chang Hwa Kim, Kyung Chik Han and other Korean widows, orphans, martyrs, pastors, played in birthing World Vision. It also obscures the exigencies of war that demanded the organization's birth.

Indeed, Pierce's friendship with Han, forged during the Korean War, provided him with the primary route to understand Korean needs and where to invest. Religious studies scholar Chung-Nan Yun cites Han, the "leader of the Northwestern region of

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non-western regions of the world, and as Yun's analysis shows, Korean Christians worked closely with American evangelicals to launch the "Korean War orphan business."

[130] Dean R. Hirsch, "World Vision Began in Korea," in Kyung Bae Min, *World Vision 50 Year History, 1950-2000* (Seoul: World Vision Korea, Hong Ik Jae Publishers, 2001), 87.

North Korean Christian refugees," as one of the pivotal Korean Christian leaders who "provided the cooperation and support so that" organizations such as World Vision "would be successfully accommodated" in Korea.[131] Rev. Dr. Sam Park, a former president of World Vision Korea, further recalls:

> They started [World Vision] in Oregon but legalized it in California…So, legally, the organization started in the U.S. but the original idea and the labor for the organization started in Korea. If you think about it in a less formal way, then you go to the story of Kyung Chik Han and Korean Christian leaders, working with Bob Pierce...World Vision itself was made solely for Korea. If you want to get technical about it, it was an organization that was created solely for the orphaned children of Korea. A hundred percent – you have to think that World Vision began for Korea…for the orphaned children of Korea.[132]

The Korean nationalism and ethnocentrism in Park's reflections infuse his adamant view that World Vision was "a hundred percent" created for the "orphaned children of Korea." Yet Park's reflections also reveal the organic and grassroots relationships and networks, especially those forged with Han and Korean orphans, which were at the heart of World Vision's origins and growth. As Pierce recalls, Han, the pastor of "the largest Presbyterian Church in Korea, was the first to ask me, 'Can you find someone in America to sponsor some of the widows and orphans that my church is trying to help?"[133] Pierce's active involvement with the orphans of the Korean War, therefore, was in part a result of the desires of Korean Christians such as Han, not merely an imperialist imposition of an American fundamentalist's wishes upon Korean Christians, as some might hypothesize.

There were mutual benefits to the transpacific partnership forged between Han

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[131] Yun, *Korean War*, 167.

[132] Sam Jong Sam Park. Interview by Helen Jin Kim. Oral History. Seoul, Korea. April 27, 2016.

[133] Pierce, *Orphans of the Orient*, 86.

and Pierce. Park further reflected that Pierce and Han's partnership was one that "connected the American dollar and indigenous evangelical Korean Christianity."[134] Indeed, from 1959-1973, it was estimated that World Vision donated $14,520.00 to "Dr. Han/Young Nak Presbyterian Church."[135] With separate donations from 1951, 1953 and 1954, the total provided for this line item was $22,892.00.[136] If Han and his church Young Nak Presbyterian benefited from Pierce's connections to American financial support, then Pierce benefited from Han's indigenous Korean Protestantism, a thread of Christianity that protected Americans from the international threat of communism, as exemplified by the martyrdom of Chang Hwa Kim, a member of Han's church.

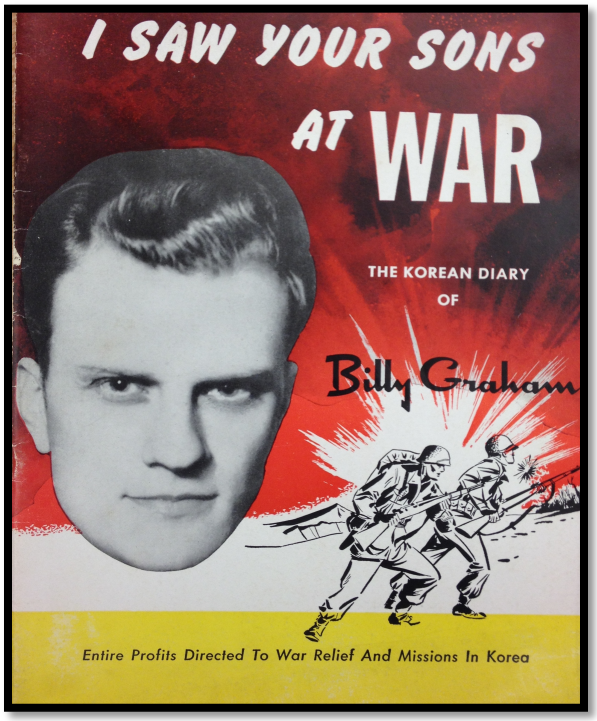
In addition to contributing to the origins of World Vision, this moment had significant consequences in fueling the growth of American fundamentalism, a seemingly beleaguered tradition: first, Billy Graham's Christmas in Korea; and second, the circulation of Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik's Korean War story through media. Both resulted in media that circulated among American fundamentalists: Graham's *I Saw Your Sons at War: The Korean Diary of Billy Graham* (1953) and *Dead Men on Furlough* (1954).

"Christmas in Korea," 1952

[134] Park, Oral History Interview.

[135] "World Vision Inc. Missionary Disbursements 1951-1959." World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA, 5.

[136] Ibid., 7.



<Fig. 4. Billy Graham, *I Saw Your Sons at War: The Korean Diary of Billy Graham.* Minneapolis: Billy Graham Evangelical Association, 1953, Archives of the Billy Graham Center. Wheaton, Illinois. Graham published this pamphlet after his "Christmas in Korea" in December 1952. This pamphlet is also featured on the first floor of the Billy Graham Center at the Billy Graham museum.>

Decentering Pierce from the origins of World Vision not only highlights historical agents heretofore obscured by the extant historiography, it also clarifies Pierce's role as a networker, connecting people from otherwise disparate regions of the world. Pierce gained a reputation for being a "missionary ambassador of the Far East" because he built friendships and alliances between Americans and Koreans.[137] The transpacific network forged between Oak Hyun Paik, Bob Pierce, Chang Hwa Kim, and Kyung Chik Han moved beyond them to fundamentalists from the Bible Belt. Pierce connected Han and Oak Hyun Paik to Graham and his associate evangelist Grady Wilson when he invited

[137] Billy Graham, "I Saw Your Sons at War: The Korean Diary of Billy Graham" (Minneapolis: Billy Graham Evangelical Association, 1953), Preface. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois. Graham particularly thanked Grady Wilson, Ray Provost, and Bob Pierce, whom he calls the "missionary ambassador of the Far East."

them for "Christmas in Korea" in December 1952.[138] Graham's southern "plain-folk" religion and its soul-saving politics moved not only from the Bible Belt to the Sunbelt, but also across the Pacific to South Korea, precisely because of the expanding network forged through a Sunbelt figure like Pierce. Moreover, Graham's "Christmas in Korea" revealed that even beyond these relational networks, the routes paved by war through the militarization of Korea proved powerful routes for expanding evangelical influence.

Until the winter of 1952, Graham had primarily preached on a transatlantic circuit, much like the eighteenth-century itinerant evangelists. However, an invitation from Pierce and the conditions of the Korean War prompted Graham to make his first transpacific travels.[139] Foregoing the comfort of a southern Christmas with his wife Ruth and his children, Graham spent the holidays preaching to U.S. soldiers and Koreans on the battlefront, on makeshift outdoor podiums and in churches, including Han's church. He also visited prisoners of war, injured civilians and soldiers, refugees, orphans and widows, including Oak Hyun Paik. Pierce and Graham's two-week "Christmas in Korea" resulted in over five hundred black and white photos featured in publications such as Graham's *I Saw Your Sons at War: The Korean Diary of Billy Graham (*1953) and the *World Vision Pictorial* with a special section "Billy Graham – Christmas in Korea."[140] The publications featured minimal text and centered on photos that allowed Americans to

[138] Bob Pierce, Billy Graham, and Grady Wilson were friends through Youth for Christ.

[139] Bob Pierce and Billy Graham were friends through Youth for Christ (YFC), an evangelical missionary organization.

[140] The publication year of the World Vision Pictorial is not recorded on the publication but it was most likely 1953. Ray Provost, a Presbyterian missionary, took many of the photos. Grady Wilson was also on this trip, as was Dave Morken, the Director of Youth for Christ in Japan.

directly *see* the scenes of war in Korea.[141]

During "Christmas in Korea," Tabitha Widow's Home became a site for "extending the evangelical network beyond World Vision and further into the Bible Belt. The home for war widows became a transnational site where Pierce and Han not only launched the first World Vision sponsorship, but also the home where Graham first met local Koreans. Graham, Wilson, and Pierce's first stop in Pusan was to preach to the U.S military and then to visit the Tabitha Widow's Home. Oak Hyun Paik came out of her home wearing a *hanbok*, a traditional Korean dress.[142] Graham also met Han, the founder of Tabitha Widow's Home. Together, they preached a series of revivals on the streets of Pusan. Graham and Han shared the podium on a rugged wooden platform, constructed by the military, to preach the gospel. Koreans at the Pusan revivals hungrily extended their hands for the literature distributed that night, the Gospel of John.[143] Graham recalled that at the first gathering at Pusan, nearly 6,000 people attended, including 800 American GIs, and nearly 8,000 people attended the last evening.[144] The transpacific network forged by Pierce, Han, and Oak Hyun Paik expanded to Graham and Wilson at the sites of a war widow's home and a revivalistic platform constructed during the Korean War. But

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[141] Billy Graham Center Archives. I received a copy courtesy of the archivist, Bob Shuster. Though Koreans were central to the creation of World Vision, Pierce and Graham largely held the ability to communicate their vision through pictures and images.

[142] BGEA Korea 1952 Visit Photo File. Image 101. Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

[143] BGEA Korea 1952 Visit Photo File. Images 191 and 200. Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

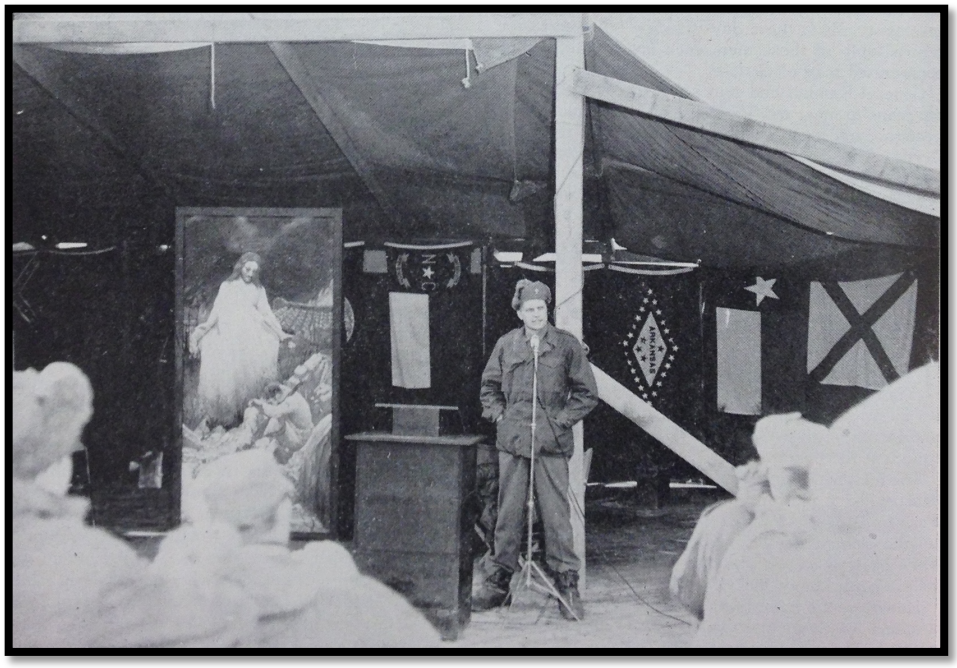
[144] This exemplified, in some ways, the way in which leadership in Korea at this time was really looking toward not only Koreans like Han but also to Americans —not only to provide military and government guidance, but also to provide religious guidance. The jointly translated and preached gospel was a powerful platform upon which to stand. They needed each other to get the message across to the Koreans for it to persuade as much as it did.

already, these new connections could not be separated from the U.S. military as GI's attended Graham's revivals alongside local Koreans. Graham expanded this transpacific network by preaching to the U.S. military in South Korea.

The U.S. Military and the Southernization of South Korea

Graham traveled as an independent missionary to Korea and relied on Pierce's connections, but his preaching itinerary also followed U.S. military routes. On Christmas Eve 1952, Graham traveled to the Korean War battlefront to preach to U.S. servicemen. Most military preaching pulpits were barren with few adornments, but the marines were prepared for Graham's arrival and decorated his preaching stage with artwork and U.S. flags. A U.S. marine had painted a six-foot portrait of Jesus as a white man with long flowing hair and clothed in a large white cloth hanging off his shoulders. Behind Jesus was a Korean-style roof called a *kiwajip*, setting the encounter between the U.S. marine and Jesus on Korean soil. Underneath the dark sky, Jesus watched over the tired and discouraged marine who crouched down on the ground holding a rifle. Behind this portrait, the marines decorated the preaching stage with a series of southern flags representing North Carolina, Arkansas, Texas, Alabama, and the Confederate Flag. Though Graham recalled that he spoke to marines from all over the country that day, the American South was particularly prominently on display for the Southern preacher.[145] Graham's arrival prompted the U.S. marines to display their imagination of a white Jesus and to fly the Confederate Flag, a powerful expression of white supremacy.

[145] Graham, "I Saw Your Sons at War," 49.



<Fig. 5. Billy Graham, *I Saw Your Sons at War: The Korean Diary of Billy Graham,* Minneapolis: Billy Graham Evangelical Association, 1953, 50. Archives of the Billy Graham Center. Wheaton, Illinois. Billy Graham at the Korean War battlefront, 1952>

Under Truman's Executive Order 9981, the U.S. military in the Korean War was the first racially integrated military, a significant moment in civil rights reform.[146] However, this southern evangelical preaching moment revealed racial contradictions on foreign soil. Mary Dudziak reveals that the international pressures to "safeguar[d] the nation's image overseas" as a global leader against communism was a critical factor in prompting domestic civil rights reform including U.S. military desegregation. Congress feared that Communist China would win "tens of millions to the Communist cause" by

[146] Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 86. The executed order stated that it was "essential that there be maintained in the armed services of the United States the highest standards of democracy, with equality of treatment and opportunity for all those who serve in our country's defense." For a longer discussion on the history of the Korean War and racial integration in the U.S. military, see ch. 16, "The Korean War: Racial Integration Affirmed" in Bernard C. Nalty. *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

publicizing the hypocrisies of U.S. democracy.[147] Dudziak argues that many nations in Asia and Africa decried the hypocrisy of racial segregation in the U.S., which threatened to undermine the nation's leadership as a democracy. Yet South Korea proved to be a geographic location not only for containing communism but also for racial hierarchy. The evangelical tradition as expounded by Graham retained its American character in a Southern moment that intertwined gospel preaching, the imagination of a white Jesus, the Confederate flag, and the U.S. military on South Korean soil. Graham's travel from the Bible Belt, across the Pacific, to the Korean War battlefront provided a venue for preserving, not challenging, the black-white U.S. color line in Korea.[148]

While Graham's visit elicited expressions that preserved racial ideologies, his preaching prompted religious change measured through conversions. Graham declared: "Never in my ministry have I preached with more liberty or power. The Spirit of God seemed to fall on the meeting." Many of the "big, strong, tough Marines" were "weeping unashamedly" because of their "sins and their need of a Savior." Graham's preaching evoked emotional release and desire for salvation. One of the "big" marines who had calloused hands from years of fighting gripped Graham's hand and thanked him with "tears streaming down his face." Graham associated this marine's emotional release with unchanged if not increased masculinity: "I was proud of him, and proud of every one of those men, the finest of American youth. Every one was a rugged, he-man. Everyone was a courageous, red-blooded American."[149] It was as if the marine's Christian confession

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[147] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 87.

[148] Pushing the boundaries of Dochuk's southernization thesis requires analysis not only of the geographic movement of ideas about religion, but also of race across the Pacific.

[149] Graham, "I Saw Your Sons at War," 49.

and conversion only made him stronger, more masculine, and more American – a true "red-blooded American." Graham himself experienced conversion through his trip to Korea. He felt he had become more of a man as a result of his emotional encounters with the sights of war. After his visit with South Korean President Syngman Rhee, he visited the MASH hospital: "We walked from the bleeding, broken, dying men of that hospital into the crispy, clear air of Christmas Eve. I felt sadder, older. I felt as though I had gone in a boy and come out a man."[150]

When Graham returned from his "Christmas in Korea," his understanding of Christian revival as the solution to combating communism and solving international affairs only strengthened. In 1953, on the Independence Day following his Christmas in Korea, Graham preached in Texas:

> Communists are doing their deadly work in government and education… There's only one way that the stars and stripes can continue to wave above the land of the free and the home of the brave, and that is for a great spiritual revival to break out in America. If we would have true repentance and an individual turning to Christ on the part of individual Americans, our international problems would solve themselves.

When this sermon was distributed as a phonograph record, a photo of Graham sitting with the South Korean President Syngman Rhee, taken during "Christmas in Korea," further legitimated Graham's ideas.[151] Graham imagined that saving souls one by one could solve foreign affairs; his experiences in South Korea underscored this vision during

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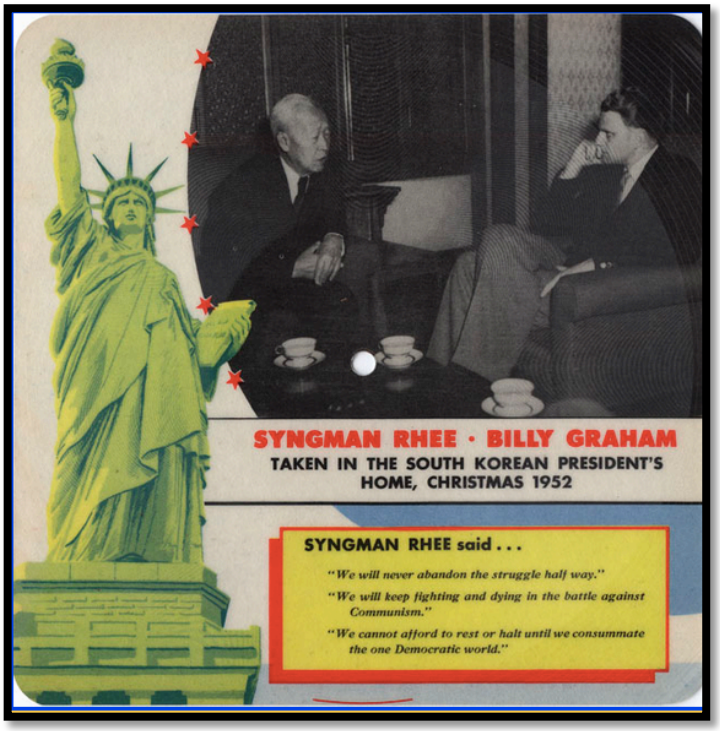
[150] Ibid., 55.

[151] Billy Graham, "Talking Pictures: The Hour of Decision in History/Let Freedom Ring, 1953." BGEA Phonograph Records Collection 102. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois. Also available online at: http://www2.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/docs/TalkingPictures/005.htm. The cover of "Talking Pictures" has an image of Syngman Rhee's meeting with Billy Graham taken during "Christmas in Korea" in December 1952. See Appendix C.

his preaching in the American South.



<Fig. 6. The Hour of Decision in History/Let Freedom Ring Phonograph Cover. Billy Graham, "Talking Pictures: The Hour of Decision in History/Let Freedom Ring, 1953." BGEA Phonograph Records Collection, 102. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois. This phonograph record is also featured at the first floor exhibit of the Institute for the History of Korean Christianity. Seoul, Korea.>

Fundamentalist networks expanded through relational networks forged by such figures as Pierce but also through the militarization of Korea. Graham's preaching on the Korean War battlefront elicited from the U.S. marines the celebration of the south and white supremacy and intertwined neo-evangelicalism with the U.S. military. Taking a transpacific turn not only clarifies the global historical context of World Vision's origins through the contributions of Korean Christians; it also reveals the ideologies of white supremacy and the racial contradictions that American fundamentalists such as Graham elicited during the Korean War.

"Let My Heart Be Broken" and *Dead Men on Furlough* (1954)

When Pierce communicated his visions of Korea to Americans, he did so as an

evangelist who desired conversions of the heart through heartbreak. After seeing the suffering of the Korean War in 1951, Pierce traveled to an island called *Kojedo*, where he famously wrote a prayer on the flyleaf of his Bible: "Let my heart be broken with the things that break the heart of God."[152] The underlying theological principle in Pierce's declaration was that he could experience the "heart of God" through his own experiences of the heart, including a broken heart. Thus, Pierce often translated what he saw through emotionally evocative images and writings, which were a reflection of Pierce's theological understanding that one could experience God through a heart-centered connection. Pierce shared this heartbreak in his oeuvre of publications, including in his evangelical tract titled *Orphans of the Orient: Stories that Will Touch Your Heart,* in which he wrote that the "*sight* which always *breaks* my *heart* is that of children…hungry both physically and spiritually" (emphasis mine). He hoped that the stories and images he shared would "*break* your *heart* as it has mine" (emphasis mine).[153] He included photos of the children he described so that Americans could see the children with their own eyes, reflecting the importance he placed on the experience of seeing, for he knew that it moved and even broke the heart. The heart, and the language of the heart, has carried significant theological significance for the evangelical tradition since the eighteenth century.[154] Pierce took a religion of the heart to an extreme. In *Let My Heart Be Broken,*

[152] Franklin Graham and Jeanette Lockerbie, *Bob Pierce: This One Thing I Do* (Dallas, TX: Word Publishing Group, 1951), 77.

[153] Bob Pierce, *Orphans of the Orient: Stories that Will Touch Your Heart* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1964). See preface.

[154] The evangelical tradition has been called a "religion of the heart," and as David Hempton articulates, historians have had challenges in identifying the many elusive elements that gave the rise to the tradition – that is, to get to the "heart" of a religion of the heart. David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 5.

Richard Gehman wrote that Pierce could not "conceal his true emotions."[155] Richard Halversen, who served on World Vision's board from 1956 to1983, reported that Pierce "functioned from a broken heart."[156] Pierce, moreover, told Franklin Graham that a key part of his work was to become "a part of the suffering. I literally felt the child's blindness, the mother's grief." Pierce's heartfelt identification with suffering was both a strength and weakness as it led to a physical and mental breakdown as well as challenges in his marital and familial life.[157]

Pierce's passionate efforts to "see" and convert hearts resulted in films. Indeed, Bob Pierce gained his vision of the world – his world vision – through a relentless gaze upon suffering, especially the suffering of the children of the Korean War. In the midst of the war, one could often see him connecting with an orphaned or bed-ridden child. When Pierce saw malnourished babies sleeping on the floor, he knelt to gaze upon them with a downcast face, attempting to empathize with their condition. His gaze was powerful enough that it brought his old friend Billy Graham to look along with him for the aforementioned Christmas in Korea of 1952. Pierce actively sought to communicate to Americans what he saw, and went to great lengths to persuade everyday Americans to pay attention to Korea. As if bare eyes were not enough, he carried around a variety of technologies to see more closely: dark-rimmed spectacles, a camera that hung around his

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[155] Richard Gehman, *Let My Heart Be Broken* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960).

[156] Tim Stafford, "Imperfect Instrument: World Vision's Founder Led a Tragic and Inspiring Life." February 24, 2005. http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2005/march/19.56.html. Accessed April 25, 2016.

[157] Pierce Dunker**,** *Man of Vision*.

neck, and a PATHE brand three lens video camera.[158] Pierce happily held his camera with bare hands in the dead of winter.[159] Pierce's passion to "see" became translated into an oeuvre of tracts, films, and photos. If a transatlantic network of communication was crucial for the eighteenth-century growth of the evangelical tradition in the Anglo-American world, then the transpacific network forged between the U.S. and Korea also depended on skillful leveraging of visually-based media.[160] Yet, in spite of a fervent desire to "see," Pierce often mediated a message and network that depended on a misrecognition of the "other" across the Pacific.[161] For example, Pierce's passionate desire to "see" across the Pacific relied on Pierce's active partnerships with Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik, but also misrepresentations of them. In fact, the transpacific growth of World Vision's entire evangelical network depended quite heavily on

[158] See images of Bob Pierce in "BGEA Korea 1952 Visit Photo File": Images 52, 68, 182, 179, 328, 202, and 179, 319, 457. Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois. Pierce's video camera had at least three lenses – for short, medium, and long shots– through which to record footage. See also John Hamilton, "An Historical Study of Bob Pierce and World Vision's Development of the Evangelical Social Action Film" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1980) 19-22. Hamilton notes that Pierce's first camera, a 16mm, was purchased in 1941. On it, he filmed home videos of his daughters. He filmed two movies before he went to China for China Challenge – Miracle Miles in the Orient, in China in 1947, and in 1948 he filmed significant amounts of 16mm Kodachrome silent film. *38th Parallel* was his first film of Korea. Dick Ross produced or directed the first nine of the Bob Pierce films for World Vision from 1948-1956, under the name Great Commission Films, which eventually became World Wide Pictures under the BGEA in 1956.

[159] Pierce does not wear gloves in images 319 or in 457. In image 457, we see Bob Pierce talking to a military official; he has his right hand tucked away into his jacket and his left hand is carrying not only the video camera, but his tripod which is attached to the video camera in this case; even more striking is that Pierce often held his camera with his bare hands, exposing his hands to the cold air, while others carefully wore gloves. The other military gentleman is wearing gloves. BGEA Korea 1952 Visit Photo File. Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

[160] Susan O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735-1755," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 4 (October 1, 1986): 811–832.

[161] Edward Said's theorization of Orientalism is useful here. See footnote 68.

misrecognition, raising crucial questions about the work of representation across national borders in promoting religious growth.

In John Hamilton's work, he suggested that Pierce "inaugurated" a genre called the "evangelical social action film," which Hamilton defines as "humanitarian activist films with an underlying emphasis on Christian salvation."[162] Pierce was not only fascinated by the technology of film, he also believed that film was a "God-given tool for educating churchgoers about the miserable conditions of so many in the world, so that they might be moved to do something about it."[163] Harry and Bertha Holt in Portland, Oregon were among some of the most affected by Pierce's films, specifically by *Other Sheep* and *Dead Men on Furlough*, which were both meant to serve as a "missionary challenge." *Dead Men on Furlough* featured a "thrilling story of a heroic Korean pastor who testifies for Christ before a firing squad" and whose "wife and baby are held as hostages by Communists."[164] The Holts watched these films at a church meeting in Portland, Oregon, and urgently discussed the desperate war conditions with Pierce.[165] As a result of the film viewing, they made the transpacific trip to Korea to witness its suffering. In 1956, in an event infamously called "Operation Baby Lift," the Holts traveled with Pierce from Korea to the U.S. with twelve mixed-race orphans from Korea, eight of whom the Holts adopted.

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[162] Hamilton, "An Historical Study of Bob Pierce," 38.

[163] Ibid.

[164] *Other Sheep* was a short twenty-minute documentary that showed the "physical and spiritual needs of the masses in the Far East." *World Vision Pictorial*, World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA.

[165] Bertha Holt, *The Seed from the East* (Los Angeles: Oxford Press, 1956).

Pierce's forty-minute film *Dead Men on Furlough* (1954) reveals that, in addition to persuading its viewers by showing them an experience of heartbreak, the film did so by interlacing a binary fundamentalist theology of good versus evil with the Cold War politics of democratic capitalism versus communism, which mapped onto the racial logic of "good" versus "bad" Koreans. Pierce's *Dead Men on Furlough* (1954) interwove the logic of "good" and "bad" Cold War subjects with a fundamentalist theological framework of good and evil, which divided Koreans – and via a transnational racial landscape, Asian Americans – into a binary racial imagination. The film's polarized debate not only reflected the imagination of the global Cold War, but also the shifting racial debate in the 1940s and '50s as to whether Asians were the "perpetual foreigner" or the "assimilable Other."

The film's narrative relied on the symbolism of the Cold War martyrdom of Chang Hwa Kim. Though Kim and Paik's story represented only one family's story among thousands of Korean War tragedies, Pierce made use of his martyrdom through a variety of means, including in pamphlets and as the featured story in *Dead Men on Furlough,* which circulated widely in the U.S. *Dead Men on Furlough*'s central narrative is, indeed, based on the social history of Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik's lives, but it was adapted for the screen by John O'Dea and directed by Dick Ross of Great Commission Films.[166] According to Hamilton, Great Commission Films spent "something under $200,000" to film *Dead Men on Furlough*, which was somewhat more

[166] Hamilton, "An Historical Study of Bob Pierce," 73. Hamilton notes that Dick Ross believed that they could script the films in advance, "particularly the dramatic stories."

than it spent on its later films ,which were in the $30-40,000 range.[167] The film uses pseudonyms for Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik , calling them "Rev. Chai" and "Mrs. Chai," and it begins with the following preface: "Based on the true story of an heroic Korean who remains unnamed to protect many whose lives are in continual jeopardy." In the director Dick Ross's letter to Frank C. Phillips, the vice president of World Vision at that time, he writes that Pastor Chai is "'really Mr. Chang Hwa Kim, but 'names and places have been changed to protect the innocent from Communist retaliation.'"[168] Loosely based on Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik's story, the plot centers on the North Korean military's infiltration of South Korea during the Korean War when Pastor Chai, Mrs. Chai, their newborn, and the rest of their villagers are captured by North Korean officials. Pastor Chai encounters the North Korean official Major Koh, who forces him to recant his faith to save his wife and child; when Pastor Chai refuses to recant, he is killed by North Korean communists, leaving behind his family and villagers who, nevertheless, are proud of him for defending his Christian faith.

The anonymity of Chang Hwa Kim and Oak Hyun Paik's story, however, provided Pierce and Great Commission Films considerable flexibility to fictionalize their story. Pierce is both an actor and a narrator, and the black and white film features a modicum of documentary footage of actual scenes from the Korean War, but the bulk of

[167] Ibid., 71-72. *The Flame* also cost about $200,000. Note that motion pictures were not necessarily acceptable to many evangelicals. Hamilton observes "that Pierce was a pioneer, and that both Pierce and Graham can be said to have forced their constituents even in very conservative areas, to accept motion pictures."

[168] Ibid., 83.

it is dramatized by actors and actresses hired by Great Commission Films.[169] The film is a "35mm black and white drama," the only World Vision shot in black and white, which the studio apparently thought was "better suited psychologically to some story lines," including films such as *Dead Men on Furlough*, which had "a lot of Cold War era rhetoric." A promotional poster for the film declared: "'See the growing struggle between godless Communism and Christianity!"[170] Publicity for *Dead Men on Furlough* excitedly suggested that Pastor Chai's "confession …will thrill the hearts of the audience in the stand against Communism."[171] As a work of creative non-fiction, a "factual dramatic story," as one newspaper reported, or an early version of the "docudrama," as historian Catherine Ceniza Choy might categorize such a 1950s film, I suggest that *Dead Men on Furlough* is closer to a window into both Pierce's theological imagination and the transpacific narrative he desired to create to motivate evangelical Americans to act in the early days of the global Cold War.[172]

The height of the film's fictionalization is the racial fiction on which it depends. Though the film is set in war-torn Korea, the film uses the English language from beginning to end, and neither the Korean language nor Korean actors and actresses are featured as a central part of the drama. In an article titled "Communism in Korea

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[169] Ibid., 82. Great Commission Films' first film was *The Flame*, a film about Korea. *Of Such is the Kingdom* is about Korea, and was the last film that Great Commission did with Pierce and World Vision. Hamilton notes that Pierce was played by actor Don Harvey, but that was only for the scene in which a white missionary attempts to remove Korean villagers in rescue trucks. Hamilton incorrectly notes that Pierce does not play himself in the film, especially in the opening scene, although Pierce does indeed address the Korean crowd himself.

[170] Ibid., 81.

[171] "Communism in Korea Portrayed by Film." November 22, 1954. Torrance Press, 11.

[172] Choy, *Global Families*, 31.

Portrayed by Film," Torrance Press reported that *Dead Men on Furlough* would feature "a number of Hollywood's most competent actors and actresses, including Key Luke, Richard Loo, Jean Wong, Don Harvey, Victor Sen Yung and scores of all ages from a Korean colony in Los Angeles."[173] While the article notes the names of the prominent actors who were recruited to play the main characters, including Loo who plays Pastor Chai, Luke who plays North Korean army official Major Koh, and Wong who plays Mrs. Chai, it does not mention they are all not only American but Chinese American actors. The actors were ethnically distinct not only from the Korean characters they portrayed, but also the "scores" of extra actors chosen from a "Korean colony in Los Angeles."[174] The film engaged in multiple racial erasures by associating Chinese American actors with the nation of Korea, lumping those of Chinese and Korean descent together by relying on the elision of Chinese and Koreans phenotypical features. Hamilton notes that Great Commission Films recruited from the Screen Actors' Guild (SAG) to find characters such as Loo, Luke, and Wong to play the "Oriental parts." Yet Dick Ross, the director of the film noted that these actors, "were hard to direct and 'unresponsive.'" He often found "their delivery of lines somewhat stilted."[175] Their "stilted" – unnatural or wooden – lines, however, was a reasonable result for a film that depended on the racial imagination that English-speaking Chinese Americans could stand in as the foreign "other."

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[173] Ibid.

[174] Lee, Keye, and Wong are Chinese American actors who played relatively prominent roles in films throughout their careers. See the following IMDB profiles to follow their careers:
Richard Loo: http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0519618/?ref_=nm_mv_close;
Keye Luke: http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0525601/bio?ref_=nm_ov_bio_sm;
Jean Wong: http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0939134/bio?ref_=nm_ov_bio_sm

[175] Hamilton, "An Historical Study of Bob Pierce," 83.

The film associated Chinese American actors with Korea, a nation with which they had no roots, drawing on the racialized imagination of Asians in the U.S. as "perpetual foreigners," unassimilable and ineligible for American citizenship. Since the mid-nineteenth century, Asians from a variety of immigrant streams were lumped together in the U.S. and racialized as the "yellow peril," or an "alien menace courted for its labor yet despised for its purportedly unbridgeable cultural distance from white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants."[176] In an Exclusion era that deemed Asian Americans "definitively not-white" and ineligible for citizenship, a series of immigration laws restricting Asian presence in the U.S. resulted from this racial logic:

> [W]hites had deemed ethnic Japanese and Chinese unassimilable aliens unfit for membership in the nation. Americans had subjected so-called Orientals to the regime of Asiatic Exclusion, marking them as *definitively not-white*, and systematically shutting them out of civic participation through such measures as bars to naturalization, occupational discrimination, and residential segregation.[177]

Yet even as the historical roots of Exclusion-era racial logic continued, the 1940s and '50s also represented a time when a racial re-negotiation took place. As Ellen Wu's work on the "model minority" shows, Exclusion-era racial logic was re-evaluated under the political philosophy of racial liberalism that coincided with the U.S. Cold War state's shifting demands to portray the U.S. as a racially inclusive democracy worthy of global leadership.[178] As historian Madeline Hsu's research on Chinese immigration also shows, World War II and the Cold War transformed the racial landscape, slowly re-opening

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[176] Madeline Hsu, *The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 11.

[177] Wu, *The Color of Success.*

[178] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights.*

America's gates to Asians, albeit selectively, carefully admitting the "best" and "good" immigrants who would serve as cultural bridges to advance U.S. anticommunist and expansionist aims in Asia.[179] Thus, even as the film's use of Chinese American actors to portray Korean characters relied on Exclusion era ideas about the foreignness of Asians, *Dead Men on Furlough* reveals an active racial re-negotiation regarding whether Koreans represented the "yellow peril" or the "assimilable Other," a rather simplistic negotiation, but a debate nonetheless.

The geographies of the Soviet Union, the Korean peninsula, and Asian America are collapsed into one Cold War racial frame within the first ten minutes of the film. Pierce moves from narrator to actor in a scene in the Korean village of Inkok, encouraging the villagers to "live for godliness as the communist lives for godlessness," and to follow and rely on their leader, Pastor Chai, a "man of godliness." "Follow him as he follows Christ," Pierce declares. The Korean flag in the background and the Koreans wearing traditional clothing indicate that the scene is set in South Korea. However, the western cowboy straw hats that the villagers wear betray *Dead Men on Furlough's* filming in a U.S., and most likely southern Californian, studio. The villagers' use of the English language reveals the film's reliance on the phenotype of Chinese American actors to play foreign Korean characters, even as it depends on them to serve as English-speaking mouthpieces for Cold War rhetoric. Pastor Chai's first words are a hymn sung in English, titled "I Must Tell Jesus All of My Trials," suggesting the crucial interweaving of theological logic into binary racialized Cold War thinking:

I must tell Jesus all of my trials;
I cannot bear these burdens alone;
In my distress He kindly will help me;

[179] Hsu, *The Good Immigrants*, 11.

He ever loves and cares for His own

<Fig. 7. Bob Pierce. *Dead Men on Furlough*, 1954. Pastor Chai, a representation of Chang Hwa Kim, played by Chinese American actor Richard Keye, sings "I Must Tell Jesus All of My Trials">

Like Pastor Chai, "good" Koreans are those who rely on Jesus in the midst of the trials of war, who sing hymns that reflect this belief, and who combat godless communism with their faith. By extension, Chinese American actors who do the same are also "good" and model citizens. *Dead Men on Furlough* mapped Cold War geopolitics onto local Chinese American bodies, including them in craftsmanship of molding "good" Cold War racial subjects. Binary concepts in fundamentalist theology were a crucial pivot on which this Cold War racial imagination was determined.

The polarized debate between Pastor Chai and the North Korean army official Major Koh exemplified the theological battle between the Cold War enemy and ally, the "good" and "bad" Korean, mapped onto bodies of Chinese American actors Loo and Luke. Because Pastor Chai and his community refuse to follow Major Koh's directions, they engage in a tense theological and political argument that pits communism against Christianity, and socialism against capitalism. Koh and Chai's polarized theological and

political differences are apparent through their dress and expression. Whereas Koh wears dark military garb, Chai wears white traditional Korean civilian garb; whereas Koh's facial expression is angry, Chai's face is calm; whereas Koh holds his fists tightly on his suspenders ready for battle, Chai stands in a relaxed, pacifist position. The director's choice to make this a black and white film further underscores the binary logic on which the film relies, the lack of color and three-dimensionality.

With their physical appearance already displaying their polarized differences, Major Koh and Pastor Chai then engage in a vigorous political debate driven by their seemingly irreconcilable theological differences, a debate that frames their argument as being primarily a theological battle between Christianity and communism. The argument begins with Major Koh attempting to persuade Pastor Chai to give up his Christian faith, since Koh sees communism as a path toward liberation from the "yoke of capitalism" and "bourgeois tyranny," and he views Chai's Christian worldview as an opiate of the masses, in reference to Karl Marx:

> Pastor Chai: I preach God's word and his word never changes.
>
> Major Koh: You fool. This diseased preaching, this opium you call religion, is crippling our efforts to help the people.

In spite of Koh's challenge, Chai believes that Christian preaching and his stalwart belief in "God's word," which "never changes," is the most powerful antidote to Koh's atheistic belief system, which reduces people to mere animals. As they continue to debate, Chai argues that Koh's communist worldview is a form of enslavement, a denial of the "spirit" and "soul" of man who was "made in the image of God." Koh, however, articulates that the re-education system in "labor camps" as Chai calls them, or "hospitals" as Koh calls them, are the best means to "heal" the "sick" from "capitalistic disease." Both believe

they have an antidote for the other's sickness, a means of salvation for the other's sin. Koh and Chai's polarized debate maps onto a racial narrative that dictates what it means to be an acceptable and unacceptable Korean in the global racial order and a "good" or "bad" Chinese American in the local racial order. During the Korean War, Chinese Americans feared they would be racially targeted for associations with China, especially as Mao's government allied with North Korea, and thus they sought to prove their loyalty to the U.S. The *Chinese Nationalist Daily* publicized talking points for Chinese Americans to emphasize in daily conversations about the war, including: "Those who are invading Korea are the Chinese COMMUNISTS, not the peace-loving people of Free China." Thus, as Wu states, "geopolitical exigencies presented incentives to legitimate Chinese Americans' belonging in the nation."[180] *Dead Men on Furlough* produced through the lens of a theological global Cold War spoke to this transpacific racial landscape.

The film ultimately endorses Pastor Chai's worldview, denouncing communism as the work of the devil. Major Koh demands that Pastor Chai recant his beliefs on a stage where he will be photographed, taped, and recorded for the world to see, a move that reinforces the global significance of the Korean War. The climax of the film is when Pastor Chai arrives at the podium to declare the central motivating message of the film: he will not renounce his faith for godless communism. Pastor Chai declares:

> This camera in front of me is meant for me to make a confession … But I will not lie for them. I cannot deny Christ and his truth. He is the way, the truth, and the life. The Bible is God's word and his promises are true. And I am willing to die… for righteousness… for the Savior … the one true hope of the world.

[180] Wu, *The Color of Success*, 112.

Pastor Chai's defense against the communists is a declaration of faith, but more specifically, a theological declaration in the belief that the "Bible is God's word" and that Jesus Christ is "the way, the truth and the life." In an era when the inerrancy of the Bible and Christianity as the sole path to salvation was debated in liberal and conservative theological communities in the U.S., Pastor Chai represented a defense of a conservative interpretation of Christian scripture. When Pastor Chai is killed, he dies not only for defending the Christian God against godless communism, but also for being a transpacific spokesperson for fundamentalist Christianity.

If the film's point was not made clear with Pastor Chai's death, Pierce provides a final theological statement that summarizes the theological stakes of the global Cold War. Pierce looks into the camera and challenges viewers of the film:

> God's day of judgment will come. But all of us must make some kind of decision now. Jesus said, 'He that is not with me is against me.' There are times when no man can be neutral when the choices between democracy and communism, God and devil. On these issues no man can just decide not to decide. The faith of the communist must be surpassed by our deeper faith, their labor by our harder and better labor, their consecration by our greater consecration.

Pastor Chai became a religious symbol of the Christian triumph over communism, and with it, the symbol of the global triumph of American democracy and capitalism over Sino-Soviet communism. Pierce's theological paradigm that divided God and the devil, democracy and communism, capitalism and socialism, good and bad Koreans and, by extension, good and bad Chinese Americans, made a clear, binary challenge to other fundamentalists who desired to be on the side of God.

Chang Hwa Kim's martyrdom was transmitted across the Pacific Ocean through a series of re-presentations that depended on the binary Cold War logic of the Soviet Union

versus the United States, communism versus democracy, "bad" versus "good" Koreans. This binary mapped onto local racial possibilities in an "either/or" paradigm that warned against Asian American heterogeneity. Pierce's heartfelt desire to "see" and generate films such as *Dead Men on Furlough,* ironically misperceived the subjects of his gaze. Yet Chang Hwa Kim's martyrdom, and representations of it in film and pamphlets, became a cornerstone narrative that fueled the growth of American fundamentalism.

