UCLA
UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
Haunting The Korean American Church: Cold War History and Evangelical Fundamentalism

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/65b0p1m6

Author
Choi, David

Publication Date
2023

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Haunting The Korean American Church:

Cold War History and Evangelical Fundamentalism

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in Asian American Studies

by

David Choi

2023

© Copyright by

David Choi

2023

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Haunting The Korean American Church:

Cold War History and Evangelical Fundamentalism

by

David Choi

Master of Arts in Asian American Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2023

Professor Kyungwon Hong, Chair

In this thesis, I apply Avery Gordon's theorization of haunting to argue that Evangelical fundamentalism unevenly preserved historical narratives and memories in the conservative Korean American churches I studied. By tracing the origins of this conservative political-theology, I offer an articulation of Korean American Evangelical fundamentalism as a belief system that was shaped by the Cold War as South Korea was reconfigured into a subimperial position within U.S. empire, and (re)produced in these churches through a transpacific pastor training circuit. This modulated the saliency and communicability of Korean Cold War history, preserving those that reaffirmed the subimperial relationship between the U.S. and South Korea, while those that did not were present only through absences, ruptures, and other ghostly traces.

The thesis of David Choi is approved.

Ju Hui Judy Han

Thu-huong Nguyen-vo

Kyungwon Hong, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2023

Dedicated to all those who have felt alone in the Korean/American church.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements and Preface

This thesis was only possible thanks to my committee, mentors, and community who have supported and empowered me.

I have the utmost gratitude and appreciation for my thesis committee. Thank you to my chair Professor Kyungwon Hong for your encouragement and insightful feedback as I took on a deeply personal project. Your mentorship helped this project mature through its many iterations and ensured that it reached the finish line. Thank you Professor Thu-hương Nguyễn-Võ for your support of the various modalities of my scholarly and creative thinking, helping me to imagine my place in the academy. And Professor Ju Hui Judy Han, thank you for your scholarship, which was the inspiration and foundation for so much of this project, and modeling what it is to sit at the intersection of queer, feminist, religious, and Korean/American studies.

I would also like to thank other faculty members who shaped my graduate education. I have so much appreciation and gratitude to Professor Namhee Lee. Without your graduate seminar, I would not have been introduced to the transpacific Korean studies framework from which my line of questioning arises. Thank you for cultivating Korean Studies at UCLA that has been the source of so much support and inspiration for me in my master's program. Thank you to Professors Evyn Lê Espiritu Gandhi and Tritia Toyota who were formative at the beginning and end of the AAS core seminars, as I envisioned and designed this project. Thank you to our graduate advisor, Professor Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns for your radical scholarship, support, and honesty as I navigated academia as a graduate student. Thank you to my interim advisor Professor Lee Ann S. Wang for providing critical mentorship and advice as I transitioned from clinical psychology to ethnic studies.

I must thank my fellow graduate students who have been the source of so much comradery, inspiration, and solidarity as students, workers, and colleagues. Thank you to my cohort Catherine Ho, Gabby Lupola, Emiko Okamura, Ravi Ranawaka, Yuki Torrey, and April Yang for being on this journey with me and imagining a vibrant, diverse, and supportive Asian American studies together. Thank you to Ju-Hyun Kim, Sung Eun Kim, and Yee Rem Kim for bearing with me as I began engaging with Korean Studies in Prof. Lee's graduate seminar and for welcoming me into your community. It was an honor to think alongside you all.

And of course, thank you to Yurim Lee and my roommate Yejoo Kim. I would not have survived this master's program without you two. My nunas who have helped me find a home in Los Angeles, you have been my rock and my inspiration, where I can go to laugh and cry, always ready to eat and celebrate. I have learned so much from you two and it is hard to express in words how much your friendships have meant to me. Our time together has helped me to heal and practice what it means to imagine otherwise. Thank you.

Thank you to my friends for listening to me as I ranted and complained, critical labor that ensured this project can exist. Thank you to Seohyun Joo, Christine Lee, Samuel Lee, Nikolaj Nielsen, Elisabeth Parker, Rachel Seo, and Gar Yeung for being with me as I transitioned from SF to LA, for being my homes away from UCLA. Your friendships have sustained me as I completed my MA. Brian Chu, thank you for your care and encouragement, your flowers and your companionship. I was able to make it to the end and beyond thanks to you.

Thank you to my extended family in LA for welcoming and loving on me. Especially, thank you to my aunt and uncle Myung Sook Choi and Bae Ho Geun, cousins Denny Bae and Paul Bae, and my imo Lauren Song for ensuring I am well fed and taken care of.

And finally, thank you to my parents. Without you, there would be no thesis. Thank you for being by my side, wrestling with these questions with me, and for being there to soothe me as I resurrect these experiences for examination. Your support ensured that I could complete this project safely. I love you.

The mutual absence of the Korean American church in Grace M. Cho's monograph *Haunting the Korean Diaspora* and the histories of U.S.-ROK coordinated militarized prostitution in the Korean American church I grew up in was a key entryway into this project. When I first read Cho's monograph in Professor Namhee Lee's graduate seminar "Korea, Cold War, and Transnational History," I was blown away. In her monograph, Cho applies a theory of transgenerational haunting to elucidate how histories of violence haunt the Korean diaspora, especially the experiences of the women who migrated to the U.S. as GI brides from the camptowns around U.S. army military bases. As was the case for every text we read, I was astounded by its subject-matter as I realized how little I knew about modern Korean history.

I was convinced Cho's use of haunting was critical to understanding trauma in immigrant Korean communities, but a question I couldn't get out of my head was "where is the Korean American church?" As someone from a small Korean American community in the South, it was difficult for me to imagine the Korean diaspora without the structure of the Korean American church. However, it is absent in Cho's work.[1]

---

[1]At a book talk in Los Angeles for Cho's memoir *Tastes Like War*, an audience member asked a question about mixed-race Korean American experiences in churches. Cho clarified that the landscape of America that her mother

The most straightforward way to extend Cho's theory of haunting to the church would be to look for the ghostly figure of the *yanggongju* there. But, after considering the ethics of exhuming this specific trauma amongst the kwŏn-sa-nim at my church, I decided it was not my place to seek out these specific narratives of militarized prostitution, though I am sure that they are present. Instead, I began with my own positionality, that of a queer child of Korean immigrants.

In the process, I found myself haunted by my encounters with homophobia and Biblical literalism while growing up. This, in turn, informed how I would investigate how histories of violence silently shape the Korean American church. Through this work, I hope that others who have spent time in similarly holy, yet haunted, houses in their childhoods can find a pathway towards recognition, understanding, and healing.

---

arrived in did not have Korean American churches as there was no extant Korean community in the hometowns of her GI husband. *Mixed Race Korean Identity with Grace M. Cho and Dr. Jenn Recording*, 1:30:07.

Introduction

Haunting the Korean American Church

When I was growing up, the church was a uniquely and authoritatively "Korean" entity in my immigrant community, centrally vested with its power and resources – after all, what could happen that wasn't somehow entangled with the church? As Ju Hui Judy Han writes, "It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Christian church is at the heart of Korean American life."[2] And yet, as someone who devoted four days a week in a Korean American institution, why was it that so many of the major events of modern Korean history came to me as a shocking revelation as I completed my graduate coursework? Why was it that I didn't know what I did not know?

This thesis approaches churches as sites of historiographic production and collective memorialization for Korean immigrant communities. Following Grace M. Cho's example, I use a haunted reading practice to look at the Korean American church as a space where "The Forgotten War's Monstrous Family" meets each week to worship and break bread.[3] In doing so, this thesis asks: "How did the Cold War, and its associated trauma, impact contemporary Korean American Evangelical fundamentalist churches?" or simply stated, "What haunts Korean American Evangelical fundamentalism?"

---

[2] Han, "Contemporary Korean/American Evangelical Missions," 59.
[3] Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora*, 54.

During the Cold War, polarized politics, hot military conflicts, and violent regimes rapidly transformed the southern half of the Korean peninsula into a capitalist nation-state bound into a subimperial relationship with the U.S. empire. Korean and white American Evangelical fundamentalist Christians actively engaged in the sociocultural and spiritual valences of this process. If this can be referred to as Korean Cold War history, how is this history remembered in contemporary, conservative Korean American churches? Using a haunted, autoethnographic approach, my thesis asks, how do we, the children of Korean immigrants growing up in church, know what we know? That is, how is Korean Cold War history, and the violence contained therein, narrativized, remembered, and passed down in the Korean American church?

Applying Avery Gordon's theorization of haunting, I argue that Evangelical fundamentalism produced ghosts as it unevenly preserved historical narratives and memories in the conservative Korean American churches I studied in this thesis. The churches and statements of church leaders I analyzed emphasized Biblical literalism and inerrancy, narratives of salvation, and the rejection of liberal theologies. I offer an articulation of Korean American Evangelical fundamentalism as a political-theology that developed through the Cold War as South Korea was reconfigured into a subimperial position within U.S. empire.

Evangelical fundamentalism was (re)produced in these churches through a transpacific pastor training circuit composed of a network of interpersonal relationships, parachurch institutions, and pathways of transnational movement established through the Cold War. This political-theology modulated the saliency and communicability of Korean Cold War historical narratives and memories. Those that resonated with Evangelical fundamentalism and reaffirmed the subimperial relationship between the U.S. and South Korea were preserved, while those

related to the “dark side” of this relationship were difficult to discuss in church or share with younger generations, and thus were present primarily as ghostly traces, silences, and absences.

Methods

This thesis uses ethnography, participant observation, and digital archival research. In addition to these more traditional methods, this thesis engages haunting as a methodology through critical auto-ethnography. Field research was conducted at a large, historical Korean immigrant church located in Koreatown, Los Angeles, California, which I will refer to using the pseudonym Korean Church of Christ. I was originally invited to attend Korean Church of Christ (KCC) when I moved to Los Angeles by my cousin who also attended the church. Upon sharing my research interests with the pastors of the church, I was given consent and granted permission to conduct field research there. KCC is involved in both evangelical missionary work and ecumenical organizing and is highly active in the general assembly of Korean American churches of the national governing body for its denomination. I conducted interviews with the senior pastor and a current student leader and spent five months as a participant observer engaging in regular church programs, including Sunday services, early morning prayers, and Bible studies.

This thesis asks the epistemological question of how we know what we know using a critical, reflexive approach grounded in the theories articulated by Avery Gordon and Grace M. Cho, in which the line between the investigator and the subjects of research are necessarily

ambiguous and shifting.[4] Thus, critical auto-ethnographic interviewing was also a method in this thesis. I draw upon the work of Clara Han, who uses a practice of "thinking like a child" or critically investigating childhood memories to theorize how the Korean War is inherited as fragments that are interspersed throughout the fabric of their everyday lives, especially in kinship relations.[5] With this in mind, I also engaged in ethnographic interviewing with individuals related to the Korean American church I attended during my childhood.

I take my childhood church experience as a site of ethnographic evidence as I reflexively investigate how it is that I, as a child of immigrants who grew up in Korean American church, know Korean Cold War history. I conducted interviews with a youth pastor and fellow church attendee from my childhood church congregation and draw upon aspects of my childhood experience growing up in a Korean American church. Additionally, as a hauntological practice, I chose to reverse the positionality of researcher and research subject by allowing one of my interviewees to conduct a semi-structured ethnographic interview of me, supplied with the same interview questions and the discretion to conduct the interview according to their own curiosity.

In each of the five interviewees I conducted, one of the central lines of questioning was focused on the role of history in the interviewees' ministries or Korean American church experiences. The wording of these questions was specifically designed to be open ended because of the various kinds of history that are relevant to the context of a Korean American church,

---

[4] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 44; Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora*, 42–43.
[5] Han, *Seeing like a Child*, 3–4.

whether that be ecumenical church history, ancient Jewish history, the history of Christianity's spread to Korea, the history of Korean immigration to the U.S., or Cold War history.

In my analysis, I adopt a hauntologically-informed reading practice that privileges the silences, elisions, and absences in the various sites of research and evidence that I engage with. In seeking out the structures that shaped the space of the Korean American church environments, I look towards the visible and hypervisible, as well as the elided or silenced. By identifying patterns, I examine how what is absented and disavowed shapes what is present and expressed.

The second site of research in this thesis is virtual. I draw evidence from several online digital archives, primarily available through the public-facing portions of Korean American church websites and Korean and Korean American Christian news sites. I pulled from the websites of the churches I analyzed, as well as the national Korean caucuses of their respective denominations. In news articles, I selected articles that were written by or featured leaders of these denominational Korean American caucuses. I also draw from an oral history interview from the online archive of Liberty University, after it emerged as a site of interest within one of my interviews.

From these websites, I retrieved, translated, and analyzed public statements made by church leaders. All materials that are discussed in this thesis are publicly available and all translations are my own unless indicated otherwise. As public facing documents, these pieces of evidence contain accounts that were created with the intent of public consumption and will necessarily not be as transparent or complex as internal or private documents may be.

I recognize that no single statement will represent a uniformly held belief amongst all members of a community. However, I chose to prioritize these documents that explicitly

articulate and present specific beliefs for public circulation for several reasons, the first being that this is how the churches' leadership has presented these documents: as articulations of their collective beliefs. I also read these public and official statements as articulations of the dominant perspective from positions of power within the community. Finally, as Korean American churches do not release statements to articulate their position on every issue, I read their statements in light of their exceptional saliency.

Regarding Terminology

Korean American Churches

In this thesis, I use the general term "Korean American church" to refer to Korean immigrant churches in the United States in which a multigenerational congregation is primarily composed of 1st generation Korean immigrants and their families, often with multiple services and ministries in different languages.[6] When the first Korean migrants arrived in Hawai'i to work on U.S. plantations in 1903, they established a church.[7] White settler missionaries and plantation owners were critical to facilitating the recruitment and migration of Korean plantation workers.[8]

---

[6] Others may use the term "immigrant church" to describe this kind of church and use "Korean American church" to refer to churches whose congregation is primarily 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean Americans with services in English. However, as the latter is not a primary interest of this thesis, and to differentiate between churches in South Korea, which I refer to as "Korean churches," I use the term Korean American church in this way. Pew Research Center, "Asian Americans."

[7] Yoo, *Contentious Spirits*, 34.

[8] Shin, "Koreans In America, 1903–1945."

In this early era, Korean American churches also served as organizing spaces for exiled nationalist and independence activists.[9]

Following the Immigration Act of 1965, the number of Korean immigrants rose significantly, leading to a large rise in the number of Korean American churches in the U.S. as more than half of the migrants are estimated to have been Christian.[10] Contemporary Korean American churches have been recognized as especially influential institutions for Korean American communities, serving as alternative sites of education and the formation of a worldview for the second generation.[11] Sociologist Pyong Gap Min points out that churches provide a space for Korean immigrants to gather and share space, maintain Korean cultural traditions, receive access to social services, and provide social status and positions.[12]

According to a Pew Research Center study, the majority of Korean American Christians are Protestant, with a 6:1 ratio of Protestant to Catholic, and amongst Korean American Protestants, the majority fall within the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist denominations (42%, 15%, and 15%, respectively).[13] Amongst these denominational families, the largest denominations are the Presbyterian Church USA (PCUSA), the United Methodist Church

---

[9] Yoo, *Contentious Spirits*, 45–48.
[10] Kim, "Migration and Conversion of Korean American Christians," 195.
[11] Choi, "Religious Institutions and Ethnic Entrepreneurship"; Min, "The Structure and Social Functions of Korean Immigrant Churches in the United States"; Lee, "Brief History of Korean Diaspora and Educational Issues of Korean Diaspora Churches."
[12] Min, "The Structure and Social Functions of Korean Immigrant Churches in the United States."
[13] The overrepresentation of Presbyterianism amongst Korean American relative to the general population in the U.S. is likely due to a corresponding overrepresentation of Presbyterian missionaries in Korea in the late 19th and early 20th century. However, upon arrival to the U.S., the Southern Baptists' conservative evangelicalism would have been more recognizable to Korean conservative Christians compared to the very progressive PCUSA. Pew Research Center, "Asian Americans"; Matsutani, "Church over Nation: Christian Missionaries and Korean Christians in Colonial Korea," 185.

(UMC), and the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC). The SBC is the largest single Protestant denomination in the U.S. and known to be conservative, having been formed to uphold theological justifications for slavery in the years leading up to the Civil War.[14] On the other hand, both the PCUSA and UMC are more progressive, Mainline Protestant denominations. Each of these three denominations has a corresponding national council of Korean American churches, the National Council of Korean Presbyterian Churches (NCKPC), Council of Korean Southern Baptist Churches in America (CKSBCA), and the Korean Association of The United Methodist Church (KAUMC), which have all leaned conservative on contemporary theological debates.[15]

Theologically, both churches I studied come from conservative, Evangelical lineages. KCC is a Southern Baptist church, while my childhood church is Presbyterian. As noted by Pastor Chang, one of my interviewees, the Southern Baptist and Presbyterian denominational families are the most conservative and Evangelical in South Korea. Korean American Presbyterian churches tend not to adhere to the relative progressive and liberal theology of the PCUSA, and many Korean American Presbyterian churches have struggled with the PCUSA because of these theological differences in recent years.[16] As such, the two churches studied in

---

[14] Pew Research Center, "Religious Landscape Study"; Pew Research Center, "Christian Traditions"; Gjelten, "Southern Baptist Seminary Confronts History Of Slaveholding And 'Deep Racism'"; Graham and Dias, "Southern Baptists Elect New Leader Amid Deepening Divisions."

[15] "Council of Korean Southern Baptist Churches to Hold 35th Annual Meeting in Tacoma"; Jones, "National Caucus of Korean Presbyterian Churches to Quietly Recognize Its 50th Anniversary"; "미 연합감리교회, 동성애 대처 위한 '한인 총회' 창립 [Within the UMC, Korean General Assembly Founded to Address Homosexuality]"; Pew Research Center, "Religious Groups' Official Positions on Same-Sex Marriage"; Banks, "The Southern Baptist Convention Has Passed a Resolution Opposing Gay Marriage - The Washington Post."

[16] Lee, "Hope Church in Minnesota Required to Pay $1.2 Million to Leave PCUSA"; Gryboski, "Supreme Court Rejects PCUSA Claim to Property of Breakaway Conservative Congregation"; Jones, "National Caucus of Korean Presbyterian Churches to Quietly Recognize Its 50th Anniversary"; Lee, "Highland Park Presbyterian Church Required to Pay $7.8 Million to Leave PCUSA."

this thesis serve as case studies of the conservative, Evangelical leanings of the largest Korean American denominational family and largest U.S. Protestant denomination overall.

However, it is important to recognize the great diversity of religious beliefs, political views, and historical lineages that are claimed across various Christian movements, denominations, congregations, and individual lifetimes.[17] Attempting to investigate "Korean American churches" in and of itself could be a flawed premise, as the ethnonational term has no concrete theological stakes, per se. As such, I limit my claims to a particular strain of Evangelical fundamentalism I identify in the churches and pastors I analyze, one that has an outsized presence within conservative, Evangelical Korean American churches in significant part due to Cold War histories, as I detail later.