Dead Men on Furlough was received by many as a call to action. "The film went a long way toward radicalizing apolitical evangelicals to the dangers of Communism," observes Hamilton.[181] The film continued to remain salient in communicating a Cold War transpacific theological message years after its creation. In 1959, three months before Rev. Billy Jang Hwan Kim was set to "sail" from the States back to Korea to become a "missionary to his native Korea," he featured *Dead Men on Furlough* after a service he preached at a Baptist church in Ohio.[182]

Harry and Bertha Holt exemplified the radicalizing effect that Pierce's film had on fundamentalist Christians. Their response to seeing the film was to travel to Korea in 1956, and along with World Vision and Oregon Senator Neuberger, they brought back to the U.S. from Korea twelve mixed-race babies, their "first load of orphans," in an event infamously called "Operation Baby Lift." That the legal and structural provisions for facilitating the involuntary migration of orphans were not in place did not hinder World Vision or the Holts' call to action, a response that matched the passion generated by films such as *Dead Men on Furlough*. Though the Johnson-Reid Act (1924) placed nation-

[181] Hamilton, "An Historical Study of Bob Pierce," 84.

[182] Billy Kim Personal Papers, Binder 1. Far East Broadcasting Company, Seoul, Korea.

based quotas restricting Korean immigration to the U.S., section five of the 1953 Refugee Relief Act provided a legal exception.[183] This law, however, limited each U.S. citizen and spouse to two non-quota immigrant visas for eligible orphans; in response, World Vision's overseas Korea director Erwin Raetz urgently lobbied Senator Neuburger, who helped to pass special legislation so they could bring all twelve children to the States.[184] As Choy notes, "Operation Baby Lift" led to the Holts organizing "mass adoptions of Korean War orphans by American born-again Christian families." Yet social workers expressed concern over the rushed means of facilitating adoptions especially to Christian homes through "proxy adoptions," which often overlooked minimum standards to prevent unfit families from adopting children. "In proxy adoptions," Choy states, "U.S. citizens designated a proxy agent to act in their place in order to adopt a child in a foreign court. In other words, they adopted a child 'sight unseen' through a third party abroad." [185] But the urgency of the "missionary challenge" that films such as *Dead Men on Furlough* provided generated an enthusiasm that often neglected due process in the midst of a fundamentalist revival.

In 1953, the Korean War resulted in the division of Korea at the 38th parallel, ending not with a peace treaty but an armistice that technically left the nation under the status of war or an "unending conflict."[186] Though often called the "forgotten war" in American history, the Korean War was memorable for fusing the fates of South Korea and the U.S., especially their religious histories. Korean Christians and neo-evangelicals

[183] Choy, *Global Families*, 78-80.

[184] Ibid., 81.

[185] Ibid., 75.

[186] Jager, *Brothers at War*, Introduction.

realized a vision of global revival in later decades that had its origins in networks forged through war. The war, then, birthed not only World Vision, Inc., but also a transpacific network that was critical for spawning a world vision that fueled the survival of American fundamentalism and its eventual reformation into mainstream evangelicalism.

CHAPTER TWO

Korean War Conversions:

Between U.S. Fundamentalism and the New Evangelicalism, 1950-1959

<Fig. 7. Billy Kim Memorial Library, Suwon Central Baptist Church, Suwon, Korea.
U.S. military houseboy Billy Jang Hwan Kim traveling on boat from South Korea to the U.S. from November 1951 to January 1952. >

In 1951, when Sergeant Carl Powers encouraged Billy Jang Hwan Kim (1934 -) to immigrate from South Korea to the U.S. South, he "without hesitation answered, 'Yes!'"[187] Billy Kim had met Powers while working as a "houseboy" for U.S. soldiers during the Korean War: "I lived with them; I ate with them; I shined their shoes and I

[187] Billy Kim, *Billy Kim: From Military Houseboy to World Evangelist* (Chicago, IL: Moody Publishers), 29. In this chapter, I study "Billy Kim" and "Joon Gon Kim," and since both figures have the same family name, going forward I will use their full names. I will also use the full name "Billy Kim" so as not to confuse him with Billy Graham who will be referred to as "Graham." For all Korean names, I use the Anglicized version, providing the given name first ("Joon Gon") and then the family name ("Kim"). Also, note that in *Billy Kim: From Military Houseboy to World Evangelist,* Billy Kim writes about himself in the first person; his justification is that the first-person perspective provides an omniscient point of view, and therefore, the perspective of God.

made their beds."[188] U.S. soldiers nicknamed Jang Kwan Kim, "Billy," and he ran errands for them in exchange for Hershey's chocolates and Lucky Strike cigarettes. Enamored with Sears catalogues featuring "things" in the U.S., Billy Kim boarded a ship from the southern coast of Korea in search of new opportunity in America's capitalist democracy. Three months later in January 1952, he arrived at Powers' farm in Virginia, and enrolled at Bob Jones Academy, an institution at the heart of American fundamentalism, where he became a Christian. During the Korean War and its aftermath, two watershed experiences redefined Billy Kim's life: conversion and immigration. Instead of becoming the politician of his childhood dreams, or a businessman as he might have imagined while reading Sears catalogues, he became a Baptist evangelist – a decision that, as I will show, also helped to reshape the trajectory of American evangelicalism in the Cold War era.

Of the same generation as Billy Kim, Joon Gon Kim (1925-2009) similarly underwent the twin experiences of conversion and immigration during the Korean War, and its aftermath.[189] In the same year that Billy Kim left for the U.S., Joon Gon Kim witnessed communists from his village kill his wife and father, and this led to a conversion that he experienced as more powerful than his initial commitment to Christianity: "[T]he starting point of my Christian life began when I faced persecution

[188] Billy Kim, CBMCI Chairman Waldo Yeager, "I was a House Boy for GI's," February 1966, 13.

[189] Historian of Korean Christianity Deok-Joo Rhie categorizes Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim as leaders who represent the "second generation" of Korean Protestantism. The "first generation" of Korean Protestantism constitutes the first wave of converts in the early twentieth century. See Deok-Joo Rhie, *A Study on the Formation of the Indigenous Church in Korea, 1903-1907* (History of Christianity in Korea Research Institute, 2000), 34. (English translation mine).

and death under the Communist occupation."[190] While enrolled at Chosun Seminary in Korea to become a Presbyterian pastor, he became disgruntled with Korea's growing theological liberalism, and in 1957 immigrated to Pasadena, CA where he attended Fuller Theological Seminary, an institution founded by American fundamentalists.[191] While enrolled at Fuller, Joon Gon Kim met Bill Bright, the founder of Campus Crusade for Christ, an organization created in 1951 at UCLA to evangelize college students. Joon Gon Kim quit Fuller to launch Campus Crusade in South Korea in 1958, the first international site for a missionary organization that would burgeon into a "multinational corporatio[n]."[192]

Not only did Americans travel to Korea at an unprecedented rate during the Korean War, but the war also prompted the second wave of Korean immigration to the U.S. Though the National Origins Act of 1924 excluded Asian immigration to the U.S., the second wave of Korean immigration from 1950-1965, often called the "post-Korean War immigration," opened up limited immigration routes as a direct consequence of war and the U.S.-South Korean military alliance.[193] The new arrivals were overwhelmingly women and children of American GIs, but also included orphans and students like Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim. With the passage of the Hart-Cellar Act in 1965, which

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[190] Bailey Marks. *Awakening in Asia* (San Bernardino, CA: Here's Life Publishers, 1981), 21.

[191] As will be discussed later, Chosun Seminary was started by Jae Jun Kim, who led a liberal Korean theological movement against biblical literalism. Note that, as George Marsden points out, Fuller Theological Seminary was founded by American fundamentalists who subsequently became neo-evangelicals; as he shows, the founding of Fuller Theological Seminary was a part of that theological transformation. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism.*

[192] Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*, 227.

[193] From 1955 to 1965, Korean war orphans immigrated to the U.S., of whom reportedly 46% were mixed Korean-white, 41% were full Korean, and approximately 13% were mixed Korean-black. For a focused study on military wives, see Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown.*

eliminated national origin as a criterion for immigration, a third wave of Koreans immigrated to the U.S., mostly highly educated, middle-class, and professional persons, but these demographics contrasted with second wave immigrants who migrated as a result of the hardship of war.[194] Through routes paved by war, Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim underwent conversion and immigration, which grafted them into white American-led fundamentalist and neo-evangelical institutions, including Bob Jones University, Fuller Theological Seminary, and Campus Crusade for Christ.[195]

Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim's early formation in the American Bible Belt and Sun Belt would ultimately play a key role in refashioning fundamentalism into mainstream evangelicalism in the Cold War era. By 1973 and 1974, they respectively partnered with Campus Crusade and the Billy Graham Evangelical Association (BGEA) to host the largest revivals in the history of both of these "parachurches." Parachurches were the "most important tools of modern evangelism," which indexed the unexpected re-emergence of evangelicalism in the age of Graham.[196] As will be discussed, in the 1950s, it was uncertain whether fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals would, in fact,

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[194] In the first wave of immigration from 1903 to 1905, the first immigrants from Korea traveled to Hawaii as semi-skilled or unskilled workers to work on sugar plantations with a total of approximately 7,226 people (6,048 men, 637 women, 541 children). In the second wave of immigration from 1951 to1964, 6,423 U.S. military wives and 5,348 war orphans, and from 1945-1965, approximately 6,000 students immigrated from Korea to the U.S. In the third wave of immigration from 1965 to 1977, 264,000 Koreans entered the U.S., 13,000 of them whom worked as physicians, nurses, pharmacists, and dentists; this third wave of immigration continues today.

[195] Going forward, I refer to these institutions as "Bob Jones," "Fuller" and "Campus Crusade."

[196] Scholars and practitioners have coined the term "parachurch" for organizations that are interdenominational, voluntary evangelical networks that conduct missionary and humanitarian work *alongside* ("para") churches. See anthropologist and religious studies scholar Marla Frederick's use of the term: Frederick, "Becoming Conservative, Becoming White?" See also historian John G. Turner's use of the term in his introduction: Turner, *Bill Bright and Campus Crusade for Christ.*

regain their nineteenth-century evangelical consensus because of their seemingly anti-modern worldviews. Yet, as Lisa McGirr argues, "in contrast to the belief that conservative Christianity would fade with modernity, it has, in fact, deepened." She draws on Martin Marty's work which shows that "evangelicalism is "the most adaptive and inventive new ('Modern') faith" because moderns "want their religion to be 'hot.'…It must be accessible and instantly open to experience and interpretation by common people."[197] Moreover, not unlike the eighteenth-century evangelical conversion narratives that Bruce Hindmarsh situates "on the trailing edge of Christendom and the leading edge of modernity," Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim's conversion and immigration narratives helped to thrust a seemingly beleaguered fundamentalist and neo-evangelical worldview back into a new modernity centered on the U.S. as the next global superpower.[198] To understand why South Koreans, of all peoples, became pivotal partners to Bill Bright and Billy Graham, two of the most prominent white evangelists of the late-twentieth century, it is critical to understand the transpacific roots of these partnerships, which date back to the early years of the Cold War.

Moreover, given that an indigenous Korean Christian movement had been growing prior to WWII, it is more precise to speak of a model of bi-directional influence between U.S. and South Korean actors. While some historians have declared non-western Christianity an indigenous movement, debunking arguments that western missionaries were exclusively cultural imperialists, some have argued that indigenous movements, nevertheless, reflect the "globalization of American Christianity" and U.S.

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[197] McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 256.

[198] Bruce Hindmarsh, *Evangelical Conversion Narrative*: *Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 32, 340.

imperialism.[199] Still others such as Nami Kim resist the binary of "indigenous response free from global power structures" versus "western export," which is a model that I also find persuasive.[200] Arguing against the "colonization of consciousness" thesis, historians of early Korean Christianity have emphasized the hybridity of Korean Christians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who combined "Korean religious cultures, Chinese Protestantism, and Anglo-American Protestantism."[201] Deok Joo Rhie has also emphasized that early Korean Christianity represented a "third way" that hybridized indigenous Korean traditions with western Christianity, creating a uniquely Korean form of Christianity.[202] By the late twentieth century, there was no "pure" or indigenous American or Korean Christianity because of the complicated hybridization of theological thought and culture.

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[199] See Dana Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (Chichester, U.K.; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); Lamin Sanneh, "Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture," *American Society of Missiology Series*; no. 42 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009); The Nevius Plan, introduced in 1890 by American Presbyterian missionary John L. Nevius, encouraged indigenous leadership and ownership of the church at an early stage, which has been suggested as the reason for the vitality of the religion in the peninsula. See George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea* (1929; reprint, Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970), 422. Mark Noll wants to discover the "American role" in the changing face of global Christianity, suggesting that an "American form of Christianity" has left an indelible mark on Christianity in the global South. The emerging Christianities, he says, are "following a historical path that Americans pioneered." With regard to South Korea, Noll concludes: "The history of Christianity in Korea testifies to the weight of direct American influence. Even more, it shows that within a setting sharing some features in common with the American setting, forms of Christianity similar to American forms have flourished" (14). Noll specifically outlines character traits of an American form of Christianity. Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity*. For a similar perspective to Noll's, see Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith: The Global Outreach of American Churches* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 38-39.

[200] Kim, "A Mission to the 'Graveyard of Empires'?" 20.

[201] Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*, 305.

[202] Rhie, *A Study on the Formation of the Indigenous Church in Korea*, 34.

At the same time, the American influence in Korea had never been more forceful than in the Cold War era, with U.S. militarization in South Korea after 1945 and the outbreak of the Korean War. Thus, while Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim cannot be reduced to "pawns" of American imperialism, nor their religious narratives flatly equated with Cold War politics, they also could not escape being on the underside of U.S. militarization and the state's Cold War expansionist ambitions. I therefore argue that Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim's conversion and immigration narratives were indispensible in constructing white American fundamentalist and neo-evangelical institutions at mid twentieth century for theological and political reasons. That is, Joon Gon Kim and Billy Kim's conversions to a "religion of the heart" connected with the anti-modernist theology of white fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals in the U.S. At the same time, their anticommunist Christian narratives cohered with the Cold War sentimentalism that justified America's expansionism as a non-imperial beacon of democratic hope in the non-western world.[203]

I analyze Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim's conversion and immigration narratives from the 1950s, grounding them in multiple literatures that do not usually intersect, including the history of U.S. fundamentalism and evangelicalism, race and Orientalism in the Cold War, and Korean Christianity. Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim are not central figures in the history of U.S. evangelicalism and fundamentalism because, while American religious historians have called for a turn toward the Pacific, they have yet to

[203] By "anti-modernist" I mean to refer to the fundamentalist side of the fundamentalist-modernist theological controversy, and to suggest the irony that an anti-modernist theological worldview gave fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals a modern future.

fully deliver on this historiographical intervention.[204] These figures also do not appear in the literature on race and Orientalism in the Cold War because "religion" is an apparent but under-theorized category.[205] Moreover, in the history of Korean Christianity, Joon Gon Kim and Billy Kim are not commonly considered together because of their denominational differences; and, while scholars take for granted the American influence on the formation of Korean Christianity, they have rarely considered that Koreans also helped to shape American religion.[206] I recover transpacific historical characters who are otherwise invisible agents in the construction of religion and race in Cold War America.

The Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy and the Cold War in Asia

When Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim immigrated to the U.S. for their theological education, the American religious landscape was shifting in significant ways. At the turn of the twentieth century, American Protestants sent out foreign missionaries at a faster rate than the British, but they were also losing their nineteenth-century evangelical Protestant consensus. The Fundamentalist-Modernist theological controversy, which pit theological liberals or "modernists" against fundamentalists, was largely responsible for this seismic shift. While theological liberals accepted German higher criticism and modern scientific theories of evolution, theological fundamentalists held onto literal biblical interpretations of seven-day creationism and rejected evolution. The 1925 Scopes Trial prompted the decisive split between these two camps, with the fundamentalists

[204] Maffly-Kipp, "Eastward Ho!"

[205] See Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea;* Woo, "A New American Comes Home."

[206] Yong Gyu Park, *The Evangelical Tradition that Awakened the Korean Church* (Seoul: Duranno, 1988). (English translation mine).

seemingly losing and the liberals winning the debate.[207] Yet, while fundamentalists left their mainline Protestant denominations, they quietly sought to revive their evangelical dominance by creating new institutions, such as Bob Jones, Fuller and Campus Crusade.

Bob Jones was founded in 1927 on explicitly anti-modernist values, and Billy Graham, who emerged out of the fundamentalist thread of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy, matriculated in 1936. Graham ultimately transferred because of Bob Jones' strict rules, but he still held to fundamentalist values and sustained a close relationship with Bob Jones Jr.[208] In the 1940s, a reformation movement from within fundamentalism emerged, called the "new evangelicalism," a term coined by Harold Ockenga, the founder of the National Evangelical Association (NAE). By 1947, Bob Jones gained further momentum in South Carolina, and Fuller was founded as an institutional base for an otherwise loose network of "new evangelicals." Intimately tied to these theological institutions were parachurches such as Campus Crusade, founded in 1951 to evangelize college students.[209] When Fuller was founded, it held onto its fundamentalist roots, and the division between "ultra-separatist fundamentalists" like those at Bob Jones and "new evangelicals" like those at Fuller did not occur until nearly a decade later in 1957 with

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[207] Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*.

[208] Graham transferred to Trinity Institute in Florida and then Wheaton College. Cliff Barrows, one of Graham's closest friends and among the first members on his evangelistic team, was also a graduate of Bob Jones.

[209] Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism,* 3; Wuthnow, *Restructuring American Religion*, 174; Carpenter, *Revive Us Again.* Harold Ockenga, Wilbur Smith, Everett Harrison, Carl F. H. Henry, and Harold Lindsell were the first recruits to the seminary's faculty. The establishment of the National Association of Evangelicals and later the National Religious Broadcasting Association, the National Sunday School Association, the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association, the Commission for Church Schools and the Commission on War Relief became institutions that gave evangelicalism a national identity in the post-war years. While these institutions would firm up the network of evangelicalism, it is important to note that the standard categories of "evangelical" and "fundamental" were not formed yet in the late 1940s.

Graham's New York Crusade.[210] In the 1950s, the "new evangelical" movement that sought to reform fundamentalism from within was still in the making, and fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals still shared the twin goals of national revival and the total evangelization of the world.

Indeed, the American fundamentalist and neo-evangelical movements, though reputed for their defense of America, were also global movements. "Revival in America" and "the evangelization of the world" were inseparable slogans among the leaders of the NAE in the mid 1940s. Ockenga declared that it was America's destiny to evangelize the world, and for that purpose, national revival was crucial.[211] Moreover, at mid century, with the triumph of Chinese communism, Americans in general and white fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals in particular, had a global mind set as they feared they would "lose" the rest of Asia to communism. Thus, not only the threat of theological modernism but also the global rise of communism threatened their vision to evangelize the world. Yet, in spite of the rising critiques of missionary imperialism from the decolonizing world and the threat of communism, white fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals persisted in global evangelism. In fact, by 1952 half of the 18,500 North American Protestant missionaries were sent out by evangelical agencies.[212]

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[210] When Graham invited liberal theologians from Union Theological Seminary to join his New York crusade, Bob Jones University critiqued him for associating with the "anti-Christ." Graham was much more willing to overcome theological differences with liberals for the sake of expanding his influence, whereas ultra-separatists like those at Bob Jones desired a more separatist approach and distancing from other subcultures.

[211] Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 177.

[212] Ibid., 185. Moreover, while the mainline Protestant missionary force decreased from 7,000 to 3,000 from 1945 to 1980, evangelical missionaries grew from about 5,000 to 32,000.

White fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals could insist on global expansion because the U.S. was also refashioning its national identity as a global Cold War power. Christina Klein suggests that the task of U.S. national identity formation in the Cold War was "complicated by the fact that this rise to global power took place at the very moment when nationalist leaders throughout Asia were in the process of throwing off Western domination." The cultural problem became: "How can we define our nation as a non-imperial world power in the age of decolonization?" Klein suggests that through Cold War foreign policy the U.S. encouraged the exercise of "structures of feeling" to forge personal and sentimental attachments to noncommunist Asia.[213] The Eisenhower administration encouraged ordinary Americans to participate in forging relationships with noncommunist Asia through "sympathy – the ability to feel what another person feels," and "international communication that entailed 'talking from the heart to the heart.'"[214] U.S. policymakers suggested that "differences of language, religion, history and race could be bridged," and Eisenhower eschewed terms like "imperialism" and turned to an "inescapable interconnectedness" in structuring the postwar world order.[215] Yet, instead of lessening or doing away with hierarchies, Klein suggests that the Cold War emphasis on U.S.-Asian integration functioned as "one of the foundational concepts of Cold War Orientalism….These narratives and structures of feeling, far from undermining the global

[213] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 19. As mentioned, Klein draws on Raymond Williams' understanding of cultural hegemony as generating "structures of feeling" through which "ideological principles that support a given arrangement of power are translated into regularized patterns of emotion and sentiment."

[214] Ibid.

[215] Ibid., 58.

assertion of U.S. power, often supported it."[216] Intimate bonds between the United States and noncommunist Asia reinforced "the famed 'Cold War consensus,' the domestic hegemonic bloc that supported the postwar expansion of U.S. power around the world."[217]

In spite of decolonization, critiques of western missionary imperialism, and liberal denunciations of literalist interpretations of the Bible, white fundamentalists insisted on advancing the total evangelization of the world.[218] And, they could do so because the U.S. was concurrently expanding its military, economic, and political reach through the image of a non-imperial presence in the world, which included everyday Americans who forged intimate ties with those in noncommunist Asia. The Protestant missionary movement, Klein adds, created a "worldwide institutional infrastructure that enabled millions of Americans, especially in isolated Midwestern and rural communities, to understand themselves as participating in world affairs" and to feel "bound to the people of Asia and Africa" in spite of their differences.[219]

Consider Sergeant Carl Powers' description of his friendship with Billy Kim: "Not once did I think then that from this simple beginning there would develop a friendship that would eternally change our lives as well as the lives of many other

[216] Ibid., 27.

[217] Ibid., 16.

[218] Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*, 84.

[219] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 30.

people…I don't know what attracted me to Billy Kim, except the Lord."[220] Powers describes a friendship based on spiritual intimacy that transcends time and logic. At the same time, their friendship exemplifies the demands of Cold War sentimentalism: the belief that heart to heart connections could bridge racial, national, and linguistic differences with noncommunist Asians. Moreover, the evangelical tradition, which has been called a "religion of the heart," though distinct from Cold War sentimentalism, cohered with it, especially as the intimacy of conversions and friendships were forged through the emotions of the "heart."

The extant scholarship's nation-bound focus predisposes scholars to narrate the 1950s' reformation of fundamentalism into mainstream evangelicalism primarily by studying white fundamentalists. But one of the key characteristics of American fundamentalism was its relentless global impulse to cross national borders for the total evangelization of the world. Thus, when we consider a transnational angle for the study of the reformation of American fundamentalism in the 1950s, we see international characters. Joon Gon Kim and Billy Kim, who were contemporaries with Bill Bright and Graham, were educated at the same theological institutions.

Given this global historical context, we now turn to Joon Gon Kim and Billy Kim's conversion and immigration narratives in the 1950s to understand how and why they became integrated into white fundamentalist and neo-evangelical institutions, and to what end. I show that their anticommunist Christian narratives helped white fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals not only to imagine, but also to witness that

[220] "Billy Kim Meets the Infantry," *Power* magazine, Scripture Press, 1957; see also Maggie Johnson, "On Visit to his Korean Protégé: Carl Powers Ex-GI Sees Realization." Billy Kim Papers, Far East Broadcasting Company, Seoul, Korea.

nonwhite people could be evangelized and that the total evangelization of the world was still possible, even in the aftermath of Mao's communist triumph in 1949.

Joon Gon Kim and Campus Crusade for Christ

Joon Gon Kim was born and raised on the southwest coast of Korea on *Jido* island. He grew up in a Confucian family but had heard of Christianity through a cousin who tried to evangelize his mother. He studied agriculture and became a successful and wealthy agricultural administrator, managing farming operations in Manchuria. During his time in Manchuria, he began to attend a small congregation called *Mokneung* Church where in 1943 he became a Christian at the age of nineteen. By 1958, he had immigrated to Pasadena, California to attend Fuller where he met his contemporary, Bill Bright, the founder of Campus Crusade for Christ. Bright, born in Oklahoma, had grown up in a family with an influential Methodist mother. In his adult life, however, he was more interested in running a successful candy business than in any religious activities. Bright moved to Los Angeles to begin his company, California Confections, which marketed delicacies such as fruits, candies, jams, and jellies through exclusive shops and major department stores nationwide. It was while running his business venture in southern California that he experienced spiritual rejuvenation. From the moment they first met in 1957, Bright and Joon Gon Kim were purported to be like "two prongs of a tuning fork...; when one was struck with a strategy he believed was of God, it motivated the other, right on pitch."[221] Campus Crusade staff worker Jin Tak Oh recalled that Bright and Joon Gon Kim were "spiritual sojourners" as well as "rivals" who "encouraged and challenged each

[221] Michael Lewis Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs, CO: WaterBrook Press, 2000), 158.

other."[222] By 1974, they organized Explo '74, the largest revival in Campus Crusade's history.

Yet they came from markedly different backgrounds. What allowed their transpacific partnership to thrive in the Cold War era? First, a shared theological anxiety about modernism brought white fundamentalists like Bright and South Koreans like Joon Gon Kim together across the Pacific. The fundamentalist-modernist controversy in the U.S. was not only a national theological dilemma, but also one that those elsewhere, including in Korea, shared. Joon Gon Kim shared the critiques of modernism, communism, and liberalism with Bright and those at Fuller, which allowed him to extend the work of Campus Crusade internationally. Second, Joon Gon Kim's anticommunist conversion narrative in the midst of the Korean War cohered with the Cold War concerns for the containment of communism among white neo-evangelicals.

Bright had become a Christian at Hollywood's First Presbyterian Church, a wealthy suburban church in the Sun Belt.[223] At Hollywood Presbyterian, he met Henrietta Mears, the influential Christian educator, under whose tutelage he experienced spiritual renewal. He recalled his conversion experience: "She ended her message by saying to us, 'When you go home tonight, get down on your knees, and say with the Apostle Paul,

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[222] Jin Tak Oh, Interview by Helen Jin Kim. Oral History. Korea Campus Crusade for Christ Headquarters, Seoul, Korea, August 4, 2016.

[223] Clarence Roddy, a professor of homiletics at Fuller Seminary, declared that "Henrietta Mears was the best preacher in Southern California." Note that for Mears her Presbyterian denominational affiliation would have prevented her from being eligible for ordination, but she was considered the "power behind the throne" of many influential male religious leaders. Though not ordained, Mears was widely recognized as a successful preacher and religious educator who influenced many to go into ministry. It was, for instance, during a stay at Mears' retreat center, Forest Home, that Graham had a re-awakening experience right before launching into his crusade ministry. Mears created Forest Home in 1937. Turner, *Bill Bright*, 20.

Lord, what would you have me do? Well, I did exactly that." For Bright, this was not an instantaneous change but the beginning of a journey. "It wasn't a profound prayer," he writes, "but the Lord heard it, and he changed my life – not dramatically in an instant, but gradually."[224] Bright continued to stay active at Hollywood Presbyterian, and in 1946, with Mears' encouragement, he began his seminary education at Princeton Theological Seminary. Just one year after beginning his studies, however, Bright returned to California in 1947 to revive his candy business. Fortuitously, in that year Fuller was founded, and Bright officially transferred from Princeton to join its inaugural class. For Bright, "effective ministry equaled effective evangelism," and he seldom thought he learned how to become an effective evangelist through seminary.[225] True to his proclivity for the practical over the scholastic, it was while he was studying for a Greek exam that he was interrupted by a spiritual vision. He later wrote: "The experience of Forest Home was repeated. I suddenly had the overwhelming impression that the Lord had unfolded a scroll of instructions of what I was to do with my life."[226] God was calling him to begin a nationwide ministry for college students. In 1951 Bright began his campus ministry at UCLA, the first chapter of hundreds, under the name Campus Crusade for Christ.

Joon Gon Kim, on the other hand, matriculated at Fuller in 1957 in order to gain a stronger sense of "intellectual Christianity." He was interested in studying Christian philosophy because he attributed his lack of evangelistic success among college students and youth to his inability to "make the intellectual mind satisfied." Moreover, "liberal

[224] Turner, *Bill Bright*, 8.

[225] Ibid., 37.

[226] Ibid., 38.

influences," he said, had brought "great trouble" to the Korean churches for the past ten years, "chiefly through students who studied at liberal seminaries in the United States."[227] Joon Gon Kim was referring especially to the theological tensions at Chosun Theological Seminary where he had initially enrolled for his theological education in 1946. American theological institutions were experiencing fundamentalist-modernist rifts, and the Korean theological landscape was shifting along similar lines.

Chosun Theological Seminary was founded in 1940 by Korean theologians, such as Jae Jun Kim, who rejected biblical literalism and sought to create an alternative to the theologically fundamentalist institution, Pyongyang Theological Seminary, which historically had been the center of Korean Christianity in northern Korea. In 1947, the same year that Fuller was founded in Pasadena, fifty-one seminary students at Chosun, including Joon Gon Kim, signed a petition denouncing the school's theological liberalism. By July 1952, this fundamentalist cadre of theological rebels from Chosun established the Korean chapter of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE).[228] By

[227] Joon Gon Kim, Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL. The date and particular purpose of this writing is unclear. I would estimate, though, that this is a document that is written shortly after Kim decided to partner with Bright to start the Korean Campus Crusade for Christ; the document was clearly written after they meet at Fuller and before the 1972 and 1974 revivals.

[228] Jae Jun Kim's leadership led to the creation of a new Korean Presbyterian denomination. Hapdong aligned with the NAE and Tong Hap aligned with the WCC. Joon Gon Kim was the education committee leader for the Korean chapter of the NAE The NAE's statement of faith was as follows: "We believe the Bible to be the inspired, the only infallible, authoritative Word of God. We believe that there is one God, eternally existent in three persons: Father, Son and Holy Spirit. We believe in the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, in His virgin birth, in His sinless life, in His miracles, in His vicarious and atoning death through His shed blood, in His bodily resurrection, in His ascension to the right hand of the Father, and in His personal return in power and glory. We believe that for the salvation of lost and sinful people, regeneration by the Holy Spirit is absolutely essential. We believe in the present ministry of the Holy Spirit by whose indwelling the Christian is enabled to live a godly life. We believe in the resurrection of both the saved and the lost; they that are saved unto the resurrection of life and they that are lost unto the resurrection of damnation. We believe in the spiritual unity of believers in our Lord Jesus Christ."

1959, those following Jae Jun Kim's theological orientation created a new Korean Presbyterian denomination, historically the most left-leaning in Korea.[229]

Though Kim had hopes of finding both a spiritual and intellectual Christian tradition that would give him the key to evangelistic success and to remedy liberalism in the Korean church, he was skeptical of the spiritual condition of the U.S. "Frankly speaking," he writes, "I had never expected to acquire spiritual power from this country."[230] With the rise of modernism and the near rejection of biblical literalism and a fundamentalist orientation in American religious institutions, it was as if Joon Gon Kim had caught wind of this narrative of Christian, and specifically evangelical, declension. Was America a secular nation or a Christian nation? But when Joon Gon Kim arrived at Fuller, he entered a new center for revival of evangelicalism.

While at Fuller, Joon Gon Kim met several of the Campus Crusade staff members, including Bob Kendall and Bob Johns. They introduced him to Bright, who had already heard about "Kim from Korea."[231] Joon Gon Kim attended many of their meetings, conferences, and even met Mears. His former prejudices about the U.S. spiritual landscape were transformed when he encountered Campus Crusade, for it provided him with the keys to unlocking his failures in evangelism. Invited to the annual

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[229] Woo Suk Kang, "The Evangelical Movement as Revealed in the Life and Thought of Joon Gon Kim," (Master's Thesis, Chongshin University), 8. Korea Campus Crusade for Christ Headquarters, Seoul, Korea. (English translation mine).

[230] Joon Gon Kim, Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc. Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL. The date and particular purpose of this writing is unclear. I would estimate, though, that this is a document that was written shortly after Kim decided to partner with Bright to start the Korean Campus Crusade for Christ: the document is clearly from after they met at Fuller and before the 1972 and 1974 revivals.

[231] Nils Becker*, Fireseeds from Korea to the World: Tribute to Dr. Joon Gon Kim, founder of Campus Crusade for Chris*t (Orlando, FL: Campus Crusade for Christ International, 2007), 59.

staff training conference in the summer of 1957 at Mound, Minnesota, Kim "discovered something which [he] had not realized before."[232] He had failed to proclaim the "basic message" as Campus Crusade had done. The staff members were asked to memorize a twenty-minute evangelistic tool, "God's Plan for Your Life," which was a precursor to Campus Crusade's signature evangelistic message, the *Four Spiritual Laws*.[233] The message spoke of "the Lord Jesus Christ, the new birth, the Holy spirit [and spoke] of prayer, and of Scripture." But "quite contrary to my expectation, it was an intellectual discussion," which was especially important, given the critique of fundamentalism's anti-intellectualism. Joon Gon Kim had been searching for an evangelical message that would satisfy the minds of college students and youth, and in Campus Crusade he found one that would. It appealed to the intellect, but it was not a form of philosophical or theological jargon, but a "simple, basic message," which was the "key that God could use to open the hearts of men." He learned that instead of persuading a person philosophically, appealing to the person's mind through a simple, basic evangelistic communication tool could chart a path to the heart's conversion. Joon Gon Kim writes: "I said to myself, 'Here it is, this

[232] Joon Gon Kim, Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL. The date and particular purpose of this writing is unclear. I would estimate, though, that this is a document that was written shortly after Kim decided to partner with Bright to start the Korean Campus Crusade for Christ: the document is clearly from after they met at Fuller and before the 1972 and 1974 revivals.

[233] The *Four Spiritual Laws* was solidified in 1959 by Bright as the following: 1) God loves you and has a wonderful plan for your life, 2) Man is sinful and separated from God, thus he cannot know and explain God's plan for his life, 3) Jesus Christ is God's provision for man's sin through whom man can know God's love and plan for his life, 4) We must receive Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord by personal invitation. The *Four Spiritual Laws* is considered one of the most widely distributed religious pamphlets ever, with approximately 2.5 billion printed to date. "History," Campus Crusade for Christ Online, accessed November 1, 2011. http://campuscrusadeforchrist.com/about-us/history.

is the only key to winning the lost souls to Christ.'"[234] Bright's entrepreneurial knack for packaging the gospel into a simple, reason-based message was relevant for Koreans. As a result of his encounter with Campus Crusade, Joon Gon Kim was convinced to turn from a philosophical to a pragmatic approach in sharing the gospel. In 1958, he worked to internationalize Campus Crusade by establishing its first chapter in South Korea.[235]

There were distinctive theological divisions in mid twentieth-century Korea and the U.S., but Bright and Joon Gon Kim were both dealing with essentially the same problems of modernity and the Bible. They were looking for similar solutions to keep a classical evangelical tradition alive in the midst of the critiques of biblical higher criticism and the arguments posed against biblical literalism. These theological conflicts led to institutional divisions but also the motivation to begin a new institution like Campus Crusade across the Pacific. In meeting Bright at Fuller, Joon Gon Kim engaged in a transpacific movement of conserving a biblically literalist tradition of Christianity in a modern moment that seemed to threaten the viability of this tradition. These conversations could have been had largely within the boundaries of each nation, but they happened across the Pacific because of the Korean War, and the post-Korean War immigration, that paved unprecedented routes between the U.S. and South Korea.

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[234] Joon Gon Kim, Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc. Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL. The date and particular purpose of this writing is unclear. I would estimate, though, that this is a document that was written shortly after Kim decided to partner with Bright to start the Korean Campus Crusade for Christ; the document is clearly from after they met at Fuller and before the 1972 and 1974 revivals.

[235] Turner, *Bill Bright*, 151. Bright had also met a Pakistani student named Kundan Massey at Fuller shortly after he met Joon Gon Kim. Massey founded the Pakistan chapter of Campus Crusade. Ray Nethery was the first Campus Crusade director for Asia and then resigned in 1968, handing off the job to Bailey Marks. Marks began to streamline the nine Asian chapters Campus Crusade, which had been otherwise acting rather independently of each other.

Joon Gon Kim's anticommunist Christian narrative of physical, spiritual, and psychological rebirth also served as a foundation for establishing a transpacific network with Campus Crusade. The fact that Joon Gon Kim and his daughter survived the war revealed to him and Americans the possibility of the triumph of Christianity over communism.

Joon Gon Kim's Conversion

While for Americans anticommunism was rooted in a distant but ever lingering fear, Joon Gon Kim's anticommunism was rooted in his Korean War experience, specifically of witnessing his family die at the hands of communists. His conversion narrative was relevant to Cold War America as it assuaged the fears of Americans, showing them that communism could be contained through South Korean Christians like him. Klein notes the fear that occupied the imagination of Americans in cultural productions: "According to *The Manchurian Candidate*, contact with Asians, either at home or abroad, could only weaken the nation. While American participation in the Korean War halted the spread of communism in northeast Asia, it also opened up a hole in the nation's defenses, allowing the Asian menace to invade and corrupt America." Thus, Bright believed that the "evangelization of Japan and South Korea would inoculate other Asian countries against the contagion of communism."[236] Similarly, Joon Gon Kim believed that Korea was the key to saving Asia from communism: "As Chiang Kai-shek remarked, 'The one who conquers Korea will conquer Asia.' Her position is important

[236] Henrietta Mears shared this sentiment when she warned her parishioners at the Forest Home in 1947; Bill Bright and Billy Graham were both frequenters of the retreat site Forest Home. Turner, *Bill Bright*, 98.

not only from the political standpoint, but the spiritual standpoint also."[237] Joon Gon Kim analogized his spiritual strategy to Chiang's political strategy. Henrietta Mears, Bright's mentor, echoed this sentiment when she warned her parishioners at Forest Home in 1947: "There must be a Christian answer to the growing menace of communism." Mears consequently resolved, "God is looking for women and men of total commitment," and an uncompromising proclamation of the gospel was the solution.[238] South Koreans like Joon Gon Kim were crucial noncommunist partners in Asia who could protect Americans from the menacing communists in Asia. Joon Gon Kim's anticommunist conversion narrative revealed that he was a trustworthy Cold War ally.

During the war, Joon Gon Kim was in his hometown *Jido* Island when Korean communists occupied the region for three months: "Our executioners were fellow villagers who had joined the communists, and they began with my father." He recalled witnessing his father's brutal death: "Just a stone's throw away from me, my father was struck on the head several times and fell dead." He then witnessed his wife's death: "Then my wife, trying to keep back her tears, said goodbye to me and said she would see me in heaven. Before my eyes, she was brutally killed."[239] Joon Gon Kim recalled that he also "just waited to be killed," and that during the three-month massacre, he "overcame twenty-one instances where [he] almost died."[240] The three-month massacre at *Jido*

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[237] Chiang Kai-Shek was a Nationalist Party leader in China – and a Protestant – who had fought against the Communist Party in China, only to be led into retreat in Taiwan with Mao's success in China.

[238] Turner, *Bill Bright,* 98.

[239] Marks, *Awakening in Asia*, 21.

[240] *My Pastor Joon Gon Kim and CCC* (Seoul: Korea Campus Crusade for Christ, 2005), 209. (English translation mine).

Island resulted in the death of ten percent of his town's population of 20,000. From his family, only he and his baby daughter survived. During Graham and Harold Ockenga's Boston rallies in the 1950s, communism served as a symbol of satanic and secular influence, but for Joon Gon Kim, facing communism was not a symbolic or abstract spiritual or ideological threat, but a practical and real matter of life and death. He believed that the death of his family was evidence that communism was an evil and godless ideology.

The choice between life and death shaped the theological commitments he made. Given his experiences, he realized that one could not hold a theological middle ground or nuanced imagination of a theologically gray area when faced with life or death situations and their associated theological choices. For him that choice was between Christianity and communism. Though he had become a Christian at the age of nineteen, he recalled that the real "starting point of my Christian life began when I faced persecution and death under the Communist occupation."[241] After witnessing his family's death at the hands of communist, he structured his theology in opposition to communism, as if communism represented an alternative religious belief. Additionally, Joon Gon Kim's Christian faith came to life under communist persecution because on the Korean War battlefield he had a "born again" experience, an experience that cohered with the Christian idea of resurrection, that the dead could come back to life.

While his life was spared, Joon Gon Kim not surprisingly reported experiences of facing near psychological and spiritual death in the aftermath. "I was so heartbroken that I began to question God," he recalled. "My spiritual livelihood was also dying at that

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[241] Marks, *Awakening in Asia*, 21.

time. My consciousness came and went for days at a time…I was also dead psychologically because I had no hope."[242] If communist ideology did not convert Joon Gon Kim to atheism, then the brutality of war nearly did. "I had stopped praying or expecting God to answer and I had no desire for eternal life," he remembered. "I lost sight of God, and within my soul I was complaining and trying to cut myself off from him. I experienced the total despair and darkness of spiritual death, which was a feeling of complete separation from God. It was unbearable."[243] While fleeing the advances of communists, Joon Gon Kim experienced extreme psychological pain and disenchantment.

Yet it was in the midst of his near psychological and existential death that he was renewed. He recalled, "But in the valley of death, God called my name." Seemingly abandoned, God called on Joon Gon Kim personally, and suddenly, he "realized that my lips had begun to move in prayer to God." A source outside of himself, which he identified as the Holy Spirit, compelled him to engage in prayer: "That prayer was begun on my lips by the Holy Spirit, and ended in my heart." At this moment Joon Gon Kim declared that he "passed from death to life." He then "turned to my Savior" who gave him "great peace and joy," which "sprang from my heart like a river." Joon Gon Kim's experience of passing from death to life centered on the resuscitation of his "heart," a key metaphor in the evangelical tradition, often called a "religion of the heart."[244] The resuscitation of his "heart" had the power to move him from psychological and spiritual

[242] Ibid.

[243] Ibid., 22

[244] Hempton, *Methodism*, 5.

death to life. Moreover, in the same way that "peace and joy" sprang from his heart in lieu of death, so too his heart "burned" with a sacred desire to overcome hatred: "My hatred for the Communists vanished, and there burned in my heart a desire to please God, to glorify his name and to do his will."[245] The "heart" was the spiritual organ through which Joon Gon Kim gained a second chance at life after losing his family and fleeing the brutality of war.

On the battleground of war, and faced with the clear-cut, binary choice between death and life, Joon Gon Kim's religious experience suggested clear options: communism versus Christianity, death versus life. The division of North and South Korea along the 38th parallel geographically exemplified the binary theological options available to Joon Gon Kim. Moreover, the ideological and theological battle that American fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals fought in seminary classrooms and suburban pulpits had an urgent life and death battleground on the stage of the Korean War, which gave prominence to Joon Gon Kim's conversion narrative to Americans like Bright. Joon Gon Kim's emphasis on the evangelical metaphor of the "heart" in his conversion, furthermore, cohered with the U.S. Cold War state's demands to forge sentimental connection with noncommunist Asians.