Korean Cold War History

My approach to "modern Korean history" and "Cold War history" is based on Walter Benjamin's critiques of additive methods of history that unfold in "homogenous, empty time."[18] Benjamin questions whether true meaning is produced in the simple accumulation of information towards a retrospective narration of history as progress. Instead, he gestures towards a historical

---

[17] The difference between a denomination, church, or congregation is not always clear and the terms are sometimes used interchangeably. The term Protestant describes branches of Christianity that formed in response to the Protestant Reformation. A congregation refers to a group of Christians who meet regularly in a shared space. A church can refer to one congregation or a group of congregations that are bound together within a governing body. The latter kind of church can also be referred to as a denomination with varying levels of control over individual congregations. Within major branches of Protestantism, (sometimes called "denominational families" such as Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Anglicans/Episcopalians, etc.) there are often one or two primary denominations that represent that branch's largest bodies of affiliated congregations, as well as smaller, often dissenting, denominations. Pew Research Center, "Christian Traditions"; Pew Research Center, "Asian Americans."

[18] Benjamin, Arendt, and Zohn, *Illuminations*, 261.

materialist approach and "time filled by the presence of the now."[19] Namhee Lee interprets this as a historiography that "reveals the labor that made possible the progress… to bring out consciousness of the past injustice to fuel further actions challenging the status quo."[20]

Seeking to unsettle the dominant narratives of the Cold War as "a long peace" or an "imaginary war" and the Korean War as "the forgotten war," I turn to Heonik Kwon's concept of the "other cold war," which attends to the experiences of "new post-colonial nations [that entered] an epoch of… vicious civil wars and other exceptional forms of political violence."[21] I demarcate the Cold War by post-WWII origins and contested endings or, as Kwon describes, a "slow decomposing process" that occurred unevenly across geographic and social sites.[22] Thus, rather than conceptualizing modern Korean history during the Cold War as a miraculous progression from newly "liberated" nation to leading capitalist economy, I consider it as a period of violent transitions from Japanese colony to U.S. neocolony to subempire.[23]

Evangelical Fundamentalism

"Evangelical fundamentalist" is not a term that I grew up identifying with, nor is it one that my interviewees would identify with, or perhaps even be able to define. Scholars of religion would note that Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism are, in fact, two distinct, and at times

---

[19] Benjamin, Arendt, and Zohn, *Illuminations*.
[20] Lee, *Memory Construction and the Politics of Time in Neoliberal South Korea*, 128.
[21] Kwon, *The Other Cold War*, 6–7.
[22] Kwon, 8.
[23] Lee, *Service Economies*, 2.

antagonistic, Christian movements.[24] In my fieldwork, a common phrase used by the pastors I interacted with was the dual descriptor *"pok-ŭm-chu-ŭi, po-su-chu-ŭi"* or "Evangelicalism, conservatism." However, I will argue that this phrase elides the influence of early twentieth century Fundamentalism on the Neo-Evangelical transpacific revivalists of the Cold War.

In this thesis, I use the term "Evangelical fundamentalism" to trace the dominant characteristics of Korean American churches as they intersect with Cold War politics and history. I draw on Helen Jin Kim's analysis of this specific moment when Fundamentalists and conservative Evangelicals came together to build a transpacific, conservative Neo-Evangelical coalition based in the militarized, politicized, and racialized logics of the Cold War.[25] By referring to this Christian formation as Evangelical fundamentalist, I foreground its roots in the anti-communist Fundamentalism of the early 20th century.[26] Therefore, Evangelical fundamentalism denotes a specific formation of conservative political-theology that is deeply entangled with the logics and violence of the Cold War.

Theoretical Frameworks

The Cold War Through a Transpacific Approach

[24] Evangelicalism represents a tradition within Protestant Christianity that dates back to the 18th century that has changed over centuries alongside doctrinal debates within Protestantism. Fundamentalism refers to specific separatist movements that militantly defended and asserted their conservative theological, political, and cultural beliefs against Modernist and Liberal theologies during the 20th century. "Evangelicalism, Fundamentalism, and Pentecostalism"; Marsden, "The Rise of Fundamentalism," 82–83.
[25] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 11.
[26] Kim, 8–9.

This thesis engages Cold War history and practices of remembering and memorializing using a transpacific approach. As such, I recognize how the U.S. empire in Asia functions by creating asymmetrical power relations throughout the Pacific Ocean. Thus, examinations of structures and histories of the Korean American church in the U.S. must engage imperial entanglements in the Pacific and Asia.

Lisa Yoneyama recognizes the use of transpacific in the "cartography of transnational capitalism," invoked in terms such as "Pacific Rim" and "Transpacific Partnership" that disregard the ocean and the people of Oceania.[27] In contrast, Yoneyama deploys the term transpacific to recognize the "still-present Cold War frame of knowledge that… continues to stabilize international protocols, cultural assumptions, and normalized categories associated with our identities, histories, and boundaries."[28]

Helen Jin Kim also engages with the religious dimensions of the Cold War in a transpacific lens. She argues that the Cold War was a key period of growth and expansion for U.S. and South Korean Evangelical fundamentalism thanks to a rivalry fueled by a militarized impetus for "saving souls" from atheist-Communist-authoritarian North Korea. Kim identifies the crucial role of a "militarized transpacific highway" or a series of militarized routes of connection and exchange that moved ideas, people, and capital between the U.S. and South Korea in the name of a holy war against Communism.[29] This period also saw the rise of

---

[27] Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*, ix.
[28] Yoneyama, x.
[29] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 4, 8–11.

multinational Evangelical organizations that are still embedded in the Christian Right in the U.S. and South Korea today. Kim states: "[t]hough called the 'forgotten war' in U.S. history, remnants of the war remain in U.S. evangelical institutions, which South Koreans helped to build."[30]

For Grace M. Cho, histories of trauma cross transpacific geographies, traveling from Korea to "[t]he bodies of diaspora…constituted by unremembered trauma and loss… a constellation of affective bodies transmitting and receiving trauma."[31] Cho traces a genealogy of trauma in which the atrocities of the Korean War perpetrated by the U.S. against Korean civilians and refugees are anachronistically remembered as "America's First Vietnam" or a "future My Lai," and she argues that this is an example of how Jacqueline Rose suggests that temporal and geographic shifts signal a "transgenerational haunting in which trauma can be unconsciously passed "not just down through the generations, but across them; and not inside one family, but creating a monstrous family of reluctant belonging."[32]

In Cho's theorization, trauma is dispersed across time and space, transmitting haunting across a transpacific web of relationality forged through silenced but insistent memories of violence. In this way, the figure of the *yanggongju* also makes a critical transpacific crossing, anointed along the way such that she is transformed from "Yankee whore" to "GI Bride," taken from the Korean camptown and inducted into the American cult of domesticity.[33] There, she served as the anchor for chain migrations that populated the post-Korean War diaspora. I am

---

[30] Kim, 11.
[31] Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora*, 40–41.
[32] Cho, 55–59.
[33] Cho, 102–3.

interested in understanding whether or not Evangelical fundamentalist Korean American churches also serve as hubs for the transpacific (re)production of ghosts. As spaces of collective commemoration and social life, I investigate how Evangelical fundamentalist Korean American churches make up a constellation or network of spiritual and ghostly activity.

Haunting in the Name of a Will to Heal

This thesis investigates an absence, a negative epistemological question: "why do I not know what I do not know?" This question is a response to the creeping feeling I felt as I realized that the Korean American church that I grew up in had been shaped by, but had not put into explicit discourse, the great violence that Koreans both suffered and perpetrated during the Cold War era. How did these histories shape my church, even as explicit mention of these histories was avoided?

In *Ghostly Matters*, Avery Gordon asserts that life is complicated: "the power relations that characterize any historically embedded society are never as transparently clear as the names we give to them imply."[34] Gordon intervenes into the field of sociology with a call for researchers to acknowledge that power and systems of oppression operate in ways that are often difficult to measure or articulate, but nevertheless play a critical role in modern social life.[35] Gordon offers haunting as a framework and method through which "abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life." Haunting allows researchers to

---

[34] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 3.
[35] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 3–8.

name and study how "repressed or unresolved social violence" continues to shape social relations, often in invisible or obfuscated ways.

It is deceptively simple to state that the Korean American church is shaped by a history of imperialism, racism, and sexism.[36] What does that really mean for the immigrant communities that live in and around them? In Gordon's theorization, haunting is a mediation: the "process that links an institution and an individual, a social structure and a subject, and history and a biography."[37] Therefore, haunting the Korean American churches that I study is a process of seeking out how they shape the memories and histories of their congregations as powerful Korean American institutions and "dense site[s] where history and subjectivity make social life."[38]

In *Spectres of Marx*, Jacques Derrida reflects on the role of Marxism after the supposed end of the Cold War and the victory "of a supposed capitalist world order."[39] Gordon focuses on his call for an engagement with haunting not to exorcise and banish ghosts, but "to grant them the right… to… a hospitable memory… out of a concern for justice."[40] Gordon's theory of haunting also includes an ethical imperative that is a response to Horkheimer and Adorno's two-page note "On The Theory of Ghosts" appended to *The Dialectic of Enlightenment,* which Gordon interprets as a need for a theory of ghosts that allows "a way of both mourning

---

[36] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 11–12; Kim, *The Gendered Politics of the Korean Protestant Right*, 8–11.
[37] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 19.
[38] Gordon, 8.
[39] Roh, *Christianity, the Sovereign Subject, and Ethnic Nationalism in Colonial Korea*, 21.
[40] Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 175; Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 58.

modernity's 'wound in civilization' and elimination of the destructive forces that open it up over and over again.[41]

My application of haunting in this thesis is a "reckoning with [the ghost's] repression in the present, a reckoning with that which we have lost, but never had."[42] Here, the "ghost" that is repressed refers to a host of Cold War specters that shape the Evangelical fundamentalist Korean American churches that I examine. When I say that this thesis aims to "haunt" the Korean American church, I mean that I am inviting others to join me in seeking out and listening to these ghosts with a willingness "to be haunted in the name of a will to heal" and "allow the ghost to help you imagine what was lost that never even existed."[43]

Thus, I investigate how Evangelical fundamentalist Korean American churches were recruited to (re)produce narratives that protect and sanctify the status quo, and how this process created fractures and contradictions—in other words, ghosts. By looking for ghosts in this context, I hope to find moments where the present and past resonate and intermingle, showing how silenced and repressed histories of violence remain present through their absence. In this thesis, I search for a haunted "monad" in Korean Cold War history to court a ghost that can enable a moment of intense understanding, or as Gordon put it, "a moment in which we recognize, as in Benjamin's profane illumination, that it could have been and can be otherwise."[44]

---

[41] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 19; Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*.
[42] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 183.
[43] Gordon, 57.
[44] Gordon, 57.

This imagining otherwise is founded in Gordon's charge to haunt "out of a will to heal" and Namhee Lee's articulation of a poetics of remembrance: "To make amends for the previously unacknowledged suffering of the past generation and to make efforts to continue the unconcluded struggles of the past is to open up a possibility for true emancipation of society and for thinking about the limits and possibilities of a transformative political praxis as well."[45] I do not exhume these histories of violence and invoke ghosts produced from the silencing of trauma for the sake of spectacle or as a means to condemn or demonize the church. Instead, I approach it as a necessary first step in order to imagine otherwise for Evangelical fundamentalist Korean American churches: to imagine a future where they might reckon with transgenerational haunting by standing witness to silenced histories of violence and empowering the community to heal.

Diasporic Cold War Historiography and Memory

Memory and history are deeply intertwined for Asian American communities, especially those predominantly composed of refugees, immigrants, and their children. Lisa Yoneyama provides a critique of the privileging of history over memory, or "the distinction between factual history and imaginary commemoration—an opposition enabled by simple trust in the power of facticity," pointing to how Cold War asymmetrical relations of power have shaped the official histories and collective memories of states and peoples entangled in U.S. hegemony.[46]

---

[45] Lee, *Memory Construction and the Politics of Time in Neoliberal South Korea*, 22.
[46] Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*, 186.

Many Asian Americanist scholars have noted the historiographic and memory practices of diasporic communities that preserve their experiences amidst archival violence, erasure, and silencing by official histories, commemorations, and collective memories backed by states and empires.[47] Ma Vang points out how archival violence against the Hmong, as their memories and narratives of war and displacement are missing or disavowed in order to preserve the priorities of U.S. empire and hide its war crimes.[48] In the context of Southeast Asian refugee memory practices of the Cold War, Khatharya Um argues that in diaspora, "a site inhabited simultaneously by continuities and discontinuities – ghosts, memory fragments, interruptions, and contradictions," and "against the backdrop of irreparable loss and separation," memory, however faulty and frail, is "key to personal and collective identity."[49]

In the Korean American context, Clara Han examines how the Korean War is not only remembered, but also continues to affect Korean Americans as it is "dispersed into a domestic life marked by small corrosions and devastating loss."[50] She argues that the Korean War is an "inheritance of familial memories of violence" that a child "puzzl[es] together words and tidbits of perceptions and, in doing so, learn[s] kinship, violence, affliction, and death."[51] Meanwhile, Crystal Mun-hye Baik analyzes a multidisciplinary collection of subversive diasporic memory works that "draw our attention to contradictions and critical oppositional memories that trouble

---

[47] Baik, *Reencounters*; Nguyen, "Refugee Memories and Asian American Critique"; Um, "Exiled Memory"; Vang, *History on the Run*.
[48] Vang, *History on the Run*, 23–24.
[49] Um, "Exiled Memory," 836.
[50] Han, *Seeing like a Child*, 3.
[51] Han, 3–4.

the Cold War temporalization and prolongation of the Korean War as a good and just project."[52] In some ways, I approach the historiographic practices of the Evangelical fundamentalist Korean American churches that I study as diasporic memory works that attempt to reaffirm and reproduce, rather than subvert, "the dominant language and framing logics of Cold War historiography."[53]

In this thesis, I use an expansive definition of historiographic practices that recognizes how history and memory work together to create narratives that are collectively remembered and understood as history in the community. As Namhee Lee put it, "Historiography and historical revisionism constitute an important site for the organization of collective memory; they reconfigure the relationship between collective memory and national identity, among other relationships."[54] For the Korean American churches analyzed in this thesis, historiographic practices of the Cold War include some brief written historical accounts, but are primarily based in practices of knowing, remembering, and memorializing (as well as the production of silences, illegibility, and opacity) that build a collective memory of the Cold War history and other histories in the church. Thus, in addition to written statements and publications of histories, I also honor the role of spoken histories, recollected narratives, and memories as glimpses into the historiographic practices of the Korean American church.

---

[52] Baik, *Reencounters*, 10.
[53] Baik, 10.
[54] Lee, *Memory Construction and the Politics of Time in Neoliberal South Korea*, 97.

Overview of Chapters

This thesis is structured into three chapters. In Chapter 1, I read for patterns of non-association, recognition, and silence as my interviewees discuss the role of history in their understanding of the Korean American church. I identify which types of history are privileged, salient and present, and which are silent and absent. In Chapter 2, I identify the Fundamentalist roots of Evangelical fundamentalism in Korean American churches through core characteristics of Biblical literalism and inerrancy, salvation narratives, and rejection of liberal theology. I then trace how these Evangelical fundamentalist ideas circulate and are (re)produced in transpacific pastor training circuits established during the Cold War.

Then in Chapter 3, I analyze how different Korean American church leaders remember and memorialize the Korean War. I argue that their Evangelical fundamentalism modulates history and memory by preserving details that are compatible with dominant Cold War narratives, especially those that reaffirm the relationship between the U.S. and South Korea. However, those that are related to the "dark side" of subempire become inaccessible, opaque, and eventually lost to younger generations of Korean Americans in the church.

Ch. 1: Absence, Searching for History in the Korean American Church

Borrowing the words of one of my interviewees, I began attending church when I was in my mother's womb. The Korean and Christian aspects of my life were completely intertwined, so much so that the delineations between my ethnic heritage and my religion were often unclear. But there were also moments when the histories I was being taught didn't quite match up.

As a child, I remember asking my mom a question while reading the Bible and being shocked to learn that we were not Israelites or "sons of Abraham," but were instead gentiles. Given that even my great-aunt was said to have been a very faithful woman, I wondered at which point my Korean family had been inducted into this Jewish heritage and why. But when I asked about how our family came to convert to Christianity, I was only told stories of the Korean War. I remember being told to think about "the starving children in North Korea" as I was taught to pray and be grateful for my meals and wondering by God hadn't saved those children, too.

The church was such an influential structure in my upbringing that even after I stopped attending church as I entered college, I still felt its remnants in my understanding of the world. As I studied critiques of the neoliberalism in international "voluntourism" in an undergraduate global health class, I saw parallels with the many short-term mission trips I'd been a part of as a church youth group member.[55] And as a graduate student learning about race, colonialism, and U.S. imperialism, it was impossible to ignore the Christian rhetoric used to justify genocide,

[55] Vrasti, *Volunteer Tourism in the Global South*.

slavery, and racism.[56] It became apparent to me that not only had the history I was taught in American public schools in the South been filtered through a specific perspective, but so had the history I learned in the Korean American church. As I began my thesis fieldwork, I kept these ghostly traces and memories of confusion in mind.

When I began my participant observation at Korean Church of Christ (KCC), I had not attended a Korean American church for many years, but after my cousin's continual invitations to join him, I decided to accept his offer. Regularly attending KCC was disorienting because the experience was immediately familiar and yet very different from the one I had growing up. KCC is a large Korean American church located in Koreatown, Los Angeles, CA that has existed for more than fifty years. The church owns multiple buildings, including a recently constructed facility complete with a multi-story parking garage and elevators. Each Sunday, they hold five services, as well as their children's ministry and youth group services. In terms of its sheer size and scale, KCC reminded me more of the megachurches I visited in South Korea than the much smaller churches I had attended growing up in the U.S. south. KCC not only has a robust community within its congregation, but is also very active in its denomination, having recently hosted the annual general assembly convention for the council of Korean churches of its greater denominational body, one of the largest in the U.S.

But even if the scale of KCC was much larger than what I was used to, what was familiar were its services, programs, and sermons. Like my childhood church, there was a heavy focus on

---

[56] Charles and Rah, *Unsettling Truths*; Tisby, *The Color of Compromise*; Botham, *Almighty God Created the Races*.

Bible reading and prayer, with multi-month, long festivals or programs to read the whole Bible, special seminars and training sessions on the Bible, and children's and youth programs where memorizing Bible verses was a core activity. Additionally, KCC held many early-morning prayer festivals, where for a period of up to ten weeks, the congregation would meet at five in the morning. During the weeks preceding the end of year, these early-morning prayer services happened every day, with hundreds of people in attendance. In every sermon, there was a clear focus on discerning the "Will of God" for each individual's life, which could be accessed by reading the Bible and through prayer.