Billy Kim's Conversion

If Joon Gon Kim's immigration and conversion narrative showed the power of a "religion of the heart" to contain communism, then Billy Kim's immigration and conversion narrative revealed the potential that South Koreans had to facilitate the U.S.-Asian integration that was so critical for U.S. Cold War expansion. Billy Kim was

[245] *My Pastor Joon Gon Kim,* 209. (English translation mine).

productive in his eight years in the U.S., graduating with his bachelor's degree in biblical studies and master's degree in theology from Bob Jones. In that time, he was also ordained as a Baptist minister and married classmate Gertrude (Trudy) Stephens with whom he returned to South Korea in 1959.[246] So he fulfilled his dreams of education, career, and marriage through his immigration into the heart of American fundamentalism. Yet his immigration narrative from South Korea to the U.S., which is also a conversion narrative, is an ambivalent one that reveals his uncertainty about whether the U.S. would be like the mythical Promised Land or like Egypt. Given the legal status of Asians in the U.S. at that time as "aliens ineligible for citizenship," Billy Kim's immigration and conversion narrative reflects the uncertain religious and racial landscape that he navigated in the American South during the Cold War era.

Here, a little more background about this racial and immigration situation is helpful. Though the Asian presence in America dates back to the founding of the nation, and even Columbus himself was searching for the "Orient" when he landed in the Americas, in the 1950s Asians in the U.S. lived under the precarious legal status of "aliens ineligible for citizenship."[247] Two high-profile Supreme Court cases, the United States vs. Thind (1922) and the United States vs. Ozawa (1923) codified the legal status of Asians, barring them from citizenship.[248] Furthermore, the National Origins Act in

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[246] Jang Hwan (Billy) Kim biographical details: Kim, Kyung (Isaac) Kyu, "The Education and Cultivation of Intercultural Leaders: A Study of Twelve Prominent Native Born Koreans" (Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Intercultural Studies, Biola University, 2009), 83.

[247] Shelley Lee, *A New History of Asian America* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 5–26.

[248] Ian Haney-Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 56-77.

1924 restricted those of Asian descent from immigrating to the U.S., and the 1950s were therefore considered an era of Asian exclusion.[249]

At the same time, a more flexible social order was being imagined in the 1950s. Franz Boas, the cultural anthropologist, re-imagined race as a product of cultural rather than biological differences.[250] His theoretical contributions, which emerged out of the Chicago School, overturned biologically-based notions of race during a historical moment when the postwar world order called into question the racial imperialism of WWII. Thus, in the Cold War era, the U.S. began to define its national identity against German nationalism and the racial imperialism of the British empire. As Klein notes, an imagination of the U.S. as a racially and ethnically diverse nation played a critical role in the nation's Cold War expansion: "The United States thus became the only Western nation that sought to legitimate its world-ordering ambitions by championing the idea (if not the practice) of racial equality. In contrast to European imperial powers, the captains of American expansion explicitly denounced the idea of essential differences and hierarchies."[251] At the same time that the 1950s represented a period of Asian immigration exclusion, American distinction as a racial democracy was critical for the nation's advancement as a global Cold War power.

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[249] Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

[250] Lee Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954* (Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1998); see also Henry Yu, *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[251] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 23.

Billy Kim's immigration and conversion narrative, therefore, tests the limits of democracy as the U.S. was reimagining itself as a non-imperial global leader. He expresses uncertainty as to how he will be incorporated into the nation, if at all. While first traveling with Powers from Korea to the U.S., Billy Kim had begun to worry: "*He is taking me to use as a slave.*"[252] He had recalled that Powers' parents were farmers, who, he imagined, presumably could exploit him for farm labor. As a result, he "could not sleep."[253] He struggled with doubt: "*Will I really be able to go to school*?"[254] When he finally arrived at Powers' secluded farmhouse in Virginia, Billy Kim "fell into despair," for he feared that the "glitter of San Francisco was just a mirage to lure him to this dark place." He worried that "behind the gentle smile of Carl was the crafty scheme of a farm owner…Looking around the front yard, he became convinced that they [had] brought him here as a slave. He was in despair – there was no school around anywhere. The admissions letter of acceptance might have been fake." He depended on the Powers' generosity, a vulnerability that made even their kindness seem like a form of deception: "That night, as he sat around the dinner table with Carl and his family, he smiled as if nothing was wrong, but his doubts and fears grew bigger and bigger, as the family's laughter and kindness increased."[255] Billy Kim expressed his uncertainty as to whether he

[252] Kim, *The Life of Billy Kim*, 36.

[253] Ibid., 37.

[254] Ibid., 39.

[255] Ibid., 40.

would be treated as a laborer, slave, or student – the last being the best possible scenario, and one that was not unprecedented.[256]

Billy Kim's fears and uncertainties echo at least two historical narratives, namely the first wave of Korean immigrations and the transatlantic slave trade, narratives that debunked the myth of the U.S. as a racial democracy. First, Billy Kim's fear of being exploited as slave labor echoes the actual experience of first wave Korean immigrants to the U.S. (1903-1905), of whom approximately 7,000 predominately uneducated male laborers who had immigrated seeking better opportunities were put to work on sugar plantations in Hawaii.[257] Korean immigration to the U.S. effectively halted after the 1908 Gentleman's Agreement, with the exception of approximately 1,000 women, known as "picture brides," who arrived between 1910 and 1924 to marry Korean men.[258] Defying their expectations of finding a land flowing with milk and honey, Korean male laborers discovered instead harsh work conditions on sugar plantations, and picture brides married husbands more impoverished and elderly than they had been led to believe. Second, that Billy Kim used the dreaded word "slave" in reference to Powers' southern farm ostensibly refers to the history of the race-based enslavement of Africans in the Americas; he most likely learned about the white over black superiority scheme of western racial hierarchy during the Korean War, especially through his encounters with

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[256] For a discussion on Korean student immigration to the U.S. during the Japanese colonial era, see Yoo, *Contentious Spirits*.

[257] The history of Chinese "coolie" labor is also relevant. Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor and Sugar in an Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

[258] The 1908 Gentleman's Agreement between the United States and Japan curtailed the entry of Korean laborers to the U.S. since Korea was a Japanese protectorate. The Immigration Act of 1924 further restricted Korean (and other Asian) flows to the United States.

the U.S. military.[259] Indeed, the transatlantic slave trade has engendered the debate as to whether America was, in fact, the Promised Land or Egypt, two powerful religious narratives that have shaped conflicting ideas about the nation.[260] The extent to which Billy's story would cohere with one or the other image of America, and the extent to which his experience would depart from that of the first wave of Korean immigrants, remained a question. In addition to these past narratives of nonwhite laborers and slaves in the Americas, which reverberated into the 1950s, Billy Kim's immigration and conversion narrative conjured the global frame of the Civil Rights/Cold War era.

One of the litmus tests for American democracy, and by extension, the nation's legitimacy as a global leader in the Cold War era, was its claim to racial equality. Projecting to the world that America was a nation that championed, if not practiced, racial equality was crucial to the nation saving face on the Cold War stage, precisely because of the continued and internationally publicized racial violence and discrimination against African Americans. Recall the history of the 1950s, including the lynching of Emmett Till (1955), the overturning of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), and the resistance to racial desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas (1957). Not only the nation's but also the world's imagination was stained with these images of racial violence and discrimination. Historians such as Mary Dudziak, therefore, have re-narrated the Civil Rights era in the global framework of the Cold War to show

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[259] Nadia Kim notes that South Koreans became sharply aware of western racial hierarchies through the U.S. military stationed in Korea. Nadia Kim, *Imperial Citizens: Koreans and Race from Seoul to LA* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).

[260] David W. Wills. "The Central Themes of American Religious History: Pluralism, Puritanism, and the Encounter of Black and White," in Timothy E. Fulop and Albert J. Raboteau, eds., *African American Religion: Interpretive Essays in History and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 7-20.

that threats to this global image became the impetus for domestic racial reform.[261] Decolonizing and communist nations, indeed, used racism as evidence of America's moral ineligibility for global Cold War leadership. Given these multiple narratives, how did Billy Kim, as an "alien ineligible for citizenship," fit into and contend with, the racial and religious landscape in American South during the Cold War era?

Billy Kim's anxious immigration narrative quickly transitioned into hope. He recalled: "Ninety-nine percent of our worries do not become a reality. And so, on February 3, 1952, just weeks after arriving at Carl's home, Billy was able to start school. Carl's promise was real, and Billy's worries were not." Billy Kim dismissed his concerns about working as a laborer or slave as mere "worries," and confirmed the reliability of the U.S. soldier who had brought him to the U.S. He begins to trust Powers because he did, indeed, successfully enroll him at Bob Jones Academy, a private school in South Carolina. Access to education became the key to assuaging his fears. Ironically, he became a spokesperson for universal access to education even though his own college did not admit African Americans for race-based reasons.

In fact, Bob Jones Academy remained a racially segregated institution until the 1970s, refusing to admit African Americans on supposedly biblical and theological grounds.[262] As historian Curtis Evans has shown, white fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals like Billy Graham were ambivalent about, if not opposed to, racial reform in the civil rights era because of their conversion-focused individualistic theological

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[261] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*.

[262] "Bob Jones University Apologizes for Its Racist Past" in *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education.* Accessed September 30, 2016. http://www.jbhe.com/news_views/62_bobjones.html.

paradigm that eschewed the institutional change that figures like Martin Luther King Jr. advocated.[263] Moreover, building on Evans' argument, Randall Balmer debunked the myth that the Christian Right mobilizes political power due to *Roe v. Wade (*1973), to show that the Christian Right emerged out of protest against racial desegregation. Balmer argued that when the IRS rescinded Bob Jones' tax exemption on January 19, 1976 due to unlawful racial segregation, the Republican Party "finally had the issue that would motivate evangelical leaders."[264] Race was a key motivator for the later rise of the Christian Right, not abortion.

Bob Jones admitted nonwhite South Koreans like Billy Kim but denied admission to African Americans. This racial strategy adhered to political scientist Claire Jean Kim's racial triangulation model. She theorizes that Asians in the U.S. have historically occupied a "relatively valorized" but "civically ostracized" racial position compared to African Americans.[265] She uses the two axes of racial inferiority/superiority and civic insider/outsider status to suggest that Asians are in the middle between whites and blacks on the inferiority/superiority axis ("relatively valorized"), and that they are at the bottom compared to blacks and whites in terms of their civic belonging ("civically

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[263] Curtis Evans, "White Evangelical Protestant Responses to the Civil Rights Movement" *Harvard Theological Review,* 102/2 (April 2009): 245-273. See also Carolyn Renee Dupont, *Mississippi Praying: Southern White Evangelicals and the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-75* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

[264] On June 30, 1971 the district court for the District of Columbia handed down a ruling in a case called *Green v. Connally.* In light of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, religious, segregated schools in Mississippi would lose their tax-exempt status. As the IRS enforced this ruling, one of the schools it targeted was Bob Jones. Bob Jones did not admit African Americans until 1971 and then, out of fear of racial mixing, did not admit unmarried African Americans until 1975. Randall Balmer, *Evangelicalism in America* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2016).

[265] Claire Jean Kim, "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans," *Politics and Society* 27 (March, 1999): 105-138.

ostracized"). Nadia Kim's transnational extension of this racial triangulation model shows that "one of the key sources of racialization of Asian ethnics is U.S. imperialism in Asia since World War II."[266] Thus, Billy Kim can be situated in the American South in the 1950s within the transpacific racial triangulation of South Koreans, blacks, and whites. He was admitted to Bob Jones Academy on the assumption that he was relatively inferior to whites and relatively foreign compared to blacks. He was one of the few nonwhite students in his class, though a few years after he was admitted, the number of South Koreans at Bob Jones increased.[267]

Given his position as a triangulated imperial racial subject, admission to Bob Jones itself did not do away with the psychological anxiety and existential despair that Billy Kim continued to experience. Even though he was admitted to the school, the local newspapers infantilized him and portrayed him as needy, calling him a "Korean War victim," a "Korean refugee," and "the young Korean protégé of Carl Powers." As a refugee, victim, and protégé, he depended on funds from Dickenson County in Virginia to attend Bob Jones.[268] Moreover, Billy Kim recalled that his high school dormitory felt like a prison: "Surrounded by the four walls of the dormitory, Billy felt caged inside a dark, narrow, and tall-ceilinged box, all alone." He remembers his estrangement from his Korean family and culture: "He cried in intense loneliness. 'Mom, Mom, Mother!' He missed his mother. He yearned desperately for his mother's homemade bean stew. He felt

[266] Kim, *Imperial Citizens*, 6.

[267] "Eight Koreans Attend School in City," in Billy Kim Personal Papers, Binder 1. Far East Broadcasting Company, Seoul, Korea.

[268] "Billy Kim Needs Funds to Continue in School," Billy Kim Personal Papers, Binder 1. Far East Broadcasting Company, Seoul, Korea.

as if someone had cut open his heart and was rubbing it with a tough pot scrubber. Billy was extremely homesick."[269] Though he experienced brief relief from his heart's open wounds of estrangement, loneliness, and homesickness when he shared a traditional Korean meal with two other Korean students at Bob Jones, "his aloneness became worse and even deeper." He described his pain at length:

> The mere falling of an autumn leaf would bring tears to his eyes. A gaze into the moonlit night would intensify the aches in his heart. He knew that the moon was the same as the moon from the night sky of his homeland, and he could almost see his mother's face on the glowing moon. Many nights he sat by his window, gazing at the moon, unaware of his falling tears. He remembered a line from a song back home: 'Gazing at the glowing moon, not even the loneliness passes soon.'[270]

Billy Kim's "tears" and "aches in his heart" were rooted in his alienation from his family, culture, and home, resulting from the rupture and disorientation of the transpacific immigration and racialization experience from South Korea to the American South.[271]

Billy Kim ultimately discovered a belief in Jesus and American democracy that converted his existential despair and racial alienation into hope, even though it did not address the underlying U.S. imperial conditions in South Korea that engendered his despair and alienation. In this context of existential despair, Billy Kim experienced Christian conversion. Daily chapel service at Bob Jones Academy had seemed like an "unfamiliar ritual of a foreign religion," yet when his roommate Jerry Thompson

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[269] Kim, *The Life of Billy Kim*, 41.

[270] Ibid.

[271] Billy Kim's narratives mirror theologian Sang Hyun Lee's concept of Asian immigrant conversion as pilgrimage. Lee provides a theological orientation toward the categories of pilgrimage, exile, and stranger for the liminal/in-between space that Asian Americans inhabit. The idea of political estrangement aligns well with the theological concept of exile. Sang Hyun Lee, "Pilgrimage and Home in the Wilderness of Marginality" in "Racial Spirits," *Amerasia Journal*, 1996.

introduced Billy Kim to the Christian scriptures in John 3:16, he "felt a rush of emotion he had never felt during chapel or dorm worship."[272] He was "captured by a vague expectation that perhaps the 'One called Jesus' could quench his urgent thirst for home and mother." So he told his roommate: "'Jerry, I cry every day. I can't study anymore. I think I'll go insane this way. Do you think that this 'Jesus' can help me?" Jerry responded:

> Billy, Jesus will most definitely help you. Believe in Jesus, and you will not cry in such despair anymore.'…God sent His only Son to this world to save sinners and chose death on the cross in their place. He then rose again from death and ascended into heaven to forgive all our sins. If anyone believes Jesus did this to save them, they will eternally, forever be saved and will be blessed as God's own child.[273]

Jerry Thompson articulated that, in Jesus, Billy Kim could find the ultimate solution to his psychological anxiety and existential despair, the psycho-spiritual manifestations of immigrating to a foreign nation under the legal status of "alien ineligible for citizenship." Jesus had the power to eradicate his despair, forgive his sins, and include him in a new family as a child of God. Jerry could not promise Billy Kim that Jesus could change the conditions of war that prompted his immigration and despair, but he did promise that belief in Jesus and his power to forgive sins could eliminate his tears.

With Jerry's help, Billy Kim accepted Jesus Christ as his savior, and in this moment, it was as if even their linguistic and racial barriers were dissolved. In spite of language differences, they prayed together: "God I am a sinner. I accept Jesus who died on the cross for my sins into my heart right now. Please forgive my sins." Billy Kim recalled that accepting Jesus into his life had a healing effect on his "heart": "At first, it

[272] Kim, *The Life of Billy Kim*, 41.

[273] Ibid., 43.

seemed awkward, but as he continued, his heart started to melt. The divine One who had called Billy to Bob Jones was now personally touching Billy's despairing, aching heart and his weary soul, at that very moment." When the prayer was over, Jerry confirmed for Billy Kim that he had gained salvation: "Billy, you just accepted Jesus Christ as your Savior…You have been saved. You are born again." His conversion had an affective effect; he "felt immersed in an indescribable sea of peace" and felt that he was "not alone anymore." As a result, Billy Kim could re-narrate his immigration experience as being facilitated not by the U.S. soldier Carl Powers, but God: "the 'One' who had called Billy to Bob Jones Academy was with him." With certainty of his salvation, Billy Kim stated: "There, Billy met God. There, Billy was saved. There, Billy became a child of God. He now knew the truth: 'To all who received him, who believed in his [Jesus'] name, he gave the right to become children of God (John 1:12 NIV)."[274] Through his heart's conversion, and in an intimate interracial context, Billy Kim became a Christian.

Billy Kim's conversion had multiple effects and the spiritual geography of his conversion many consequences. In addition to providing an "indescribable sea of peace" to his "aching heart," he discovered a new identity as a child of God that assured him that he was not alone. His new belief that he was directed by divine powers to attend Bob Jones resulted in a new vision for his life, including a career change: "It had seemed to me I wanted to be a politician when I first came to America. But a few weeks after my conversion to Christ, it seemed as if God were saying to me, 'I want you to go back to Korea and carry this great message to the teeming millions like yourself who have never

[274] Ibid.

heard.'"[275] Billy Kim's conversion to a "religion of the heart" provided a sense of resolution and purpose to the inexplicable tragedies of the Korean War, and became an affective response that ameliorated and relieved the contradictions of war.

Moreover, if Billy Kim's psychological anxiety and existential despair were rooted in the alienation of the immigration experience, then a religion of the heart rooted in belief in Jesus could collapse difference, even racial difference, an idea that many questioned with the unmasking of the western cultural imperialism of Christianity. Therefore, Billy Kim's evangelical conversion through an intimate one-on-one encounter with Jerry Thompson, in which he offered salvation through Jesus as a solution to his despair and tears, cohered with Eisenhower's Cold War foreign policy grounded in sentimentalism. Billy Kim's evangelical conversion cannot be reduced to politics, but his conversion narrative gained heightened political import because of the U.S. state's expansionist aims that appealed to sentimentalism and Asian-white integration on the level of the everyday, reflected in the intimate, interracial setting of Billy Kim's conversion to a "religion of the heart." The conversion of a nonwhite South Korean like Billy Kim suggested to white fundamentalists at Bob Jones that the global mission to evangelize the world was still possible. His conversion, moreover, provided an image that the institution reflected American democratic ideals of racial equality, even as it preserved the logic of white supremacy within its very institutional foundations.

"Voice for Democracy"

One of the trajectories of Billy Kim's conversion was a defense of American democracy and racial equality, in spite of ongoing racial discrimination and hierarchy at Bob Jones. Access to education is one of the key factors that later allowed him to make a

[275] Ibid.

persuasive case for democracy. In 1955, at the age of nineteen, he became the South Carolina winner of the "Voice of Democracy" contest, and went on to represent the state in the national contest and attended a Democracy Workshop at the capitol in Williamsburg, Virginia along with four co-winners and thirty-two other state winners.[276] "Education is for all," he declared, and he confirmed the superiority of American democracy: "Only democracy can give the individual rights, a higher standard of education and better education." He quickly made the connection between access to education and the legitimacy of the expansion of American democracy, including through military force, as he declared his gratitude to "Uncle Sam for sending the boys to my country and allowing me to find democracy." Billy Kim's conversion to Christianity occurred with his acceptance of the myth that American democratic capitalism championed equality. As a nonwhite person, he became the face for publicizing America as a nation that prized racial equality, even though this was a myth rather than a reality.

Billy Kim's immigration narrative tested whether the U.S. could legitimately serve as a global leader in the postwar era, and whether American democracy was, indeed, a more ideal form of governance than Soviet communism. The first line of Billy Kim's speech, a potent line, revealed his main argument. "I am a Korean and I speak for democracy," he declared. That a Korean like Billy Kim could represent democracy suggested its universal reach, legitimating U.S. Cold War expansionist aims, including into the Asia-Pacific region, the last American frontier.[277] His experience with American GIs especially testified to the merits of democracy: "In my tent were white people with

[276] March 4, 1955, "SC Winner at Democracy Workshop," Columbia, South Carolina. Billy Kim Personal Papers Binder 1. Far East Broadcasting Company. Seoul, Korea.

[277] Cumings, *Dominion from Sea to Sea*.

German and French accents; short Hawaiians, and a few of the GIs were black skinned, yet they seemed to come from the same race and had much respect for each other." In the U.S. military, Billy Kim found an example of racial unity and equity among whites, blacks, and Hawaiians that exemplified the American democratic values that justified the Korean War and the U.S. military presence in Korea: "I began to understand why they came to our country to fight. That they might keep that freedom and liberty for their country and share it with us too."[278] Soldiers who knelt to read their Bibles and pray, who gave out chocolate and other food, and who helped children who were wandering homeless and helpless convinced Billy Kim that American GI's were a benevolent rather than an oppressive force: "As I watched those things my heart began to convince me that these GIs were different from forces of other countries who tried to suppress the Koreans….Now the light of democracy shines in my heart." Not unlike the heartfelt conversion that led him to accept Jesus as his savior, Billy Kim expressed his heartfelt conversion to democracy.

Billy Kim ultimately won a television from the state of South Carolina in this competition, and he gave it to Powers as a gift, finally repaying him for his benevolence. When he returned to Korea in 1959, he hosted a similar "Freedom and Democracy" speech contest, sponsored by the 314th Air Division, an event that began with an invocation and devotion by an American military chaplain and a Korean chief of police. In spite of the racial contradictions and hierarches that haunted his conversion and immigration narratives, Billy Kim carried not only the torch of a "religion of the heart" but also the torch of American democracy with him to Korea.

[278] Billy Kim, "I Speak for Democracy." Billy Paper Personal Papers, Binder 1 (Seoul, Korea: Far East Broadcasting Company).

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<Fig. 8. “The Christian Culture Ministry” Exhibit. Seoul, Korea: Far East Broadcasting Company. Billy Kim baptizing Carl Powers in the Jordan River, 1979>

Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim were confirmation to white American fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals that their understanding of a religion of the heart and democracy worked, that they were plausible universal ideals, not only because they worked for them, but also because they worked for non-white people from outside of the U.S. Thus, Joon Gon Kim became Campus Crusade’s first international and nonwhite partner, and Billy Kim became a spokesperson not only for fundamentalist theological values but also for American democracy. Both of their immigration and conversion narratives confirmed that America still had the potential to be a “city on a hill,” a non-imperial beacon of democratic and Christian hope. Yet Joon Gon Kim and Billy Kim were also ironically largely shielded from the reality that the 1950s was the height of the Civil Rights movement, and remained relatively blind to the ongoing racial violence

against African Americans, and the persistent Orientalism against Asians in the U.S. Allow me to conclude with an example that reveals the racial irony that continued in spite of Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim's triumphalist views of American democracy, and transpacific partnerships with white fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals.

Even as Billy Kim affirmed the U.S. as a racial democracy and U.S.-Asian integration was emphasized in the Cold War era, representations of his immigration and conversion narrative instantiated racial hierarchy. In a two-part comic series called "My Chum," *Christian Story Magazine* retells Carl Powers and Billy Kim's story.[279] The narrative of the comic strip begins: "Carl was a Christian. He tried to teach English to Billy. Carl told Billy about life in America. But Carl didn't know how to get Billy to know Jesus as his savior."[280] Then, one day, Powers asks Billy Kim to immigrate to the U.S., where, the comic assumes, he could discover Jesus as his savior. The comic strip begins with assumptions about the hierarchical and unilateral direction in which Christianity moved triumphantly from the U.S. to the world, revealing an imperial imagination of America as the benevolent provider not only of the English language and abundant resources, but also of the truth of the gospel.

Yet, Billy Kim was actually the one who converted Powers after he became a Christian at Bob Jones. Billy Kim ultimately baptized Powers in the Jordan River, revealing that U.S.-South Korean evangelization was bi-directional, defying the lines of racial hierarch that the comic strip meant to instantiate through religion. Billy Kim could

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[279] Vernon Rieck, "My Chum: Stories of Real People. Billy Kim's Biggest Adventure. Part I" (adapted from an article by Carl L. Powers in 'Power' magazine, Scripture Press, 1957), August 1960.

[280] Ibid.

not control the narrative that *Christian Story Magazine* would create, but his conversion offered him a modicum of agency to influence others, including the U.S. soldier that had brought him to the U.S. Christianity did not always move west to east, or from the U.S. to South Korea, but also bi-directionally. Billy Kim and Powers' story, however, continued to reflect the racial thinking of the times.

Indeed, as described in the following chapters, Billy Kim wielded transpacific spiritual authority, and Joon Gon Kim also contributed to expansion of Campus Crusade as a agentive actor, not just an object of American imperialism and racial hierarchy. Yet reductive western perceptions of their own contributions as Korean Christians persisted because of the racial inequities that continued in the 1950s – the very inequities that Billy Kim and Joon Gon Kim seemed unable to contest fully, even as they actively contributed to the expansion and reshaping of American fundamentalism into mainstream evangelicalism.

PART TWO: ROUTES

CHAPTER THREE

"Little Ambassadors": The World Vision Korean Orphan Choir on Tour, 1960-69

<Fig. 9. "Korean Orphan Choir On Tour" LP album. Courtesy of World Vision Korea Musical Institute. Seoul, Korea. World Vision Korean Orphan Choir LP album featuring the first choir that went on international tour with Bob Pierce and choir director Soo Chul Chang.[281]>

On August 22, 1960, Ji Young Oh, an eight-year-old orphan, became an inaugural member of the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir, a choir started by Bob Pierce, with the support of Kyung Chik Han.[282] "I was a baby abandoned on the streets after the war…." she recalled. "A chaplain soldier…a Korean soldier picked me up and raised

[281] Many thanks to Judith Weisenfeld for doing a directed reading course on modern American religious history with me at Princeton in Spring 2013 through which I first wrote a paper on the intersection of Christianity and Korean orphans and adoption. Many thanks also to W. Anne Joh for organizing the "Korean War" conference at the Pacific Asian North Asian American Women in Theology and Ministry in Spring 2013 where I was introduced to both Soojin Pate's work and critical adoption studies which is reference throughout this chapter.

[282] Ji Young Oh participated with the first four international tours with the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir.

me...I was always lonely….One day they said, 'There's a faithful Christian elder who would raise you well in Taejon.'"[283] While living in a Taejon orphanage, Ji Young Oh auditioned for the World Vision Korean Choir, which promised to treat her to the luxuries of a fried egg per day and a piano in her room. "Of course, our country was so poor, how could they really give us these things? [In reality], there was an organ in the common room and we had eggs only on Sunday's," she remarked. Yet she recalled that as a chorister, a "little ambassador" for Korea and God, she walked with an unusual gait:

> We were trained to believe that we are 'little ambassadors of Korea' and they said, 'you are ambassadors for God.' Because we were little ambassadors of Korea we were trained in manners and etiquette…We sang in so many languages…and memorized all of the songs…At school they would say, 'You choir kids walk differently.' I think it's because we learned how to walk back and forth on stage…. And it's because we had that consciousness: 'I am an ambassador for Korea. I am an ambassador for God'…[284]

Under the leadership of Pierce, the "ambassador of the Far East," the choir toured internationally in 1961-2 (Tour 1), 1962-3 (Tour 2) and 1965-6 (Tour 3) as "little ambassadors," "little missionaries" or "little good will ambassadors." The choristers trained to become "little ambassadors" not only through etiquette courses and choral lessons, but also Christian education. They participated in early morning prayer meetings, memorized scripture, attended church services on Wednesdays and Sundays, and listened to daily radio worship before bed time. Ji Young Oh spent the next ten years touring the world with the choir. A close study of the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir's international tours reveal that World Vision's growth as an evangelical parachurch was

[283] Ji Young Oh. Interview by Helen Jin Kim. Oral History. Seoul, Korea. May 28, 2016.

[284] Ibid.

indebted to choristers such as Ji Young Oh, and that the children of South Korea helped revive to American evangelicalism.[285]

The World Vision "Korean Orphan Choir" was a distinctive choir under Pierce's leadership and the subject of this chapter. When Pierce left World Vision in 1967 due to complicated health and personal reasons, the choir changed its name to the Korean *Children's* Choir and made their final tour of the decade without him from August 1968-February 5, 1969.[286] Under Pierce's leadership, the purpose of the choir was as manifold as his dizzying array of interests. McFadden and Eddy Associates, the choir's public relations firm, declared the purpose was to "express the appreciation of Korean children to the people of this continent and to illustrate the needs of orphans all over the world."[287] Pierce said it was to provide "an opportunity for these little war orphans to express their gratitude to the people of America for their assistance in saving them from starvation and poverty in Korea."[288] They were to "bring to America an understanding of the lives and accomplishments of children in Korea" and "present a spiritual ministry" through the

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[285] The World Vision Korean Children's Choir remains active to the present and is based in Seoul, Korea; note that this chapter is purposefully engaged in examining the World Vision Korean *Orphan* Choir, which was active only under the leadership of Bob Pierce.

[286] See Dunker Pierce, *Man of Vision,* for a moving personal narrative regarding her father Bob Pierce's complicated and tragic departure from World Vision.

[287] "McFadden and Associates Correspondence" 2. World Vision Inc. Central Records. Monrovia, CA. Founded in 1955, McFadden and Eddy Associates was a public relations firm, which worked as the public relations agency for the City of Palm Springs. Frank William McFadden was the Partner of McFadden & Eddy, Associates from 1955-1966 before it merged with another public relations firm to become McFadden, Strauss & Irwin. http://prabook.org/web/person-view.html?profileId=491580. See "Publicity Firms Tell of Merger." *Desert Sun,* Number 129, 2 January 1964. http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=DS19640102.2.16

[288] World Vision Korean Orphan Choir on First U.S., Canada Tour," Pasadena, CA. World Vision Inc. Central Records. Monrovia, CA.

"universal language of music."[289] One chorister noted: "'In our concert we sing 'God Bless America' and I love America. I am so happy to be here and say thank you to the people who take care of us."[290] Not only were they grateful and gifted, but they also worked for others. All proceeds from the first two tours went toward constructing the World Vision Children's Hospital in Seoul. Yet, Ji Young Oh also noted the burdens of singing: "We were very stressed…[We] probably didn't grow very tall because we were on constant alert…Of course we were so good at what we did, but there was also that aspect…"[291] From Cold War diplomacy and Orientalist desires, to evangelical hopes, musical inspiration, and humanitarian ideals, the choir served multiple purposes.

Scholars have contextualized the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir in the history of American evangelicalism, global missions, and race in the Cold War era, but have not explicitly attributed the rise of World Vision in particular and American evangelicalism in general to the role of these South Korean children. King notes that with Pierce at the helm from 1950-1967, World Vision was an organization characterized by the "mission of evangelism and orphan-care in Asia," the "days of crusades and orphanages" when World Vision held a "decidedly pro-American Cold War perspective."[292] During a decade of increasing anti-western sentiment, he suggests that the choir offered an especially palatable message to Americans: "Americans were

[289] "World Vision Korean Orphan Choir on First U.S., Canada Tour," Pasadena, CA September 12, 1961. World Vision Inc. Central Records. Monrovia, CA.

[290] Pierce, *The Korean Orphan Choir*, 53

[291] Ji Young Oh. Oral History Interview.

[292] King, "Seeking a Global Vision," 1

compassionate; they should continue to be."[293] Gary VanderPol suggests that under Pierce, World Vision was characterized by "compassionate charity for individual emergencies, a model that cohered neatly with evangelicalism's individualism and emotionalism."[294] Susie Woo extends this analysis into the study of race and Korean international adoption and characterizes evangelicalism's emotionalism as "Cold War sentimentalism." Woo, furthermore, understands the choir in terms of the "cultural and political work that made transnational and transracial adoption possible on a large scale."[295] "For the first time," she asserts, "the choir brought Korean children into the United States in dramatic and highly visible ways that invited Americans to imagine Korean children at home in the United States."[296] She highlights the role that the choir played in defending Cold War America as a racial democracy: The choir "taught Americans important Cold War lessons, including the need to care for their nonwhite

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[293] King, "Seeking a Global Vision." 139-40.

[294] Vanderpol vi. Vanderpol's research is on the American evangelical "missions to the poor" in which he "analyzes the discourse" of its main parachurch proponents, including World Vision also studies Compassion International, Food for Hungry, Samaritan's Purse, Sojourners, Evangelicals for Social Action and Christian Community Development Association. He suggests that this model of evangelical individualism and emotionalism "should be regarded as the quintessential, bedrock evangelical theory of mission to the poor." Yet he also notes that in the 1970s, "a strong countercurrent emerged that advocated for penitent protest against structural injustice and underdevelopment. In contrast to the earlier model, it was distinguished by going against the grain of many aspects of evangelical culture, especially its reflexive patriotism and individualism."

[295] Woo, "Imagining Kin," 28. Woo begins her article with a study of the Korean Children's Choir which is a choir founded in 1945 by Korean chaplains to celebrate Korean independence from Japan. This is a choir that she sees as highly connected but not directly related to the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir. But she then extends her analysis of the Korean Children's Choir to the Korean Orphan Choir.

[296] Ibid., 34

Asian neighbors. In so doing, the choir positioned the United States as a welcoming racial democracy, an image central to the nation's Cold War efforts."[297]

Indeed, the burgeoning literature on Korean international adoption, in which Woo situates the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir, is one that exposes the hypocrisy of racial equality in Cold War America, in spite of the nation's efforts to project the image of equality under democracy.[298] Arissa Oh argues: "Korean adoption embodied a kind of 'Cold War civil rights' for Asians, a practice motivated in part by the Cold War imperative of winning friends in Asia." Korean adoptees were seen as "malleable children who could be raised to be good Americans." Moreover, as Ellen Wu has shown, since World War II, there was a racial refiguring of what it meant to be Asian as the state as well as Asian Americans themselves sought to transform the image of unassimilable Chinese and Japanese into "model minorities."[299] Korean adoptees exemplified the racial myth of the model minority as they "refuted arguments about unassimilable Asians" and were "recast as the most desirable of immigrants…." Oh shows that this racial shift occurred through "Orientalist constructions that emphasized Korean children's racial difference in nonthreatening ways" that made them "desirable."[300] World Vision's past in

[297] Ibid.

[298] Arissa Oh's work builds upon Mary Dudziak's work to argue that international Korean adoption is part of Cold War/Civil Rights history.

[299] Wu, *Color of Success*.

[300] Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 12.

the throes of crusades, orphanages and pro-American Cold War politics, requires a historical examination unfiltered by the presentism of its twenty-first century image.[301]

A close study of the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir reveals the constructions of race and Orientalism that were crucial not only for the rise of international adoption, but also for the transpacific rise of American evangelicalism. The choir's international tours relied on binary Cold War logic that uplifted the choir as a symbol of the "good" Cold War subject who could be transformed from destitute "orphan" into desirable "songbird." In the mid-1960's, at the height of Civil Rights reform, World Vision's growth hinged on U.S. Cold War expansionism in South Korea, which paired Christian ideas of transformation with emerging racialized ideas of Asians as "model minorities." Moreover, in donating to the choir Americans could not only donate to orphans, but also invest in an indigenous form of evangelical Korean Christianity that represented these "good" Cold War subjects who theologically allied against communism and defended American democracy. Yet oral histories with choristers like Ji Young Oh also reveal that South Korean children used their own religious experiences to re-imagine racial uplift, in spite of exploitative Cold War American expansionist and racial projects in South Korea.

The Korean Orphan Choir On Tour: Cold War Diplomacy

Shortly after the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir met with South Korean president Park Chung Hee on October 13, 1961, the choir embarked on a Pan American

[301] King 1. As King shows, in the twenty-first century, World Vision "maintains offices in nearly one hundred countries with 40,000 employees and an annual budget of 2.6 billion dollars… Now the multi-faceted global partnership engages in emergency relief, community development, justice, and advocacy work. It is managed as an efficient international non-governmental organization (INGO)." World Vision is also a much more ecumenically minded organization in the twenty-first century and works across religious and theological divides much more seamlessly than it did in its beginnings when Bob Pierce was at the helm from 1950-1967.

World Airways plane for their first international tour to the U.S. and Canada. Just a week after their arrival in Los Angeles, and a day after they sang to four thousand people to the theme "Welcome to America" in Pasadena, the *Los Angeles Times* claimed, "Korean Orphans Win City's Hearts."[302] "Thirty Korean orphans are falling in love with Los Angeles this week – and it's mutual," the article reported. Chosen from among the 13,000 orphans and 151 orphanages in South Korea, the Korean Orphan Choir was trained at the Musical Institute in Seoul where the choir members lived in dormitories and learned to sing from choir director Soo Chul Chang. While on tour, they sang a culturally, religiously, and linguistically hybrid repertoire of American, European, and Korean songs, sacred hymns and secular folk songs, sung in both English and Korean.[303] Media characterized the choir as "little," "joyful," "happy singing larks," "sober little charmers" and "songbirds." One Californian expressed: "These children are completely disarming."[304] The Korean Orphan Choir were musically gifted children, and exemplars of Christian piety and triumph over godless communism and poverty.

"[N]o fundraiser matched the popularity of the Korean Orphans' Choir…." in 1960s World Vision history.[305] During Tour 1, the choir performed at Hollywood Presbyterian Church, Carnegie Hall, the "Ed Sullivan's Christmas Program," and for

[302] "Korean Orphans Win City's Hearts," *Los Angeles Times*, October 25, 1961. This tour included twenty-seven girls and seven boys ranging aged eight to twelve.

[303] Yun, *Korean War,* 208. Chang Soo Chul was a professor of Music at Union Christian College in Seoul who had done his graduate work in the U.S.

[304] Pierce, *The Korean Orphan Choir*, 64.

[305] King, "Seeking a Global Vision." 139.

former president Eisenhower.[306] Tour 2 was the choir's most ambitious as they travelled to twelve countries, including Japan and Taiwan where they performed for President and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. They also performed in Iran, Israel, France, Germany, the Netherlands, England, Norway, the U.S. and Canada, and India where Prime Minister Nehru's daughter Indira Nehru Gandhi warmly welcomed them. They scaled back to just North America for Tour 3.[307] During the choir's 1968-69 tour throughout the U.S., the choir earned $264,089.05 from record sales, advertising and a special deposit.[308] They raised significant funds through sponsorships as they garnered 1942 American sponsors who pledged to give $144 per year as well as $27226.00 in cash, totaling $279,588.00 in potential income.[309] Ted Engstrom, Pierce's replacement at World Vision, wrote to his colleague Larry Burr: "The Korean Children's Choir is one of the greatest PR tools World Vision has and we need to keep constantly aware of this potential."[310] World Vision secured its financial security in the 1960s through the choir's success.

But why did the choir appeal to Americans and the world? Sam Park reflected on

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[306] Tour 1 was approximately three months from October 1961 to February 1962 throughout U.S. and Canada. "Fact Sheet: World Vision Korean Orphan Choir" p. 2 World Vision Inc. Central Records. Monrovia, CA. They were featured on telecasts such as "Queen for a Day," Art Linkletter's program, "Bozo the Clown Show" and "The Steve Allen Show.

[307] During Tour 2, the choir travelled for seven months from October 1962 to May 1963. Tour 3 was approximately seven months from July 1965 to February1966.

[308] "Financial Report: Korean Children's Choir Tour" August 1968-February 1969. The choir's records, selling for $2.38 and $3.00 each, included "Ring of Happiness," "We Sing Because We're Happy with Ralph Carmichael" and "Christmas Music on Tour with Burl Ives. World Vision Inc. Central Records. Monrovia, CA.

[309] Ibid.

[310] Correspondence from Ted Engstrum to Larry Burr, "Korean Children's Choir." March 10, 1969. World Vision Inc. Central Records. Monrovia, CA.

the fundraising value of the choir to World Vision as an organization:[311]

> Bob Pierce was a brilliant man… As the CEO of the organization, he had to handle the responsibilities of fundraising. He didn't know all of the organizations in Korea but he knew that he could raise funds in the U.S. and send it to Korea. He went around to churches and fundraised, but… he needed a kind of fundraising tool. A novel idea that he came up with was to create a choir composed of the orphaned children of Korea…. A long time ago if you considered the Korean War orphan and the country Korea…. it was so poor, poorer than countries in Africa. That from such a country, orphaned children could sing modernized western songs and Christian hymns, and with such a sound … To Americans it sent the message that because of you these children survived, so let's continue to help them, and for new people, let's help these children – these children represent the thousands of other children…[P]eople like Billy Graham and Moody, they had global ideas so [Bob Pierce] made a brand 'Korean Orphan Choir' – the children of war became a choir. He took this brand and marketed it to the world.[312]

Park attributes the choir's success to people's fascination with the sight of poor orphaned Korean children singing modern western songs and hymns, as well Pierce's "brilliant" global marketing and branding strategy. In part, this global strategy was effective in that, as a Christian choir, the choir appealed to other Christians. Pierce announced that the choir sang "God-inspired music" or "God-given music" that would bring the audience "closer to God" and "lift your hearts in praise to God" when they heard the "inspiring presentation."[313] "Your soul will sing with joy," he promised, for the children had "God-given voices."[314] Pierce felt that there was "an even deeper reason for the tour," namely Christian faith and service: "The children go everywhere as 'little missionaries' singing

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[311] Sam Park was Korea World Vision's President from 1995-2006.

[312] Sam Park. Oral History Interview.

[313] "Dr. Bob Pierce Spots – 10 sec." "1962-63 Korean Orphan Choir Tour." World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA.

[314] "Dr. Bob Pierce Spots – 15 sec." "1962-63 Korean Orphan Choir Tour." World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA.

on behalf of needy children the world over. They have a great sense of mission, and a precious spirit of Christian dedication.'[315] Moreover, their sound also appealed to their audience. The *World Vision Magazine* reported a testimonial after the choir's first tour: "I knew they would be 'cute,' but I didn't really think their singing would amount to too much. I expected to hear a lot of squeaky little voices…What a surprise! As they began to sing I could hardly believe my ears. It was the most beautiful, most skillfully executed, most heart-warming music I had ever heard!"[316]

Yet, it was the choir's Cold War diplomatic value as non-state actors that lifted them to the status of transpacific celebrities. For instance, when the Korean Orphan Choir landed in Los Angeles in 1961 for its first international tour, it premiered at Church of the Open Door in Pasadena to the theme "Welcome to America," and when the tour ended on February 2, 1962, they returned to same church to sing to theme, "Farewell to America."[317] The Korean Orphan Choir was, indeed, a church choir in that it began and ended its performance in a church, but it also began and ended with a greeting to "America." In thanking America in a Pasadena church from the beginning to the end of their first international tour, the choir revealed its diplomatic purpose.

[315] Pierce, *The Korean Orphan Choir*, 14.

[316] "Welcome Back Little Missionaries! Korean Orphan Choir on World Tour." *World Vision Magazine*, October 1962: 6. World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA.

[317] For Immediate Release: "Korean Orphan Choir in 'Farewell to America' Concert," January 23, 1962. World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA.

During the 1960s, the Korean nation waned in significance in the American imagination, and the gaze of the global Cold War in Asia began to shift to Vietnam.[318] In 1961, in the aftermath of ousting President Syngman Rhee, general Park Chung Hee seized presidential power in South Korea through a military coup d'etat that left the Kennedy administration skeptical of the legitimacy of Park's democratic rule.[319] Chung-Nan Yun notes that during this early period of Park's reign, non-state actors, including Han and the Korean Orphan Choir, continued to "spark interest in American government foreign relations" and develop "a solid Korean-American alliance in the years after the Korean War ceasefire."[320] Yun, moreover, suggests that when the U.S. government needed non-governmental actors to support American anti-Soviet and anticommunist efforts, World Vision, and more specifically the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir, provided a transpacific network that facilitated cultural diplomacy between the U.S. and South Korea.[321] Park's government "enthusiastically supported" the choir, and while Han mediated connections from the Korean side, Pierce mediated connections to the U.S.[322] In supporting the Korean Orphan Choir, Han forged intimate ties with the South Korean

[318] The Korean War armistice signed in 1953 led to a ceasefire and the division of North and South Korea at the 38th parallel (though not the cessation of the war, which technically, continues on into the twenty-first century).

[319] Yun, *Korean War*, 167. As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, Park would go onto govern South Korea as a military dictatorship, belaboring democratic rule, and preserving his administration for eighteen years. The U.S. government wavered in its approval of his rule.

[320] Ibid., 183

[321] Eisenhower's administration had begun to, much like the Soviet Union, engage in "people to people diplomacy" which suggested that everyday people, not just state officials, were crucial to mediating positive diplomatic relations with other nations.

[322] Yun, *Korean War*, 210

government, which raised his status as a national leader and he received remuneration from the regime for bridging gaps with the Kennedy government. He was rewarded with the permission to organize the Billy Graham Crusade in 1973, the large crusade in Graham's career.[323]

The choir also represented the nationalistic pride of Korea in a time when the nation was still trying to find its economic footing in the global order. Sam Park recalls:

> Consider how destitute Korea was at that time, but the newspapers reported 'Their sound is as if precious gems were rolling down a silver platter.' Even for me, it was when I was in high school…when I heard that Korean children took a plane to fly to the U.S. to sing… You don't know how much pride I felt. They were the pride of Korea. At that time the only thing the Koreans could be proud of was the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir. There was nothing to be proud of because we were so poor…the work that God did through them received national recognition. They received protection from the government and politics. They received protection from Korean civil society…. They helped the national image and they were used for diplomacy.[324]

Hyang Ja Moon, who was part of the choir from 1963 to 1973, echoed Park's observations, recalling: "When we left [the choir] we had the Korean flag embossed on our hearts. We had let our country shine and I learned that we were a people indebted to the gospel."[325] The choir thus generated a sense of national pride as well as an appreciation for the Christian gospel. "Orphan" status, ironically, granted choristers elite privileges. Moon recalls: "It felt like I received a great privilege to be part of a choir that was so top class…At that time the choir was more of a focal point than the World Vision organization itself. The choir was a kind of standard and model at that time. People

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[323] Ibid., 214. The largest Billy Graham crusade is the subject of chapter 4.

[324] Sam Park. Oral History Interview.

[325] Hyang Ja Moon. Interview by Helen Jin Kim. Oral History. Seoul, Korea. April 21, 2016.

would stop and sit on sheets of newspaper just to hear us."[326] By 1963, the choir had gained the image as a "standard and model," a "top class" choir that was the envy of the children in Korea.

Into the 1980s, the choir continued to represent the Korean nation as entertainment for international political guests, including U.S. officials. Kyung Ha Pae, who was part of the choir from 1981 to 1986, recalled that

> back when I was a choir member we had to learn songs in at least fourteen different languages. We were a choir that represented our country. When foreign guests would come, such as presidents, we would sing songs for them. We went to the Blue House frequently. There was a national dance troupe and then there was us.

<Fig. 10. *World Vision Pictorial*, World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA. The Korean Orphan Choir meeting former president Eisenhower on their first international tour to the U.S., 1961-62>

Pae recalled with enthusiasm her experience of singing for President Ronald Reagan:

> We met President Reagan twice – first, at the Blue House. He loved the song 'Danny Boy' so we learned it in English. He was so happy so the next day he asked if we would come to *Kyungbukgoong* (Kyungbuk Royal

[326] Ibid.

> Palace). He invited us even though there wasn't a plan for it. He was so kind. When it was Christmas, Reagan remembered us even after he left. There was an army base and he commanded the general there to give us a Christmas party. We got invited to the army base, not to sing, but to have a Christmas party. Santa Claus was there and every one of us received a present... We received a large piece of chocolate, something that looked like the Easter Bunny…[327]

Not only through hymns, but also through Reagan's favorite song "Danny Boy," the choir provided a means to soften diplomatic relations between the U.S. and South Korea. Moreover, the U.S. army's continued presence in South Korea provided yet another connection between everyday Koreans and the American government as it was the conduit through which the choir received their chocolates and Christmas party.[328]

When Pierce reported in the early 1960s on the choir's multiple accomplishments and the wide-ranging media coverage that the choir received from their international tours, he excerpted the *Korean Republic*'s reporting on the choir's diplomatic value:

> The enthusiastic support given by Americans to the choir is a clear manifestation of the deep-rooted and solid ties existing between the people of the United States and Korea. It is all the more significant because most of the orphans in the choir are the victims of communist aggression. We further hope that the choir has contributed much toward correcting any wrong impressions of Korea harbored in the minds of some Americans, whether these originate from prejudice or from their association with the wrong type of Koreans while serving or residing in Korea. Diplomacy, or the job of deepening friendships with peoples of other lands, should not be

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[327] Kyung Ha Pae. Interview by Helen Jin Kim. Oral history. Seoul, Korea. April 15, 2016.

[328] Political scientist Cynthia Enloe observed not only that the personal is political, but also that the "international is personal." She exposes the fact that governments are dependent on "allegedly private relationships," especially the unpaid diplomatic labor that women provide to their husbands who serve as diplomats. Enloe's theorization can be applied to Korean Orphan Choir's transpacific "missionary diplomacy," as it mediated, through allegedly private relationships, diplomatic relations between the U.S. and South Korea through their religious labor. The funds they raised benefited the World Vision hospital, but not the choir members themselves. Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

> placed under the responsibility of diplomats alone. The meritorious 'diplomatic job' done by the little boys and girls of the choir brings to the fore the importance of people-to-people cultural intercourse.[329]

In addition to representing South Korea as a national symbol, the choir showed that the U.S. and South Korea had "deep-rooted" and "solid ties," proving South Korea's value as a "good" ally to the U.S. in the global Cold War. Official diplomats were not the only ones responsible for "deepening friendships" with other nations; everyday people, including "little boys and girls," also proved crucial to advancing cultural diplomacy. According to the Korean government, the children of the Korean Orphan Choir had accomplished a "meritorious 'diplomatic job,'" and according to Pierce, they were also "little missionaries" who sang on "behalf of needy children the world over." The choir simultaneously represented God, Korea, and World Vision, and mediated U.S.-South Korean relations. Moreover, as the article shows, the choir's religious and diplomatic value hinged on their status as "orphans" or "victims of communist aggression," proving the intolerability of communism as a world system. Moreover, if there were any "wrong impressions of Koreans harbored in the minds of Americans" as a result of "prejudice" or an encounter with the "wrong types of Koreans," then the hope was that the Korean Orphan Choir could correct those perceptions as the choir represented the "good" and correct kind of Korean. Ironically, however, the Korean Orphan Choir was not always composed of "orphans," even if it relied on the symbolic value of the term.

"Orphans" and "Models": Race and Cold War Orientalism

"My mother was adamant that I join the *Seonmyunghwae* Choir (World Vision Korean Orphan Choir). You could say that she was a go-getter on my behalf," Moon recalled. "I was someone who didn't really have the credentials to join the choir – I

[329] Pierce, *The Korean Orphan Choir*, 13-14.

wasn't an orphan – but I was somehow accepted."[330] Once she joined the choir, she "realized that a lot of members weren't actually orphans." Moon joined the choir in 1963 after the choir had already made two international tours with Pierce and choir director Soo Chul Chang, and her first international tour was to North America in 1965-66. Though the choir was called the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir until their fourth international tour in 1968-69, and publicized as such, Moon remembers that children often had parents. In fact, Ji Young Oh, an inaugural member of the choir, shares that from its very origins, the choir was not composed of orphans:

> Actually, there were children who had families. The criteria was that children of the directors were not allowed to join…But when I got there, the director's children were there…and there were kids who had a sister or an uncle – they had relatives. I was one of the few who had no family… So I was very lonely. Keum Ja, for instance, later found her sisters…Her sister had a large hair salon…They lived well…I found out that so many of them had family…This is the part that when I reflect on it, it makes me sad but it's also why I'm all the more grateful because it gave me an opportunity to meet God and to have a born again experience.

Indeed, from its beginnings, the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir was a choir composed of children with a variety of familial arrangements. Oh continued: "At first I didn't feel good about it. I felt deceived. But it wasn't within my authority… you still had to feel bad for the kids since it wasn't like they all had parents… it was more like they had one or two relatives."[331] As she pointed to a picture from the first choir, she noted:

> She had a mom…who was a widow...And this girl, she had siblings…She only sang until the second choir and then went back home…Most of them had at least one familial connection. I was probably the only one who was an 'original orphan'…So that's why inside I was lonely even though I looked happy on the outside…You could only stay at the Music Institute until you graduated high school. For those who left in the middle they left

[330] Hyang Ja Moon. Oral History Interview.

[331] Ji Young Oh. Oral History Interview.

> because they had family. Even if you were let go because you weren't making the cut, it was because you had some place to go.[332]

Consider, for instance, chorister Ho Gyun Lee's story. Though Ho Gyun's family faced significant adversity as a separated transnational family, her stay at the orphanage was temporary. Indeed, her parents were alive, and she did eventually reunite with them:

> My father had work in Japan and my mother couldn't rear all four daughters…. My aunt ran an orphanage in Pusan and she left me at the orphanage with them. In fifth grade, I was selected as a member of the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir. I auditioned at the Pusan Young Nak Presbyterian Church.[333]

Thus, Ji Young Oh regularly wrestled with being one of the few orphans:

> I did know that I had to leave [the World Vision Musical Institute] by the end of high school, but I didn't have anywhere to go. I had a lot of fear about my future. Where would I go? And, how would I live? Right before I would go to sleep at night, I was lonely. You know, humans are alone in front of God…I would say to God, are you really there? What's going to happen to me? During the day though I was so happy…Even now, people say that I am photogenic…it became a habit to smile...something that I learned to do ever since I was a child. When it comes time to take a picture I smile…Now that I say it, it sounds a bit sad, doesn't it?[334]

She asked challenging existential questions, questions that would ultimately lead her on a significant spiritual quest that led to a born-again experience. But why was the choir called an "orphan" choir when it was not composed of orphans? Ji Young Oh struggled with this question as a chorister as her orphan status seemed to isolate her. Her struggles with this question underscore the category of the "orphan" as a racial construction.

Caring for the widowed and orphaned is a Christian value that seems not only harmless, but also benevolent and noble. Yet the emergence of critical adoption studies

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[332] Ibid.

[333] Ho Gyun Lee, Oral History Interview.

[334] Ji Young Oh, Oral History Interview.

has revealed the extent to which international and interracial adoption is embedded in Cold War imperial and racial projects. Soojin Pate's research locates "Korean adoption within the context of U.S. militarization and empire-building projects during the Cold War in order to illuminate the role that Korean children – both orphans and adoptees – played in facilitating neocolonial relations between the United States and Korea."[335] She argues that, rather than a natural consequence of war, "Korean adoption emerged from the neocolonial relations between the United States and South Korea" established in 1945 with U.S. militarism in South Korea.[336] Pate, moreover, reveals that ideologies of Cold War Orientalism assumed that Koreans would racially assimilate into white families:

> The ideology of Cold War Orientalism constructed Korean adoption as a project of normativity and assimilation, working to integrate Korean children as no different from their white American family members. This project, however, was limited. The nonwhite body of the adoptee, no matter how assimilated he or she may be to white American norms, not only exposes the contradictions of white normativity but also its failure. Although Cold War Orientalism enabled the formation of mixed-race families, it disavowed the mixed-race family at the moment of recognition through assimilative practices and policies.[337]

Pate's work reveals that, rather than orphan status, the racial force of Cold War Orientalist desire constructed an imagination of South Korean children as "orphaned," propelling narratives of American rescue. Woo, moreover, suggests that by the time the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir organized its tours, "[s]tories about the choir and adoptees merged, making it difficult to imagine a Korean child who was not orphaned. The homogenization of Korean children as assumed orphans made World Vision's

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[335] Soojin Pate, *From Orphan to Adoptee: US Empire and Genealogies of Adoption,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2015) 2.

[336] Ibid., 3.

[337] Ibid., 5.

naming of the 'orphan choir' appear to be a foregone conclusion."[338] Thus, even if the choir was not composed of orphans, the image of the orphan carried powerful Cold War significance. In Woo's analysis of images of the choir she notes that the absence of Korean adults in the images reinforced the "fiction that surrounded Korean War adoptions – namely, that all adoptees were parentless." She reflects that, while "many adoptees were indeed orphaned by the war," others "had living biological parents or relatives who could not provide for them given the poverty of postwar Korea."[339] Woo concludes: "What most Americans did not recognize or perhaps not even see was how popular understandings about Korean children that were informed by various cultural productions including that of the choirs were deeply mired in racialized constructs that complicated simplified media narratives touting equal internationalist exchange."[340] The image of the "orphan" rendered South Korean children racially desirable in Cold War America. While Pate and Woo do not interrogate the absence of orphans in the Korean Orphan Choir specifically, their analyses reveal the racialized logic that made a nearly orphan-less World Vision Korean Orphan Choir possible and popular.

Moreover, the choir's success and value as a national and transpacific diplomatic symbol depended on the conflation of the "orphan" and the "model," two seemingly contradictory, but actually commensurable, racialized tropes. U.S. geopolitical ambitions in the post-World War II era triggered shifts in notions about nationhood and belonging, and therefore, a re-imagination of the racial order. Wu suggests that by the mid-1960s

[338] Woo, "Imagining Kin," 42

[339] Ibid., 38

[340] Ibid., 46

this racial re-negotiation ossified into the emergence of a new stereotype of the Asian American as the "model minority," a "racial group distinct from the white majority, but lauded as well assimilated, upwardly mobile, politically nonthreatening, and *definitively not-black*."[341] The formation of this new racial myth depended on narrations of Asian American success as tied to culturally essentialist traits, including Japanese Americans who had "transcended the color line by virtue of their familial habits."

Using a similar line of culturally-based logic, the Moynihan Report (1965) argued that the 'deterioration of the Negro family' — epitomized first and foremost by matriarchy — was the root cause of the 'deterioration of the fabric of Negro society.'" Moynihan pit Japanese Americans against African Americans, arguing that discrimination against the former had "practically disappeared before our eyes" as they have "become a prosperous middle-class group" because they had a "close knit family structure." Japanese American assimilation served as a "model for solving the intractable American Dilemma." Yet, attributing Japanese American success to the "practice of an alien culture" only further "reinscribed…foreignness." The notion that Japanese Americans were "model minorities" did not make them "white," but became a racial strategy to shore up a cultural thesis for justifying anti-black racism.[342] Thus, the racialized constructs of the desirable Korean "orphan" and the "model" Asian in America were transnational extensions of each other that not only strengthened black-white racial hierarchy in the U.S. but also homogenized Asians in the American imagination.

Pierce also expressed the trope of the "orphan" and "model" in two evangelical

[341] Wu, *Color of Success*, 2.

[342] Ibid., 171.

tracts he published at mid century: *Orphans of the Orient: Stories that Will Touch Your Heart* (1964) and *The Korean Orphan Choir: They Sing Their Thanks* (1965). If the former tract depended on imagining the children of Asia as "orphans," the latter depended on imagining them as "models," in spite of the fact that the children he portrayed often exceeded these categories. In these tracts, the racialized trope of the "orphan" and "model" – that an orphan could become a model, a "forlorn waif" could transform into a joyful "songbird" – depended on Pierce's evangelical belief in the power of Christian conversion. Racialized ideas of Korean children propelled American evangelical belief in conversion, that the total evangelization of the world was possible.

Evangelical Tracts: *Orphans of the Orient* & *The Korean Orphan Choir*

Much like the absence of orphans in the Korean Orphan Choir, five out of the nine narratives in *Orphans of the Orient* do not represent stories of "orphans," if such a term denotes children who do not have biological parents. The narrative lumps together into one narrative frame the children of India, Taiwan, Korea, Japan and China.[343] As if one child's story could replace another, photos accompanying the stories do not correspond to children's stories. A photo that appears with the story of "Liloo of India" is captioned: "Liloo was a pretty Indian girl *like* this" (emphasis mine). In Edward Said's *Orientalism,* he defines Orientalism as a gaze that rendered the "Orient" feminine, submissive, without representatives to name and study itself, such that it empowered the "Occident" to study and define the territory of the "Orient" even and in spite of a correspondence to a "real Orient."[344] The lack of correspondence between the title and

[343] Three narratives are from Korean children, the most of any of the nations represented.

[344] Said, *Orientalism*, 5.

content in *Orphans of the Orient* reveals that Pierce's evangelical tract is less a journalistic account of orphaned children in Asia than an Orientalist imaginative account. Pierce's Orientalist imagination of the "orphan" was rooted in his belief in the power of evangelical conversion, which would grant orphans racial assimilation into white families, and theologically, contain the spread of communism in Asia.

Liloo, White Jade, Precious Girl, Little Didi, and Glory Light's stories show their conversions from Asian traditions, including Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous practices, the traditions of their parents. Along with Christian light, these children are also associated with the whiteness that the foreigners represent.. Even though Liloo encounters tensions with her Hindu family because of her Christian faith, she is stalwart: "She would not go back to her family and their superstitious worship of angry gods."[345] Whereas Liloo's prior traditions are associated with backwardness and darkness, conversion to Christianity is associated with enlightenment and light. In describing the religious practices of White Jade's family, Pierce writes that her home had "a black lacquer table, with a carved wooden idol painted in gaudy colors." When White Jade hears about Jesus, her "oval face shone."[346] Moreover, Glory Light accepts Jesus through "the foreigner" Dr. Nord, whose "skin was white like rice paper, his eyes were the strangest fading blue and his hair was brown, like chestnuts."[347] When "Precious Girl" or Keum Ja is seeking help with her marriage to a man with leprosy, she remembers two missionaries, including one "fair-skinned woman." The fair-skinned woman saves Keum Ja from her marriage, but not before she instructs her to "take off her dirty clothes, wash

[345] Pierce, *Orphans of the Orient*, 51.

[346] Ibid., 56.

[347] Ibid.

her face." Once she is "clean," she promises: "My child, we will take care of you."[348] Whereas Keum Ja, who requires saving, is imagined as "dirty," the missionary who engages in care-taking is described as "fair-skinned."

White missionaries and Glory Light and Keum Ja are imagined as having the power to overcome racialized differences when the children convert to Christianity. Pierce's imagination that the "orphan" could be absorbed into Christianity and whiteness depends on an optimistic but naive belief in Christianity as colorblind. When he described people accepting Jesus in India, he wrote, "Up they went – brown hands, white hands, yellow hands," suggesting the universality of Christianity regardless of race.[349] Pierce writes: "'Black or yellow, brown or white, all are precious in His sight,' is a song we often sing. And this story will prove that it is true."[350] Christians could and did transcend the color line in a community where all were included regardless of race. Yet the "orphan's" integration into a colorblind Christianity still depended on a hierarchy of races, in which Glory Light, White Jade and Precious Girl's absorption into Christianity relied on an erasure of past identities, including their Asian religious heritages and parents. The universality of the Christian message of salvation cohered with the message of racial, ethnic, and cultural universality that could transcend the boundaries of nation-states, all the while prioritizing the American nation-state over Asian nations and people.

If *Orphans of the Orient* is filled with narratives of conversion, then *The Korean Orphan Choir* testifies to evidence of the orphan's transformation from "forlorn waif" to

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[348] Ibid., 25.

[349] Ibid., 44.

[350] Ibid., 55.

"songbird."[351] As happy, joyful, singing larks, and transformed songbirds, choristers could bring joy to thousands of people around the world. While on tour with the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir in 1965, Pierce testified: "Tragic stories? Yes, but how wonderful when a forlorn waif can become a songbird — bringing joy to the hearts of countless thousands of people."[352] Keum Ja Kim exemplified such transformation as she had been nicknamed "the Princess" during the choir's first tour to Hollywood in 1961-62 as she was admired for her "poise and beauty." By the choir's second international tour in 1963-64, Keum Ja had the opportunity to translate her nickname into a reality as she sang for actual royalty, King Olaf V, the king of Norway. As if her transformation from "waif" to "songbird" was complete, Pierce expressed awe in how "a little orphan girl" was "singing before a king – in the name of the Lord Jesus." Pierce attributed this to "a kind friend in the United States who had become her sponsor," and to God, who "had brought her up from the miry clay and put a new song in her mouth (Psalm 40:2, 3)."[353] Keum Ja represented what was possible when Americans invested in orphans. God could not only transform them into new people, but they could also be transformed from orphans into near royalty who brought joy to the "hearts of countless thousands of people."[354]

The "princess" Keum Ja had a fairytale-like experience in singing for royalty, which echoed choristers' own recollections of having life-transforming experiences. Moon recalled: "I almost fainted when I arrived [in Pasadena]. It was a scene out of a

[351] Pierce, *The Korean Orphan Choir*, 24.

[352] Ibid.

[353] Ibid., 77

[354] Ibid.

fairytale. I teared up and I couldn't forget it."[355] Moon was enthralled with her first "fairytale" experience of visiting the U.S. Given the relative poverty of South Korea at that time, flying on an airplane to the U.S. granted Moon the privilege of associating with American prosperity. Not only through associations with royalty and prosperity, but also through the rite of baptism, choristers experienced transformation. Ho Gyun Lee recalled when she was baptized by Pierce in the Jordan River while on tour from 1961-62:

> When we went to Israel, and since he is a Baptist pastor, he baptized those who were prepared there. In the Jordan River I was baptized on November 2, 1962. He covered us with a towel and then dunked us into the river. I felt as though all of my sins were washed away. It felt like my legs couldn't reach the ground and I was walking on air. I was walking but it felt like I was not walking on the ground but floating in the air. That day still seems so fresh to me.[356]

Thus, choristers were reductively imagined through the lens of racialized tropes of "orphan" and "model" but they were also actively engaged in life-changing experiences through baptism that felt fairytale-like because they were spiritually transformative.

[355] Hyang Ja Moon. Oral History Interview.

[356] Ho Gyun Lee, Oral History Interview.

<Fig.121. Photo courtesy of Ho Gyun Lee. Bob Pierce baptizes Lee in the Jordan River during 1961-62 tour. Choir director Chul Soo Chang stands by with choristers preparing for baptism. >

In *The Korean Orphan Choir*, In Soon Lee, the "heart-interest of a nation," also showed evidence of an orphan's transformation. In Soon was also deaf and mute, but sang with her hands. Yet while the choir was on its second international tour, she began to show signs of progress, reportedly uttering her first words— "I love Jesus"—while in Hong Kong. Mrs. Marlin Jones of Pasadena, who saw In Soon on television, contacted World Vision to provide her with medical care.[357] In Soon received a Vicon S-I hearing device through Charles Love, the owner of the Taylor Hearing Center in Pasadena, just in time for a miracle: while at the Rose Parade, for the first time, In Soon "heard marching bands with tuba sounds… bugles blasting… the beat of drums."[358] Afterward, In Soon "'sang' with nimble fingers her favorite hymn 'The Lord's Prayer'" after which "tears of gratitude for being allowed to hear came into her eyes."[359] Alongside a photo spread of In Soon, *Life Magazine* testified to her transformation: "Eloquent hands of Lee In Soon, who is mute, speak in sign language the words the others in the choir sing. She was almost totally deaf at tour's start, but has since been fitted with hearing aids that give her 45% hearing."[360]

[357] In Soon was referred to Dr. Ciwa Griffith, of the international HEAR Foundation in Highland Park, who had been successful in equipping children with hearing devices.

[358] Ibid., 83.

[359] Ibid., 84. This was at the All Saints Episcopal Church in Pasadena, CA.

[360] "On Tour with a Choir of Angels: On Wings of Song and Love," *Life Magazine*, International Edition, April 8, 1963: 50. World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA.

<Fig. 12. "On Tour with a Choir of Angels: On Wings of Song and Love," *Life Magazine*, International Edition, April 8, 1963: 50. World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA. Lee In Soon's story was featured in *Life Magazine*>

To be sure, humanitarian gestures improved In Soon's life, yet not without critique. Father Ratt, an Anglican priest who had come to Korea in 1954 and was a rector at St. Michael's College in Oryu-dong in the outskirts of Seoul, watched In Soon's performance and reported in *The Korea Times*:[361] "Recently I was once again ashamed for what is done in the name of my religion..." He recalled a news item that featured "the use of a deaf mute child in a money-raising programme in theatres abroad. The item said that she was made to mime during the singing of the Lord's Prayer by an orphan choir." He critiqued:

> The deaf child, like every other unfortunate, deserves sympathy without being turned into an act or a show. Christian charity has respect for the dignity of the individuals who are loved. The sponsor of the show has made a slight bow to consciences by publishing the fact that he is trying to get appropriate medical attention for the child. She could have been given every necessary attention, even given the pleasure of appearing in the

[361] Richard Rutt, "Thoughts of the Times." *The Korea Times*, January 7, 1966. World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA.

> show, without having been turned into a spectacle capitalizing on her disability.

He was concerned that such activities would perpetuate stereotypes about Korea, that it was a "pathetic land of disabled people, substandard and to be pitied, the land that soldiers and diplomats hate to be sent to." Unlike the media coverage that hailed the choir as exemplary cultural diplomats, Father Ratt saw the dangers of such cultural diplomacy:

> This is the more distressing because of the good that a Korean children's choir can do as an embassy abroad. Indeed this choir does it, with gay and pretty children singing charming songs and singing them very well. The audience has a chance to receive an impression of the charm that Korea really possesses. But when the whole show is advertised as being by orphans, missionary-sponsored, climaxed with a deaf mute, then deep in the subconscious of nearly every viewer will be lodged the basic thought that the poor children come from that miserable land despoiled by war. The war orphans are nearly grown up now, but the image of war orphans can still make sentimental people open their purses.

Father Ratt's critiques revealed that the image of the "orphan" worked both as a powerful trope to persuade Americans that Koreans possessed the capacity for transformation, but also that they were perpetually destitute. His critique highlights that the imagination of the transformed waif to songbird was one that depended on the perpetual image of the Korean Orphan Choir as that of the pitiful "orphan."

Moreover, even though Pierce documented Keum Ja and In Soon's stories as evidence that the Korean orphan could be transformed, he described In Soon's past in pitiful terms, narrating that she was once "one of the thousands of waifs, hollow-eyed and spindle-legged, who drifted about the streets…She was stoically oriental about her miserable today and unlikely tomorrow."[362] *Life Magazine* testified to Lee's transformation, but also described the Korean Orphan Choir in culturally essentialist

[362] Pierce, *The Korean Orphan Choir*, 81.

terms they seemed to embody innately – "diligence, piety" and a "capacity for delight." The captions to photos went into further detail to describe these traits, noting their diligence in chores and prayer, and their foreignness as they preferred sleeping on the floor to "soft Western beds."[363] Though technically "orphans," they were imagined as having an endless capacity for providing pleasure:

> Wherever they went in the U.S people gladdened and touched by them outdid themselves to give the youngsters pleasure…But when the children, many of whom had been picked up starving in war-shattered cities, showed their appreciation by raising those temple-bell voices that even professional music critics call angelic, their hearers straightway learned that of pleasure – and love – these children had a vaster store to give than they could ever receive.[364]

The choir was imagined as models who had a "vaster store to give than they could ever receive," yet they were also orphans who were "picked up starving in war-shattered cities." Much like In Soon was imagined, on the one hand, as a "waif…who drifted about the streets," and on the other hand, as the emblem of the joyful "songbird," the choir was imagined in polarized and homogenizing categories. Positive religiously based portrayals of the choristers as transformed "songbirds" with the endless capacity for providing pleasure relied on a racial imagination of them as "models." Uplifting the Korean Orphan Choir as the "paragons of piety" did not change the status of the orphan, but lifted her up to an unreachable, model status that accentuated her status as "other."[365]

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[363] "On Tour," 48.

[364] Ibid., 46-47.

[365] "Paragons of Piety" is a phrase that Catherine Brekus uses in reference to the hyper-spiritualization of women as a result of the ideology of separate spheres. I am suggesting here that an analogous dynamic of marginalizing by way of uplifting is present with South Korean evangelicals. Catherine Brekus, *Pilgrims and Strangers: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 245.

More than "Waifs" and "Songbirds"

<Fig. 13. Photo courtesy of World Vision Korea Musical Institute. Seoul, Korea. The Korean Orphan Choir's visit to Disneyland during their second international tour, 1962-3. Sang Yong Kim or "Peanuts" is the boy wearing a dark suit in the front row.>

The death of Sang Yon Kim or "Peanuts" revealed the troubles that haunted the children of the choir, in spite of an imagination that they were transformed, with an endless capacity to provide joy to others. Correspondence between Jim Franks and the new World Vision director Ted Engstrom revealed that the exciting trips abroad, the financial sponsorship, and the gifts were not enough to solve the challenges that choristers faced. Franks wrote Engstrom with pain, regret, and a desire for correction. Franks' letter began: "Peanuts' death was a shock…."[366] An inaugural member of the choir, "Peanuts" had committed suicide at the young age of nineteen. He was

[366] 8.3.1970. Correspondence of Ted Engstrom to Jim Franks, World Vision Inc., Central Records, Monrovia, CA.

remembered as the "diminutive performer with the gigantic grin who had to be lifted up to speak into the microphone" and Pierce recalled that he was known for being the "comedian" of the choir.[367] "Peanuts" participated in the first two international tours with the choir until his "voiced changed," at which point, he was not brought back for the choir's third tour.[368] The choir chose altos and sopranos, explicitly curating a feminine and child-like sound that a male adolescent going through puberty would disrupt. During the choir's fourth international tour of 1968-1969, "Peanuts" helped the choir as a violinist, but by 1970, the teenager was reported dead. It was indeed a shock, and it revealed latent troubles behind the choir's joyful singing.

Franks' reflections after reporting Peanuts' death to Engstrom suggested that his death was a result of suffering that raised a number of concerns about the choir. He wrote: "Ted, the choir members are exposed to so much public adoration and attention that they develop deep frustrations. On the choir tours we got to know of their aspirations and ambitions as well as their problems." Franks reported that behind the rosy pictures and the glossy images in American and Korean newspapers and television screens, choristers faced seemingly unsolvable challenges:

> There are those in and out of the Music Institute who at this time have some very severe problems, seemingly unsolvable to them. The choir members' need for love is magnified by their visits to the U.S. and Canada…We had come to the conclusion that something must be done for the children to provide the love they so desperately need and want... We have been praying for and concerned about several children right now associated with the choir who have a crisis in their lives.[369]

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[367] Ibid.

[368] Ibid.

[369] Ibid.

Whereas much media coverage adhered to Pierce's jubilant assessment that choir members had transformed from "forlorn waif" to "joyful songbird," Franks' reflections revealed that some suffered from "crisis." He did not think that the sponsorships that the children received from families were adequate in providing the love that many of them desired, and indeed that such attentions only "magnified" their needs. Franks' concern led him to believe that more international tours would not be healthy: "I don't feel another tour of any kind should be undertaken until these psychological and spiritual needs of the children in these special circumstances is known and something done to meet them." Given the extent to which the tone of this letter diverged from the joyful and bright image of the choir, it is not surprising that Franks desired confidentiality: "I would ask you to keep this letter confidential with the exception of Stan and Larry."[370] Franks' concerns revealed that the "orphan," whether as a result of war or other tragedies, was not a label, image, or representation to be flouted for public relations, fundraising, missionary hopes, entertainment or diplomatic relations, but a life experience with a much more complex set of challenges and hopes than the choir's adventurous international tours and financial sponsorships could meet. The choristers' experiences, including their misrecognized suffering, exceeded simplistic representation as "forlorn waifs" or "joyful songbirds."

Ji Young Oh recalled her memories of "Peanuts" and his tragic death:

> For the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir, we were trying to gather sponsors. It was a means for advertising… more than sharing the gospel, it was to thank and recruit sponsors. So some people said that they used us. This is a painful story, but during the first international tour there was a boy who was my age and he was a biracial child. He was brilliant but he

[370] Ibid.

> had trouble adjusting. Instead of thinking of things simply like me, he had a hard time. One day he committed suicide.[371]

She was referring to "Peanuts," and she recalled the conversations that she had with him prior to his death:

> Before he committed suicide he said, 'What do you think of World Vision?' I said, 'Well, we should be thankful.' He said to me, 'Don't you think we just got used?' I said, 'Why do you think like that? What would we have done if we didn't have World Vision?' I had a more positive outlook and he was more negative. Sometimes people were critical that the money that we raised, instead of giving it to us they gave it to others. He had this perspective and he told me this and then he died… He was like, 'They call me Peanuts, Peanuts, and they take advantage of me.' I was like, 'Why do you think they take advantage of you? Why not take that as an endearing nickname?' The name is from the Peanuts comic.[372]

Though Ji Young Oh understood her experience with the choir in a more positive light, she also could not escape a desire for greater advocacy during her time as a chorister:

> The days spent with the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir were wonderful, and they took care of us to that point. Honestly, I do think that it would have been nice to have them also take care of what happened to us after the choir – for instance, to help us with employment so that we would have more of a foundation for our lives.[373]

Indeed, Ji Young Oh, though flouted as a success case, also struggled with how to survive and thrive in the days after her international tours with the choir, as she had no family. Sang Yong Kim's tragic death revealed nadir of the debilitating effects that evangelical American humanitarian efforts such as the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir had on South Korean children, even as they were the "little ambassadors" who helped to expand the World Vision. Though the choir did, indeed, provide significant financial relief to

[371] Ji Young Oh, Oral History Interview.

[372] Ibid.

[373] Ibid.

children, the choir also attempted to smooth over the tragic history of U.S. militarism in South Korea and constricted imaginations of them into racialized stereotypes.

Yet it was not as if the choristers were only co-opted by the force of U.S. Cold War imperial and racial projects embedded in the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir. Ji Young Oh also used her religious experiences and choral training to create her own choir, which ultimately toured the world. If Peanuts' tragedy revealed that the choristers were more than "waifs" and "songbirds" in that their struggles were much more complicated than these simplistic tropes conveyed, then, Ji Young Oh's story revealed that the choristers exceeded these racialized categories in what they, nevertheless, achieved.

As mentioned, Ji Young Oh could only stay at the Korean Orphan Choir dormitory until the end of high school. By mid-February in 1973, she had graduated, but she "nowhere to go…" she recalled. The director of the Musical Institute, then, serendipitously invited her to live in another dormitory room and hired her on staff, after which she then transitioned into living in one of the choir's dressing rooms. She recalled:

> There was a reason I was put in that room…There were two women in that room. One was my friend and one did translation work…These two were part of Joy Mission. They were born-again Christians, and I was a faithful Pharisee…I thought I was the best religiously…Every Thursday they would go to a gathering and they seemed so full of the spirit and happy…I was so happy so I wondered why they were so happy…One day my friend said, 'Ji Young, I wish one day you could be saved, too.' I felt so violated by that. I thought I was saved. 'Do you think I'm not saved?' She said, 'You have to become a born-again Christian.' I told the younger kids at the Musical Institute not to go to Joy Mission, that they were a little crazy… But these two women roommates prayed for me….

Joy Mission was an evangelical missionary parachurch founded in South Korea in 1958.[374] Apparently, even though the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir was an

[374] Sebastian C.H. Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

evangelical parachurch as well, Ji Young Oh recalled that she was "born again," not through the choir, but through a religious experience with Joy Mission. In May 1973, Ji Young Oh attended Billy Graham's largest crusade where she realized she was a "blind Pharisee" so she, then, began to pray, "please open my eyes…I was very frustrated…I should have joy but I didn't yet." She, then attended a revival meeting for Joy Mission:

> I prayed 'Please let it be the day that my spiritual eyes are open'…At the end there was an invitation, 'Today there's someone who needs solutions for their life…' I raised my hand and they said that a counselor would take me to the hallway to counsel me. As I went into the hallway and was sitting down, all of a sudden, ever since I was a baby on a dust-ridden road…[I could see] the greatness of God's love…this is how much God loves me…All of a sudden my eyes were open…I started to pour out my tears…That's how my eyes were opened. Inside of me all of a sudden I had so much joy…[After that] I would look up to the stars and say the stars are rejoicing…The motto of the Musical Institute was to sing the songs of the mountain, to sing songs that were alive…But every month we said that and we practiced but those songs weren't alive because we weren't born-again…That was that day I was really born-again.

Ji Young Oh had a direct encounter with God, a religious experience that awakened her to a new spiritual reality through which she was "born again."

Ji Young Oh's "born again" experience emboldened her to enact significant transformations, including in the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir. She recalled:

> After I was born again I could not just stay idle…Even the [World Vision Korean Orphan Choir] had to become born again…On Thursday we would have a prayer meeting…I told them to go to Joy Mission…[Then,] in my room we had a secret prayer meeting…Secretly one by one students would come to my room and pray together…That was 1973 …About twenty of them had born again experiences…

If the choir itself was not providing the enlivening spiritual experiences that she felt were necessary to ensure that they sang "songs that were alive," then she took it upon herself to have "secret prayer meetings" in her room to ensure that

choristers were "born again." In December of 1973, she went onto create her own choir called the Joy Women's Choir with five other World Vision Korean Orphan Choir alumna:

> We weren't a formal organization but they told the five of us to go up as the Joy Women's Choir… Kyung Hee Lee, Soo Ryung Jung, Hyang Ja Moon, Jung Shin Park …We were all World Vision Korean Orphan Choir members…We were born again, we were the best of friends, and we were accomplished singers…everyone was amazed…So we would sing whenever there was an event…especially international guests… We said, we might tour the world like when we were part of the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir…But then we ended up traveling even further around the world…Europe, Asia…Russia, Kenya…We performed for twenty eight years….We have CD's and records…[As children] we performed songs internationally in the language of the nations we traveled, so we had that, we had faith, and we had friendship, something that you cannot purchase with money… We performed for so many missionaries and encouraged them…1973 was such a big year…my graduation, my housing, being born again, and starting this choir.

Thus, Ji Young Oh not only created a choir with four other Korean women, but they ultimately traveled further throughout the world, extending the singing they had done as children with the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir, but on their own terms.

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"When I look back at the [images] of the choir their faces are so bright," recalled Kyung Ha Pae.[375] Though Pae was a member of the Korean Orphan Choir during a time when it was no longer called an "Orphan Choir," she knew that those who had gone before her had lived through challenging times. "I asked, if it was such a hard time, how could your face look so bright?" She recalled their responses to her:

> They said…we lived in such harsh conditions, but then we'd go abroad and it was like heaven…. We were in hotels that could only be seen in our dreams. We ate in places we couldn't even imagine. We met presidents.

[375] Kyung Ha Pae. Oral History Interview. Pae was a member of the choir from 1981 to 1986.

> We ate things we['d] never even heard of. The environment was so good. Their faces could only look so bright because they weren't suffering. In Korea, they lived in such harsh conditions but then they would go abroad… [T]hey couldn't help but look happy because they went from a place where things were hard to a place where things were comfortable. In Korea they didn't even have paved roads.[376]

Pae recalls that for an older generation of choir members, they remembered their tours abroad, especially to America, as if they were visiting "heaven." Indeed, as well as singing in prominent churches and concert halls, when they were not singing, they visited Disneyland, the zoo, and drank soda pop for the first time.

Yet the choristers did not necessarily desire to remain in America, in spite of how much they enjoyed its adventures. Pierce reported after the second international tour: "Now, they were homesick for the 'Land of the Morning Calm,' and for the sights and sounds of their homeland." World Vision staff Roy Challberg further observed: "On the bus returning from the airport to the Music Institute where they live, the children jabbered and waved, evidently glad to be back on the old, bumpy, congested road filled with kids, ox carts, bikes and more kids."[377] "In one great cheer the children shouted and clapped their hands" when they returned to the Musical Institute. Challberg declared, "It was only an orphanage, but it was home! Tears of joy flowed freely; there were embraces with those who had stayed behind…cries of *aboji* (father) to their superintendent. Although these children had slept in fine hotels and tasted the best of accommodations, their happiness proved again: There's no place like home.'"[378] Their confessions

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[376] Ibid.

[377] Pierce, *The Korean Orphan Choir*, 86.

[378] Ibid., 86-87.

suggested that America was not necessarily the home that the Korean orphans desired, even if they enjoyed the pleasures of airplane rides and Disneyland.

In so many ways, the U.S. of course did seem like the savior that South Korea needed. Quite literally, orphans had something to eat and a new life as singers in the Orphan Choir. Likewise, widows found financial support from American sponsors. Yet such humanitarian and Christian-motivated actions occurred with little critique of the tragic and militaristic impetus for the origins of the Korean War and how the children became orphans in the first place. Moreover, the transpacific networks forged by Pierce and World Vision seemed to omit a critique of the increasingly imperial presence of the U.S. in South Korea and the global racial hierarchical order of white supremacy. World Vision's transpacific networks grew in power, helping to reform American fundamentalism into mainstream evangelicalism, because they were linked to Cold War American expansionism in battle to become the world's superpower. Yet the story of Ji Young Oh also reveals that South Korean Protestants used their own born-again experiences to reimagine and recreate their worlds.

CHAPTER FOUR

Transpacific Piety and Politics: Billy Graham's Largest "Crusade," 1969-1973

On Saturday June 2, 1973, Ji Young Oh reluctantly attended "Youth Night," the penultimate evening of Billy Graham's five-day "crusade" hosted at the *Yoido* Plaza in South Korea.[379] Youth Night opened with attendees singing the Wesleyan hymn "Love Divine, All Loves Excelling" in English and Korean. Ruth Graham, whose family had been missionaries in North Korea, welcomed the South Korean youth: "I would urge you young people to bring your sins to Jesus...Life is not easy for any of us, but when we have the Lord Jesus with us, life has purpose."[380] Ji Young Oh, a member of the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir, had struggled with Ruth Graham's challenge ever since her choir friends told her she needed to be "born again": "They would say, 'Ji Young, I wish you could be saved, too.' …Was I not already saved?" Even as she resisted their promptings, she secretly wanted to be "happy like them" and desired a sign from God. She relented and attended Youth Night: "There, I suddenly had a realization that I was spiritually blind…I realized I had been a Pharisee up until then." The crusade was a stepping-stone for her later "born again" experience, which occurred through a spiritual vision: "Before I believed with my head, but now I believed with my heart." Nearly twenty years later, when she discovered a childhood photo she had had taken with Billy Graham, she understood the 1973 crusade in providential terms: "I realized that God had

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[379] A few notes about terminology: I use quotation marks for the term "crusade" to underscore the irony of the term, given its associations with military medieval expeditions, but for ease of reading, I will not place the word in quotes going forward. To review, I will also refer to "Billy Kim" by his full name so as not to confuse him with Billy Graham. I will also use Korean names in their Anglicized forms with the family name at the end, with the exception of "Park Chung Hee" whose family name comes first in English scholarship.