Through my time engaging in participant observation at KCC, I was able to study the practices, programs, and beliefs of this Korean American church. In addition, I was able to interview two members of the congregation: Pastor Chang, who is the senior pastor of KCC, and John, a young adult and Korean American who grew up attending Korean American churches and has been at KCC for almost ten years.[57] My field site research and ethnographic interviews are analyzed next to interviews I conducted with two people who previously attended the Korean American church I was a part of while growing up in a small city in the South: Hannah, a young adult 2nd generation Korean American, and Pastor J, our former youth pastor. I also analyze my own memories of my childhood church through an interview conducted by Hannah.

To begin my examination of the historiographic practices of Evangelical fundamentalist Korean American churches and their relationship to the Cold War, I analyze how my

[57] All names used for interviewees are pseudonyms.

interviewees articulated the role of religion in their churches and how they engaged with history in their roles as pastors and as children of immigrants. It quickly became clear that there was not an explicit, conscious historical agenda that circulated in my interviewees' churches. The ways my interviewees described history were at times disparate, moving between complete absence and assertions that history is of central importance in church depending on the kind of history in question. It was clear some historical narratives were not primarily thought of as history, even if their historicity was an important value. Through their responses, I was able to glimpse how certain histories were privileged and salient in the Korean American churches I studied, while some were not, and others still were absent altogether.

My reading practice for these interviews is informed by haunting as described by Avery Gordan and applied by Grace M. Cho. I pay attention to how "the seemingly absent or nonexistent can be a powerful force in shaping empirical reality… [an] unseen presence can itself be the object of study."[58] According to Cho, when fleshing out the ghost of the *yanggongju,* the ghost "vacillate[d] wildly between overexposure and a reclusive existence in the shadows. Her presence or absence raises questions about the psychic and political forces behind the shifting frameworks of visibility."[59] Thus, in this chapter, I privilege the meaning that can be found in moments of disorientation, repetition, distraction, or silence just as much as that which is gained through readily and clearly stated statements. As I analyze my interviews to learn how

[58] Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora*, 31.
[59] Cho, 33.

history is invoked by my interviewees, I also search for impacts of the Cold War and the presence or absence of its histories.

This chapter is organized according to repeated patterns of non-association, recognition, and silence that occurred across my interviews. Based on these features, I identify how different histories are unevenly privileged in the discourses and practices of the Korean American churches I examined. And with respect to Korean history, I describe how narratives of early U.S. missionaries in Korea, Japanese colonization, and the Korean War are common, while Cold War history related to subimperial development was, by and large, missing.

Non-association

In all but one of my interviews, there were instances of momentary disorientation, questioning, and initial objection to the idea that history was an important concept in Korean American churches. Because of the variety of ways that history plays a role in Korean American churches, I did not specify which histories I was interested in to gauge which types were most salient to my interviewees. However, this method of questioning did not elicit its intended results as my nonspecific question was met with a rejection of the idea that history was a relevant concept to Korean American churches for four out of my five interviewees.

Hannah is a 2nd generation Korean American woman who attended my childhood church. Hannah stayed involved with our church, even after we graduated from high school, but stopped attending church in recent years. When I asked if she recalled any aspects of church programming or sermons that included history, she did not remember any memorable instances of history playing a role in her church experience.

John was another interviewee who grew up in Korean American churches. John and I are the same age and we met on my first day at Korean Church of Christ in Koreatown, Los Angeles during a newcomer Bible study, which he helped lead each week. While pursuing a Master of Divinity degree at a seminary in Southern California, he also served as a pastor-in-training at Korean Church of Christ. When I asked John if history was discussed in the Korean American church when he was growing up, he also did not report any recollections of such discussions.

From Hannah and John's initial accounts, history seemed to be a concept that was not a significant part of the Korean American churches they grew up in. This is something that reflected my own experience. During the interview that Hannah conducted with me as the interviewee, I also found it difficult to respond to my own questions as I tried to articulate how history was a part of my childhood church.

This pattern of non-association of a general idea of history in our experiences in Korean American churches did align with the initial impetus for this study, which was rooted in my desire to understand my own ignorance of modern Korean history, despite growing up in a very consciously Korean institution. However, I suspect it was primarily due to a perceived incompatibility of a broad, general history or "History with a capital H," that is, history as recognized in academia or according to official national accounts, with the space of Korean American churches my interviewees grew up in.

One reason that this may be the case is that teaching history may not be an explicit goal for a pastors' ministry in a Korean American church, as Pastor J articulated. Pastor J currently leads an English language ministry within a Southern Baptist Korean American church located near a large university in the Southeastern U.S. She immigrated to the U.S. in the early 2000s

seeking a graduate level seminary education with the intent on becoming a missionary, but later decided to become a pastor. Pastor J was also one of the youth pastors at my childhood church while Hannah and I were part of the church youth group.

When I asked Pastor J to reflect on the role of history in her ministry, her initial response was one of hesitance and questioning, before she responded that teaching history, in a broad, general sense, was not a goal of her ministry. Though she sometimes made historical references, they were used as examples for theological ends, rather than as lessons in and of themselves. An example she gave was that of William Wilberforce, a British Christian abolitionist, who she used as an example of how Christianity should lead us to freedom and Christians should stand for the truth. Pastor J's response indicates that she did not view her ministry to be engaging in explicit practices of historiographic production and transmission.

A notable exception to this pattern of nonrecognition was my interview with Pastor Chang, the senior pastor of Korean Church of Christ. Pastor Chang has served at the Korean Church of Christ for around 25 years. He immigrated to the U.S. in the early 1980s to attend a Southern Baptist seminary in Texas. Though he originally planned on pursuing an academic career in theological studies, he felt called to serve in immigrant Korean church ministries and decided to become a pastor. Unlike my other interviewees, when I asked what role history takes in his ministry, Senior Pastor Chang immediately emphasized the importance of history, stating:

> What we call history are the traces of humans, and I'm speaking here of the tracks the people leave as they live, and without history, they cannot be explained. My existence itself cannot be explained and the same goes for the church. So, for example, the church, the birth of the Korean immigrant church was all a product of a historical context and of course there's also how the church was raised and all the circumstances that have come to pass since then as well. And so, history is very important because, whether it is the individual or the church, you cannot explain it without history.

Pastor Chang articulated the centrality of history at a personal and a church-wide level.[60] For Pastor Chang, history was a source of identity and self-comprehension, and he went on to provide a brief overview of the history of the Korean American church, which he referred to as the *i-min-kyo-hoe* or [Korean] immigrant church.

Beginning in the Korean Methodist church founded by plantation workers in 1903, he described the churches' initial isolation from mainstream U.S. society until after changes in immigration during the 1960s and large revivals in the 80s. His account recognized the current power and influence that the Korean American church held in his perspective. However, when I asked if he ever shared this history of the development of the Korean immigrant church with his congregation, he replied: "For me… honestly, it is not common. I don't do it often… But truthfully, it would be helpful for the second generation to know the history of the immigrant church." And so, although Pastor Chang did recognize the importance of history, it was not associated with discourses that were shared in his ministry.

For Pastor Chang, the importance of history was clear, but it was not an important discourse within his ministry. The accounts from Hannah, John, Pastor J, and even myself seemed to indicate that history is not a concept that is readily associated with our experiences of growing up in Korean American churches. However, each of us would go on to shift, and retract our initial responses by emphasizing that certain histories were relevant to our church

---

[60] One reason why Pastor Chang's response was different from the others may be his specific academic training and personal interests. Among the three interviewees who received or are pursuing a seminary education, he was the only one who expressed a specialized interest and corresponding academic training in a theological PhD program. Pastor J and John are more interested in counseling and church music, and ministry, respectively, and did not pursue doctoral level training. However, Pastor Chang has also taught as an adjunct faculty member at a local seminary.

experiences. This pattern of initial non-recollections may indicate that a general sense of history is not readily associated with Korean American churches for my interviewees, and that the historiographic practices of their Korean American churches were not explicitly identified as such. In the next section, I explore how certain forms of history and memory were recognized and valued, while others were not present.

Recognitions

After some prompting and examples of specific kinds of history, the interviewees who described history not being a significant part of their experience of Korean American churches rearticulated their views on the matter. For instance, during our interview, Pastor J asked me if I remembered discussing history when I was a student in her ministry. When I offered examples such as history in the Bible and ancient Jewish history, this prompted a very different response: "I think the history of Israel, the Biblical history, is very, very important because that's what differentiates Christianity from all other religions. *Christianity is a religion that is rooted in history.* It's not just someone's ideas… So, I think in that sense it is really important to understand Biblical history."[61] Although history at-large was deemed marginally relevant to her ministry goals, Biblical and ancient Israelite history were highly valued and even central to Pastor J's ministry.

---

[61] Emphasis mine.

When history was specified as Biblical history, Pastor J recognized Christianity as a religion rooted in history. Biblical and ancient Israelite history were not freely associated with a general sense of history for Pastor J but were nonetheless very important to her understanding of Korean American church ministry. However, when I asked if modern Korean history or Cold War history were relevant to her ministry, even explicitly naming these kinds of history did not elicit a recognition of their importance in Pastor J's ministry.

In the interviews in which Hannah and I discussed if we had learned history in our childhood church, we recalled that most of the church programs emphasized learning Bible stories and memorizing Bible verses. Though Hannah did not initially think history was discussed in these programs, when I asked her if Bible stories or verses were meant to be taken as historical, she paused for a while and agreed that they were presented as literal truth, and therefore would have been implied to be historical. From our recollections, the most salient invocation of history was also Biblical history that was based in Biblical literalism and inerrancy.