[380] "Korea Crusade – '73 TV Film." Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

been preparing things for me since then… Sending Billy Graham … opened my eyes…If there's one person I need to thank in my life, it's Billy Graham."[381]

Ji Young Oh's story reveals the religious experiences of everyday people at Graham's largest crusade—in South Korea. Over the course of five days of evangelical revival, a total of 3 million people attended and 73,000 people made "decisions for Christ," the most of any Graham crusade, surpassing his 1957 record-setting sixteen-week crusade in New York City.[382] More specifically, Sunday June 3, 1973, the day after Youth Night, was the pinnacle of five days of revival. With the help of Rev. Billy Jang Hwan Kim, his Korean translator, Graham preached to 1.1 million people, the largest of any Graham gathering. Billy and Billy preached a sermon titled, "The Love of God" to throngs of Korean men, women, young and old, as well as U.S. soldiers stationed in Korea since the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953). Mi Young Cho, a member of the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir, recalled: "I think that was a special year…A year where God had decided that he would pour out his grace on our country…That was also the year that I became a Christian, in 1973. Afterward I looked back, I realized God had planned it."[383]

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[381] Ji Young Oh, Oral History Interview.

[382] Newspaper coverage following the 1973 Korea Billy Graham Crusade noted that Graham "preached to more than three million people altogether — breaking the record total of his 16-week crusade in New York City in 1957, which was 2.1 million. Associate crusades held at the same time by members of the Graham team in other parts of the country drew an additional 1.5 million people." "Billy Graham's Korean Crusade: Million Heard Him Preach" *Religious News Service*, Seoul, Korea. June 5, 1973. "Korea -News 1972-1974." Folder 140-146, Box 140, Collection 17. BGEA – Crusade Activities. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[383] Mi Young Cho. Interview by Helen Jin Kim, Oral History, Seoul, Korea. August 4, 2016.

Everyday South Koreans such as Ji Young Oh and Mi Young Cho remembered and experienced the crusade as a providential event with eternal consequences. Billy Graham also understood the crusade in theological terms, and it was in those terms that he declared his purpose to the press: "I have come as a representative of the kingdom of God. I am not here as an American. I represent a higher court than the White House. I am an ambassador of the king of kings and lord of lords. And I have come in that spirit and as his representative." He defined that message to the press: "Christianity is not a system of ethics. Christianity is not just a philosophy. Christianity is a person. That person is Jesus Christ. And your eternal destiny will depend on your response to his offer of love and mercy. That is basically the message we have come to proclaim."[384] He was a representative of the kingdom of God, not the U.S. His primary purpose as an evangelist was to mediate transactions between heaven and earth.

<Fig. 14. "Korea Crusade – '73 TV Film." Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois. Billy Graham, Ruth Graham and Billy Kim at press conference on the tarmac immediately after Billy and Ruth Graham's arrival, May 25, 1973. >

[384] "Korea Crusade – '73 TV Film."

Yet the temporal significance, the transpacific piety *and* politics, of Graham's visit could not be escaped. When Billy and Ruth Graham disembarked their Korean Airlines flight on May 25, 1973, for instance, a marching band welcomed them to South Korea to the tune of "America, the Beautiful" rather than, say, a hymn like "Love Divine, All Loves Excelling." After their welcome on the airstrip, Billy met with Ambassador Philip C. Habib, the U.S. ambassador to South Korea, who provided him with a private briefing and hosted a dinner party, indicating Graham's diplomatic value for U.S.-South Korean relations. Graham then met with South Korean President Park Chung Hee and his wife at the Blue House.[385] Though Graham arrived in Seoul as a representative of the king of kings, he also readily engaged with the political kings of South Korea, including Park who, not unlike a king, legitimated his authoritarian rule in 1972 under the *Yusin* Constitution. As historian Grant Wacker notes, Graham's "rise as a global religious presence paralleled America's rise as a global political presence in the same postwar decades."[386] Graham was not only an evangelist, but also a white religious elite from the United States, South Korea's most important political ally, the more powerful "big brother" in U.S.-South Korean patron-client state relations and the ascendant superpower in the global Cold War order. In 1973 on South Korean soil, Graham represented both God and America.

Graham's largest crusade has been studied in national terms even though American evangelicals and South Korean Protestants organized the event transnationally. Indeed, Wacker identifies the 1973 crusade in South Korea as pivotal evidence of

[385] "Schedule for Billy Graham," Folder 33-13 "Team Personnel and Procedure," Box 33, Collection 345, 1973 Crusade Media. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois. See Appendix A for Graham's schedule.

[386] Wacker, *America's Pastor*, 31.

Graham's influence as an evangelist.[387] Yet given that his project is devoted to Graham's significance as "America's Pastor" within U.S. borders, his "international career" is understudied, even though "it may prove more significant than anything he did at home."[388] At the same time, historian Timothy Lee's work on the 1973 Korea Billy Graham Crusade analyzes the event in the context of "South Korea as the site of intensive evangelistic campaigns" to the neglect of a thorough analysis of American involvement.[389] Thus, at the intersection of Wacker and Lee's religious histories there exists an opportunity to provide a transnational history for understanding the significance of U.S.-South Korean collaboration in organizing Graham's largest crusade.[390]

A transnational historical analysis brings to the fore the significance of Graham's largest crusade in the context of the global Cold War. Graham and his multiracial, transnational team of American and Korean male evangelists mediated political relations

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[387] Ibid., 21, 137.

[388] Ibid., 30.

[389] Lee, *Born Again,* 90. In chapter three "Evangelicalism Takes Off in South Korea, 1953-1988," Lee discusses the significance of a series of revivals in this period, beginning with Graham's first revivals in Pusan as well as Pierce's revivals during the Korean War (which I discuss in Chapter 1).

[390] The transnational framework is an appropriate one to employ not only because it fills a gap in the historiography but also because it keys into an idea circulating among late twentieth-century evangelicals in the U.S. and South Korea to move beyond borders. Wilson, a Presbyterian missionary, defined the term transnational as the "secular word" for an "ecclesiastical term" that signified: "'Mission of the whole Church to all men in the entire world.'" For Wilson, "transnational" was a term that "stresses the ability to bridge two or more nations in your understanding of life." He thought that an "enlarged understanding of a growing world culture" was as old as the ancient scripture in the Gospel of John: "For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life." To "overstress my nation" as a missionary or as a national was to "invert" a central "motif" in the Christian faith which was to live a "'life for others,'" as indicated in the Johannine gospel. As Wilson noted, South Koreans were also committed to this religious idea. Stanton R. Wilson, "From All the World… to All the World" (Some Ideas on the Future of Mission), October 15, 1971. Box 140, Collection 17, 1971-72, Seoul Folder 140-144. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

between the two nations through the crusade.[391] The crusade not only strengthened diplomatic relations between the U.S. and South Korea in the tense Nixon-Park era (1969-74) of the global Cold War, it also established a transnational evangelical consensus under Graham's theology. The transnational piety and politics of the '73 Korea Billy Graham Crusade encouraged Koreans to believe in God and America, and to imagine their own ascendancy in the world order through evangelical revival.

Transnational Religious Requests in a Tense Nixon-Park Era

The 1969-1974 era of South Korean President Park Chung Hee and U.S. President Richard Nixon's leadership marked an uncertain time for U.S.-South Korean diplomatic relations. The Nixon administration's newly emerging Cold War policy of détente left Park's regime insecure in its diplomatic relations with the U.S. during a realignment of the Cold War geopolitical order.[392] National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger's foreign policy position known as *realpolitik* emphasized that the U.S. and the Soviet Union no longer held a monopoly on the international order, highlighting China's growth, the Sino-Soviet split and the limits of U.S. and Soviet power, which resulted in the pursuit of détente.[393] Rather than pursue a more active foreign policy position of South Korea-led

[391] Graham's evangelist team was composed of seven black, white and Indian American male associate evangelists and numerous South Korean male religious elites.

[392] With China's first successful test of nuclear weapons in 1964, Nixon focused on engaging the unexpected rise of China.

[393] The U.S. policy of détente resulted in a general strategy of decreasing its military presence in Asia. With Nixon's election in 1969, his Guam Doctrine decreased U.S. troops in South Vietnam from 550,000 soldiers in 1968 to 430,000 by 1970. In Park's 1971 New Year's address he announced South Korea's military disengagement from South Vietnam. Thereafter, Nixon reduced the USFK presence in South Korea from 64,000 soldiers in 1969 to 40,000 in 1972. In 1971 South Korea and the U.S. developed a Five-Year Military Modernization Plan (1971-1975) with an appropriation of $1.5 billion; the assistance was a way to fill the power vacuum generated from the reduction of troops. Tae-Gyun Park, *An Ally and Empire: Two Myths of South Korea-*

unification of Korea under the United Nations, the Nixon administration pursued a relatively hands-off order of "peaceful coexistence of North and South Korea within a peaceful international order in Northeast Asia," in spite of the reality that North Korea still posed a national security threat to South Korea.[394] The Nixon Doctrine, declared on July 29, 1969, resulted not only in a perceived power vacuum but also a literal reduction of U.S. troops in South Korea, which shocked Park and generated fear that South Korea would face the Soviet, North Korean and Chinese communist bloc in isolation.

Indeed, the geopolitical gains Park believed he had accrued under the previous Johnson administration proved to be fruitless under Nixon. Park had worked closely with Johnson to contribute South Korean troops to the Vietnam War which he believed would prevent U.S. troops from later abandoning South Korea.[395] While South Korean involvement in the Vietnam War did strengthen the U.S.-South Korean alliance, Min Yong Lee notes that it also quickly unraveled under Nixon: "As dramatic as the strengthening of alliance ties brought by the South Korean dispatch of troops in 1964 was the increase of Park's suspicions of the United States after Nixon's unilateral declaration

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United States Relations, 1945-1980 (Seongnam-si, Gyeonggi-do: The Academy of Korean Studies Press, 2012).

[394] Park, *An Ally and Empire,* 316.

[395] Min Yong Lee. "The Vietnam War: South Korea's Search for National Security" in Byong-Kook Kim and Ezra Vogel eds. *Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 404-405. Lee further elaborates: "Park feared that without U.S. support North Korea would rapidly advance ahead of South Korea. Without the U.S. military presence, South Korea risked creating a "power vacuum" in the demilitarized zone giving a chance for North Korea to attack South Korea. Though not as polemical as the U.S. context, deploying South Korean troops to South Vietnam posed several political, military risks and domestic political opposition, which Park endured for the sake of building a closer alliance with the U.S" (405).

of military disengagement from continental Asia in 1969."[396] The six years of a so-called "honeymoon" period of U.S.-South Korean relations began to come apart during the Nixon administration.[397] Historian Park Tae-Gyun summarizes: "the unilateral notification of the reduction of US forces in Korea is a representative example that the deployment of South Korean combat troops to Vietnam did not change the nature of U.S.-South Korea relations."[398] Though South Korea's economic and national standing had progressed through the decades since the Korean War, its standing in the world was still indebted to the politics of Washington D.C. Thus, Park's geopolitical aspirations to secure U.S. military favor in exchange of South Korean troops in the Vietnam War proved ineffective under Nixon's reassessment of U.S. Cold War interests in Asia.

In this uncertain geopolitical environment, South Koreans requested Graham's presence to revive their nation. In 1969, Rev. Chang Suk Young wrote to Graham, inviting him to be the main speaker for a national revival hosted by the Association for a United Church of Korea. When Walter Smyth, writing on behalf of Graham, declined Rev. Chang's invitation because Graham had plans in Australia and New Zealand, Rev. Chang replied: "I tried to take a chance in prayerful hopes that [Graham] might especially consider [the] urgent needs of our Korean church and also the present sad situation of moral and spiritual aspects of our national life in general."[399] Smyth assured Rev. Chang:

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[396] Ibid., 427.

[397] Ibid.

[398] Park, *An Ally and Empire*, 310.

[399] Correspondence from Rev. Suk Young Chang to Billy Graham. August 3, 1968. Folder 151, "Korea Communication, 1968-1975," Box 139, Collection 17, BGEA – Crusade Activities. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

"Dr. Graham very much wants to come to Korea but we are going to have to see how the Lord directs us so that a suitable time can be decided upon."[400] Not unlike Nixon's political disengagement, Graham had other priorities and 1969 came and went. However, requests for Graham's presence in Korea continued. Mrs. Elbert White, a missionary with the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, wrote to him from Ok Soo Dong, a suburb of Seoul: "Yesterday the Lord spoke to me twice …I want you to write Billy Graham and tell him to hold a crusade in OkSooDong."[401] White's divine revelation was the culmination of a series of four visions with a final one of "an arena packed with people." When she asked how this would be accomplished, she heard: "'Oh – through a crusade, Lord?'"[402] If White was persuaded by the voice of God to invite Graham, Mr. Soon Kim was persuaded by the literal voice of Graham. Mr. Kim, a high school teacher had been an avid listener of his sermons through the radio channel 1190 HLKX Seoul. Though he confessed that he could "understand your message 70%" and desired to "understand

[400] Correspondence from Walter H. Smyth to Rev. Chang Suk Young (Association for a United Church of Korea), Folder 151, "Korea Communication, 1968-1975," Box 139, Collection 17, BGEA – Crusade Activities, Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[401] Correspondence from Loretta White (or, Mrs. Elbert White, Project Chairman Colorado District Hearts for Jesus Letterhead: The Colorado District of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod) to Billy Graham, November 12, 1970 (hereafter cited as: Correspondence from Loretta White), Folder 140-141 "Korea - Gen 1969-1973," Box 140, Collection 17, BGEA – Crusade Activities. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois. White directed the "Hearts for Jesus" program in the Colorado District, which included the promotion of foreign missions for all of the Lutheran children in the district. She desired Graham to come to Korea because she reported that the souls and hearts in Ok So Dong were ready to meet Jesus; the church in her suburb was "growing very rapidly – from a handful to as many as 300 on a Sunday." She concluded that there was a "remarkable response to the Gospel on the part of the people in OkSooDong. This is a very poor community."

[402] Correspondence from Loretta White.

English better" [sic] he declared himself a steady listener.[403] Mr. Kim simultaneously gained theological and English language literacy through Graham's globally circulated media. He asked for an opportunity for those in an "underdeveloped country" to invite him, appealing not only to Graham's Christian but also American identity.

The urgent tone of the letters increased, as if without Graham's presence South Korea had no future hope. Ihn Kahk Park's letter tied religious and national salvation together as he asserted that Graham could serve as a "messenger of new life and a spiritual rescuer" in ushering in a new phase of "modernization and improvement of new life," which he believed could be "introduced in Korea only through God's words."[404] As Wacker notes, by the mid-1960s, Graham "had become what we might call 'The Great Legitimator.'" Graham's presence could confer status on "presidents, acceptability on wars, shame on racial prejudice, desirability on decency, dishonor on indecency." "America's pastor" had the power to extend his legitimating powers beyond U.S. borders. Graham "functioned very much as a Protestant saint" and South Koreans desired his sacred legitimating powers for South Korea's revival.[405] Rev. Kyung Chik Han wrote the decisive letter on November 20, 1970:

> I am writing a most urgent letter. For years the Korean Churches have been praying for your coming here. We now feel the appropriate time has

[403] Correspondence from Mrs. Soon Kim to Billy Graham, November 22, 1970. Folder 140-141 "Korea - Gen 1969-1973," Box 140, Collection 17, BGEA – Crusade Activities. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois. Mr. Soon Kim listened to Graham's message on the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of Graham's ministry.

[404] Correspondence from Rev. Ihn Kahk Park (Chairman of Asian Christian Layman Association and 'Holy Light Society') to Walter Smyth, September 11, 1970. Folder 151 "Korea Communication," Box 139, Collection 17 BGEA – Crusade Activities. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[405] Wacker, *America's Pastor*, 24.

> come! If it is at all possible at this time of spiritual hunger in Korea, we want you to come for two weeks… A most interdenominational group met last night and were unanimous that we MOST URGENTLY ASK you to come (emphasis theirs).

Han ended his letter with an impassioned declaration: "In the Spirit of Christ, COME!"[406] Upon receiving this letter, Graham wrote a rare note in response to the flood of letters on December 4, 1970: "Send a copy of this letter to Walter and tell him that this is very urgent and that I definitely want to accept this invitation."[407] Walter Smyth explained the reason the BGEA would, indeed, prioritize Korea: They hoped to go where people were "ripe for revival and ready for evangelism" as well as places where "the Lord lays upon our hearts….[T]he one from Korea has touched our hearts and we will definitely give it priority."[408] In the months before Graham's crusade, a U.S. missionary observed that Graham's crusade would be the "great Campaign of the century" for the following reason: "THE WHOLE KOREAN CHURCH IS A MISSIONARY CHURCH ON THE MOVE IN CHRIST'S MISSION TO DISCIPLE THE WORLD! (emphasis theirs)"[409] Thus, the BGEA located in Montreat, North Carolina began to work with an Executive

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[406] Correspondence from Rev. Kyung Chik Han to Billy Graham, November 20, 1970. Folder 152 "Korea Team," Box 139, Collection 17. BGEA – Crusade Activities. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[407] "New Neighbors: A Korea Report, February 1973" (hereafter cited as "New Neighbors). Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[408] Correspondence from Walter Smyth to H. Cloyes Starnes. December 10, 1970. Folder 151 "Korea Communications," Box 139, Collection 17. BGEA – Crusade Activities. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois. See also correspondence from H. Cloyes Starnes to Walter Smyth. November 28, 1970. Folder 151 "Korea Communications," Box 139, Collection 17. BGEA – Crusade Activities. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[409] This report is written anonymously as from a "representative in Korea's Report" but most likely it is written by Stanton Wilson, a Presbyterian missionary. Henry Holley circulated the original copy to J.W. White and two copies went to Walter Smyth also known as "WHS." "Representative in Korea's Report: New Network of Neighbors." February 1, 1973.

Committee established in Seoul, Korea to organize a crusade, which was ultimately held in 1973, a year that marked the low point of South Korean democracy.[410]

Unexpected Revival in the Nadir of South Korean Democracy

Not only Nixon's unilateral decision to withdraw U.S. troops, but also closer relations between the U.S. and China, created an unstable geopolitical environment for South Korea. President Park deemed it necessary to crack down on South Korean domestic politics to protect national security and continued economic progress. A U.S. missionary noted that although "close relations with U.S.A. continue, Nixon's visit to Peking" in 1972 created a "radical shift" in U.S.-South Korean relations. The two nations no longer had a "father-son relationship," but now an "older brother-younger brother relationship" marked by "greater realism and more independence," which for Park posed a threat to South Korean national security.[411] On October 17, 1972, Park declared martial law outlining a series of amendments to the constitution, which became solidified on October 27, 1972 as the *Yusin* Constitution. *Yusin* extended Park's presidency for another six years and curtailed the powers of the legislative and judicial branches to secure an unprecedented authoritarian political structure.[412]

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[410] Walter Smyth, the head of the BGEA's Asian affairs and Henry Holley, the BGEA head of the Korean crusade, worked closely with Han, the chairman of the South Korean Executive Committee, as well as his extended committee which included Billy Graham's translator Billy Kim, Kim Joon Gon from Korea Campus Crusade for Christ as well as Marlin Nelson the Korean head of World Vision. Folder 140-22 "Korea - Communications (Executive Committee) 1973." Archives of the Billy Graham Center. Wheaton, Illinois.

[411] "New Neighbors," 5.

[412] Byong-Kook Kim and Ezra Vogel eds. *Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 1. As Kim notes, Park's regime remains one of the most "controversial topics for the Korean public, politicians, and scholars both home and abroad." Park is credited for orchestrating the economic "miracle on the Han" at the same time that he committed egregious human rights violations in ruling South Korea as a military dictatorship.

Park's eighteen-year rule marked what one scholar called the "'zenith of authoritarian government in the history of South Korea, in structure as well as content.'"[413] Scholars have called the last seven years of his regime in particular (1972-1979) the "dark age of democracy."[414] The Nixon administration tacitly endorsed Park's military regime through its political disengagement.[415] "1972 is fresh in our memories (perhaps a bit nightmarish) as the year of most radical shifts and very exceeding tensions," wrote a U.S. missionary on February 1, 1973 in a document circulated to the BGEA. The missionary noted it was "hard to 'spell' out what really happened in 1972" because of the "almost total Korea censorship" and "surveillance" that "did not overlook the expatriate." Thus, the missionary noted that his document was "limited in what it can say," but he let the BGEA know that Park "continues very much in POWER" and that there was an uneasy political climate due to the "trauma of two months of Martial Law

[413] Park, *Korean Protestantism,* 182.

[414] Scholars have suggested three phases of Park's rule, from a military government to "democratic interlude" and ultimately to formal authoritarian rule with the amendment of the *Yusin* Constitution from 1972 to 1979.

[415] President Park believed that South Korean military investment in the Vietnam War would also provide U.S. support for his domestic politics, which was also deemed to be at risk under the Nixon administration's Cold War policy of détente. Min Yong Lee writes that Park desired to "make himself an indispensable strategic ally of the United States in its cold war campaigns, with an eye to discouraging U.S. political forces in an anti-Park transnational coalition." Lee summarizes Park's domestic political aims: "By accommodating the United States' vital security interests, Park thought he could secure U.S. endorsement of his rule and prevent domestic political critics and opponents from building a broad anti-Park coalition with U.S. support." Park's primary geopolitical goal of deploying South Korean troops to South Vietnam was to not only strengthen the U.S. cold war alliance, but also to protect his domestic politics, which the U.S. largely ignored under Johnson but seemed to make Park vulnerable under the Nixon administration's policy of disengagement. Though it was primarily under Carter's administration in 1976 that Park's domestic politics would come under attack from the U.S., the Nixon administration's political disengagement in South Korea did influence Park's domestic politics. Min Yong Lee, "The Vietnam War: South Korea's Search for National Security" in Byong-Kook Kim and Ezra Vogel, eds. *Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 404-405.

and the great changes in democracy in the new Constitution."[416] Given this U.S. missionary's truncated speech in this document alone, it is surprising that the BGEA did not face more limitations, but effectively carried out its largest crusade less than one year after Park's declaration of *Yusin*.

Under the Park regime, freedom of speech was strictly curtailed and American expatriates and religious communities were not exempt from surveillance, regulation, and repression, which in some cases, made public religious activity challenging. Sociologist Paul Chang's work shows that at the height of political repression in the 1970s, the state actively suppressed the religious activity of Korean Christians.[417] On April 22, 1973, one month before the Graham revivals, Rev. Hyong-kyu Pak and two other ministers disseminated leaflets titled "Politicians Repent," "The Resurrection of Democracy is the Liberation of the People," and "Lord, show thy mercy to the ignorant King."[418] Pak was arrested for attempting to overthrow the government and for engaging in "communist" activity. Moreover, transnational connections to the U.S. did not prevent religious groups from suppression. In 1974, the Methodist minister Rev. Hwa Soon Cho and the Methodist missionary George Ogle, an American national, were respectively imprisoned and deported from South Korea for their work with the Urban Industrial Mission (UIM).[419]

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[416] "New Neighbors," 5.

[417] Paul Chang notes that though the 1970s were seemingly a "dark age of democracy" students, Christians, lawyers and journalists actively responded to state repression with protest in dialectical tension with the state, nevertheless carrying the torch of democracy in a dark hour; for the specific contributions of Korean Christians, see especially Chang's chapter, "The Emergence of Christian Activism," in Paul Chang, *Protest Dialectics: State Repression and South Korea's Democracy Movement, 1970-79* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015).

[418] Chang, *Protest Dialectics*, 102.

[419] Ogle was trained to do Urban Industrial Mission through courses at McCormick Theological Seminary and the University of Chicago. He simultaneously served at the West Side Christian

Cho was accused and imprisoned for being a communist when she preached a sermon titled "Search for the Kingdom and for Righteousness." Cho preached:

> Our reality is completely the opposite of the justice of God. In our society, if we say 'white' when we see white or 'black' when we see black, we will be arrested. Now many students and ministers are suffering for this reason. We as workers should not be afraid of arrest, but must fight against the injustices in our working places.[420]

Cho implied that the government was preventing people from speaking the truth; even when workers witnessed injustice, corporations and the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) manipulated them to believe that they were being treated fairly. Shortly after preaching this sermon, Cho was imprisoned. Ogle was similarly admonished and deported for publicly praying for six Korean men who were unjustly accused of being communists.[421] Those Korean Christians who explicitly critiqued the Park regime were part of a "contentious civil society" that responded in dialectical tension with a "strong state."[422] While a small anti-authoritarian group of Korean and American Christians were

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Parish in Chicago (1957-1959), a congregation that was founded on the global spirituality of the worker-priests and primarily served African Americans and Latinos. In the year that Park Chung Hee came to power by coup d'état, the Methodist missionary George Ogle arrived in Incheon, Korea to begin a chapter of the UIM. The UIM was highly influenced by the French worker-priest movement (1944-1954). "To make the Church spring up in the midst of the proletarian masses," began their mission statement, "taking them with their own attitude of mind, their own way of life and their own organisations." The Pope held a tenuous position regarding the ministry and eventually denounced it for its apparently communist connections. While the worker-priest movement largely came to an end in 1954, the spirit of the movement continued through worker-centered ministries, namely the UIM, an ecumenical ministry sponsored by the World Council of Churches, which emerged as a ministry among workers in rapidly industrializing nations in the second half of the twentieth century.

[420] Hwa Soon Cho, *Let the Weak Be Strong: A Woman's Struggle for Justice* (Oak Park, IL: Meyer Stone & Co, 1988), 89.

[421] George Ogle, "Our Hearts Cry With You," in *More than Witnesses: How a Small Group of Missionaries Aided Korea's Democratic Revolution*, ed. Jim Stentzel (Mequon, WI: Nightengale Press, 2008), 99.

[422] Chang, *Protest Dialectics*, 6. In response to Pak's arrest a group of concerned Christians wrote "1973 Theological Declaration of Korean Christians," which "was an important precedence to

imprisoned for their religious activity, another group of Korean and American Christians associated with the BGEA were given permission to organize one of the largest Graham crusades in the *Yoido* Plaza, an outdoor space traditionally reserved for large-scale military activities.[423] How was it possible and what did it mean for Korean Christians to successfully organize Graham's largest crusade at the nadir of South Korean democracy?

Moreover, if evaluations of Christian missions in the post-WWII period could forecast success, American missionaries such as Graham were not predicted to succeed in non-western nations. An idealized notion of spreading the "good news" came to carry with it a "connotation of Christian superiority and a history of western coercion" and was eschewed by western and non-western peoples.[424] Christian missionaries were caricaturized as the right arm of colonial empire; at the end of WWII, the underside of missionary collusion with state power was revealed as colonies dismantled.[425] The missionary impulse to spread the "good news" often accompanied a dualistic, hierarchical, "disembodied controlling" view of God, and, as postcolonial theologian

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Minjung Theology in that it was the first attempt to publicize Christian protest theologically or specifically as a Christian duty." Park's regime actively scrutinized this dissident group of Korean Christians who would later develop a Korean liberation theology called Minjung theology, that argued for Christianity as a religion in service of the oppressed.

[423] "Korea Crusade – '73 TV Film." Billy Kim noted: "We need somewhere large enough to conduct a crusade for somewhere that would seat hundreds of thousands. Yoido Plaza used to be a little island right in the midst of the Han River. Plaza was nothing but an old airstrip, government renovated and they made a big tar asphalt to have any type of military exercise, military parade, and I believe they didn't realize when they built that plaza that the Billy Graham crusade would do a crusade in that great big plaza."

[424] Dana Robert, "The Great Commission in an Age of Globalization," in *Antioch Agenda: Essays on the Restorative Church in Honor of Orlando E. Costas* (New Delhi: Indian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge for Andover Newton Theological School, and the Boston Theological Institute, 2007), 8.

[425] Dana Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (Chichester, U.K.; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 193.

Mayra Rivera Rivera suggests, such theology of "transcendence has often served to legitimize decidedly ungodly actions."[426] While historian Dana Robert suggests that not all missionaries colluded with colonial power, but instead advocated for indigenous liberation, Christian missions nevertheless became an "embarrassing remnant of colonial history," a stain that needed constant removal, including the Great Commission, a Matthean biblical injunction to spread the good news to the world.[427]

Indeed, in 1973, Graham's good news preaching was not good news for all. In August 1973, Graham held "Spree '73" – "spree" meaning "spiritual re-emphasis" – in London based on the successful model of Explo'72 in Dallas hosted with Campus Crusade for Christ. The Church of England's weekly magazine, however, expressed concern about Graham's "hit and run evangelism" and Rev. Philip Crowe critiqued: "'It is wealthy Christians in the West indulging in five days of spiritual luxury. It is the essence of worldliness, and extravagance." Meanwhile, Spree '73 organizers believed the event could have "astounding long term effects for the Kingdom of God."[428] The nation, which had birthed itinerating transatlantic evangelists, such as John Wesley and George Whitefield, critiqued the good news preacher for his extravagance.

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[426] Joel Robbins. "The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 127-130. Robbins discusses the importance of a dualistic Satan-God worldview on which Pentecostals' worldview depends. Mayra Rivera Rivera, *The Touch of Transcendence: A Postcolonial Theology of God* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 1, 5.

[427] Robert, *Christian Mission*, 84-95, 193. Robert, *Great Commission*, 8. Mainline denominations were also influenced by the emerging secular theorists in the modern academy like Karl Marx who critiqued religion as the "opiate of the masses."

[428] " 'Spree'73' Evangelism Gets Severe Criticism," San Juan, *Puerto Rico Star*, August 11, 1973. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

Moreover, in June 1973, Graham hosted a series of crusades in Atlanta where he was critiqued for his collusion with the Nixon administration and his ill-fitting individualistic solutions for the social ills facing black and poor Americans. Rev. James Costlin commented: "It's just a growing awareness of what this man has stood for — the result of many years of Billy Graham's preaching and activities that have not been directed to the needs of the poor and black. He has chosen to take a chaplaincy role to the Establishment rather than relate to the poverty of the people." Graham had called for "'a national and pervasive awakening that includes repentance for our individual sins," which for Costlin was an "'oblique' approach to social problems."[429] Critics both near and far denounced the evangelist for his lack of class and racial consciousness as well as his subservience to the Nixon administration.

Yet, in spite of post-WWII critiques of Christian missions, competing theological expressions from dissident Korean Christians, and critiques from British and black Americans ministers and theologians, Graham organized one of his largest crusades in a cross-cultural, cross-racial foreign setting. He spread the "good news" with a conception of a transcendent God in service of the Great Commission. Was the '73 Korea Billy Graham Crusade, then, a reemergence of western Christian imperialism? How did Graham gain so much success among South Koreans given the severe limitations to freedom of speech under a military dictatorship? How did Graham gain popularity in light of postcolonial, class and race-based critiques of his evangelistic revivals?

The Political and Diplomatic Value of the Graham Crusade

[429] "Billy Graham Irks Black Christians," *Japan Times*, Tokyo, July 20, 1973. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

In a period of intensive governmental surveillance, the '73 Korea Billy Graham Crusade could not be organized without the cooperation of Park's authoritarian regime. Indeed, Billy Kim recalled that "in order to hold a successful evangelistic crusade" the organizing committee "required the help and interest of the government" as well as the "heads of congress, military leaders, and the press."[430] According to Billy Kim, "[Park] said, if we invite Billy Graham it's better than one division of U.S. military stationed here in Korea for national security. Because Billy Graham is so well known, he will televise his crusade back to the United States…[they] will know we need to save South Korea from North Korean attack."[431] He then arranged for Henry Holley, the BGEA coordinator of the crusade, to "meet the highest leaders of the Korean society." Billy Kim recalled Holley's gratitude for the work he had done to prepare "Graham's meetings with cultural leaders," including an "official meeting with President Chung Hee Park."[432] After the crusade was successfully organized, the BGEA remembered not only to thank the ambassador but also military and government officials, including Prime Minister Jong Pil Kim who "initiated excellent government support for the crusade" and Director of the Seoul Metropolitan Police Joh Dong Chul for "security men and police escort."[433] Graham was "deeply grateful" to a wide variety of national leaders, including "President

[430] Kim, *The Life of Billy Kim*, 77.

[431] Billy Jang Hwan Kim. Interview by Helen Jin Kim, Oral History, Seoul, Korea. April 2016.

[432] Kim, *The Life of Billy Kim*, 77.

[433] CN 345 Box 33, "1973 Crusade Media." Folder 33-37 "Miscellaneous – Korea 1973." Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

Park…and the hundreds of Christian churches that helped make this Crusade possible."[434] The crusade was indebted to not only religious but also political institutions.

Graham also actively denounced those who opposed Park's authoritarian rule. Graham admired South Korea for its "schools, colleges and universities," praised students who engaged in "serious study and discipline" and critiqued "riots and demonstrations" against the Park regime.[435] Graham commented on how he has "never seen such large audiences sit so quietly," how "thousands of them had Bibles," and "thousands of students came making notes on what was said." Graham focused on images of South Korean students as studious, quiet, and passive model citizens, which echoed ideas of Asians in the U.S. as "model minorities."[436] Graham's views regarding protests were consistent with his views regarding anti-Vietnam War protests. In 1970, Graham declared: "I'm for change but the Bible teaches us to obey authority…. All Americans may not agree with the decisions a president makes, but he is our president.'" After Nixon's speech, Graham declared the importance of Christian faith for the nation, a speech which *Time* called "'one of the most effective speeches he has yet delivered.'" As historian Kevin Kruse shows, Graham's crusades, though religious in intent, buttressed

[434] Among Holley's thank you letters to the executive committee of the crusade, he sent out a note expressing his "heartfelt appreciation for the privilege" of working with each individual in preparation for the crusade. He expressed that their "cooperation, love, and prayerful support" in executing the revivals was "truly a rich blessing" and he thanked God for the "privilege of co-laboring" with them. He assured them of their prayers for the "follow-up of the many thousands who registered a commitment to Jesus Christ." This letter was sent out to leaders of denominations, parachurches, military chaplains, the U.S. ambassador, seminaries, military and UN officials, the head of the Seoul police. A broad swath of Korean society had to cooperate to organize the crusade. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[435] CN 345 Box 33, "1973 Crusade Media." Folder 33-37 "Miscellaneous – Korea 1973." Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois. Chang's work shows that in 1973, students were the largest group of protesters.

[436] For a history of the rise of the model minority, see Wu, *The Color of Success*.

the Nixon's administration.[437] In South Korea in 1973, Graham similarly strengthened the politics of the Park regime as he admired the social order Park provided for the crusade. Graham's South Korean collaborators, including Rev. Kyung Chik Han, the chairman of the Korean Executive Committee for the crusade, also stated his opposition to the protests against the government from the dissident Korean Christians mentioned above.[438] The American and Korean religious representatives of the crusade, therefore, troublingly accommodated, more than contested, Park's authoritarian regime.

Underscoring Graham's opposition to protests in both the U.S. and South Korea was a theological idea that social change could be achieved through individual conversions rather than structural or systemic political change. Before Graham arrived in South Korea, he held a historic crusade in both Durham and Johannesburg, the first mixed-race meetings in both South African cities. Graham provided a "fearless proclamation that all races were one in Christ Jesus. In his audience were black and white and brown, sitting side by side. Others were working as volunteers. All of which emphasizes his opposition to apartheid."[439] As Graham integrated black, brown and white people in his crusade in South Africa, he preached a message of individual salvation that called for a change of hearts through Jesus Christ. Graham preached: "'Only Jesus Christ can solve the problems of individual South Africans, of their nation and the world.'" He warned, "no matter how much change is effected by man, Utopia

[437] Anti-Vietnam War protests exploded as Americans learned in the spring of 1970 that Nixon had widened the Vietnam War into Cambodia. See Kruse's discussion of antiwar protests and Graham's connection to Nixon in helping to quell protests. Kevin Kruse, *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 257-263.

[438] *Kyung-Chik Han Collection, 1902-2000*. Seoul, Korea: Kyung-Chik Han Foundation, 2010.

[439] "Christian Herald, May 19 1973." Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

will not come until Jesus Christ returns to earth. He noted that human nature with its tendency towards sin all continue to be a factor affecting life on earth." The "answer" to "controlling crime is not to mount a legal offensive, but to effect a change of heart. This is the miracle produced by faith in Christ."[440] Though Graham's mixed-race crusade in South Africa was a bold declaration against apartheid – a step forward from his more hesitant racial stances in the 1960s – he believed in a model for ending racism through individual conversions.[441]

Graham's focus on individual sin and conversion as the path toward societal transformation had, in the past decade, caused him to part ways with the civil rights movement.[442] Historian Curtis Evans argues that for Graham an "individualistic approach to social change that placed paramount importance on personal regeneration (in an immediate conversion experience) was in conflict with the emphasis on social and systematic change advocated by Martin Luther King, Jr." Evans shows that evangelical "conceptions of sin, social change and personal ethics played a determinative role in their repudiation of the underlying social thought of legislation on behalf of black civil rights," especially as white evangelicals "lambasted liberal religious leaders for preaching a social gospel that neglected evangelism and personal regeneration."[443] Wacker further observes: "If King called for dramatic change in the structures of public life, Graham

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[440] "Christian Heritage," June 1973 Africa. "Graham in South Africa." Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[441] Wacker, *America's Pastor*, 130. Wacker observes: "If the 1950s represented two steps forward and the 1960s one step back for Graham's relationship to the civil rights movement, the 1970s and 1980s represented two steps forward. Graham declared that "Christ was neither black nor white but the Savior for all people."

[442] Evans, "White Evangelical Protestant Responses to the Civil Rights Movement."

[443] Ibid., 249.

called for dramatic change in the structures of personal life."[444] Graham's focus on changing the structures of the human heart as the path toward ending societal ills also had political consequences.[445] That is, Graham's focus on individual conversion conserved, more than it contested, institutional structures in both the U.S. and abroad.[446]

Graham's message of salvation burgeoned because it did not challenge the structures of Park's regime. Yet the crusade ironically held this-worldly significance especially in tightly knitting South Koreans to Americans through non-state networks, including evangelical parachurches, namely the BGEA, World Vision, and Campus Crusade for Christ. The authoritarian government encouraged such partnerships because they strengthened diplomatic relations with the U.S. The individualistic and conversion-oriented theology of the '73 Korea Billy Graham Crusade drew South Koreans to a faith in God and America.[447] The revival stage on June 3, 1973, the largest Graham crusade,

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[444] Wacker, *America's Pastor*, 130.

[445]Carolyn Renee Dupont, *Mississippi Praying: Southern White Evangelicals and the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1975* (New York: New York University Press), 2013. Dupont argues "that the conservative faith" of her subjects led adherents "inevitably to conservative politics." Dupont acknowledges that "all conservative biblical interpretations do not necessarily dictate right-of-center politics," however, "the specific kind of conservative religion that arose in the racially stratified society of the Jim Crow era did demand these affinities" (11). I suggest here that conservative evangelical faith paired with a conservative politics shored up an authoritarian military regime in South Korea and linked South Koreans to a politics of social change through individual conversions.

[446] Wacker, *America's Pastor,* 130. In 1982 Graham was reported to have undergone three conversions—to Christ, racial justice, and to nuclear disarmament. It was in the 1980s that Graham publicly declared racism a sin.

[447] Evans, "White Evangelical Protestant Responses," 250. Michael Emerson and Christian Smith's sociological work shows that contemporary white evangelicals attribute racial problems to prejudiced individuals and personal relationships, not structures of oppression, allowing them to ignore or obfuscate the systems of racialization in the U.S. Evans, in particular, notes their observation that "because of the close 'historical and present-day connection between faith and the American way of life,' racial inequality profoundly challenges white evangelical Protestants' 'world understanding' and their "faith in God and America.'" Here I am suggesting that these linkages between an individualistic evangelical theology and social change in the U.S.

highlighted this concomitant faith in God and America, especially as the evangelical parachurches World Vision, Campus Crusade for Christ, and the BGEA shared the stage in remembering the Korean War roots of U.S.-South Korean alliance.

Transnational Evangelical Parachurches at the Pinnacle of Graham's Success

From May 16 to June 3, 1973 the BGEA and the South Korea-based Executive Committee organized two weeks of revival in major cities outside of Seoul before culminating events in a five-day crusade at which Graham and Kim preached in Seoul.[448] In the days leading up to the Seoul crusade, BGEA associate evangelists partnered with a Korean translator and a choir director to preach their own crusades, at which 1.5 million people gathered.[449] The five-day crusade ended with a worship service on Sunday June 3,

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can be extended abroad in South Korea as well, bolstering faith in God and America in foreign nations Michael O. Emerson and Christian Smith, *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[448] Billy Graham and Billy Kim preached a series of sermons with passages from the New Testament and each day of the five days had a theme including "North Korea Night" and "Military Night. The sermons each day were entitled "The Inescapable Christ," "The Blind Man," "The Prodigal Son," "Rich Young Ruler," and "The Love of God" respectively. Nearly all of the images that Graham and Kim used to illustrate the gospel used men – the blind man, the prodigal son, the rich young ruler – as central characters, establishing a masculine tone.

[449] The BGEA and a South Korea-based Executive Committee, with Han at the helm, organized over two weeks of revival in South Korea from May 16 to June 3, 1973. In the days leading up to Graham's preaching, the multiracial team of BGEA associate evangelists including Cliff Barrows, Grady Wilson, Howard O. Jones, and Akbar Abdul Haqq preached in major cities outside of Seoul, such as Pusan and Taejon. Each associate evangelist partnered with a Korean translator and a choir director to preach their own crusades at which a total of 1.5 million people gathered; the Korean translators were very carefully chosen with some Korean Americans even applying from the U.S. to do the work. 1) Akbar Abdul Haqq held revivals in Taejon, Korea May 16-23, 1973; 2) John Wesley White held revivals in Taegu, Korea May 18-25; 3) Ralph Bell held revivals in Kwangju, South Korea May 20-27, 1973; 4) Grady Wilson held revivals in Pusan, South Korea May 20-27 5) Cliff Barrows held revivals in Chunchon from May 20-27, 1973; 6) Howard O. Jones held revivals in Chonju from May 20-27, 1973; and 7) Billy Graham held revivals in Seoul from May 30-June 30, 1973. Additionally, Akbar Haqq, John White and T.W. Wilson held city-wide rallies respectively in Chejudo, Suwon, and Inchon. Haqq was the only Indian evangelist; Bell and Jones were the only two African American evangelists, with Jones being the first African American evangelist to join the BGEA; Wilson, Barrows, Graham and

1973 at which Billy and Billy preached to the largest audience in the history of the BGEA.[450] Attendees made significant sacrifices to attend the crusade, even walking over two hours, carrying their own blankets, and bringing their own rice and dried fish to save money.[451] Billy Kim recalled the reasons everyday people attended the crusade: "They said simply we want to receive blessing and mercy and grace. Our word for grace is *eunhae*. They just say *eunhae badeuruh wassuhyo*. That means they want to receive the grace of God…. A lot of them stay all night in the plaza to pray…for real genuine revival in this country."[452] When attendees arrived, they sang hymns with a six thousand-member choir which BGEA associate evangelist Cliff Barrows directed. Behind the choir a large sign in black and white noted: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life." While Barrows directed the choir, Bev Shea, another BGEA associate evangelist, stood at the podium to lead the crowd in the hymn "How Great Thou Art." Shea sang the chorus in Korean: "Then sings my soul my savior God to thee…" He sang the next verse in English: "Oh Lord my God when I in awesome wonder…"[453]

South Korean Protestants who had forged transnational evangelical networks with World Vision, Campus Crusade, and the BGEA came to the fore at the '73 Korea Billy

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White were the white American evangelists, with the first three being the original evangelists of the BGEA. Each associate evangelist also had a soloist/choir director and accompanist.

[450] Graham's 1957 crusade had set a Madison Square Garden record in total attendees, and Rio de Janeiro drew over 200,000 in one sitting, but the 1973 Korea Crusade trumped prior, and future, crusades in sheer numbers.

[451] "Korea Crusade – '73 TV Film."

[452] Audio 2158, Collection 26, Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[453] "Korea Crusade – '73 TV Film."

Graham Crusade.[454] Before Billy and Billy came up to the podium, the Korean Children's Choir, formerly known as the World Vision Orphan Choir, performed as special guests. "This Korean Children's Choir was first organized in 1959 by Dr. Bob Pierce, the founder of World Vision International," the announcer declared in Korean. "These joyful and charming young people have won many friends for Korea around the world."[455] Much like the evolution in their name, the children were no longer orphans but gifted singers carefully chosen through a competitive selection process. When Graham had visited Korea during the Korean War, he had been moved by a blind orphan boy's singing at an orphanage called The Lighthouse; unlike that boy who had worn a tattered checkered coat, these children wore colorful *hanboks* and performed professionally on a global stage.[456] The choir, often called the "little ambassadors" or "sweet songbirds," performed a bilingual rendition of "Amazing Grace." It was as if the children were singing about the evolution that the children of Korea had undergone as the nation emerged out of the rubble of war. "Amazing Grace" underscored their development from

[454] In addition to the North Korean refugee Kyung Chik Han, Joon Gon Kim and Rev. Billy Jang Hwan Kim were central organizers. As discussed in chapter two, Joon Gon Kim and Billy Kim had life-changing religious experiences during the war. After Korean communists killed Joon Gon Kim's family, he immigrated to Pasadena, CA to study at Fuller Theological Seminary where he met Bill Bright and launched Campus Crusade's first international chapter in Korea. As a result of the war, Billy Kim, who had served as a U.S. military houseboy, immigrated to the U.S. to study at Bob Jones University and then worked as the primary translator at the'73 Korea Billy Graham Crusade. Moreover, as discussed in chapter three, the Korean Children's Choir, which began as the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir shortly after the war, served as a special guest for the crusade. Kyung Chik Han, Joon Gon Kim, Billy Jang Hwan Kim, and the Korean Children's Choir – all central to the organization of the 1973 Korea Billy Graham Crusade – could not forget the indelible mark that the war had left on their lives.

[455] "Korea Crusade – '73 TV Film."

[456] Graham, "I Saw Your Sons at War," 20.

an "orphan's" to a "children's" choir – saved through the donations that Americans had made since the war through World Vision.

After the choir performed, Bill Bright, the founder of Campus Crusade for Christ, walked up to the podium to make an announcement. Campus Crusade's first international site was established in South Korea through Rev. Joon Gon Kim, one of the Executive Committee members of the Graham crusade. In 1972, when Bright's Campus Crusade organized a crusade called Explo '72 in Texas, Rev. Joon Gon Kim announced that he would organize Explo '74 in Seoul where 300,000 people would attend, surpassing the 80,000 at Explo '72. Bright recruited the audience to attend Explo '74:

> My heart sings with praise to God for what my eyes behold…In the last four months I've been on four major continents in scores of countries… But I don't know of any place in the world where he is blessing more than in Korea. Next year in August there will be a great gathering of Explo'74 here in this great country. It is something, which you Koreans are launching to invite the rest of the world to participate in. And we're looking forward to what God does here through your leadership as an example to the whole world…There are 4 billion people in the world today. Jesus Christ died for every one of them…And I believe that Korea will play a major role in taking the gospel to all of Asia and much of the world. I thank God for the privilege of being here this week. Thank you.[457]

Explo '72 was new for Campus Crusade, which previously had been focused mainly on campus evangelism. Explo '74 promised to be even bigger. Yet Bright was confident that God could reach the world through Koreans. Graham stepped up to the podium to reinforce Bright's announcement: "Now Dr. Bill Bright announced that next August there would be a great training session here. The Koreans have invited thousands from all over America and all over the world to join in a great campaign here next August. Now, that's August of 1974. And we hope that thousands will be trained in evangelism and

[457] Collection 26, Audio 2158. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

discipleship to go out and take the gospel to the whole world."[458] Graham and Bright not only collaborated at Explo '72 but also continued to support each other's revivals at this 1973 crusade to promote Explo '74. South Koreans were a critical connective tissue for Bright and Graham's successive revivals from 1972, 1973 and 1974.

Rather than representatives from Presbyterian or Methodist denominations, evangelical parachurches, including BGEA, Campus Crusade and World Vision, shared the stage of the largest Graham crusade on June 3, 1973. It was not by chance that these parachurches came to occupy this space. The Korean War had birthed a transnational evangelical network between Americans and South Koreans that gave birth to World Vision, internationalized Campus Crusade, and laid the foundation for the BGEA to host the 1973 crusade.[459] They also showed signs of success at this 1973 crusade: the Korean Children's Choir had already toured the world, Campus Crusade anticipated Explo '74, and Graham would preach his largest revival yet. That these three organizations shared success at Graham's numerical pinnacle signified the global success of evangelicalism as a movement, and the arrival of American evangelicalism. That is, evangelical revival in America was for the sake of the total evangelization of the world.[460] Graham, the figurehead of American evangelicalism, had achieved his largest crusade abroad, and had done so along with two other American evangelical parachurches, which signified the success of this mission. Transpacific networks forged with South Koreans at midcentury

[458] Ibid.

[459] As this dissertation has discussed, Pierce founded World Vision, Inc., in the midst of the war in 1950. He then created the World Vision Korean Orphan Choir in 1957. The first international partnership that Bright created for Campus Crusade for Christ was with Joon Gon Kim, a North Korean refugee who lost his family at the hands of communists during the war.

[460] Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 177.

were pivotal for building these evangelical parachurches and substantiating their legitimacy in evangelical America. Moreover, in 1973, evangelical revival cohered with the goals of Park's *Yusin* aspirations of economic progress and national security. Thus, not only transformed hearts, but also reminders of U.S. and South Korean alliance were on display for Koreans, Americans, and the world to see during the ongoing global Cold War.

A War at the Heart of a "Religion of the Heart"

When Billy and Billy stepped up to the podium of the revival, much had changed over the twenty years since Graham first visited South Korea, including the sheer size of the crowd to which he preached. Memories of the Korean War, however, resurfaced at this pinnacle of success as Graham began his sermon entitled "The Love of God":

> Twenty-two years ago, I was in Korea. It was during Christmas time, and it was very cold. I've never been so cold in all my life, and I toured along what is now the DMZ. I was at Heartbreak Ridge where there were twelve soldiers huddled together. An enemy sneaked through the line. He threw a hand grenade in the middle of them. It was going to go off in three seconds. A soldier saw it and he jumped. He grabbed it. He held it to his heart. It exploded, but his buddies were saved. They took what was remaining of his body back to America. When they held a memorial service for the soldier, the clergyman took the text I want to take today.[461]

Graham led the crowd to the gospel of John chapter 15 verse 13: "Greater love has no one than this: to lay down one's life for one's friends." The opening military image underscored Christian martyrdom. The self-sacrifice of the U.S. soldier paralleled Jesus' sacrifice on the cross. Graham remembered twelve U.S. soldiers, not unlike the twelve disciples of Christ, further framing his military anecdote with images familiar to the

[461] "The Love of God." Binder "Seoul, Korea May 30-June 3, 1973," Box 59, Collection 265. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

Christian imagination. One might even say that Billy and Billy together, in English and Korean, relied on the salvific power of the U.S. military as the invocation for Graham's largest crusade. Billy and Billy suggested close-knit ties between Americans and South Koreans through the crucible of war. Stanton Wilson, a Presbyterian missionary, expressed that the "deep tie" between the U.S. and South Korea was "one of 'blood,' sacrifice in the Korean Conflict," not unlike the blood of Jesus which reconciled humans to the divine.[462] The theological significance of the Korean War, as well as the blood-based alliance between South Korea and the U.S., bubbled to the surface at this pinnacle of evangelical success, and served as a diplomatic symbol of America's commitment to South Korea.

<Fig. 15. "Korea Crusade – '73 TV Film." Archives of the Billy Graham Center. Wheaton, Illinois. Billy Kim translating and preaching with Billy Graham at the largest Graham crusade hosted in Korea in 1973.>

[462] Stanton Wilson, "Korea and Christianity" — by Stanton R. Wilson Rep in Korea, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

Not only for Graham, but also for Billy Kim, memories of the Korean War resurfaced when he mounted the revival podium and noted his evolution from rags to riches.[463] Once a "shabby" U.S. military houseboy during the war, he now looked "stately on the right side of Billy Graham." On the revival stage, he stood in awe of how a "shabby seventeen-year-old US Army houseboy," a boy who was "simply useless," now was on this global stage "as the Lord's holy servant."[464] Billy Kim suggested a religious developmental model that underscored class mobility from being "shabby" to being "stately," and indeed to becoming a "preacher." On this global stage, one man's transformation symbolized what was possible for the nation.[465] South Koreans could find in Billy Kim a model Christian citizen who had evolved from serving under the U.S. military to partnering on apparently equal terms with Graham, a white American with whom he stood "side by side."[466] Indeed, an astonishing moment of public piety could not escape the material significance of the ongoing geopolitics of the global Cold War. Billy Kim's evolution, in particular, signaled the possibilities for more equal diplomatic relations between the U.S. and South Korea as well as South Korea's ascendancy in the

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[463] As discussed in chapter two, Billy Kim grew up in the poor Korean countryside, and during the war, worked as a "houseboy" for U.S. soldiers, running errands and providing entertainment.

[464] *Oxford English Dictionary* meaning of "shabby": a) That has lost its newness or freshness of appearance; dingy and faded from wear or exposure. Said of clothes, furniture, houses, etc. b) Of persons, their appearance, etc.: Poorly-dressed, 'seedy.' c) *transf.* Discreditably inferior in quality, making a poor appearance. *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of "stately": 1a) Of a person, or a person's appearance, bearing, etc.: befitting or indicating high rank; princely, noble, majestic; (hence) imposingly dignified. 2) Befitting or appropriate to a person of high rank or status; magnificent, splendid.

[465] In his autobiography, *The Life of Billy Kim: From Houseboy to World Evangelist,* Billy Kim featured the above photo of the 1973 crusade, highlighting the crusade as the pinnacle of his transition from a military houseboy to a world evangelist.

[466] As will be discussed later, Billy Kim first framed his partnership with Graham as a "side by side" partnership.

world order. In the shifting climate of détente, during which U.S. and South Korean diplomatic relations were tense, public memories of transnational alliance conjured through revival knit the two nations tightly together.[467] Not only economic and political actors, but also non-state actors, including evangelists, became a conduit through which diplomatic relations could be wielded and national progress imagined.

Moreover, the success of Christianity in South Korea, as revealed through the Graham crusade, ultimately became a vehicle through which South Koreans like Billy Kim imagined their ascendance. While South Koreans such as Billy Kim came under the theological umbrella of American evangelicals as a result of the crusade, they also imagined that through their fervent evangelical revivalism, they could influence and surpass them. Billy Graham and Billy Kim's translation work is a helpful site for further excavating these complicated dynamics of power.

Billy and Billy

Unlike the early transatlantic revivalists of the Anglophone world, transpacific revival required linguistic translation from English to modern Korean. In addition to the rekindling of Korean and American alliance, the translation experience reminded Billy Kim that Graham was an aspirational figure *and* a standard to supersede. When Billy Kim narrated his preaching experience with Graham, the subtitles that he used were in chronological succession as follows: "Billy and Billy, Side by Side," "Two Voices as One" and "After the Crusade: Kim in the Spotlight." Billy Kim imagined himself as a subordinate partner and rival to Graham, revealing a fluidity of power dynamics. At the

[467] As discussed, the Nixon-Park era (1969-1974) of U.S.-South Korean diplomatic relations was one of the more tense periods.

end of the crusade, however, he imagined superseding Graham himself through evangelical revivalism. That is, not only Graham, but also South Koreans, wielded the transpacific piety *and* politics of evangelical revival to influence on the world.

Translating the Message from Fundamentalism to Evangelicalism[468]

Billy and Billy shared many similarities even before the 1973 crusade.[469] They were both male Baptist ministers married to white women, Ruth Graham and Trudy Kim, and they shared geographical roots in the American South and theological roots in American fundamentalism.[470] During the Korean War, Jang Hwan Kim became a houseboy for the U.S. military where soldiers gave him the nickname "Billy."[471] Graham also began his theological education at Bob Jones before he transferred to Wheaton College, an evangelical Christian college in Wheaton, Illinois. Graham's departure from Bob Jones was a significant theological watershed for the fundamentalist thread of Christianity. Bob Jones denounced Graham's more "liberal" theology, which delineated

[468] This is a reference to Lamin Sanneh's work *Translating the Message*, which argues that indigenous translation of the Bible actually helped non-westerners to take ownership of the universal message of Christianity. Also, thanks to Professor Albert Raboteau for his insight on a seminar paper on this section of the chapter, suggesting that both an appeal to the particularity and universality of Christianity was needed for the revival message to take root among the people. Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1989).

[469] Much of this is biographical information is discussed at length in chapter two, but I briefly mention some of the similarities here by way of review.

[470] Jang Hwan (Billy) Kim biographical details: Kyung (Isaac) Kyu Kim, "The Education and Cultivation of Intercultural Leaders: A Study of Twelve Prominent Native Born Koreans" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Intercultural Studies, Biola University, 2009), 83. He was also ordained as a Baptist minister and married classmate Gertrude Stephens (Trudy) before returning together to South Korea in 1959.

[471] As discussed in chapter two, Powers was not himself a Christian, but once Kim converted to Christianity during his time at Bob Jones, he brought Powers into the Christian fold. Kim was productive in his eight years in the U.S., graduating with his bachelor's in biblical studies and master's in theology from Bob Jones.

ultra-separatist fundamentalists at Bob Jones from the neo-evangelicals who ultimately became mainstream evangelicals in the age of Graham. If one of Billy and Billy's primary differences were theological ties, then even these would collapse because Billy Kim would sever his ties from Bob Jones as a result of his translating work with Graham at the '73 crusade.

Because of Billy Kim's roots in American fundamentalism, when he was approached to translate for Graham, he found himself in a theological dilemma. When Billy Kim was a student at Bob Jones, he had attended the Billy Graham Crusade in New York in 1957. There, he had a "vision of wanting to be an evangelist like Billy Graham." As a result, when the BGEA invited Billy Kim to be the translator for the crusade, he recalled: "Billy Graham had been like a hero to him. That very evangelist was now asking him to be his interpreter in the Korea Crusade…It was surely a miracle."[472] However, accepting this invitation was a challenging task because it required severing transnational theological ties to American fundamentalism. So Billy Kim showed some initial reluctance: "Of course, I had a lot of opposition to translate for Billy Graham…A number of our friends advised us not to do it." If he were to partner with Graham, his name would be "removed from the Bob Jones alumni records" and he would stop receiving monthly financial contributions from Bob Jones friends and conservative churches in the U.S.[473] Moreover, Bob Jones was "the very foundational source of his faith." It was there that he had "met God…for the first time," "dreamed his visions of faith" and trained to become an evangelist. Because Bob Jones was "like a source river of

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[472] Kim, *The Life of Billy Kim*, 74.

[473] Ibid.

faith," he thought that without it he would "dry up."[474] Billy Kim was caught between the theological tensions of American fundamentalism and evangelicalism, revealing the powerful influence that the American religious landscape had upon him.

<Fig. 16. Billy Kim Memorial Library, Suwon Central Baptist Church, Suwon, Korea. Billy Kim attended high school, college and graduate school at Bob Jones Academy. Billy Kim featured with his high school classmates on the right.>

Yet, as well as the tensions and burdens that would result if he translated for Graham, doing so would also bring benefits. Ultimately, he found the confidence to do the translation: "[A]fter searching my own heart and praying for some six months with Trudy and a number of close friends, we felt that God wanted me to do the interpreting for Dr. Billy Graham."[475] Billy Kim, therefore, came under the leadership of Graham, rescinding his ties to Bob Jones. At the'73 crusade, Graham declared his theological

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[474] Ibid., 75.

[475] Billy Kim, 1974, 6. BGEA Oral History Project. Collection 141, Folder 4-48. Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, IL.

position between liberal and fundamentalist Christians, and showed how Billy Kim had become a new theological partner:

> I believe the Bible to be the inspired word of God. Some people don't believe that. They think it's too orthodox. There are some other people who say that I fellowship with too many people…I proclaim the gospel and if they come to the banner that I erect then I say thank the Lord, let them come. We could not do this work here if not for the dedicated ministry and cooperation of hundreds and thousands of people working, praying and preparing in Korea. And I would be absolutely nothing if it were not for my good voice Billy Kim.[476]

Graham was referring to liberal Christians who eschewed Graham's adherence to the Bible as the literal word of God and he expressed how he had departed from fundamentalist Christians, including those at Bob Jones, who critiqued him for his engagement with those across theological divides. Graham's theological leadership not only helped to carve out an "evangelical" space in the religious landscape of the U.S., it also helped to recalibrate theological orthodoxy under his theological canopy in South Korea. The '73 Korea Billy Graham Crusade had the power to draw Koreans under Billy Graham's theological canopy, even persuading fundamentalists like Billy Kim to rescind his transnational ties to American fundamentalism.

The theological shift from fundamentalism to evangelicalism was costly for Billy Kim. His alma mater Bob Jones severely criticized him for his collaboration with Graham. Bob Jones III, the president of Bob Jones University in 1973, wrote to Billy Kim a month after the Graham crusade in South Korea and critiqued him on multiple accounts. First, he argued that what Billy Kim had done was akin to ushering in the antichrist:

[476] "Korea Crusade – '73 TV Film."

> Your life and ministry speak of compromise, ambivalence, a double tongue, pragmatism and Scriptural disobedience…By joining forces with this 20th century Jehoshaphat, a man who could well be the John the Baptist of the Antichrist, you have clearly aligned yourself with New Evangelicalism and all of its evil ramifications.

Jones took Billy Kim's actions personally:

> Less than a year ago we stood together and talked in the lobby of the Administration Building here on the campus. You assured me that you had been misunderstood by the critics who charged you with compromise and with aiding and abetting New Evangelicalism…I will never be able to believe you again.

He also categorized Billy Kim as a "religious politician" who associated himself with theological partners at his convenience:

> You have been playing the role of the religious politician, getting the best you could get from all segments of the religious spectrum. You are a compromiser. You are also a liar….I hope you will at least have the decency to disavow all connections you have ever had with Bob Jones University…You have turned out to be a disgrace to everything this school stands for…It is certainly no honor to be called the 'Billy Graham of Korea'…

Jones furthermore deemed him a failure not only in the eyes of the university but also in the eyes of God, damning him to hell for disobedience to scripture:

> A mind that is disobedient and in conflict with the Word of God will bring no Heavenly reward…for the works committed in so doing are wood, hay, and stubble, to be burned in the fire of the Christians' judgment. When you return to the States for your next fundraising effort, please do not include Bob Jones University in your itinerary. We have written you off as a failure because we believe that in God's sight you are exactly that – a failure.[477]

Not only did Billy Kim lose his connections to his alma mater, he was also deemed a failure by the very institution that had given him his future. Ultimately, if Billy and Billy

[477] Correspondence from Bob Jones III to Billy Kim, June 22, 1973. Folder 25-27 Korea Contacts/Communication 1972-74, Box 140, Collection 17.

had already shared many similarities before they arrived at the 1973 crusade podium, then the crusade itself bridged even more of their differences, especially theologically, as Billy Kim came under the theological "banner" that Graham erected.

From Mimicry to Korean Christianity As a Strategy for Ascendance

Translating for Graham compelled Billy Kim to mimic him even more-quite literally. For as Billy Kim prepared to translate for Graham, he "took time to practice the accents, gestures, and intonations of Billy Graham."[478] He not only desired to emulate Graham's speech and movements, but also the content: "His message was so important that our people needed to hear. I don't want to divert, I don't want to change, I don't want to make his message any different than he preached. And I believe that first night that God certainly put his hand and his blessing upon there [*sic*]." He also desired to "convey the spirit of his message, the content of his message, the love that he has in his message, the charisma he has in his message that not too many people in our world today have." Billy Kim prayed: "'Lord, make me a Korean-speaking Billy Graham.'"[479] Moreover, Graham's theology of colorblind access to the gospel intimated that Billy could, indeed, become Billy.

In both South Africa and South Korea in 1973, Graham preached a gospel of colorblind access to God, arguing against theological ideas circulating in the early 1970s about the racial exclusivity of Christianity. In South Africa, Graham declared that Jesus was not a white man: "Now Jesus was a man. He was human. He was not a white man! He was not a black man. He came from that part of the world that touches Africa and

[478] Kim, *The Life of Billy Kim*, 77.

[479] Ibid., 79.

Asia and Europe and he probably had a brown skin."[480] In South Korea, Graham declared Jesus was not an American or a European: "You know, I have found people here in this part of the world who actually think Jesus was an American. Or, they think that Jesus was a European." In response, he declared: "Jesus was an Asian. He was born and reared in the Middle East." Graham argued that Jesus was racially and culturally closer to South Koreans than Americans. However, Jesus' Asian background did not mean that Jesus belonged to Asians alone; rather, in addition to belonging to Americans and Europeans, Jesus also belonged to Asians, which meant that he belonged to "the whole world." Graham simultaneously articulated Jesus' particularity and universality. Graham appealed to the universality of the Christian message and invited attendees to repentance: "Jesus…loved you so much. What does he want you to do? First, he wants you to repent of your sins…."[481] The universal need for repentance remained regardless of Jesus' particular ethnic background.

Howard O. Jones, the first black associate evangelist for the BGEA, also argued for colorblind access to God. Though Jones did not agree with Graham's individualistic approach to social ills, his belief in a colorless theology made him a suitable evangelist for Graham's team.[482] Jones argued, "True biblical theology is colorless" and he declared: "The white man does not have an exclusive hold on Christianity…It is universal in its scope because its founder Jesus Christ is the universal Christ – the Savior

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[480] "Billy Graham South African Crusade," 1973. Online Access: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HTHxivBCahA. Accessed December 25, 2015.

[481] "1973 Pastor Billy Graham and Pastor Kim Jang Hwan, Yoido." Video clip of Billy Graham Crusade in Yoido, South Korea. June 3, 1973. Online Access: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uFCPTPx5380. Accessed May 1, 2013.

[482] Howard O. Jones, *White Questions to a Black Christian* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing, 1975).

for all people regardless of race or color…I'm glad that when Jesus Christ died on the cross He died for the black man, the white man, the brown man, the yellow man and the red man." At the same time that Jones argued against accusations that Christianity was a white man's religion, he also denounced emerging theological ideas from black liberation theological movements:

> Black theology provides no real liberation or redemption for black people…we must also challenge the exponents of black theology, namely, Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Dr. James H. Cone, and others because their teaching is structured in racism, black separatism and error. They distort the Scriptures to deify blackness, and champion the black man's cause for liberation and the building of a black nation. But even more damaging is the fact that black theology is fundamentally humanism, a materialistic and socialistc philosophy of men. Black theology has no roots in the cross of Jesus Christ…white theology and black theology must be rejected since both are contrary to the teaching of the Word of God." [483]

Jones believed in preaching a universal colorless theology of redemption through the saving grace of God rather than through liberationist theologies emphasizing racial particularity. Just as he denounced Eurocentric interpretations of Christianity, he also rejected theologies that seemed to deify blackness. Thus, for Billy Kim, to enter into Billy Graham's theological "banner" in 1973 meant not only a rejection of American fundamentalism and liberationist theologies but also an embrace of a theology of colorblind access to God.

Yet, on the revival stage, the racial and national differences between Billy and Billy seemed to remain. Billy Kim, for instance, was plagued by his short height compared to his white classmates at Bob Jones. At the podium of the largest Graham crusade, he stood on a footstool that helped him match Graham's height, yet it was a perpetual reminder that he was shorter and smaller in stature than a white American like

[483] Ibid., 13.

Graham.[484] However, the religious success of the crusade became an aspirational paradigm through which Billy Kim could imagine racial and national ascendancy. Billy Kim took the opportunity to translate for Graham as a venue to preach his own sermon because he surmised: "interpreting for Billy Graham was more like giving a sermon than an interpretation, because people attending were going to be listening to the sermon from the interpreter, and not directly from Billy Graham."[485] He further suggested that he was the main preacher: "There were less than 5% who understand Billy Graham's English message. They have to depend on a Korean coming in. A lot of people said, looks like Billy Kim is preaching and Billy Graham is interpreting for the 5% of American soldiers."[486] Moreover, Mi Young Cho remembered her experience of watching Billy and Billy preach as she sat on the podium with the choir:

> I remember just being mesmerized by just watching Rev. Jang Hwan Kim (Billy Kim) because afterward we were talking about it and thought he did a better job than Billy Graham. He translated with so much passion. If Billy Graham's tone would go up, Rev. Jang Hwan Kim's tone would go up a little more…And when Billy Graham's volume would go up, his volume go up even more. You know, he has such a small stature and he had to stand up at the podium using a booster to match Graham's height…It felt more like Rev. Jang Hwan Kim was the preacher. We had to listen to it in Korean so that's why we said Rev. Jang Hwan Kim was a better preacher…[487]

Cho remembered Billy Kim as the leader of the crusade because his linguistic translation indigenized the sermon's message for her. In the aftermath of the crusade, for Cho and for Billy Kim himself, the aspiration to become a "Korean-speaking Billy Graham," was

[484] Kim, *The Life of Billy Kim*, 25.

[485] Ibid., 75.

[486] Billy Jang Hwan Kim. Oral History Interview.

[487] Mi Young Oh Oral History Interview.

a rather moot point as Billy Kim took center stage, with Graham serving as *his* voice.

Billy Kim recalled the overwhelming experience of garnering the attention of the press after the crusades. He was "bewildered when he discovered that an interview was to be with him and not Billy Graham." He thought, "*Billy Graham should have been the one in the spotlight, and more than that, God should be honored most of all, not me*."[488] He received national attention not only from Korean Christians, but also from the wider public, including those government and military officials who may or may not have had a religious interest in the crusade:

> Because of that translation and because such a large number of people attended that Crusade, the daily newspaper, the press and television picked up the story and overnight you became somebody in the Korean scene. Since the Crusade was over, I have had more invitations, probably to fill up the next five years, to conduct overseas. Also the secular world was caught up in such a great spirit and the man in the high government places. One of the subjects they want to talk about is the Crusade. They want to talk about the translation and they want to talk about all of it. So it gives me a natural way to witness to some of those men that I would have never have had a chance had I not been translator for Dr. Billy Graham. You'd be amazed, you could sit down with the Prime Minister and pray with him, talk to one of the Cabinet members or one of the Congressional leaders, a four-star general. They seek your counsel, seek your advice simply because of what had happened a year ago at that great Crusade [sic].[489]

As a result of his translation work, he became a celebrity overnight and he found simultaneous religious and secular success. He found a "natural way to witness," pray with, and influence, political and military leaders in South Korea and the U.S. Moreover, Billy Kim's church also grew: "At that time my church was maybe 300-400. Since

[488] Kim, *The Life of Billy Kim*, 80.

[489] Billy Kim, BGEA Oral History Project. Collection 141, Folder 4-48. 1974, p. 7. Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, IL.

crusade, now we probably have about 20,000 people."[490] Billy mimicked Billy, but Billy also used Billy to advance his own vision and aims.[491]

<Fig. 17. Billy Kim Memorial Library, Suwon Central Baptist Church, Suwon, Korea. Display at the Billy Kim Memorial Library. Note that Billy Kim is towering over Billy Graham in this display's reconstruction of the 1973 crusade, revealing an imagination of Billy Kim as the main speaker. Photo by author.>

Billy Kim suffered severe critiques from Bob Jones; yet, giving up his theological ties garnered him the spotlight on the national scene as well as on the stage of world Christianity. After the crusade, Graham observed that the gravitational center of world Christianity was shifting to Asia:

The astonishing growth of the Korean church and the growth of

[490] Billy Jang Hwan Kim. Oral History Interview.

[491] If one goes by the premise that U.S. and South Korean relations were marked by neo-colonial dynamics, then embedded in this translating work at the crusade was not only a desire to imitate but also to subvert, as suggested by Bhabha's notion of colonial mimicry: as the neo-colonial Korean subject mimics the American colonizer's words and actions, there is an "almost the same but not quite" performance by the colonized. Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," Oct. Vol. 28, *Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis* (Spring, 1984): 125-133.

> Christianity throughout Asia leads me to feel that perhaps the gravitational center of Christianity is now moving here to the Far East. Christianity began in the Middle East, moved westward to Europe, then to America, and now perhaps to the Far East. I urge church and theological leaders, especially from Europe and America, to come and study the Korean church. I believe the secret of the power and strength of the Korean church is that they believe and proclaim the Bible. They have a strong evangelistic and missionary interest. They couple all of this with great social concern.

Indeed, the crusade signaled the gravitational shift of Christianity to nonwestern nations. And already at this crusade, Graham himself felt changed by his experience of the evangelical revivalism in South Korea, revealing a bidirectional influence from both sides of the Pacific at this crusade:

> I seriously doubt if we will ever see meetings quite like this again in my ministry. It has made such a tremendous impact on my personally that I must get away for a few days and evaluate what I have seen and felt. I seriously doubt if my own ministry can ever be the same again.[492]

Moreover, once the crusade aired on U.S. television, Billy Kim received multiple invitations to preach in the U.S: "[P]eople started asking me to come speak, whether Gideon, whether Lion's Club, Moody, Wheaton…a lot of those schools invite me….Southwestern Theological Seminary, Dallas Theological Seminary, a lot of those schools asked me to come to speak, three or four days, for a spiritual emphasis week [sic]."[493] Billy Kim now was able to wield the transpacific piety and politics of evangelical revivalism to influence the west.

Thus, the South Korean church often exhibited ambivalent power dynamics in relation to American Christianity. David Yonggi Cho, the emeritus pastor of *Yoido* Full

[492] "Attendance Records Broken in Korea" Date: 6.4.1973. Collection 544, Box 65, Folder 5, Korea 1973. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[493] Billy Jang Hwan Kim. Oral history Interview.

Gospel Church, the largest church in the world, expressed this ambivalence after the Graham crusade. When asked why he prays for the American church he said, "They are our parents. They sent the Gospel to us. Now we are grown up. Now we are ready to pray for our parents. That's our obligation."[494] Cho acknowledged the filial, hierarchical relationship the Korean church had with the American church as its "parents." Yet he also subversively expressed that "we are grown up" and placed the Korean church as the one who could use its power as the children to "care" for the elderly, weakening and potentially dying, American church. Revival, then, was a viable pathway for South Koreans to imagine their own ascendancy in the global order vis-à-vis the more powerful ally and patron-state, the American empire.

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Evangelical Christianity served as a politically efficacious vehicle through which nationalistic aims and geopolitical aspirations could be imagined and achieved for South Koreans. By suggesting it was stripped of political aspirations and was blunting its critique of extant power structures, the revivalistic form of Christianity at the'73 Korea Billy Graham Crusade, burgeoned. Rather than being a western imposition, South Koreans actively desired to organize the crusade because of their own religious and political interests. They deemed irrelevant the colonial stain of western Christian missions, and adhered to the domestic and foreign political interests of a military regime at the nadir of South Korean democracy. Thus, in addition to peeling back the spiritual blindness of everyday Koreans like Ji Young Oh and Mi Young Cho, evangelical

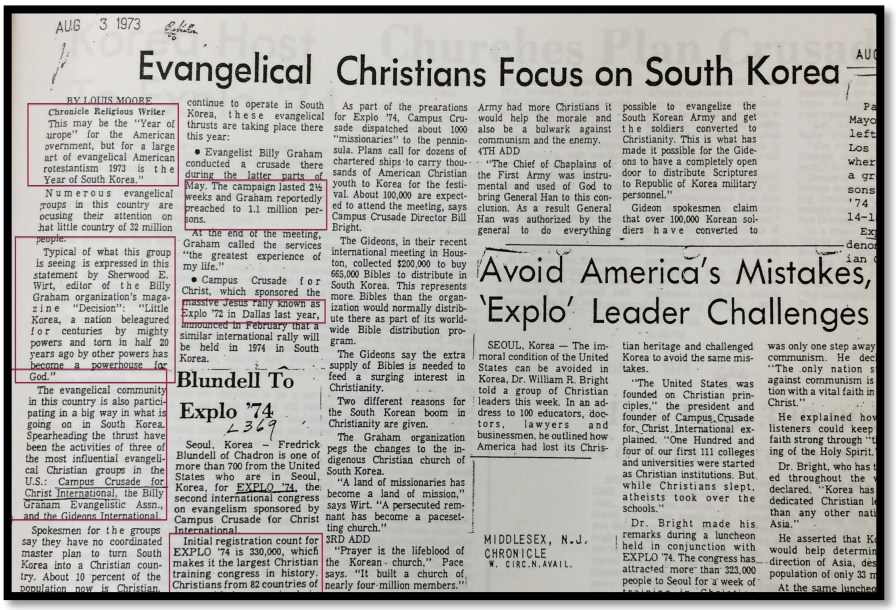
[494] Paul Yonggi Cho, 1983, p. 8. BGEA Oral History Project, Collection 141, OH 518, Folder 23-15. Billy Graham Center Archive, Wheaton, IL. [Note that Cho's English name is now "David" not Paul].

Christianity was a powerful vehicle for wielding transpacific piety and politics.

Moreover, though militarily, economically, and politically South Korea was still indebted to the U.S., evangelical revivalism served as a vehicle of non-state power that could be mobilized to modernize and advance South Korea, engendering aspirations that the client state could supersede, and even influence, the U.S. – a means for the "empire to strike back." That Graham reached his numerical apex in South Korea should not be digested as historical trivia, but employed as empirical data for understanding the transnational networks that gave rise to American evangelicalism in the Cold War era

CHAPTER FIVE

From Dallas to Seoul and Beyond: Campus Crusade's "Explosion," 1972-1980



AUG 3 1973

Evangelical Christians Focus on South Korea

BY LOUIS MOORE
Chronicle Religious Writer

This may be the "Year of Europe" for the American government, but for a large part of evangelical American protestantism 1973 is the Year of South Korea."

Numerous evangelical groups in this country are focusing their attention on that little country of 32 million people.

Typical of what this group is seeing is expressed in this statement by Sherwood E. Wirt, editor of the Billy Graham organization's magazine "Decision": "Little Korea, a nation beleagured for centuries by mighty powers and torn in half 20 years ago by other powers has become a powerhouse for God."

The evangelical community in this country is also participating in a big way in what is going on in South Korea. Spearheading the thrust have been the activities of three of the most influential evangelical Christian groups in the U.S.: Campus Crusade for Christ International, the Billy Graham Evangelistic Assn., and the Gideons International.

Spokesmen for the groups say they have no coordinated master plan to turn South Korea into a Christian country. About 10 percent of the population now is Christian.

continue to operate in South Korea, these evangelical thrusts are taking place there this year:

• Evangelist Billy Graham conducted a crusade there during the latter parts of May. The campaign lasted 2½ weeks and Graham reportedly preached to 1.1 million persons.

At the end of the meeting, Graham called the services "the greatest experience of my life."

• Campus Crusade for Christ, which sponsored the massive Jesus rally known as Explo '72 in Dallas last year, announced in February that a similar international rally will be held in 1974 in South Korea.

Blundell To Explo '74

Seoul, Korea — Fredrick Blundell of Chadron is one of more than 700 from the United States who are in Seoul, Korea, for EXPLO '74, the second international congress on evangelism sponsored by Campus Crusade for Christ International.

Initial registration count for EXPLO '74 is 330,000, which makes it the largest Christian training congress in history. Christians from 82 countries of

As part of the preparations for Explo '74, Campus Crusade dispatched about 1000 "missionaries" to the peninsula. Plans call for dozens of chartered ships to carry thousands of American Christian youth to Korea for the festival. About 100,000 are expected to attend the meeting, says Campus Crusade Director Bill Bright.

The Gideons, in their recent international meeting in Houston, collected $200,000 to buy 665,000 Bibles to distribute in South Korea. This represents more Bibles than the organization would normally distribute there as part of its worldwide Bible distribution program.

The Gideons say the extra supply of Bibles is needed to feed a surging interest in Christianity.

Two different reasons for the South Korean boom in Christianity are given.

The Graham organization pegs the changes to the indigenous Christian church of South Korea.

"A land of missionaries has become a land of mission," says Wirt. "A persecuted remnant has become a pacesetting church."

3RD ADD

"Prayer is the lifeblood of the Korean church," Pace says. "It built a church of nearly four-million members."

Army had more Christians it would help the morale and also be a bulwark against communism and the enemy.

4TH ADD

"The Chief of Chaplains of the First Army was instrumental and used of God to bring General Han to this conclusion. As a result General Han was authorized by the general to do everything possible to evangelize the South Korean Army and get the soldiers converted to Christianity. This is what has made it possible for the Gideons to have a completely open door to distribute Scriptures to Republic of Korea military personnel."

Gideon spokesmen claim that over 100,000 Korean soldiers have converted to

Avoid America's Mistakes, 'Explo' Leader Challenges

SEOUL, Korea — The immoral condition of the United States can be avoided in Korea, Dr. William R. Bright told a group of Christian leaders this week. In an address to 100 educators, doctors, lawyers and businessmen, he outlined how America had lost its Christian heritage and challenged Korea to avoid the same mistakes.

"The United States was founded on Christian principles," the president and founder of Campus Crusade for Christ International explained. "One Hundred and four of our first 111 colleges and universities were started as Christian institutions. But while Christians slept, atheists took over the schools."

Dr. Bright made his remarks during a luncheon held in conjunction with EXPLO '74. The congress has attracted more than 323,000 people to Seoul for a week of

was only one step away communism. He dec "The only nation s against communism is tion with a vital faith in Christ."

He explained how listeners could keep faith strong through "t ing of the Holy Spirit.

Dr. Bright, who has t ed throughout the declared, "Korea has dedicated Christian l than any other nati Asia."

He asserted that K would help determin direction of Asia, des population of only 33

At the same luncheo

MIDDLESEX, N.J. CHRONICLE W. CIRC. N. AVAIL.

<Fig. 18. Louise Moore. "Evangelical Christians Focus on South Korea." *Houston Chronicle*. August 3, 1973. Korea Campus Crusade for Christ Headquarters, Seoul, Korea. In the aftermath of Billy Graham's largest crusade in South Korea in 1973, the *Houston Chronicle* reported on the American evangelical Protestant focus on South Korea.>

In an article titled "Evangelical Christians Focus on South Korea," published in the aftermath of Graham's largest crusade hosted in South Korea in 1973, the *Houston Chronicle* reported: "[F]or a large part of evangelical American Protestantism…1973 is the Year of South Korea…Numerous evangelical groups in this country are focusing their attention on that little country of 32 million people." If in 1973 American evangelicals faced fierce opposition to their moral worldview, with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Roe v. Wade*, they found unparalleled support for their central mission—to evangelize the world—outside of it. According to Sherwood E. Wirt, "Little Korea, a nation beleaguered

for centuries by mighty powers" had now "become a powerhouse for God."[495] American evangelicals were "participating in a big way" through the "most influential evangelical Christian groups in the U.S.," including the BGEA and Bill Bright's Campus Crusade for Christ. The *Houston Chronicle* went on to announce Campus Crusade's South Korea Explo '74, a massive evangelistic training event, as a follow up to Explo '72, hosted in Dallas 1972, and Graham's crusade in South Korea.[496] Campus Crusade staff worker Jerry Sharpless recalled Explo '74: "I left there knowing that the Great Commission could be fulfilled in a country." He had a "life-changing, peg-in-the-ground" experience in his "heart" that the total evangelization of the world, a central theological tenet of the evangelical tradition, could be realized.

Moderns and theological liberals believed that the seemingly backward fundamentalist strain of the 1920s Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy would eventually wither away. But it did not. Instead, a stream of fundamentalists reformed themselves into "neo-evangelicals" whose seemingly parochial or regionally specific faith and way of life burgeoned. In part, it had to do with their travels abroad and their enduring belief in the Christianization of the world. They reformed themselves through building new institutions like Campus Crusade, which expanded globally because of its early and ongoing transpacific linkages to South Korea, a Cold War ally. American evangelists such as Bob Pierce, who came out of the fundamentalist strain, traveled to Korea in the 1950s, which kept his eyes open to a world vision in spite of communist and modernist threats to his worldview. Into the 1970s, American evangelists witnessed,

[495] Wirt was the editor of the BGEA's *Decision* magazine. Recall that BGEA stands for the Billy Graham Evangelical Association.

[496] Moore, "Evangelical Christians Focus on South Korea."

through Korea, significant confirmation that their central mission could be achieved. Campus Crusade's Explo '72 and '74 exemplified the transpacific engine between the U.S. and South Korea that fueled evangelicalism's global growth. Explo '72 and '74 were fundamentally linked events, connecting Dallas with Seoul, and Southern evangelical culture with Korean Christianity, to go beyond – to Christianize the world.

Campus Crusade organized Explo '72 in the Cotton Bowl in Dallas, Texas from June 12-June 17, 1972, and recruited nearly 80,000 people for revival and evangelistic trainings. Speakers for Explo '72 ranged from Southern evangelists like Graham and Bright to Korean evangelist Joon Gon Kim, the first to internationalize Campus Crusade in 1958., Joon Gon Kim and Bright met in 1957 at Fuller Theological Seminary, and as one biographer characterized them, they were like "two prongs of a tuning fork" – that is, "when one was struck with a strategy he believed was of God, it motivated the other, right on pitch."[497] In the heat of the revivals of Explo '72 and '74 their synchronous pitch had "explosive" effects. On the last day of Explo '72, Joon Gon Kim made a declaration that revealed that Campus Crusade was already embedded in and indebted to transnational linkages to South Korea, which had global consequences. Joon Gon Kim's surprise announcement led to Explo '74 in South Korea from August 14-18, 1974 which attracted 320,000 Korean delegates, and 2,887 delegates from 78 other countries. Peak attendance at the mass rallies was on the opening night of August 14 with an estimated 1.3 million people, exceeding Graham's crusade.[498] As John Turner notes, by 1977,

[497] Richardson, *Amazing Faith,* it to say anything about it." lcation or requests for helpin these factories based on the information they share about how the 158.

[498] "Explo '74 Spurs Koreans to Evangelize their Country," Sept 19, 1974. Texas Methodist, Dallas, Texas. In all, 3,400 people from eighty-four countries and 320,000 Koreans attended the training sessions. The daily attendance for training sessions and evening services averaged

another Campus Crusade campaign called "Here's Life, World," "permanently changed [its] focus to the developing world."[499] To be sure, Campus Crusade took a decisive turn then, but as this chapter reveals, almost from its beginnings it had depended on non-western nations and a global imagination for its growth. Explo '72 and '74 were the results of seeds planted at mid-twentieth century.