For John, ecumenical history and the history of Christianity was especially recognized as a salient interest. John shared how he had a personal interest in history in relation to church: "my first like intro to kind of like the church history was through like my personal studies… Because for me, like it was always weird how the church that is shown in the Bible was so different from the church that I was attending. So, I was like, 'why is that?'" But he was not able to access this information at church. Ultimately, it was at seminary where he was able to engage with history in relation to churches: "Yeah. So, we touch upon a lot of history in Seminary." He went on to describe multiple courses he took as a seminary student that covered topics such as the history of the Bible, compilation of the New Testament, the history of the church from Jerusalem to the

Protestant Reformation, and even an in-depth review of Korean American church history and the nuances of Korean Christianity.

When I asked John if he ever had the chance to discuss the kinds of history or knowledge that he'd learned in seminary at church, he said: "It really depends on who you hang out with, cause for me, like when I came to faith, one of my best friends, this is basically all we talked about… But then I know that if I didn't have this friend like, I would probably never have talked about these things." While John was able to find a friend who shared his interest, he expressed how even as a pastor-in-training, it was difficult to engage with what he'd learned in seminary in organized church programs or practices. While the theological seminary was a space in which individuals can access broader historical contexts, theological approaches, critical studies of the Bible, and the sociocultural and political aspects of religiosity, this was not the case within John's Korean American church.

Biblical history was widely recognized as having great importance in Korean American churches, and ecumenical history was recognized by Pastor Chang and John as important, though they were rarely discussed in Korean American churches. However, modern Korean history was especially elusive in most of my interviewees' recollections. They only appeared as fragments and were not readily associated with discourses that occurred in the Korean American church by my interviewees. Of these, the most frequently mentioned was the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea and the resulting legacy of animosity between the two peoples, which was pointed out by Pastor Chang, Pastor J, and John. Early U.S. Protestant missionaries to Korea and the influence of Christian, U.S. educated leaders were somewhat also recalled by some of my interviewees. Additionally, interviewees frequently mentioned the Korean War.

Histories of modern Korea that were recalled by my interviewees included U.S. Protestant missionaries and the organizing of Christian Koreans under Japanese colonial occupation. The memory of Japanese colonization of Korea is especially visible. Both John and Pastor J referenced how anti-Japanese sentiment was still prevalent in many members of their congregations because of the history of colonization. According to John, this history was frequently used in Korean American pastors' sermons because "Israel's history is very similar to Korean history in that, you know they constantly got invaded." The parallel drawn between ancient Israel and Korea positions the status of Korea under Japanese colonial rule as a nation in need of saving. God's liberation of ancient Israelites from Egypt in the book of Exodus, would ultimately lead to their establishment as a sovereign nation, a process of salvation and empowerment that South Korean Christians could identify with.

This is also reflected in Pastor Chang's comments. When he described the history of U.S.-South Korean relations, he situated the beginning of the relationship within the Japanese colonial period: "So, it's true that the U.S. and Korea have had a relationship for a long time. Of course, the U.S. entered Korea a long time ago, but as Korea was colonized, until 1945, Japan occupied Korea." He described Japanese colonization as a disruption and suppression of the relationship between the U.S. and South Korea, but that the relationship was maintained through the U.S. missionaries who gave educational opportunities to bright Koreans. Pastor Chang emphasized that it was thanks to these individuals who received an advanced education that "modern Korea was able to develop somewhat quickly." He gave Syngman Rhee as an example of this kind of Christian, American educated Korean leader.

As Pastor Chang went on to describe the Korean War, he glossed over the transition between Japanese colonization and U.S. occupation, simply stating that "after Japanese imperialism ended, obviously Americans entered Korea." He does not narrate the end of Japanese liberation as a transition to a U.S. neocolonial occupation, but as a period in which South Korea began receiving "backing," presumably through military and financial aid. He uses the same verbs of "backing" or "support" to describe U.S. relationships with South Korea following the Korean War and early Korean churches.

However, there is a break in the historical narrative in Pastor Chang's recollection of the Korean War and Cold War history. Following his account of the Korean War, he doesn't reference any of the processes of South Korean development through industrialization, modernization, or authoritarian dictatorships, just describing its "development" and "growth." Instead, he simply states that the U.S. and South Korea were tightly knit together, so much so that it became "[im]possible for South Korea to exist outside of the United States' influence." He doesn't elaborate on how creating and maintaining this relationship had required participation in the Vietnam War or the necropolitical labors of subempire.

When discussing family histories of the immigration to the U.S., Hannah and I recognized that our church did not prominently feature oral histories, family narratives, and intergenerational dialogue. While we agreed that understanding those histories and passing down that knowledge was important to us, we could not recall such goals ever being facilitated or encouraged in the church growing up. When I asked John where he had learned the narratives of Korean history he mentioned, he credited Korean dramas. In our interviews, Hannah and I also recalled that sources such as movies, music, and the internet were valuable sources for our

understanding of Korean history. But these sources were not related to the church context and even criticized at times as "secular" interests. As children of immigrants, John, Hannah, and I all emphasized the importance of personal initiative and independent research that enabled us to learn the little we did know about modern Korean history.

From these recognitions, it was apparent that processes of historiographic (re)production were occurring in the Korean American churches of my interviewees, but they were not readily identified as such. Additionally, the salience of these histories was very unevenly distributed: Biblical history of ancient Israelites was highly privileged and explicitly taught and reproduced, not only discussed and central to sermons, but also committed to memory, and featured in music, acted out as plays or skits, and screened in Christian cartoons and films within the church's programs. Ecumenical history was only known by pastors, and it was not discussed in church spaces, only in seminary training. However, modern Korean histories were available only in fragments and were far less privileged, only appearing in my interviews when explicitly requested. The initial non-association of history with Korean American churches was maintained for modern Korean history. Additionally, from both the pastors' practices in their ministries and the recollection of those who grew up in Korean American church spaces, community oral histories, individual or family histories, histories of the Korean immigrant church, and intergenerational dialogues were not facilitated in the Korean American churches attended by my interviewees. In the last section of this chapter, I will discuss silences and absences related to history in my interviews.

Silences

While there were some fragments of modern Korean history that did appear in my interviews, others were absent almost entirely. The fragments that were mentioned created a rough narrative of historical events from the 20th century, beginning with U.S. missionaries in Korea and their aid in educating young Korean scholars who would become independence activists, then the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea, and ultimately, the U.S.'s role in Korea's liberation from Japan and the Korean War. However, none of my interviewees mentioned histories related to authoritarian regimes, South Korean industrialization and modernization, or the violence of its configuration into subempire during the Cold War period after the Korean War.

Jin Kyung Lee used the term subimperialism to describe South Korea's relationship to the U.S., where it was positioned as a subordinate, dependent state of a larger imperial power "performing a series of surrogate labors for the empire," including military labor, as well as disciplining and absorbing migrant subjects in place of the metropole.[62] As Tae Yang Kwak argued, continued U.S. military and financial assistance to South Korea was predicated on its aggressive participation in the Vietnam War, without which American policy would have continued its established "Japan-centered regional model."[63]

---

[62] Lee, *Service Economies*, 32.
[63] Kwak, "The Anvil of War: The Legacies of Korean Participation in the Vietnam War," 25.

Maintaining the U.S. empire's investment and presence in South Korea required its transformation into a subempire under authoritarian and military dictatorships. This included a U.S. funded military-industrial complex to arm South Korea against both Vietnam and North Korea, but also a transformation in society according to the urbanization of an industrializing economy and sexual and gendered labors of militarized occupation.[64] Jin Kyung Lee highlighted four kinds of minoritized and sexualized labor: "military labor in the Vietnam War; female sex labor and sexualized service labor for domestic clientele; South Korean military prostitution for the U.S. troops from the industrializing era; and immigrant and migrant labor, from Asia and other areas."[65] Lee described these acts as necropolitical labor or "the extraction of labor from those 'condemned' to death" where workers are fostered for the disposability associated with the precarious labor of the (sub)empire.[66]

These developments occurred as Evangelical fundamentalism spread across South Korea. Nami Kim referred to this as an era of hypermasculine developmentalism that established the foundation of the Protestant Christian Right's gendered politics.[67] By the time that Billy Graham, Billy Jang Hwan Kim, Bill Bright, and Joon Gon Kim collaborated with the Park regime for their Evangelical fundamentalist revivals, Park had already coordinated South Korea's engagement in militarized and sexualized labor for the U.S. empire.[68] Although dominant Cold War historiographies portray a narrative of U.S. exceptionalism, where the benevolent U.S. aids

---

[64] Kwak, 23–34; Lee, *Service Economies*, 1–2.
[65] Lee, *Service Economies*, 2, 8–11.
[66] Lee, 6.
[67] Kim, *The Gendered Politics of the Korean Protestant Right*, xi–xii, 20–25.
[68] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 109–15.

nations in protecting democracy and freedom, the basis of the U.S.-South Korean alliance was that of subempire, embodied through military and sexual labor.

However, this Cold War process of South Korea's violent development into a subimperial power was almost entirely absent in my interviewee's recollections. The fragments of modern Korean history would mention Japanese colonization, the Korean War, and then skip to personal or family histories of migration to the U.S. that adhered to typical narratives of "searching for a better life" as Hannah said, or for their theological education, as was the case for Pastor Chang, Pastor J, and John's narratives about his father, who is also a pastor. Between the Korean War and their stories of migration was a hole in the historical record in which the violent developmentalism and subimperial U.S.-South Korean relationship that formed through the Cold War were supposed to be.

Despite this overarching silence, there were, nevertheless, some ghostly traces of this history that Pastor Chang and Pastor J mentioned in their interviews. As mentioned earlier, Pastor Chang gave an account of the Korean immigrant church's history. During this account, he briefly discussed the Civil Rights Movement and how black American's fight for civil rights resulted in decreased racism and other benefits for Korean immigrants: "before that [the civil rights movement], that [racism] was very severe. As you know, when Chinese people first arrived in the U.S., they were completely treated like animals." This detail about the progress achieved by the Civil Rights Movement acknowledges the U.S.'s history of racism and dehumanization of racial minorities. A reality that the U.S. attempted to mask during the Cold

War through multiculturalism, desegregation, and the conditional incorporation of black families into respectability.[69]

Both Helen Jin Kim and Christine Hong note how the image of Korean orphans were used to promote an image of U.S. multiculturalism, benevolence, and exceptionalism following the Korean War.[70] As Christine Hong argues, the conditional incorporation of black bodies into Cold War multiculturalism coincided with the increased efficacy of total war strategies of indiscriminate killing in the U.S.'s wars in Asia.[71] Pastor Chang's momentary recognition of the U.S. empire's struggle with its racist origins constitutes a ghostly trace in which the histories of racial violence largely silenced by narratives of U.S. benevolence reemerge in a detail that was likely meant to assert a sense of racial progress that occurred in the Cold War era.

Towards the end of Pastor J's interview, when I explicitly asked about the Korean and Vietnam wars, Pastor J mentioned that she was part of a "generation where we protested a lot in my freshman and sophomore years in college against the dictatorship. And against the US like control over Korea and stuff… U.S. like they, they helped. They were our allies in… Korean War, but at the same time they…try to gain some benefit out of these wars." This was also a ghostly trace in which the U.S. empire's violence and the authoritarian Korean government allied with it are momentarily recognized. It was an ephemeral moment when dominant narratives of

---

[69] Hong, *Death beyond Disavowal*, 17–18.
[70] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 77–83; Hong, *A Violent Peace*, 205–15.
[71] Hong, *A Violent Peace*, 47–49, 200–201.

Cold War history were partially subverted by lucid recollections of Korean dictatorships and the U.S. exploitation of other nations.

But, when I asked if her students in her ministry ever asked about this history, she responded "No, no one asked me, none. None of my students asked me about it… I'm not sure how in depth they learn about those histories right in terms of wars and the role of U.S. in those wars. I think they learn very briefly about those days and so they don't yeah necessarily ask me about those things." Even as she suspects that young Korean Americans do not have access to a thorough education about the Cold War period, she did not find that she could discuss her first-hand experiences with her students at church. Her experiences as part of a generation that protested authoritarian governments and U.S. hegemony in South Korea were not topics available for discussion within her Korean American church.

For both Pastor Chang and Pastor J, these ghostly traces, and the larger historical narratives from which they erupted, were not shared with their congregations, especially the younger generation. Like Pastor J, Pastor Chang did not report discussing any of this history with younger generations. Both Pastor Chang and Pastor J had access to unique perspectives on the histories of the Korean/American church and U.S.-South Korean relations as people who had lived through the 70s, 80s, and 90s. However, because these narratives were not centered or discussed, they remained unheard within Pastor Chang and Pastor J's ministries.

As a result, histories of the Cold War related to authoritarianism and subimperialism were not transmitted to younger generations. In the interviews I conducted with people who grew up in the Korean American church, Cold War history based on the perspectives of Korean American immigrants were not well known at all. When I asked both Pastor Chang and Pastor J why they

suspected these histories were not discussed in church, they both indicated a perceived lack of interest and engagement amongst the younger generations.

In this chapter, I've discussed the contested ways in which my interviewees engaged with history in their Korean American churches. I showed how for these church members, the historiographic practices of their churches are not readily identified as such, and that the most privileged histories are those of Bible stories and Biblical history, especially that of the ancient Israelites. Additionally, I noted how explorations of different theologies, approaches to Biblical interpretation, and questioning were not common in the church, though they were part of seminary training. Finally, I identified an absence in the social histories of my Korean American church interviewees in the Cold War era related to the "dark side" of U.S.-South Korean relations, authoritarianism, and subempire.

Even as pastors had privileged and unique perspectives to this period, they were not salient in their discussion of history during the interviews, and they shared that they rarely, if at all, discussed these with younger generations at their churches. This was corroborated by those who grew up in Korean American churches, who were not able to speak on Korean history during the Cold War era when asked and did not recall ever discussing such topics at church.

In the next chapter, I will discuss how Evangelical fundamentalism manifested in the Korean American churches of my thesis and how its Fundamentalist roots were embedded in the networks connecting the U.S. and South Korean Christian Right with the Korean American church.

Ch. 2: Presence, Evangelical fundamentalism

In this chapter, I identify characteristic Evangelical fundamentalist beliefs in the Korean American churches analyzed in this thesis, including an emphasis on Biblical literalism and inerrancy, salvation narratives, and rejection of liberal theological orientations. These beliefs not only have roots in U.S. Fundamentalism, but also the political-theology of transpacific Cold War revivalists. I identify how Evangelical fundamentalism is also structurally embedded into these churches through their connections to conservative Evangelical fundamentalist infrastructures established and expanded during the Cold War era in both the U.S. and South Korea.

The Roots of Evangelical Fundamentalism

Today, Evangelicalism is highly associated with the predominantly white, conservative political base that elected the likes of Ronald Reagan, George W. Bush, and Donald Trump.[72] Evangelicalism is a broad and shifting category "within the Reformed tradition [and first] manifested in early America in New England Puritanism."[73] Helen Jin Kim summarizes the core Evangelical beliefs as defined by the Bebbington Quadrilateral:

> First, *conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed, one must turn away from sin toward Christ in faith and through repentance; second, *activism*, expressing the gospel in vigorous effort, including, but not limited to, evangelism; third, *biblicism*, revering the Bible as the Word of God, the source of all spiritual truth, some may believe in its infallibility and

[72] The success of Reagan's election campaign is often credited in part to the organizing of the evangelical lobby the Moral Majority founded by Jerry Falwell, an American Baptist pastor from Virginia, televangelist, and founder of Liberty University. Williams, *God's Own Party*; "History of Liberty"; "Evangelicalism, Fundamentalism, and Pentecostalism."
[73] "Evangelicalism, Fundamentalism, and Pentecostalism."

inerrancy; fourth, *crucicentrism*, the cross and substitutionary atonement are central; Jesus paid the penalty for humanity's sins.[74]

U.S. Evangelicalism includes both conservative and liberal practitioners who have embodied these four ideals in various ways. But the conservative configuration that dominates contemporary Evangelicalism can be traced back to the theology of militant, separatist, Fundamentalists in the early 20th century.

Fundamentalism began as a rejection of the arrival of German "higher criticism" of the Bible to the U.S. in the 1880s, which subjected the Bible to the same methods and standards of historical and literary analysis as other ancient texts.[75] It identified the Bible as a library of ancient texts with evidence of significant revisions, redactions, and later additions that occurred as it was compiled and reproduced by hand over thousands of years.[76] The liberal theology of the time, Modernist theology, accepted these errors and did not base the Bible's religious value on its status as a perfect, unadulterated text.[77] Instead, they focused on the figure of Jesus and interpreted the Bible alongside innovations in science, philosophy, and culture.[78] It quickly spread in American Mainline denominations (those that claim an unbroken lineage back to European denominations) by the turn of the century.[79]

---

[74] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 7–8; Brown, "The Higher Criticism Comes to America, 1880—1900"; Hayes, "Doublets and Contradictions, Seams and Sources: Genesis 5-11 and the Historical-Critical Method."
[75] Hayes, "Critical Approaches to the Bible: Introduction to Genesis 12-50."
[76] Hayes, "Doublets and Contradictions, Seams and Sources: Genesis 5-11 and the Historical-Critical Method."
[77] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 5.
[78] Marsden, "The Rise of Fundamentalism," 85.
[79] Marsden, 84.

Conservative Evangelicals who stood by a literal and inerrant reading of the Bible condemned Modernist mediation of the Word of God as a destruction of the text and corruption of Christianity.[80] Described as "militantly biblicist evangelicals… ready to fight for their faith and practices against contrary trends in modern churches and culture," after failing to seize control of the U.S. Mainline denominations, the most conservative and militant Evangelicals broke fellowship to establish new institutions as Fundamentalists.[81] However, they would not be able to gain dominance over mainstream Christianity in the U.S. until the Cold War.[82]

Core Fundamentalist beliefs include Biblical literalism and inerrancy and world evangelization. They believe the Bible was the Word of God: a text free of all errors that states plain, literal truths that are "God-breathed," or direct from the mouth of God.[83] Thus, they also emphasize global evangelization, the atoning work of Jesus as the sole pathway to salvation, and dispensational premillennialism or the belief that society is progressively secularizing and would collapse into sin before Jesus Christ's imminent return.[84] All of these beliefs are rooted in literal and inerrant readings of specific verses in the Bible. Of course, any liberal theological views are rejected by Fundamentalists as betrayals of the Bible and Christianity.

A key aspect of the Fundamentalism of this period was its fierce passion evangelization but the spread of liberal theology and atheist Communism posed a threat to Fundamentalists'

---

[80] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 5; Marsden, "The Rise of Fundamentalism," 84.
[81] Marsden, "The Rise of Fundamentalism," 82.
[82] Marsden, 89.
[83] Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 5; Stiekes, "The Men Who Wrote Scripture Were Not Inspired by God."
[84] Marsden, "The Rise of Fundamentalism," 82–83, 87–88.

primary goal of global evangelization.[85] Thus, regaining dominance in America, spreading fundamentalist Christianity, and fighting communism were intertwined goals. Korea presented an interesting case in this context as Pyongyang Theological Seminary, the hub of conservative Korean Christianity, was swept up in the rise of Communism in the north.[86] Helen Jin Kim argues that "[t]he Korean War, the first "hot" war of the Cold War, linked a new generation of white fundamentalists and South Korean Protestants who forged networks that helped to reinvent white fundamentalism into mainstream evangelical America."[87] The fringe Fundamentalist movement and "Neo-Evangelicals" would come together during the Cold War era to form the conservative religious Right we see today.[88] Indeed, in contemporary Korea, scholar Nami Kim notes that "the Protestant Right shares what is called a 'fundamentalist orientation': its anxieties over the matters of family; its own way of being involved in the political, social, and economic issues; its literalist reading of the Bible; and the authority it puts on the Bible."[89]

Evangelical Fundamentalist Beliefs in Korean American Churches

In this section, I identify evidence for Evangelical fundamentalist beliefs in the Korean American churches I studied according to three core beliefs: Biblical literalism and inerrancy, salvation narratives, and rejection of liberal theological orientations.