The global Cold War provided a metaphorical, and at times, literal basis for Campus Crusade's expansion – nay, explosion – at Explo '72 and '74. The term "Explo" signified the "explosion" of the Holy Spirit, a central theological concept in Christianity, most memorably depicted as a dove. Yet, at the height of the Vietnam War, Campus Crusade employed a militaristic metaphor of a bomb for its massive revivalist gathering, reflecting the political climate. The metaphor of war was more than figurative. For Joon Gon Kim and Bright, conversions to Christianity contributed to building South Korea into a bulwark against North Korean and North Vietnamese communism, as well as to help protect the U.S., an allied nation, against communist infiltration. The revivals served to mute leftist and liberal notions of "revolution" and "freedom," which legitimated Park Chung Hee's military regime and Nixon's presidency, and foreshadowed the politics of the Protestant/Christian Right in both nations. Thus, Explo '72 and '74 not only became the high watermark of evangelistic activity in both nations, but also served as a

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1,090,000 people and the total attendance for the entire event was 6,550,000 people. An estimated 200,000 participants took their evangelistic training to the streets of Seoul and garnered 272,000 new believers. These numbers are reported by historian Timothy Lee, who raises a sharp critique against the evangelical revivals that ignored the grave humanitarian concerns during Rhee's military dictatorship in the 1970s. Thus, it is likely that Lee does not have an incentive to exaggerate these statistics. Lee, *Born Again*, 97.

[499] Turner, *Bill Bright*, 175.

transnational means to reinforce the conservative evangelical activism in the U.S. and South Korea.

According to the dominant historical narrative, American evangelicals gained newfound political ground in 1976 when *Newsweek* declared it "The Year of the Evangelical," following the presidential election of Jimmy Carter, a "born-again" Christian.[500] Yet when Carter did not deliver on his evangelical constituency's political interests, the New Christian Right emerged to elect Ronald Reagan in 1980, becoming the dominant face of American evangelicalism.[501] Yet as scholars such as Darren Dochuk show, the rise of evangelical conservativism was not a sudden phenomenon in which religion was epiphenomenal to the politics of the movement, nor was it one that emerged suddenly in the Reagan era with Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell at its center. Rather, Dochuk attributes the rise of the new right to an earlier "southernization" of the Sun Belt when everyday southerners migrating to Southern California became involved in conservative politics.[502] In recasting Explo '72 and '74 in a transpacific frame, one can see that the global growth of Campus Crusade, and the conservative evangelical activism that it engendered, emerged earlier than the late 1970s. Moreover, it reveals that revivalistic activity cannot be limited to domestic politics or legislative politics concerning private morality and sexual politics but also that global Cold War politics animated the expansion of conservative evangelical activism. Yet it was not as if

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[500] Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, 199-200. Wuthnow shows that evangelical Americans had largely been politically reticent in the 1960s and early 1970s, as measured by their voter turnout.

[501] Ibid., 214. Other organizations include Christian Voice, Religious Roundtable, Prayers for Life, Intercessors for America, Concerned Women of America, the National Christian Action Coalition, and Family America.

[502] See also McGirr, *Suburban Warriors.*

transpacific revivalism and activism was always "right on pitch." Embedded within the transpacific politics of Explo '72 and Explo '74 was a means for South Koreans to critique the imperial claim that the U.S. by right wore the mantle of global Christian leadership by asserting their own nationalistic claims that Koreans would lead the global evangelical empire. But this was ultimately more of an aspiration than a reality and revelatory of Korea's complicated negotiations with American empire.

Moreover, Nami Kim notes that the Protestant Right in South Korea had its "earliest activation" during U.S. military rule from 1945-1948 when Protestant Christians and communists were pitted against each other.[503] She suggests that the South Korean Protestant Right echoes the fundamentalism of the U.S. Christian Right in its emphasis on biblical inerrancy as well as anxieties over gender and sexuality, and notes similar timing for the founding of major conservative organizations in both nations, such as the Christian Council of Korea and the Christian Coalition of America founded by Pat Robertson.[504] Her research is primarily a national study of the South Korean Protestant Right in the 1990s. I reach further back into history and extend her work by revealing the transpacific connections between the rise of U.S. and South Korean evangelical conservativism through the case study of Campus Crusade.

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[503] Nami Kim, *The Gendered Politics of the Korean Protestant Right: Hegemonic Masculinity,* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 6. When pro-American anticommunist Protestant Christians came to occupy high positions in the U.S. military government (1945-1948) and the Rhee Syngman cabinet. She suggests that the "theological rationalization of anticommunism" in South Korea "mirrors anticommunist propaganda in the post-World War II US context" when, as Jonathan Herzog notes, a "spiritual-industrial complex" in the U.S. associated communism with theological evil.

[504] Ibid., 3. Nami Kim draws parallels between the U.S. Christian Right and the Korean Protestant Right. In the same year that the Christian Council of Korea was founded in 1989, she notes that the Christian Coalition of America was founded by Pat Robertson. The CCFC defined itself in distinction to the Korean National Council of Churches (KNCC)

Explo '72 and Explo '74: Transpacific Evangelical Revival

Explo '72 was a massive event that departed from Campus Crusade's traditional missionary work on college campuses. Hosting large evangelistic gatherings was a significant departure from its targets of evangelism that previously had been restricted to Greek campus life and college athletes. Given the new direction and Bright's proclivity to provide a big vision with few details, Judy Douglass, a long-time staff member, and the wife of Steve Douglass, Bill Bright's successor, recalls, "The ministry staff pretty much objected… 'That's not what we do. We don't do that.'" Douglass recalls her husband asking Bright, "'Are you sure God told you this?' On this, and several other things, he said, 'This is from the Lord, I know it.'" As a result, they organized Explo '72, but "some left because they said, 'This is not who we are.'"[505] As Turner concludes, "Whether out of genuine repentance or grudging duty, the organization successfully marshaled its troops to promote Explo's success."[506] The national fame of Graham, the executive director of Explo '72, helped publicize the event, and he dubbed it the "Christian Woodstock." Johnny Cash and musicians, enthralled by the Jesus Movement culture, entertained the attendees in between their teachings on how to become a Christian, the Holy Spirit and evangelism.[507] Rather than a representation of a "rigid evangelical conservativism," Turner characterizes Explo '72 as exemplifying an emerging culture of "modern conservatives" who embodied a "dynamic and adaptive evangelicalism that was

[505] Judy Douglass. Interview by Helen Jin Kim. Oral History. Orland, Florida. October 29, 2015.

[506] Turner, *Bill Bright*, 141.

[507] Ibid., 140. There were about 85,000 attendees, far more high school students than the desired college students, and it attracted a more diverse crowd than many evangelical gatherings.

beginning to attract the attention of secular America."[508] With 70,000-80,000 attendees, a bit shy of the goal of recruiting 100,000 attendees, Explo '72 was, nevertheless, a success.

Explo '72 attendees made life-changing decisions. Ed Neibling exemplified this life transformation as he was, reportedly, "just a country boy from Kansas" who then became a global missionary. Neibling was an engineering student at Kansas State University when he heard a pivotal message at the Cotton Bowl: "Dr. Bright challenged everyone to surrender their lives to Christ, to go wherever he would… I stood to indicate that kind of decision."[509] Afterward, Neibling stayed in Dallas for four additional months to attend the Institute for Biblical Studies with Josh McDowell.[510] At the end of the training, he attended a short-term event: "Bill Bright came in and challenged us for the last month of our summer break to go to Hawaii to work with Japanese students," —after doing which, he recalled: "I went back with almost an Asian heart." In the summer of 1973, he became a Campus Crusade worker: "I felt the Lord's leading to go to Asia….it was obvious that Asia was very much on my heart."[511] Neibing exemplified Campus Crusade's vision that changed people could change the world.

One connection that made it possible for Neibling to devote nearly forty years of his life to missionary work in Asia was an audacious declaration that Joon Gon Kim

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[508] Ibid., 145.

[509] Ed Neibling. Interview by Helen Jin Kim. Oral History. Orlando, Florida. October 29, 2015.

[510] In 1964, Josh McDowell became a traveling representative for Campus Crusade. McDowell is a Christian apologist and popular evangelical author known for his numerous books, especially *Evidence that Demands a Verdict* (San Bernardino, CA: Here's Life Publishers, 1972) and *More Than a Carpenter* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1977).

[511] Ed Neibling. Oral History Interview.

made at Explo '72. On one of the last nights of Explo '72, Joon Gon Kim mounted the stage to make a surprise announcement, one that U.S. historians have not treated in their reconstruction of Explo '72, but may have been one of the most significant moments.[512] Joon Gon Kim announced that he would organize another "explosion," Explo '74 in South Korea, surpassing the 80,000 present at Explo '72: "We are planning for an Explo '74 in Korea. We expect it will draw 300,000 people."[513] That South Korea would be the host for an Explo '74 came as a surprise to Campus Crusade's executive leadership.[514] Bailey Marks, Joon Gon Kim's immediate superior, recalled Bright asking him: "Why didn't you forewarn me about the announcement?" Marks responded, "I would have been very happy to have forewarned you if I had known about it myself."[515] Joon Gon Kim had circumvented the chain of command at Campus Crusade to make his announcement. Neibling recalls, "That was nice but quite a big challenge given that night."[516] Gertrude Phillips, a new Campus Crusade worker, who attended the event, recalled, "I was

[512] John Turner and Darren Dochuk both write about Explo '72. See chapter 6 "The Evangelical Bicentennial" in Turner, *Bill Bright* and chapter 11 "Jesus People" in Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*.

[513] Joon Gon Kim. EXPLO '72 Speech, Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL

[514] Becker, *Fireseeds*, 131. In another account by Nils Becker, he suggests that Bright did know that Joon Gon Kim was going to declare an EXPLO '74 but that he did not know that Joon Gon Kim would declare a number. Becker writes: "In the West, we would not declare a number before the event."

[515] "Bailey Marks – Tribute to Dr. Joon Gon Kim." October 3, 2010. The Legacy Project – Campus Crusade for Christ. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5yFzRgpjhg4&feature=related. Accessed October 8, 2011. In September of 1968 Bailey Marks was appointed as the Director of Affairs of the Asia-South Pacific area and served until Joon Gon Kim replaced him, effective 1981.

[516] Ed Neibling. Interview by Helen Jin Kim. Oral History. Orlando, Florida. October 29, 2015.

amazed…I hadn't heard about that. It was just the spirit of God that moved him."[517] Jin Tak Oh, Korea Campus Crusade for Christ staff member, commented: "In simple terms, they were befuddled" by the surprise announcement.[518]

Douglass recalled the extent to which Campus Crusade in the U.S. restructured its priorities in order to support Explo '74. Judy Douglass, who was part of the publications department at the time recalls, "Explo '74 was a crazy thing to try and do because the staff in Korea was small."[519] She noted: "Dr. Bright really came to the rescue of Dr. Kim because they just didn't have the resources to do what the vision was." Campus Crusade in the U.S. provided support in terms of money and people, and she recalls the financial cuts and organizational shifts that Campus Crusade headquarters made for Explo '74:

> [A]nybody who was in a non-essential area was possibly going to be sent or if they didn't get sent [to Korea], they would take the place of hired staff. We were running a hotel, a conference center, so there was a lot of housekeeping, grounds keeping, kitchen responsibilities. They let go of a lot of the lower level workers and put headquarter staff into those positions for six months and said for the next six months your job is to change the sheets and towels in the hotel room... and your job is to do landscaping.[520]

Douglass' department was considered "non-essential" so most of her team went to "fill in where they had let hourlies go, and a number of them went on to Korea to help with administrative duties there." Douglass remembered these transitions as "challenging." Phillips, who did administrative work at headquarters, was one of those workers who

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[517] Gertrude Phillips (pseudonym), Interview by Helen Jin Kim. Oral History. Orlando, Florida. October 29, 2015.

[518] Jin Tak Oh Oral History Interview.

[519] Judy Douglass. Interview by Helen Jin Kim. Oral History. Orlando, Florida. October 29, 2015.

[520] Ibid.

went to Korea for six months for Explo '74: "I had to have incredible faith to go. It was out of my character to say yes immediately but I just knew."[521] In part, Phillips could go because of her experience at the Cotton Bowl in 1972 where she had heard Joon Gon Kim's surprise announcement. "As I look back, that's when the most amazing things happened," she said with tears in her eyes. She continued: "God already knew, before the foundation of the world, that I was going to also be in Korea for Explo '74 – that just still amazes me.[522] After six months in South Korea, she devoted nearly twenty years of her life to missionary work in Asia. Joon Gon Kim's audacious declaration set off a series of events that redoubled the energies of Campus Crusade and its workers toward the Pacific.

To clarify, Joon Gon Kim most likely had been developing a vision for a massive gathering like Explo '74 since 1961. He had gathered with Campus Crusade workers for prayer at *Samgak* Mountain when he envisioned an opportunity for all Koreans to come to know Christ. He desired to facilitate Korea's birth as a Christian nation, from common folk to those holding political office: "Win the Korean campus today, win the Korean nation and the world tomorrow." Moreover, Jin Tak Oh suggested that Campus Crusade "supported him, ultimately, because it wasn't just crazy talk. It wasn't just a random or spontaneous thought that he said because he got emotional in the moment." But his vision, indeed, "exploded" in the American South. Given this, Explo '72 and '74 need to be interpreted as transpacific revivals rather than national revivals. Neibling, who, like Phillips, went to Korea for a six-month stint recalled:

> For me, [Explo '72 and Explo '74] are interrelated. Both grew out of the faith and vision of those two leaders… Dr. Kim and Dr. Bright were

[521] Gertrude Phillips, Oral History Interview.

[522] Ibid.

> almost one and the same….The goal that Dr. Kim offered to the Korean churches was 100,000 missionaries throughout the world – that's more than the U.S.!...They helped each other achieve a global vision.[523]

Neibling perceived that Joon Gon Kim and Bright shared the same goals, and that they spurred each other on toward the common goal of evangelization of the world. Campus Crusade's global trajectory fundamentally shifted as a result of Joon Gon Kim's audacious claim and its transpacific linkages to South Korea.

"The Next Christian Kingdom"

Embedded within this common global framework, however, was also a Korean nationalist challenge to American exceptionalism and empire. Recall that the 1969-1974 era of South Korean President Park Chung Hee and U.S. President Richard Nixon's leadership marked tense U.S.-South Korean diplomatic relations. The Nixon Doctrine, declared on July 29, 1969, resulted in the reduction of U.S. troops in South Korea, which generated fear that South Korea would face the Soviet, North Korean, and Chinese communist bloc in isolation. Nixon's visit to China from February 21-28, 1972 exacerbated those fears. Eight months later, on October 21, 1972 Park Chung Hee decreed the *Yusin* Constitution to instantiate his military regime, which launched South Korea into what some scholars characterize as the "dark age of democracy."[524] Explo '72 was a revival hosted from June 12-June 17, 1972 and was sandwiched in between Nixon's visit to China and Park Chung Hee's declaration of *Yusin*, two events that fundamentally reshaped U.S.-South Korean relations in the 1970s. As historian Tae Gyun Park notes, two myths functioned to shape U.S.-South Korean relations between 1945

[523] Ed Neibling. Oral History Interview.

[524] Myung-sik Lee, *The History of the Democratization Movement in Korea* (Seoul: Korea Democracy Foundation, 2010).

and 1980 – that of the U.S. as ally and empire. Park concludes that this period of U.S.-South Korean relations is much more ambiguous: "US-South Korea relations of the 1970s acquired greater complexity than the periods before…The South Korean government in the 1970s began to display a greater ability to maintain internal control and implement its own policies in the face of American pressure."[525] In June 1972, the U.S. executed its Cold War might over South Korea in dictating the reduction of U.S. troops all the while maintaining control over the South Korean military. Yet June 1972 was also a time when U.S.-South Korean relations increasingly signified a recalibration of U.S.-South Korean diplomatic relations as "brotherly."

Joon Gon Kim's declaration challenged American exceptionalism in imagining South Korea as the next center of the Christian empire, the re-centering of Christian power west to east. Joon Gon Kim declared that the spirit of God was "moving fast, deep and big in Korea" and declared the Korean peninsula to be the "new emerging Christian kingdom." He invited the American crowd at Explo '72 to "join with us for that historic Jesus march" in South Korea. "Pray that Korea will be won for Christ 100%," he implored, and that Korea would be "a symbolic sample Christian nation" and "uniquely used of God for Christ."[526] In expecting that Korea would become the next "city on a hill," his understanding of Korean exceptionalism rivaled Bright's of America. Ready for the urgent mission at hand, he stated: "Our goal is to fulfill the Great Commission in

[525] Park, *An Ally and Empire*, 348. For Park, "US-South Korea relations cannot be easily explained by a single theory or model." He writes, "I can, however, conclude that the nature of the US-South Korea relationship has changed over time in dynamic ways."

[526] Ibid.

Korea by 1975."[527] The date is far from random; Bright had a vision to fulfill the Great Commission by 1976 in the U.S. and by 1980 in the world.[528] Joon Gon Kim intended to trump him.[529] Not only did he circumvent the chain of command, Joon Gon Kim also suggested that South Korea would exceed the number of people who attended Explo '72, announcing a means to replace America as the center of Christian empire.

Joon Gon Kim's vision for Explo '74 had militaristic overtones. He declared, "3,500 soldiers received baptism in one day in one division." Soldiers had literally been converted, and were ready now to become both soldiers for Christ to fulfill the Great Commission as well as the Cold War battle against communism. Joon Gon Kim had built up a group of "42,000 hardcore revolutionized Christian students," who were influencing Korea spiritually and socially. He conceived of this population of Christian students as a "nucleus of man power" that had been deployed to train others in evangelism and discipleship and contribute to the Cold War. When Joon Gon Kim suggested that he had a battalion of ROK soldiers who had become Christianized, he also signaled South Korea's cooperation with America's Cold War empire in Asia through Christianization. After all, the U.S. controlled the South Korean military and could dictate the size of the U.S. military stationed in South Korea. Thus, Joon Gon Kim's surprise announcement communicated contradictory messages, underscoring the paradoxical tensions of alliance and empire which characterized U.S.-South Korean relations.

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[527] Joon Gon Kim. EXPLO '72 Speech. Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc. Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL.

[528] Turner, *Bill Bright*, 139.

[529] Joon Gon Kim, "Stage Set for Awakening." Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc. Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL.

Moreover, that military and war language permeated Joon Gon Kim's language in his short speech at Explo '72 was hardly an accident as it had literal militaristic significance. Indeed, the *Houston Chronicle* attributed South Korea's growth in Christian "power" to the "evangelistic activities within the South Korean army."[530] General Shin Han, the Commanding General of South Korea's First Army and a North Korean native, believed that "Christianity offered the best defense against communism." Even though he was a Buddhist, he believed that if the ROK army had more Christians it would boost "morale," and help it to become "a bulwark against communism." Because the General was authorized "to do everything possible to evangelize the South Korean Army and get the soldiers converted to Christianity," Gideon International, a Bible distribution organization, had a "completely open door" to distribute the Bible to South Korean military personnel. The article reported: "Chief of Chaplains of the First Army was instrumental and used of God to bring General Han to this conclusion." Joon Gon Kim is mentioned as the one who told the General that "50% of his men [were] to be 'religionized'" – that is, Christianized – because Christians were the "most exemplary and the most anti-Communist of all his soldiers."[531] Shin created a "Jesus Regiment," which he ordered to attend Christian services three times a week and hear a Korea Campus Crusade staff worker's sermons.[532] When Joon Gon Kim declared that Korean soldiers had been converted, he was not only alluding to the biblical idea of Christian

[530] The article also named the "indigenous Christian church" whose "lifeblood" was fervent prayer. South Korean Christianity has been noted for its fervent evangelistic piety, but scholars have, to a lesser extent, explored this second reason: evangelistic activity within the military.

[531] Moore, "Evangelical Christians Focus on South Korea."

[532] Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It!: The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1979), 191.

soldiers, but also literally meant that their conversions would help to build a force against communism. Converting Communists into Christians was no different than converting the ROK army into a Cold War bulwark against communism.

Yet, Campus Crusade workers primarily characterized their relationship between American and South Korean Christians in terms of the category of faith and cultural differences, which presumed equal relations between the two nations and relied on the myth of alliance rather than empire. Oh and Marks characterized the relationship between Joon Gon Kim and Bright in terms of the category of "faith" as those who motivated each other to exercise one another's "muscles of faith." Joon Gon Kim and Bright "relied on each other's faith to do big things for God," including mass revivals.[533] A shared and idealized Christian identity as "brother" contributed to this framework of equality. Marks recalled that after the announcement Bright said: "'Well,' … 'our brother has made this announcement. Let's get behind him and do everything we can to see how we can make it [happen] from our point…from our side.'"[534] On one hand, Joon Gon Kim's declaration was a competitive assertion, suggesting that he could top the American revival hosted by Campus Crusade. On the other hand, Kim was also a "brother" and partner in the evangelization of the world.

Explaining Joon Gon Kim and Bright's relationship in terms of eastern versus western cultural differences cohered with this Christian imagination of equality. Nils Becker, the American head of Campus Crusade in Korea, recalled that Joon Gon Kim's surprise announcement was a matter of cultural differences: "In the West, we would not

[533] Notes from conversation with Bailey Marks at Campus Crusade Headquarters. Orlando, Florida. July 2013.

[534] "Bailey Marks – Tribute to Dr. Joon Gon Kim."

announce a number before the event."[535] Jin Tak Oh also saw their relationship as a balance between east and west that could achieve harmony:

> In some ways you can say that, as Bright and Joon Gon Kim's relationship became deeper, their worlds of faith achieved more balance. Bright probably was challenged by the eastern way of thinking and…Joon Gon Kim was also challenged by the way Bright worked with his staff…. they began to use an approach that transcended the differences between east and west and became God's method of making history.[536]

He suggests that Joon Gon Kim and Bright could transcend fraught U.S.-South Korean relations, and in many ways imagined a conciliatory strategy, a means to cope with the reality of limited national sovereignty. Jin Tak Oh's characterization, however, overlooks the multiple tiers of power at work in U.S.-South Korean relations. He commented, "I think, perhaps, that the greatest influence that Rev. Kim Joon Gon gave to Bill Bright was this: 'Faith cannot be calculated.'" Yet Joon Gon Kim employed competitive and militaristic language in his surprise announcement, a calculated tactic that publicly "surprised" executive leadership such that it could not be ignored. Joon Gon Kim's announcement, therefore, forced Campus Crusade's executive leadership to focus on South Korea.

Campus Crusade and Student Activism

Recall that 1972 was the height of the Vietnam War student protests in the U.S. Between 1965-1967, the Students for Democratic Society (SDS) turned its focus to ending the Vietnam War, and in 1965 alone, 120 teach-ins took place at university campuses, spurring other anti-war student groups to sprout, including the National Student Association (NSA). At the same time, coming on the heels of the Civil Rights

[535] Becker, *Fireseeds*, 131.

[536] Jin Tak Oh, Oral History Interview.

Movement at San Francisco State University, the Third World Liberation Front's (TWLF) protests resulted in the nation's first School of Ethnic Studies in 1968. These activists aligned themselves with national liberation movements in Third World countries and protested the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. These national liberation movements had particular significance for Asian Americans in their United States context as they saw an extension of a U.S. imperialist agenda in Vietnam in their own experience of racism and class oppression; as people of color, they perceived their experience in the United States as living in an "internal colony" from which they "needed to be liberated."[537] During the 1960s and '70s, Christian missionaries were also implicated for the way that they played a key part in the U.S. imperialist agenda in non-western nations, which "reaped huge profits for the United States while wreaking havoc in Asia."[538] Out of these struggles emerged liberation theologies, such as Minjung Theology, born in the 1970s as a response from South Koreans against the military dictatorships of the time. "Minjung" literally signified "the mass of the people," and referred to the masses under all forms of oppression. The theology attempts to release the 'han,' or the pent up suffering, of the South Korean oppressed.

One of the key leaders in this movement was Jae Jun Kim who had stood in direct opposition to Joon Gon Kim since the mid twentieth century. Recall that in the 1940s, Joon Gon Kim was enrolled at Chosun Theological Seminary, a seminary founded by Jae Jun Kim, who rejected biblical literalism and sought to establish a theologically liberal alternative to the historic Pyongyang Theological Seminary, a fundamentalist institution.

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[537] William Wei. *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993) 206.

[538] Yoo, *New Spiritual Homes*, 9.

In 1947, Joon Gon Kim helped to lead a group of fifty-one seminary students to denounce the Chosun Theological Seminary's theological liberalism and to found, in 1952, a Korean chapter of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE).[539] In the early 1970s, with the rise of Park Chung Hee's military dictatorship, Jae Jun Kim and Joon Gon Kim's theological differences emerged more sharply in the public sphere as Jae Jun Kim vehemently protested the Park regime and Joon Gon Kim actively collaborated with it.

The peak of the antiwar student movement came in 1970 and 1972 in response to new U.S. attacks on North Vietnam and Cambodia. The student movement began to dwindle as U.S. troops were reduced and the communists finally triumphed in Saigon in 1975. The year 1972 was one of the pinnacles of the Vietnam War protests; in the 1971-1972 academic year, there were 350 university protests nation-wide. Nixon came under heavy critique as 200,000 protesters gathered at his second inauguration, and the 1972 Republican National Convention attracted more protesters than the 1968 Democratic National Convention. In the spring of 1972, at some campuses, including the University of Minnesota, "antiwar activism exploded."[540] If these leftist movements reached their peak in the early 1970s, Explo '72 was a space where conservative evangelicalism activism thrived, and it served as a foil to these war protests.

Turner argues that Explo '72 exemplifies the conservative evangelical activism typically overlooked in historical accounts of the 1960s and early 1970s.[541] Explo '72

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[539] Woo Suk Kang, "The Evangelical Movement as Revealed in the Life and Thought of Joon Gon Kim" (Master's thesis, Chongshin University, 2015, 8). Korea Campus Crusade for Christ Headquarters, Seoul, Korea. (English translation mine).

[540] Mitchell K. Hall eds. *Vietnam War Era: People and Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2009), 199.

[541] Turner, *Bill Bright*, 123.

delegates favored Nixon over McGovern for president by a margin of more than five to one. Nixon, moreover, had been interested in campaigning at Explo '72 for re-election. Graham had encouraged the visit. Ultimately, Bright decided against it because of disagreements among Campus Crusade staff. However, the Explo '72 crowd listened to a telegram from Nixon who "echoed the Explo '72 theme reminding delegates that 'the way to change the world for the better is to change ourselves for the better.'"[542] Indeed, Bright declared "'Explo '72 can do more to bring peace to the world than all of the antiwar activity combined.'"[543] Turner observes: "Richard Nixon's interest in utilizing Explo '72 for his own political purposes also foreshadowed the courtship between evangelicals and conservative politicians that accelerated in the mid-1970s."[544] More than electoral politics, students at Explo '72 could voice their pro-Vietnam War attitudes. In a procession of international flags, the "banner of South Vietnam produced a 'sustained ovation' from the crowd."[545] Young people were not afraid to express their conservative politics. American evangelicals later seemed to be swept up in the politics of gender, family, and feminism in the wake of *Roe v. Wade* in 1973. But pro-Vietnam War attitudes also motivated their conservative activism. Furthermore, Joon Gon Kim's presence at Explo '72, and his extension of this movement into South Korea at Explo '74, show that Explo '72 served as a transpacific site for building conservative evangelical activism.

Bright and Joon Gon Kim's politics did not call for electoral votes or the

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[542] Ibid. 144

[543] Ibid. 142

[544] Ibid., 121.

[545] Ibid., 144.

formation of the Moral Majority, as evangelical conservatives would in later decades. As Dochuk notes, their conservativism held personal and ultimate stakes that looked like grassroots activism. Campus Crusade aggressively engaged the left-wing activism of college campuses during the late 1960s and early 1970s. As Dochuk put it, Campus Crusade's "'apolitical campaign' represented only a different kind of intervention in politics, one better suited to match trends on the Left."[546] As Turner notes, Campus Crusade "grew alongside New Left movements" as it "responded vigorously to the New Left, antiwar protests, and the counter culture."[547] Berkeley Blitz, a massive evangelistic event hosted in January 1967, is a key example of Campus Crusade's conservative evangelical activism. When Ronald Reagan, the governor of California at the time, fired Clark Kerr, it prompted left-wing students to protest at Berkeley's Sproul Hall. Campus Crusade students had already occupied Sproul Hall to evangelize leftist students and to stage their own protest, "against the secular age." Campus Crusade speaker Jon Braun called students to seek "God's love as the only solution for the world's problems."[548] Bright used rhetoric tailored to an activist generation: "Jesus Christ was history's greatest revolutionist."[549] Not only did Campus Crusade workers seek Christian conversions, they also mitigated leftist radicalism: "Campus Crusade workers disrupted protest rallies by seizing free speech platforms and carrying signs and chanting slots of their own: 'Prince

[546] Docuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*, 348-349

[547] Turner, *Bill Bright,* 186

[548] Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*, 347-349.

[549] Turner, *Bill Bright*, 123.

of Peace,' 'Students Denouncing Sin,' 'Boycott Hell! Accept Jesus.'"[550] As seen, evangelical agitation for conservative politics was not limited to agitation for electoral votes, but also expanded to include grassroots activism at evangelical revivals.

Leftist movements in the U.S. in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including Vietnam War protests and the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), were transnational movements that identified with struggles in non-western nations. By the same token, Campus Crusade's conservative evangelical activism was a transnational movement. It linked Americans with South Koreans who sought both conversions and conservative politics. In South Korea, things had taken a dark turn. While American students were protesting the Vietnam War *en masse*, South Korean students protested Park's military regime. Continuing a longer tradition of student protests, including the 4.19. student revolution in 1960 which ousted President Syngman Rhee, students were reignited in 1971 with the sensational suicide of Chon Tae'il, a student who killed himself in protest of the unjust labor conditions under Park's regime. Chon was a poor garment worker in the textile factors who self-immolated on November 13, 1970 as his final protest against the government that sacrificed the human rights of workers for the sake of national economic progress.[551] In the summer of 1971, students protested labor rights, compulsory military training, and the most recent presidential election as a general critique of Park's regime.[552] In 1972, Park instantiated *Yusin* rule, passed a series of Emergency Decrees (EDs), which systematically repressed antigovernment activity, which only increased

[550] Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*, 349-350

[551] Chang, *Protest Dialectics*, 55.

[552] Ibid., 62.

student protest. ED 4, declared in 1974, repressed student activism in the "Minch'ong incident" which resulted in 1024 students being taken into custody, 253 being sent to the Emergency Martial Court to be prosecuted, and 180 being convicted and sentenced. The government accused these students of engaging in a communist revolution associated with the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP).

In July 1974, a group of intellectuals and Christian pastors, including Catholic Bishop Haksun Chi and Reverend Hyong-Gyu Pak, were imprisoned and interrogated for their alleged support of the PRP, a communist group of students who opposed Park.[553] By 1975, especially after the Minch'ong Incident and the PRP case, student activism was quelled by the state. The number of public protests stalled in 1974 and dropped off significantly after 1975.[554] Because of the widespread repression of student dissident groups, from 1975-1979, a small group of dissident Christians took on the task of protesting the Park regime.[555] If the Berkeley Blitz as well as Explo '72 became sites where American students took an individualistic approach to social change, then Explo '74 became a site where South Korean students were discouraged from social protest, encouraging them to take a different approach to social change, effectively endorsing the Park military regime.

The Cold War politics of anticommunism continued to animate the growth of American evangelicalism in the early 1970s, including through transnational events such as Explo '74. Conservativism specifically traveled across the Pacific through the

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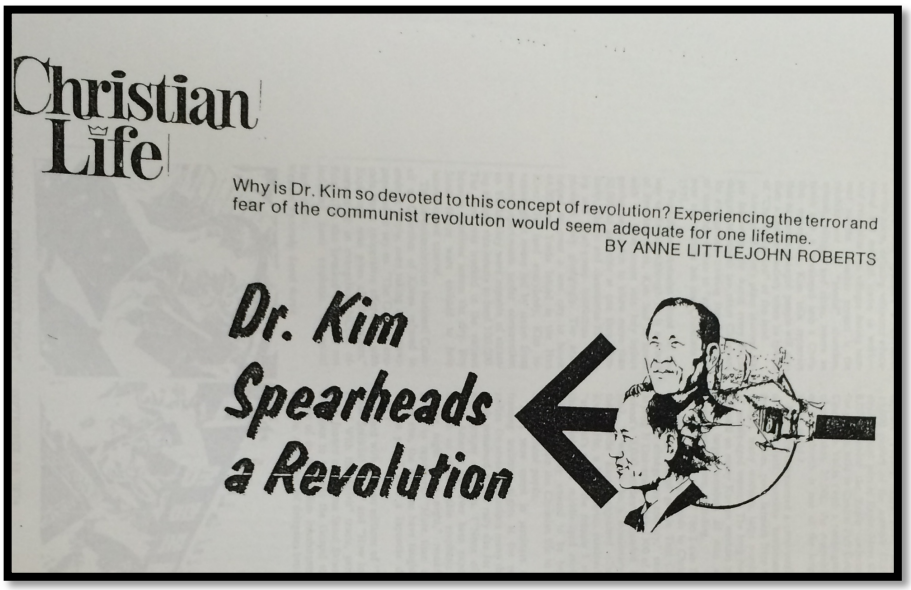
[553] The People's Revolution Party (PRP) started in 1964 when thirteen individuals were accused of being communists. Chang, *Protest Dialectics*, 74-75.

[554] Chang, *Protest Dialectics*, 76.

[555] Ibid., 77

evangelical revivalism stirred up at Explo ’72 and Explo ’74. These evangelistic revivals and trainings not only engendered phenomenal evangelistic growth in both nations, but also served as routes along which conservativism could migrate. The transnational connections between the U.S. and South Korea through Campus Crusade, which while apolitical, supported the political right. Campus Crusade’s transpacific conservative activism mitigated leftist activism among students and young people in the U.S. and South Korea, in favor of a Christian revolution. Campus Crusade could push harder toward its global vision of Christianization because of the transpacific engine of conservative evangelical activism at Explos ’72 and ’74.

Changed Lives Change the World



<Fig. 19. Anne Littlejohn Roberts.,“Dr. Kim Spearheads a Revolution” in *Christian Life*. Date unknown. *Christian Life* publishes article on Joon Gon Kim’s concept of “revolution.” The caption says, “Why is Dr. Kim so devoted to this concept of revolution? Experiencing the terror and fear of the communist revolution would seem adequate for one life time.”>

Bright and Joon Gon Kim’s transpacific platform for conservative evangelical activism depended on soul-winning, which was inextricably tied to a vision to establish

Korea as a Christian nation, an impulse Bright shared for his own country. Bright and Joon Gon Kim believed that individual salvation through evangelical conversions could transform the world. They believed in the revolution that would come when their nations were Christianized one person at a time. Campus Crusade called Americans and South Koreans to choose Jesus, one person at a time, and thereby to hold individuals accountable for the transformation of society. Indeed, Joon Gon Kim believed that social change came through changing people not institutions:

> There is the internal human revolution and social revolution…[W]e believe that social revolution is possible [only] through human revolution… This one thing is clear: social action does not constitute evangelism. No matter how important it is, how urgent it is, and how pleasing it is to God, it cannot constitute evangelism; that is my viewpoint, my way of interpreting the Bible on this matter.[556]

Like Joon Gon Kim, Bright also believed that social change came through saving individual souls as opposed to bringing institutions to justice. He suggested that the message of Explo '72 was "Changed people in sufficient numbers make a changed world."[557] During his 'Here's Life, America' campaign, he also often articulated that social reform, in terms of decreases in divorce rates, alcoholism, and racism, would take place through the evangelization of the American nation.[558] This was a view that those in the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) also shared. Instead of advocating for the United Nations, as many in the mainline did, those who were part of the NAE wanted Congress to pass a resolution to "support and strengthen missionary endeavors

[556] Lee, *Born Again*, 99.

[557] Turner, *Bill Bright*, 142.

[558] Ibid.

throughout the world" which, they felt would "raise the moral responsibility of all citizens to the point where they will obey world law."[559]

To be sure, Bright maintained that he was politically neutral. Hoping to preserve Campus Crusade's non-profit status, he discouraged his staff's political engagement, including during the Civil Rights movement. When his closest associates showed him that his nonpolitical stances represented conservative politics, he was alarmed.[560] Souls mattered to him, not politics, he insisted. Joon Gon Kim similarly prioritized souls. He acknowledged the difficulty in drawing the line between religious and political action, but he defined himself against so-called "liberation Christians" in Korea who lived out their faith through social protest, and prioritized a gospel for the oppressed under Korean military dictatorship.[561] He declared that most Christians believed "church should stay out of politics."[562] Joon Gon Kim and Bright prioritized individual conversions, evangelism, discipleship, and the Christianization of their nations, not politics.

Yet Bright and Joon Gon Kim were active participants in the political machinery of their nations. As Jim Wallis' April 1976 expose in *Sojourners* detailed, Bright held close right-wing associations with conservative politicians, advocated for the decentralization of government and held unwavering anticommunist commitments.[563]

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[559] Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy*, 57.

[560] Ibid., 190.

[561] Paul Chang and Byung-Soo Kim, "Differential Impact of Repression on Social Movements: Christian Organizations and Liberation Theology in South Korea (1972-1979)," *Sociological Inquiry* Vol. 77: 3 (2007): 326-355.

[562] Quebedeaux, *I Found It!,* 191.

[563] Quebedeaux, *I Found it!*, 187. *Sojourners*' exposé in April 1976 written by Jim Wallis used evidence to detail Bright's right wing associations from the 1950s to the 1970s that appear politically conservative and anticommunist.

Campus Crusade's funding in the late 1960s, Dochuk observes, came from "right-wing Republican financial sources" who supported Bright's vision of "less government, more money, more ministry." As committed as Bright was to political neutrality, he was "equally serious about channeling youthful devotion into a conservative, Christian, Republican politics."[564] Moreover, Joon Gon Kim, like Bright, was entrenched in the conservative politics of his times. He evangelized the military dictator Park Chung Hee, curried favor with him to secure land for Campus Crusade, and organized the Presidential Prayer breakfast series in 1968. As Nami Kim observes, the Presidential Prayer Breakfast series, later named the National Prayer Breakfast, became a religious foothold for the Protestant Right: "Since its establishment, the National Prayer Breakfast in South Korea has justified and even praised US-backed military dictatorships, and the majority of Protestant pastors who have participated in the National Prayer Breakfast for decades are the leading figures of the Protestant Right."[565] Much like Bright, Joon Gon Kim's work had high political stakes and engaged some of the most important political figures. Yet they both perceived and articulated their work in terms of soul-saving terms.[566]

Explo '74: "Jesus Revolution, the Holy Spirit's Third Explosion"

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[564] Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*, 208.

[565] Kim, *The Gendered Politics of the Korean Protestant Right,* 8.

[566] This is an evangelistic strategy that has appeared in other nations. Freston writes: "[M]uch evangelical politics has shown a calculated caution based on the desire to maximize benefits. We have called this 'corporatism,' because its raison d'être is to strengthen the churches as corporations, to equip them better for their activities, to reward some of their members individually (in terms of employment, financing or prestige) and to strengthen their position vis-à-vis other faiths in the country's 'civil religion.' This basic concern produces a tendency to time-serving and opportunism (since one has to be on the right side of the powers-that-be if concrete results are to ensue), and sometimes even to corruption…It leads to a concern with…religious freedom in particular rather than with democracy and human rights in general." Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia,* 294.

<Fig. 20. *Until Everyone Has Heard Campus Crusade for Christ International Helping Fulfill the Great Commission The First Fifty Years 1951-2001*, Orlando, FL: Campus Crusade for Christ International, 2007..Joon Gon Kim and Bill Bright at Explo '74, Seoul, Korea, 1974.>

During this period of the state's repression of student activism in South Korea, Campus Crusade, an organization after all devoted to evangelizing students, hosted Explo '74 and saw an "explosion" of interest and its largest revival. Explo '74 was organized around the theme "Jesus Revolution, the Holy Spirit's Third Explosion," and the primary purpose was to train people to evangelize others.[567] Newspaper headlines announced: "World Christian Leaders Lay a Fuse for Evangelism Explosion." The purpose of Explo '74 was to provide "'a great spiritual fusion whose chain reaction will spread Christ's

[567] Joon Gon Kim. "Stage Set for Awakening." Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc. Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL. Also, in preparation for the main activities, a series of preparatory activities were organized. There were weeklong regional activities outside of Seoul and Yonggi Cho the pastor of the *Yoido* Full Gospel Church preached. The night before the main event, 100, 000 women from 15, 500 churches stayed up until 4 AM to pray for the event. On the day of the main event August 13 people gathered under tents to attend classes and during the evening services Bright, Kyung Chik Han, Joon Gon Kim and other conservative religious leaders preached.

message."[568] Bill Bright declared: "The purpose of Explo '74 is to turn the eyes of Korea, Asia and the world on Jesus Christ."[569] American Campus Crusade staff had provided financial and human resources for Explo '74 and invested more than a year and a half in planning the gathering. It would be a mistake to understand Explo '74 outside of this political context of student activism. Indeed, Joon Gon Kim himself actively addressed clergy and students' political agitation from the left. In this political context of repression, Explo '74 was made possible because it served the Park regime to support a Christian group that could render null the critiques from dissident Christians.

At Explo '74, Joon Gon Kim offered an alternative understanding of "revolution" and "freedom" that actively countered leftist or liberal notions of freedom. Joon Gon Kim declared: "There have been industrial revolutions, cultural revolutions, political revolutions. Let us enter the Holy Spirit revolution to love our enemies and pray for those who persecute us."[570] Bright reminded South Koreans: "atheism was only one step away from communism," and also that the "only nation strong against communism is a nation with a vital faith in Jesus Christ." Campus Crusade became a transpacific movement that actively used evangelical revival and missionary activity not only to convert souls, but also to actively oppose leftist and liberal notions of freedom. The media asked Joon Gon Kim about the political climate in Korea and whether he would "make any effort to help

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[568] "World Christian Leaders Lay a Fuse for Evangelism Explosion," *Sentinel*. Waterville, Maine. June 15, 1974; George W. Cornell. "Fuse for Explosion in Evangelism Laid." *Morning Advocate*. Baton Rouge, LA. June 15, 1974.

[569] Moore, "Evangelical Christians Focus on South Korea."

[570] Kennedy, "Soul Searching in Seoul: Spiritual Explosion."

the clergy that was recently imprisoned for 15 years." He declared that he had the "authority to teach Jesus Christ," and that, "as long as churches preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, we have no problem." He argued that "in the name of freedom some suffer," (likely referring to the imprisoned pastors), but that there was a "difference between suffering in the name of freedom or in the name of Jesus Christ."[571]

The article went on to recount Joon Gon Kim's encounter with communists who, though they had killed his wife and father, had learned to love as a result of the "freedom" he experienced through Christ. Indeed, when Joon Gon Kim actually met the very leader responsible for his family's death, he "explained to him that [he] had come in the name of Jesus to express God's love for him." He recalls,

> One night I called on a Communist leader, at the risk of my life. Strange to say, he accepted me with welcome....We prayed together, though enemies. My Lord created a mind in me to love my enemy. [The Communist leader] became a new man that night. He has been a faithful witness for Christ among the Communists and is taking care of 30 converts from Communism, having prayer meetings in his house. This was the turning point in my soul-winning ministry.[572]

Thus, evangelism was not only spiritually efficacious but also politically expedient. Joon Gon Kim believed in a distinction between the power of "freedom" found in Christ and liberal notions of political "freedom." Thus, through Explo '74, an "'explosion' of brotherly love, prayer, and other teachings of Jesus is expected to do more than any other single event to spread peace, joy and unity among the nations of this decade."[573]

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[571] Ibid.

[572] Marks, *Awakening*, 21.

[573] Kennedy, "Soul Searching in Seoul: Spiritual Explosion."

Explo ’72 and Explo ’74, however, were interlaced with scandalous political events, indicating the tumultuous climate in both nations. The Watergate break-in occurred on the night of Explo 72’s Jesus Music Festival and an assassination attempt on the South Korean military dictator Park Chung Hee resulted in the death of South Korea’s first lady on the second day of Explo ’74. Jerry Sharpless, a Campus Crusade staff worker who had been stationed in South Korea for six months for Explo ’74, recalled:

> There were significant political challenges that week with the president’s wife being assassinated. You had that environment overlaying, that we’re not sure the stability of the country but we’re here to help change this country and lead people to Christ. That intensified the sense of purpose and focus. You don’t know how much longer you’re going to have in a country to work … this country may go into anarchy. That overlaid the intensity of the feeling of the people who were there, including me.[574]

Neibling rather blithely remembered his years under military dictatorship in South Korea and later the Philippines:

> I personally believe that those years, as we look back on them, actually being there during it and in the Philippines under Marcos. One thing they did was bring a lot of order out of a lot of potential chaos and to bring peace. Now the rule was a bit strong, no question. Certain rights may be violated but it brought relatively a lot of peace and it enabled it to lay the foundation for economic progress, which later became very impressive in Korea.[575]

Note that one year after the declaration of ED 4 and Explo ’74, a martial court convicted twenty-three people considered to be members of the PRP. Most received fifteen-year sentences, and eight of the accused, were executed. These arrests and executions were for defying Park’s military regime. Neibling justified the state’s actions against its citizens not only through spiritual reasoning but also economic reasoning:

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[574] Jerry Sharpless, Oral History Interview.

[575] Ibid.

> The economic transformation is almost as amazing as the spiritual transformation. I think they go hand in hand. I personally would not say that that was such an evil thing.

Neibling believed that Explo '74 benefited the state politically and economically:

> They were for the country and for the benefit of the country. We were not against the rulers of the country and the politicians and all that they want….Why else would the ROK army want…all of the millions of men to hear the gospel as they were serving their time in the military?… That was not done in secret. It had to be endorsed as something that would be done to benefit the country…. I believe that at that time they were not in opposition to one another but complementary in terms of what they wanted for the country to become…economically.[576]

As Neibling suggests, Explo '74 served to consolidate Park's regime through Campus Crusade's transpacific networks of evangelical revivalism.

Americans and Koreans critiqued Joon Gon Kim and Bright's vision for social change and the evangelistic activities at Explo '74. Liberal Korean Protestants, for instance, criticized the strategy of evangelism that Explo '74 endorsed, especially at a time when Park's autocratic regime was gravely violating human rights.[577] Korean theologian Chongnyol Kim provided the following critique:

> I do not wish to think of evangelization and humanization separately… Christ came to the world (i.e. he became humanized, a true human) in order to enable each individual and all of humanity to live in a manner worthy of human beings.[578]

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[576] Ed Neibling, Oral History Interview.

[577] Lee, *Born Again*, 97-98. Campus Crusade was a relatively unfamiliar organization to many church leaders who were deeply affiliated with their denominations, namely Presbyterian and Methodist congregations. The most fundamentalist Christians deplored the way that the revival would indiscriminately bring together conservatives and liberals who they feared endorsed communism.

[578] Ibid.

For a liberal like Chongnyol Kim, "to evangelize was to change society, to eliminate the structures that created and perpetuated social and economic justice." Much like Korean liberals, Americans also criticized Bright for declaring so boldly that there was so much religious freedom in Seoul. At a time when Koreans were under the rule of a military dictatorship, Bright naively reported to the *Chicago Tribute,* "[T]here is more religious freedom in South Korea than in the United States."[579] Even Graham critiqued him for this insensitive statement.[580] Rather than evaluating Explo '74 through the political conditions of South Korea itself, he saw the evangelical revival through the lens of the debates for religious freedom in public schools in the U.S.: "Dr. Bright [then] admitted that he had not discussed political activity by religious leaders in South Korea with Christian leaders. But he contended that the openness of discussions on Christianity in South Korea's public school campuses exceeds that permitted in American public schools."[581]

Park Chung Hee ultimately thanked Bright for hosting Explo '74 in South Korea. Bright helped to prove that the state had not engaged in religious repression, essentially quelling leftist arguments against Park that came from dissident Christians:

> I would like to share your satisfaction that Explo '74 had been a great success and marked a great milestone in the propagation of Christianity in Korea. It is gratifying to note that this event has proved to the world that 'Christians had more religious freedom in South Korea than in any other country…' despite some Christian activists who have create a false impression as if there were religious repression in Korea.[582]

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[579] Yates, "For Explo'74."

[580] Bright to Joon Gon Kim Correspondence, February 3, 1976. Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL.

[581] "Explo '74 Spurs Koreans to Evangelize their Country," Sept 19, 1974. *Texas Methodist*, Dallas, Texas.

[582] Bill Bright correspondence with Park Chung Hee, President of the Republic of Korea, September 16, 1974. Korea Campus Crusade for Christ Headquarters. Seoul, Korea.

Essentially, Explo ’74 proved to other South Koreans and the world that dissident Christians were not being repressed for unnecessary reasons.

Methodist minister Cho Hwa Soon and American Methodist missionary George Ogle exemplified the kind of dissident Christians that Park aimed to repress, and that Explo ’74 silenced transnationally. On May 15, 1974 the police broke into Cho’s home and arrested her for violating Emergency Decree No. 4. Cho had preached a sermon on April 28, 1974 titled, “Search for the Kingdom and for Righteousness,” a sermon written on the heels of the Bando Company struggle, in which the company owners had promised young women workers their rights, only to rescind their offer and employ Korean Central Intelligence Agents (KCIA) to spy on labor union activity. The government had detained eight men, convicting them as communists; there was little evidence to suggest that they were, in fact, communists but it was believed that the government wanted to make an example out of the men to crack down on government rebellion. Ogle had little knowledge of this event, but the wives of these men pleaded with him to use his position as a westerner and clergy to help them. Ogle believed in advocating for the oppressed so he decided to use public prayer as a means for protest. On Thursday October 9, 1974, Ogle provided the prayer for the gathering at the Christian Building in Seoul:

> Christ is often mediated to us through the most humble and weakest of our brothers and sisters. Among those now in prison are eight men who have received the harshest of punishments. They have been sentenced to die, even though there is little evidence against them. They are not Christians, but as the poorest among us they become the brothers of Christ. Therefore let us pray for their lives and souls. Probably they have committed no crime worthy of death.[583]

[583] George Ogle, “Our Hearts Cry With You,” in *More than Witnesses: How a Small Group of Missionaries Aided Korea’s Democratic Revolution*, Jim Stentzel, ed. (Mequon, WI: Nightengale Press, 2008), 87.

Ogle did not explicitly state the innocence of the men or oppose the government, but he implied just enough to get him a visit from the KCIA the next day. He used his position as a clergy person to pray for the men, a seemingly neutral public act, but under *Yusin* rule, it was seen as a pro-communist move and an anti-authoritarian attack. He was interrogated and charged for violating the anticommunism laws.

By December 14, 1974 Ogle was deported back to the U.S. On April 9, 1975, the eight men were executed.[584] As sociologist Paul Chang notes, "While progressive Christian leaders were being arrested and interrogated by the Yusin regime, the much larger conservative Christian community was enjoying tremendous growth." Note that at the same time the success of Explo '74 led to the success of Campus Crusade. Joon Gon Kim claimed: "[W]hen church and government are harmonious through assistance and cooperation, the church will be holy and the state will prosper."[585] Joon Gon Kim worked with the Park Chung Hee government to organize Explo '74, and actively engaged in transpacific conservative evangelical activism, preserving harmony between the state and church, and shifting the global trajectory of Campus Crusade.

A World Vision: Christian Empire

Campus Crusade burgeoned as a global organization because of the transpacific networks it forged with South Korea at Explo '74. Douglass recalled the influence that Explo '74 had upon Campus Crusade in terms of overseas missionaries: "So many staff went overseas after that…[T]hat our ministry could have that kind of impact, and do something that significant in Korea, helped a lot." She noted: "The vast majority of our

[584] Ibid., 99.

[585] Chang, *Protest Dialectics*, 106.

staff went to Asia. A lot went to Europe but Europe was never as welcoming."[586] Turner writes that in the 1970s, Campus Crusade "began to resemble a foreign missions agency, as its goal shifted from university evangelism to encouraging students to serve as missionaries with Crusade upon graduation."[587] For Bright, his shift in focus to support the global South was not merely a matter of theology, such as the belief that Korea, like the Israelites, were a chosen nation. Bright reasoned that it was more cost effective to do mass evangelism in the global South: "On the basis of our surveys in Asia, Africa and Latin America, [we] are convinced that, for every dollar we raise, we can expect at least one person to receive Christ."[588] For the Campus Crusade workers who decided to devote their lives to missionary work, Explo '74 was personal and life-changing.

At Explo '74, Sharpless learned that the vision of the total evangelization of the world could become a reality. From his early days as a campus worker at Oregon State, Sharpless recalls that from "day one on campus," he had taught an introductory Christian series including "the challenge to fulfill the Great Commission, to reach the world for Christ," which was the "most important class." Talking about the evangelization of the world "versus actually seeing the potential fulfillment of the Great Commission" was nothing short of "life-changing." He left Korea "knowing that God could do it." He recalled the sights he saw that convinced him:

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[586] Judy Douglass, Oral History Interview.

[587] Ibid. Campus Crusade's emergence as a major foreign missions entity reflected broader trends in foreign missions. Evangelical and fundamentalist organizations accounted for more that 90 percent of North American foreign missions, with the decline of the mainline Protestant contributions.

[588] Ibid.

> I was able to attend the evening sessions at *Yoido* island…What I saw and witnessed was humanly impossible unless God had done it. The miracle of people of how they got there, the sense of unity and purpose, that was very intense. The delegates to Explo '74 were not casual Christians. They were committed to see their country reached – you couldn't help but feel that, sense that, be part of that. It was not casual Christianity that week. This was committed people committed to the Great Commission.[589]

Sharpless was moved by the visible signs of fervent Korean Christian piety at Explo '74:

> The people that came outside of the city camped out on hard ground with a thin mat and lived in very basic accommodations and housing and food for over a week. You don't do that if you're a casual Christian. This was not a vacation. The people from the city would come by bus in the early afternoon and stay until midnight – it was not convenient, it was not easy. It was not an easy conference to be part of – that showed their commitment to see their country reached. God was doing a special thing in Korea at that time both in the hearts of Korean church leaders and the heart of Dr. Joon Gon Kim.[590]

Sharpless could not forget what he had witnessed. He committed the rest of his life to Campus Crusade's missionary work: "In 1977, I was reported and released to Asia…I went with the understanding that it was a lifetime assignment." As Sharpless articulated, "When you join this movement you join to see the world reached for Christ."[591] Indeed, he went to the Philippines, where he spent nearly twenty years of his life as a missionary.

[589] Jerry Sharpless, Oral History Interview.

[590] Ibid.

[591] Ibid.

<Fig. 21. Photo courtesy of Gertrude Phillips. Seoul, Korea. Campus Crusade staff worker Gertrude Phillips arriving in South Korea for a six month trip to prepare for Explo '74, 1974.>

Phillips, who was similarly recruited to do administrative work for Explo '74, gained a new world vision and met challenges she would not have otherwise faced. She recalled the new lens through she came to see the world:

> Just the experience of being there and seeing that, probably gave me a worldview I wouldn't have had otherwise. Because I had never been to another country…. [M]y world was the continental United States…I had no experience of anything outside the United States…It challenged me on a faith level.

Moreover, had she not had the initial six months in Korea, "there's no way I would have said yes to twenty years." Philips continues: "I really can say that if I had not had that experience in Korea, I wouldn't have been in place, and I wouldn't have had the faith to keep on going in international ministry. Because seriously, I would not have requested it, I wouldn't have thought it."[592] She initially refused to go overseas:

> When I was looking for other opportunities in Campus Crusade, Bailey Marks and his wife and his secretary were at Arrowhead Springs. They left to begin the ministry in Asia. When they knew that my boss had

[592] Gertrude Phillips, Oral History Interview.

> transferred to the Philippines, they asked if I would join them….I said no I'm not really interested in Asia.

Thus, she was surprised that, six months later, she actually ended up in South Korea for Explo '74. While in Korea, she was asked again to consider missionary work in Asia. Now she was much more open because of the experiences she was having in Korea. She saw the "fervency of faith of the Korean people," which helped her become "even more serious about my own spiritual faith." Moreover, she saw the "spiritual openness of Asia":

> One day I knew Bailey Marks was coming to town to meet with Dr. Kim and I knew he was going to ask me again…By then, I really saw the spiritual openness in Korea. I saw that I had done alright, I was about half way through my time in Korea. My family was fine. My support was coming in. It was the spiritual that really drew me. The spiritual openness of Asia…Bailey asked, as predicted, and I said yes. So, after Korea I went directly to the Philippines, thinking it would be one term of two, two and half years. I had to have my mother send me more clothes because I just packed for six months…After that first term I prayed and God showed me I should stay… I stayed for a second term…. Then, it was as if God said, stay there until I tell you to leave… I was there twenty-three years. It was just one term into another term.

Phillips noticed not only the fervent piety and hospitality of Koreans. She also witnessed the literal openness of South Korea as a nation. There, Americans could easily forge a path, thanks especially to the militarization of the peninsula, since 1947, which quite literally forced the nation "open." Along these routes of empire building in Asia, Phillips experienced a spiritual awakening that shifted her life trajectory in incremental steps: "[God] gave me, from Korea, faith for one term…and then, faith for another term, and then I was just willing to stay. It was twenty-three years altogether."[593] Given Europe's experience with missionary collusion with empire building, it was much less likely that

[593] Ibid.

they would be open to Campus Crusade workers who desired to evangelize their nations to the Christian faith.

Like Sharpless and Philips, Niebling recalled the life-changing experience that Explo '74 had upon his life. Much like Bright's staff had resisted him in organizing Explo '72, so too Joon Gon Kim was met with resistance when he attempted to organize Explo '74. Joon Gon Kim and his Korean staff had famously listed one hundred reasons for why they could not execute Explo '74. They went down the list one by one and resolved to have faith in God to overcome each hurdle. Neibling was inspired by the way in which they are able to overcome all of these seeming obstacles:

> My first assignment was to go to Korea…After a number of months they began to pull in every available body. During orientation we heard Dr. Kim [speak about] the struggle that it was among the staff to really believe that such a big event could happen. They fasted and prayed. They listed 100 reasons for why it couldn't happen. They said, 'Can God do this?' They gradually began to answer, 'Yes, God can do it.' The dream became a reality. Through that…Explo came.

Neibling had a similar experience of being able to overcome obstacles when he was met with unanticipated challenges at Explo '74:

> I was drafted to be one who would oversee the overflow site for all of the international students, which was Ewha University… All of a sudden I went from sitting back and relaxing to more delegates… For me as a relatively new staff it was totally overwhelming to host 1600 people or so. It was a very dramatic time in my own life. If you remember, Dr. Park Chung Hee's wife was assassinated that week. KBI coming [*sic*] to Ewha to find out who the director is over here… and they wanted to know all of the details about them.

Niebling recalled his experience of divine assistance to overcome these obstacles:

> The week was a supernatural week in my own life because I was so overwhelmed with busyness and responsibility and I noticed someone else took over…I was there, yes, but someone else was doing it through me. It was a very personal spiritual[ly] powerful experience. As well as going out to Yoido Island and being a part of so many people who had gathered.

> They had more than 1.5 million for a couple of nights. The number one lesson I learned is [that if] God calls you to do something he will enable you to do it. And that's when I saw someone else working in and through me. It wasn't just me. That prepared me for the rest of 40 years of living in Asia. That's why I was able to do many of things that would follow as we were just starting Campus Crusade ministry in many countries. It was a very life-changing event for me personally.

Neibling saw that the reality of challenging circumstances, or even literal facts, could not prevent him from carrying out the work that he believed was ordained by God. God could defy reality and factual circumstances. Campus Crusade leveraged Park's authoritarian power and the revival assisted in quelling leftist movements that resisted the human rights violations of the regime. At the same time, Koreans and American missionaries at Explo '74 experienced what they accepted as miracles and the hand of God at work.

As a result of Explo '74, Campus Crusade's global influence expanded. Sharpless, therefore, emphasized the global character of Campus Crusade and critiqued American exceptionalist understandings of being the center of Christianity:

> The torch of world missions started [in the] Middle East with Jesus, and then to Europe…then down to Africa…It's moved from Europe to America. The American missionary thrust led the world for world missions and now it's passed over to Asia… So the story is, America is a blip, an important blip.

Sharpless suggested that the torch of Christianity had been passed on to other nations including Asia, and eschewed the image of Campus Crusade as "American":

> With the number of long term American missionaries that have stabilized or decreased, the number of Asian missionaries has greatly increased. So the story is not an American story. For many, many years the vast majority of our impact has been outside of America. It's a global organization. America is one of those countries… Have we done a good job telling that story? Well, most people in America think we're a campus ministry in the U.S.[594]

[594] Jerry Sharpless, Oral History Interview.

Sharpless critiqued the towering image of the U.S. and intimated that Campus Crusade was a much more de-centered organization composed of independent national chapters:

> The fact is the DNA that Dr. Bright always had is that we're not a U.S.-based ministry with overseas branches but a global ministry of unique independent countries committed to see their countries reached for Christ.[595]

Indeed, the story of Explo '74 itself certainly reveals the pivotal influence that South Koreans had influencing Americans, and the global trajectory of Campus Crusade itself. At the same time, the tensions between the global and national character of Campus Crusade, and the events at Explo '74 still cracked through, revealing the heightened priority of the nation-state even as the evangelistic revival was a transnational event.

Joon Gon Kim's reflections on the revival thoroughly grounded its success in Korean roots. "Explo'74 was not only an international Christian conference" he reported, but a movement "from the grassroots of Korean Christianity."[596] He went on to assert that the statistics garnered at Explo '74 accounted for the largest of several categories including the largest Christian gathering in recorded history.[597] He pronounced these data points as evidence that the revival was ushering in a new reformation in Christian history, to which he promised to devote his life: "Many sincere Christians have questioned my own confidence in setting a 1975 target date for the total Christianization

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[595] Ibid.

[596] Joon Gon Kim, "Stage Set for Awakening," Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc. Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL. Also, in preparation for the main activities, a series of preparatory activities were organized. There were weeklong regional activities outside of Seoul and Cho Yonggi the pastor of the Yoido Full Gospel Church preached. The night before the main event, 100, 000 women from 15, 500 churches stayed up until 4 a.m. to pray for the event. On August 13, the day of the main event, people gathered under tents to attend classes and during the evening services Bright, Han Kyongjik, Joon Gon Kim, and other conservative religious leaders preached.

[597] Ibid.

of Korea. I dare to commit my life and energies toward that goal because I am convinced that Explo '74 has helped to usher in another reformation in Christian history."[598] Campus Crusade staff, including Bright, helped to usher in this revival in Korea, but Joon Gon Kim framed the event as a nationalistic movement. Tensions about who "owned" the revival pervaded their otherwise cordial correspondence regarding revival statistics. Bright had been criticized for overestimating the '74 revival numbers to the American press and felt the heat to provide concrete evidence, something which only Joon Gon Kim could provide as the one closer to the roots of the movement. At the same time as Bright expressed his "love and encouragement," he also insisted that Joon Gon Kim provide "documentation" for the revival statistics to "give further credibility" to his claims.[599] Though Bright could pose as the overseer of the revival, Joon Gon Kim held the real evidence of its success, and that put pressure on Bright to get the facts straight.

Sharing the World Stage: WEC '80

In the aftermath of Explo '74, the Korean Christian church burgeoned into a global force, helping it to garner the title "regional Protestant superpower." In 1979, Park Chung Hee was assassinated. The 1980 revival reflected the logic of Explo'80 – that changed people could change the world – even as it was, indeed, a nationalist challenge,

[598] Ibid. Joon Gon Kim went on to equate the revival of Korea with the Protestant Reformation: "Until the Reformation led by Martin Luther, salvation by faith was a truth hidden to the average layman. Likewise, I believe that the clear understanding of the ministry of the Holy Spirit, whose presence and power we appropriate by faith, has been a hidden truth to most Christians." He remarked that at EXPLO '74 Christians "responded to the challenge to allow the Holy Spirit to control and empower their lives by faith, thus setting the stage for a powerful spiritual awakening that can truly transform our nation and world." He believed that this would be the way that the Great Commission would be fulfilled in his generation. He ended with a vision for the world, not just for Korea: "God wants to do in every heart in every nation around the world which He came to seek and to save."

[599] Yates, "For Explo '74."

Campus Crusade essentially sustained the core message of the international organization, even in the face of authoritarian regimes that followed Park Chung Hee's regime. Moreover, as evangelicals in America gained further power, this helped boost the cause that South Korean evangelicals also sought to achieve. In short, it was not only a parallel movement but an interconnected one. WEC '80 showed that a global Christian empire could be achieved, and it was only further underscored by the election of Reagan in 1980.

In the same year that Joon Gon Kim was promoted to the Director of East Asia Area of Affairs for Campus Crusade for Christ,[600] he was the executive chairman of the organizing committee for the 1980 World Evangelization Crusade (WEC), one of the world's largest evangelistic crusades.[601] Slogans adopted from Campus Crusade's American campaign were used: "I Found It!," "New Life in Jesus!" and "You Too Can Find It!" were part of the mass media campaigns through South Korea.[602] Korean and American speakers spoke at the event: John Wright, head of the Southern Baptists' home ministries, Bill Bright, Donald McGavran, and Carl Henry, to name a few. Joon Gon Kim also preached a sermon titled, "A Nation without a Vision Will Perish." To achieve democracy and unification, the nation had to be evangelized, he asserted. A grand total of

[600] He was promoted along with Thomas Abraham of India in 1980, to take effect in 1981. Bright says that this transition of leadership had to do with their commitment to indigenous leadership: "I told him that a part of his job description was to work himself out of a job. This is because, in accordance with our indigenous philosophy, an Asian should ultimately be the Director of Affairs for Asia."

[601] Marks, *Awakening in Asia*, 20. In 1976, Crusade brought "Here's Life, America" to about 150 cities. Joon Gon Kim was in the midst of planning "Here's Life, Korea" when he was approached by the organizing committee for the World Evangelization Crusade.

[602] These media slogans began with Campus Crusade for Christ's "Here's Life, America" campaign in 1975, which was meant to help achieve Bill Bright's vision to evangelize the entire U.S. by 1976. "Here's Life, World" was a campaign that was meant to be exported outside of the U.S. to over one hundred countries by the end of 1977.

17.25 million attended the four-day crusade, the largest evangelistic revival in Korean history (and perhaps in the world) at that time**,** yet again exceeding the size of prior revivals.[603] It was reported that an estimated 700,000 committed their lives to Christ for the first time, two million experienced the fullness of the Holy Spirit, and 100,000 volunteered to serve in foreign missions.[604]

The 1980 World Evangelization Crusade was meant for world evangelism, and it was the decisive step for Korea to assume leadership of the world's evangelization.[605] Joon Gon Kim, as the chairman of the planning committee, asserted in his usual urgent fashion: "Our first goal in the campaign is to achieve, most speedily and efficiently, the supreme goal of carrying out evangelism." He declared that they were "mobilizing" all of the necessary resources and "intensively organizing" people. This revival would help energize the Korean nation for the sake of "earnestly star[ting]" a "Korean-modeled and Korean-led missionary movement" which would make the "world and all people become our working unit."[606] According to Joon Gon Kim, the evangelization of the world belonged to Koreans. Joon Gon Kim was ready to set the stage for the Christian revolution of the world, with even Bright and his nation as a "working unit." As a

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[603] Lee, *Born Again*, 108-109. Again, these statistics are reported by Timothy Lee, who likely has no investment in exaggerating the numbers; see footnote 107. The 1980 Crusade was the last massive evangelistic revival in Korea. The last massive evangelistic crusade to take place was the 1988 World Evangelization Crusade, with the Seoul Olympics held in 1988 as the impetus for such a large gathering. The 1988 revival's key characteristic was the rhetoric of Korea as the chosen nation, and therefore, the deliverer of the gospel to the world.

[604] Joon Gon Kim also reported his statistics to Bright. Joon Gon Kim to Bright Correspondence, August 22, 1980. Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc. Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL.

[605] Lee, *Born Again*, 106.

[606] Ibid., 107.

continuation of his declaration at Explo '72 in Dallas, Joon Gon Kim's announcement for WEC '80 challenged American exceptionalism as the center of world Christianity, and was a means to critique the American empire itself – but not to argue for demilitarization of the peninsula or an end to the U.S. Cold War in Asia, but to replace American Christian triumphalism with Korean Christian triumphalism.

Koreans believed that they had surpassed the religiosity of the secularizing West. One of the Korean preachers at the revival declared: "The period of Euro-American missions is over. Now Korea must assume the responsibility of evangelizing the Third World – this kind of mission is increasingly demanded of us these days; what can we the believers do to take part in missionary work?"[607] *Christianity Today* reported that the South Korean church "has deliberately moved from being a missionary receiving church to a missionary sending one."[608] This exceptionalist and even supercessionist rhetoric echoed not only the language of American exceptionalism, with which so many Protestants had identified, but also the language of a new chosen people, hearkening back to the Israelites. Oh recalls the significance of WEC '80 in terms of providing South Koreans with a sense that they could be global missionaries:

> It started because we had the help of the U.S. but it was also the case that it was through Explo '74 that we saw the growth that we had collected at that point and we could see the possibility for the national evangelization that Rev. Kim had declared. No other country in the world declared that through Campus Crusade it would evangelize the whole nation or that it would as an entire nation send out global missionaries. At the '80 WEC crusade we promised that 10,000 would be sent out as missionaries. I stood up that day too and 10,000 others stood up that day.

[607] Lee, *Born Again*, 112.

[608] Ibid., 181.

Indeed, it was as if the Christian battalion that Joon Gon Kim had imagined raising up at Explo '72, was coming alive through not only Explo '74 but even more decisively at WEC '80. They would not only globalize Christianity but also serve as a defense against communism, contributing to the ongoing Cold War.

Douglass recalled the singular significance of the South Korean partnership. "[South Korea] is still probably the most significant partnership that we have. Because, well, it was the first, so we learned how to do it as a whole with Dr. Kim and his team." She recalled that the Korean partnership was unique in terms of the number of Korean who have traveled to other nations as missionaries from Korea, a missionary-sending nation:

> The majority of the countries at first are receiving; Korea, immediately, was sending…. We have country levels of one, two and three…A [level three] means that they are sending, as well as having developed, their own support and training. Korea is the first country that was sending and they set a model for other countries that they have aspired to…I think that model of growing your own ministry yourself, and then sending, is maybe one of the best contributions to the partnership.[609]

The success of the 1980 revival hosted in Korea also fell in line with Bright's changing understanding of Campus Crusade. As Turner would suggest, Bright's Campus Crusade could help "inaugurate a post-Western missionary era in which missionaries from countries like Korea took their faith around the world." Instead of losing in the race for the world's evangelization, Bright's maintained his position as the global leader by supporting Korea's evangelistic success not only financially but also in uplifting the ministry as an exemplar. He reflected after the 1980 revival: "I have been involved in evangelism and discipleship programs for over 30 years…but I can assure you that there

[609] Judy Douglass, Oral History Interview.

has never been anything in the history of the world that would compare with what our eyes saw and our ears heard during that incredible, phenomenal, unprecedented week of meetings in Seoul, Korea."[610] He compared the faith of the Koreans to John Wesley and Martin Luther: "Korean Christians as a whole have the unusual commitment which Martin Luther and John Wesley had before they were converted."[611] In this sense, he would have to attenuate his American exceptionalism for the sake of making church history, but he still prioritized the western Christian tradition, as he saw the Koreans as an extension of it. Bright saw Korean success as an example from which he might learn:

> I believe that what God has done spiritually in Korea is a message from Him saying, 'If you trust Me and obey Me, I can do the same thing in your home, in your church, in your community, in your nation.' Let us believe God to this end and not view the phenomenal experience of Korea as just something that they (the Koreans) have done, but as something that God has done as an example for all of us, that we might believe Him and trust Him for the great and mighty things which He promises to those who walk in faith and obedience.[612]

Bright, to be sure, had his own nation in mind as a people for whom God could also do such work. If Joon Gon Kim had been the figure who had once learned the pragmatic evangelistic success of the Americans, now Bright was the one who was learning from, and adjusting his global strategy to meet the Koreans where they were headed.

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[610] Bill Bright, "Report on My Recent Ministry in Korea and China: Two of the Most Important Weeks of My life and Of Ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ." Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc. Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL.

[611] Ibid.

[612] Bill Bright, "Report on My Recent Ministry in Korea and China: Two of the Most Important Weeks of My life and of Ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ." Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc. Campus Crusade for Christ International Archive, Orlando, FL. One might surmise that Bright's Calvinistic theology of the Holy Spirit may have helped him to deal with any difficult feelings that the Korean nation was "special" by suggesting that it was all the Holy Spirit's doing.

Note that, as with Explo '74, WEC '80 was organized as a form of revolution, a spiritual revolution that was opposed to leftist movements. In the wake of Park Chung Hee's assassination in 1979, a new military regime took over the nation. Students, in turn, revolted against the military dictatorship. Oh initially protested the new government, but over time, he moved into an evangelistic movement that he called a spiritual movement. Oh recalled that in South Korea, "evangelicals" believed in a spiritual revolution while "activists" believed in a social revolution:

> [Activists] continued to say that we needed to change institutions in order to change society and that we needed to resist authority. We said that we couldn't change the nation like that. People needed to change. We shifted our movement toward the direction of prayer and the Bible. We were engaged in a spiritual movement and they were engaged in a social movement. That was the perspective of evangelicals at that time. We evangelicals maintained our distance from social engagement.

Oh reflects on how the identity "evangelical" came to signify "Christian." He shows that the term "evangelical," moreover, defined itself against social engagement as well as protest as a means for social change. He suggested that the division between North and South Korea was akin to the division between activists and evangelicals during this time. In this sense, "activists" were aligned with communist North Korea and "evangelicals" coded as South Korean and therefore aligned with the U.S. He recalled:

> Those who continued to protest, they were what we called *undonggweon* or "activists" – that's where that term came from…Much like the nation was divided after the Korean War with the North leaning toward the left and the South leaning toward the right, college students were also divided…Among the college students there was something called the Korean national youth union, and those who sided with them were on the left, and desired to change society by generating a social revolution. But those who thought this was too extreme and witnessed merciless casualties realized this was not right. So as people who saw things from a Christian perspective, we dropped our stones and desired to change souls. So the direction of our movements shifted.

The primary reason that Oh stopped using protest as a means for social change was because he believed that he was harming his friends:

> For about three to four months we really protested hard. We wore towels around our heads, put toothpaste on our faces and hid from gas bombs in every alley way but if a military police car suddenly exploded, then the police would die… What we realized, ultimately, was that it was people like our friends…who got hurt and that we could not change the military government...We began to wonder why we had to sacrifice our own friends and why we had to get hit by gas bomb's thrown by our very own friends…There was a student named Han Yeol Lee from *Yonsei* University who died after being hit by a gas bomb. That event ignited…into a national demonstration.

Oh disagreed with the violent tactics of the student protest movement and, moreover, believed social engagement was futile because it did not enact the desired change. Like Joon Gon Kim, Oh believed that real change came through changing people:

> We believed that people had to change in order for systems to change…Ultimately we believed that people could not be changed without God. The thing we were supposed to do, then, was to pray that God would work.

He believed that through Campus Crusade's evangelistic activities they had discovered a more long-term solution to address political and national instability:

> Ultimately for us, more than our immediate circumstances, we hoped for the reality that goes beyond our circumstances, and even if things did not move in the direction of our wishes, we held onto the hope that God would change things at some point. Because of this, even if things did not change immediately, we didn't get influenced this way and that by our circumstances, but believed that it was something that God would do. So we weren't easily shaken by our circumstances. And we didn't expect to see the results we had hoped for in this life. In other words, we saw things a bit more long-term.

He perceived that the government permitting WEC '80 was a means through which God intervened in the world: "In the midst of the political instability, you can see that the new government made the decision from their perspective but from God's perspective you could say that God did it." Moreover, like Neibling, Oh found justification for his

approach to social change through evangelism in the concrete evidence of economic development, or South Korea's economic "miracle": "If you look back, it was while this government held power that the nation had its greatest economic success – ironically." Oh believed that the WEC '80, therefore, had a "butterfly effect" in that the revivalistic activity helped to stabilize the nation and facilitate its economic uplift. Instead of launching a critique of the authoritarian state, Oh found justification for the state as he imagined God intervening and using the state in spite of itself, and because of the evidence of economic development that occurred as a result of its actions. By extension, the signification of the term "evangelical" as against "activist" was justified as the means through Christianity orthodoxy could be defined. Thus, not only in the U.S. but also in South Korea, an allied nation, "evangelical" was solidified as mainstream orthodoxy by 1980 through effective use of the state.

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Employing a transpacific frame to study Explo '72 and '74 provides historical interpretations of the rise of evangelical conservativism that move beyond abortion and private morality.[613] By 1980, with the election of Reagan, and then the successful execution of WEC '80 in South Korea, evangelicals secured mainstream positions in both the U.S. and South Korea. They did so not only by lobbying but also evangelizing. Evangelism signified a political alternative to leftist protest that could use the state as a means for carrying out a primarily Christian vision for the evangelization of the world. Massive evangelistic rallies like Explo '72, '74 and WEC '80 came to signify not only a means to carry out and sustain a Christian vision that many predicted wane in a modern

[613] Born-again Christians saw a strong connection between "private morality and collective good," which guided their votes.

era, but rather, it reinvented itself and expanded by following the routes of U.S. Cold War expansionism in Asia and most pointedly in South Korea.

Campus Crusade's transpacific networks in South Korea fueled the global growth of the organization, not only as a means to convert souls, but also to build a bulwark against communism in Asia, which both American and South Korean evangelicals were invested in. Moreover, South Koreans critiqued American exceptionalism of Christian headquarters and critiqued American empire, but not to call for decolonization, but to replace Americans as the heads of Christian triumphalism – to create their own global evangelical empire. They could do so by quelling leftist movements and leveraging their relationships with a South Korean authoritarian regime that was similarly interested in denouncing leftist protests, which, by extension, the U.S. Cold War state was also invested in. Campus Crusade, one of the most influential evangelical parachurches in the late-twentieth century grew in global power and influence because of the U.S. Cold War state's investments in combating global communism. By extension, Campus Crusade's evangelical system of belief could dictate the definition of Christian orthodoxy in the U.S. and globally, deeming other definitions of belief as heterodox, or communist.

CONCLUSION

In 2006, *Christianity Today* reported that the U.S. and South Korea were respectively ranked as the number one and two missionary-sending countries in the world.[614] On a per capita basis, South Koreans send out the most missionaries in the world, an astonishing statistic given the size of the country and the historical presence of Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism as the nation's primary religious traditions.[615] Not only do the U.S. and South Korea send out the most missionaries in the twenty-first century, but evangelicalism is also a dominant tradition in both nations. The "Korean Protestant Right" continues to wield significant influence in contemporary South Korean politics and as a "regional Protestant superpower" in Asia.[616] In the U.S. presidential election in 2016, 81% of white evangelicals voted for the Republican candidate, revealing that the Christian right remains a powerful voting block in contemporary American life.[617] In the early twentieth-century, evangelicals were unlikely to regain their dominance in American society, and few predicted that an evangelical form of Christianity would "explode" in South Korea. Yet, in the Cold War era, the evangelical tradition burgeoned in both modern nation-states. The legacy of that history remains.

As I have argued, rather than parallel and disconnected phenomena, the rise of

[614] Rob Moll, "Missions Incredible," *Christianity Today* 50 (3): 28-34.

[615] Ben Torrey, "The Mission to North Korea," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research.* 32 (1): 20-22.

[616] Kim, *The Gendered Politics of the Korean Protestant Right*.

[617] Sarah Bailey, "White evangelicals voted overwhelmingly for Donald Trump, exit polls show." Washington Post Online, November 9, 2016. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2016/11/09/exit-polls-show-white-evangelicals-voted-overwhelmingly-for-donald-trump/?utm_term=.da392debf8df. Accessed January 22, 2017.

evangelicalism in the U.S. and South Korea were interconnected movements in the Cold War era. The Korean War, the first "hot" war of the Cold War, brought together a new generation of American fundamentalists and South Korean Protestants who forged transpacific networks that helped to reinvent a parochial American fundamentalism into mainstream American evangelicalism. In spite of decolonization movements that critiqued the western missionary enterprise, American fundamentalists followed Cold War expansionist routes into South Korea, which led to the founding of World Vision, the internationalization of Campus Crusade and the largest Billy Graham crusade.

Moreover, as I have shown, South Koreans were American evangelicalism's necessary racial "other." They were incorporated into these parachurches with a Cold War Orientalist logic that portrayed the liberal American democratic state as one that espoused racial equality even while it reinforced white supremacy. Yet South Koreans also used these parachurches to reimagine their place in the global Cold War order. South Koreans' contributions in founding, internationalizing and globalizing these parachurches led them to believe that they could surpass America Christendom to become the next leaders of Christian empire. Such South Korean Protestant nationalist ambitions intimated critiques of U.S. Cold War expansionism in Asia, but nevertheless, shored up a conservative Korean and American Christian right that legitimated empire.

The three parachurches featured in this history, the Billy Graham Evangelical Association, Campus Crusade for Christ and World Vision have transformed since their mid-twentieth century origins.[618] Yet they remain powerful institutions in contemporary

[618] Note, however, that there are significant shifts that have also occurred, especially with World Vision, which is a much more ecumenical organization today than it was in the early days of the Cold War. See David King's history of World Vision. This is also why Gary Vanderpol is eager to use World Vision as an example of the social ministry of American evangelicalism. But

America, Korea and the world and parachurches in general continue as a key part of the growth of American evangelicalism in the contemporary world. Franklin Graham is a prominent figure in contemporary evangelical America whose rise is indebted to the Cold War history featured in this dissertation. That is, he is the head of two parachurches to which two of the key historical figures featured in this dissertation devoted their lives. Franklin Graham is the son of Billy Graham, and he currently serves as the CEO of the BGEA, the parachurch that his father founded, as well as Samaritan's Purse, a parachurch that Bob Pierce founded after he left World Vision. In January 2017, Franklin Graham was one of six clergy who prayed or read scriptures at the inauguration of the forty-fifth American president.[619] His prominence in American society exemplifies the revival of evangelical dominance in American society, and reveals the historic and contemporary importance that parachurches such as the BGEA have had in that reinvention.

The history featured in this dissertation has several implications. First, it reveals that American religion is connected to the world. American religious movements do not grow in isolation but through their deep connections to people and movements around the world. To be sure, South Korean evangelicalism burgeoned into a powerful tradition, in part, because of ongoing American interests in the peninsula. At the same time, evangelicalism in America became a viable and powerful tradition because of ongoing American interests in the Korean peninsula. That is, U.S. Cold War expansionism into

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as I have noted in this dissertation, the early history of World Vision was critical in shaping American evangelicalism, and it began as a movement with roots in American fundamentalism.

[619] Tim Funk. "In Prayer, Franklin Graham Sees Rain at Inauguration as Good Omen for Trump." January 20, 2017. http://www.charlotteobserver.com/living/religion/article127687134 .html. *The Charlotte Observer* online. Accessed March 20, 2017.

South Korea animated the reinvention of American evangelicalism. Because American exceptionalist narratives of history tend to obscure the global and transnational forces through which American religious movements are start, grow and transform, the historiography needs to be pushed to set American religious history in a global context.

Second, the growth and legitimation of American evangelicalism, a beleaguered tradition in the early twentieth century, is indebted to its linkages to non-western nations. My research shows that a tradition today popularly known for its defense of America, including its intense xenophobia, ironically, could not have regained its dominance in American society without the contributions of non-western peoples. But is it possible for the evangelical tradition to be global without being imperial? In the aftermath of the forty-fifth American president's "travel ban," Franklin Graham expressed his views on immigration, declaring that refugee care is not a biblical value.[620] Recall that Franklin Graham's organization hosted its largest crusade, not within the borders of the U.S., but across the Pacific, in South Korea. Thus, the growth and legitimation of the BGEA is indebted to non-western nations and the American privilege of crossing borders into other nations. Yet Franklin Graham exercises willful ignorance in rejecting the very categories of people – "foreigners" – to whom the growth of his tradition depends.[621]

Third, religious ideas have political ramifications. Indeed, even religious ideas that seem to have no overt political agenda can have political ramifications. In a

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[620] Joel Baden. "Franklin Graham Says Immigration is 'Not a Bible Issue.' Here's What the Bible Says" February 10, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2017/02/10/franklin-graham-said-immigration-is-not-a-bible-issue-heres-what-the-bible-says/?utm_term=.1e32461cecf7. Accessed April 22, 2017.

[621] Erika Lee's history of Chinese immigration is especially helpful in showing the history of exclusion on which American nation-building has depended; she makes connections to the contemporary moment in her conclusion. Lee, *At America's Gates*.

worldview like that of Graham's as well as that of Billy Kim's, in which personal salvation is of utmost value, their religious worldview still had political effects. Their revival could not have been organized without accommodating an authoritarian political regime. South Koreans also used evangelical revival to reimagine their own place in the global Cold War order. The stories of the two Billys, World Vision, and Campus Crusade, show that it is not possible to separate piety from politics. Thus, rather than eschewing politics, it is necessary for American Christians to mindfully steward the inevitable co-mingling of piety and politics.

The Cold War in Korea animated the reinvention of American evangelicalism. Korea's sharp geopolitical divisions with the North espousing communism and the South espousing capitalist democracy, became a transpacific force through which American evangelicalism gained new life. American evangelicals' engagement with South Korea, specially, heightened their commitment to capitalism and democracy. Thus, a "religious left," including liberation theologies that draw on socialist ideas, were rendered less viable political and religious possibilities. Yet the Korean War ended with an armistice in 1953, not with the cessation of war, and North and South Korea remain divided nations, resulting in an unending Cold War in Asia. Thus, the polarized image of a "good" South Korea and "bad" North Korea remains in the contemporary American imagination continues to animate the viability of American evangelicalism today.[622] The divided geopolitical lines of the ongoing Cold War undergird the logic through which "good"

[622] One only needs to examine contemporary newspaper headlines to see the portrayal of North Korea as an irrational, bad or evil nation. See the following example in which the North Korean leader Kim Jong Un is portrayed as irrational by the American president. Gerry Mullany. "Trump Warns 'Major, Major Conflict,' with North Korea Possible." *New York Times* Online: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/27/world/asia/trump-north-korea-kim-jong-un.html Accessed April 27, 2017.

South Korean missionaries are dispersed throughout the world, and in turn, justifies the global missionary enterprise that is so central for the growth of American evangelicalism.

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