---

[85] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 5.
[86] Kim, 3.
[87] Kim, 165.
[88] Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 4; Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 3.
[89] Kim, *The Gendered Politics of the Korean Protestant Right*, 10.

Biblical literalism and inerrancy were values that were deeply held and venerated in both my childhood church and KCC. A literalist and inerrant approach to reading the Bible can have wide applications, as the Bible contains a variety of commandments and exhortations that cover not just religious beliefs but many aspects of social life. A literalist and inerrant reading practice can impose historically, geographically, and culturally specific statements from the Bible on a wide variety of contemporary issues, with divine authority. Hannah described how she was taught Bible stories that were presented as literally true, and how she struggled as she grew older to reconcile the supernatural, mythical aspects of Bible stories with what she learned in school about science and history.

When John gave a sermon one Sunday at KCC as a pastor-in-training, he reflected on Biblical literalism:

> More than anything or anyone else, the Word of God is reasonable, logical, and has no errors. You will think, 'but there are the many stories I learned in Sunday school,' and there's also the story of Jonah that Pastor A has been sharing with us. In some ways, they seem like legends, a contrived fairy tale. But all the stories that are in the Word of God, all of the illustrations are definite truths that occurred in history. And God, who made that history, the one who exists within these stories and leads all these things, is also here, working now.

Here, John's sermon articulates an Evangelical fundamentalist approach to the Bible and history in that the very words of the Bible are believed to be inerrant, and therefore literally true, as the Word of God. According to this belief, Biblical stories are both God's own words and history. This is the same kind of Bible reading practice championed by Fundamentalists in the early 1900s and that spread through the proliferation of conservative Evangelicalism during the Cold War period. John's sermon at the KCC aligned with the understanding of the Bible Hannah and I both recalled were taught at my childhood church.

Salvation is also a key concept in Evangelical fundamentalism. In particular, the salvation narrative in the story of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as a universal sacrifice for all people is a critical belief in Evangelical fundamentalist thinking.[90] Christians, especially those that abide by Evangelical fundamentalist beliefs in Biblical literalism and inerrancy, tend to read the Bible according to these salvation narratives, especially in the Old Testament.

Scholars of the Tanakh or Old Testament note that the very term "Old Testament" reveals a Christian tendency to frame the Tanakh as a text in need of fulfillment through the Christian New Testament, even though the latter is not holy canon for Jewish readers.[91] This is not a feature of Christianity that is unique to Evangelical fundamentalism, but their beliefs increase the intensity of this belief, leading to a view that the only correct reading of the Tanakh is that of prophecies and allegories which augur Jesus' role as the messianic savior.[92] And because Biblical

---

[90] Here, the concept of salvation is based on the Christian idea that all humans have "fallen" from the initial status of Adam and Eve at the beginning of creation in which they were together with God and have thus all been condemned to an eternity in Hell after death. Thus, salvation is necessary and can only be attained through an acknowledgment and acceptance of death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as a substitutionary sacrifice. This concept can be encapsulated within the first and fourth pillars of Evangelicalism conversionism and crucicentrism, as articulated by the Bebbington Quadrilateral. Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 7–8; Bebbington, *The Evangelical Quadrilateral*.

[91]What Christians refer to as the Old Testament is largely based on the Jewish Tanakh or Hebrew Bible, whose twenty-four books constitute the majority of texts within Christian Old Testament canons. The Tanakh in the traditional Jewish canon consists of twenty-four books that can be split into three sections, The Torah (the instruction or teaching) makes up the first five books, followed by The Nevi'im (the prophets), and ending with The Ketuvim (the writings), which were originally written in ancient Hebrew and some Aramaic. A Greek translation of the Tanakh called the Septuagint was made around the 3rd century B.C.E. for use by Greek speaking Jews who lived in Hellenized Alexandria. And the Septuagint included certain changes of ordering and selection, and became the basis for the Christian Old Testament canon. Hayes, "The Parts of the Whole."

[92] An example of this reading practice can be seen in interpretations of the story of the deliverance of the Israelites from captivity in Egypt and the establishment of their homeland in a promised land, primarily discussed in the Book of Exodus. In Jewish readings of the story of Exodus, this story is not an allegory or precursor for a later event, but a foundational event in and of itself as a covenant between God and the Jewish people and does not require fulfillment or later realization to be imbued with a fuller meaning. However, the deliverance of God's chosen Hebrew people in a Christian reading practice is an important allegory of salvation, in which it is read a previous articulation of the

literalism and inerrancy also asserts that all Biblical texts are factual historical accounts, this habitual projection of the salvation narrative is not only central to their reading of the Bible, but also their readings of history and current events.

Interviewees shared this tendency to project salvation narratives onto history and the Bible. Pastor J, the youth pastor of my childhood church, described the relevance of the history of ancient Israelites in the Bible as a historical testimony of Jesus' story: "Knowing that the foundation was laid and God has kind of like, testified it throughout the history, that's really important... And so I realized when they [students] are not like really founded on the Biblical narrative, then they don't understand why Jesus' like birth and resurrection is important." Pastor Chang also shared a similar view that the history within the Bible "is a history that God wrote with a special goal in mind: how fallen humans can be saved and the Kingdom of God can be realized, that's the history that was written [in the Bible]." Pastor J and Pastor Chang interpret Jewish legends, histories, literature, and prophecies in the Bible as an articulation of God's plan for salvation through Jesus.

For Pastor Chang, the Evangelical fundamentalist values of Biblical inerrancy and literalism are grounded in this belief that the Bible is a holy record of his plan of salvation: "I believe that the Bible is a divine revelation from God given so that humans could be saved, and therefore I believe that all of the historical facts that appear in that divine revelation are true… I don't believe in the Bible because everything in it can be proven scientifically, but because it is

---

later salvation of Jesus Christ's deliverance of all humans through his crucifixion and resurrection. Brueggemann and Linafelt, *An Introduction to the Old Testament*, 4–5.

God's word, I just accept it. That is my religious faith perspective." For Pastor Chang, the Bible's function as God's history of salvation is the very basis for Biblical literalism and inerrancy. Pastor Chang and Pastor J's statements reflect a Biblical and historical reading practice that emphasizes salvation narratives, reading practices that were frequently demonstrated in sermons and taught to members of the congregation in the Korean American churches studied in this thesis.

George M. Marsden has argued that while Fundamentalism has not always been a united movement and the beliefs included had some variance over the 20th century, the most consistent characteristic of Fundamentalists is their "militant biblicist" eagerness to fight to assert and maintain their views, especially against liberal theology.[93] Historically, while Fundamentalists thought of themselves as protectors of their faith, religion, and tradition, their opponents often characterized them as intolerant and exclusionary, especially because of their separatist tendencies to break covenant with other churches based on difference in views.[94] Evangelical fundamentalist readings of the Bible insisted that they were the few who maintained a true adherence to the Protestant value of "the Bible alone" as the highest authority through their inerrant and literalist readings.[95] They claimed that Modernist biblical criticism of liberal theology destroyed the Bible by mediating it with extra-biblical texts, theological interpretations, philosophies, and socially constructed norms.

---

[93] Marsden, "The Rise of Fundamentalism," 82.
[94] Marsden, 87–88.
[95] Marsden, 85.

In this section, I review how the rejection of liberal theology by the Fundamentalist U.S. tradition can be found in Evangelical fundamentalist tendencies within the Korean American churches I studied. In my interviews, liberal theological interpretations were not considered alternative approaches. Instead, they were typically described as betrayals of faith or attempts to destroy the Bible. This was sometimes implied but not explicitly articulated.

When discussing the distinctions between the "Evangelical and conservative" views of his Korean American church and other liberal theological orientations, Pastor Chang remarked:

> The truth is that the Korean church is generally, generally they're all conservative. That is, "conservative and evangelical position," evangelical, that's now, Southern Baptists are like that and Korea's conservative Presbyterian denominations are also like that. In Korea's mainstream, that side is stronger. It's stronger but, even in Korea, the Methodist church, the Methodist church is just liberal, in the case of the Methodist church, the Liberal Theology that you mentioned, there's much more of it. So they don't believe in the Bible itself. And there are those who speak even more extremely, they say Jesus is not the only way to salvation. That's the theology of the Methodist church.[96]

Pastor Chang describes the state of denominational trends and their relationship to certain theological orientations. However, he portrays liberal theological perspectives in somewhat negative terms, indicating that the loss of certain fundamental tenets of Christianity jeopardized liberal theological faith.

For John, the application of the Bible on contemporary problems could vary, but it was important that these interpretations were based on literal, inerrant readings of the Bible. John also

---

[96] While contemporary Mainline Presbyterianism in the U.S. is among the most progressive of denominations, in South Korea, Presbyterians exist on the other end of the spectrum. Meanwhile, Methodists in Korea are more liberal, though in the U.S. tend to be more centrist. However, the dominance of conservative or liberal theological orientations are not consistent in every nation, even within the same denominations, as they are dependent on the degree that the dominant denominational organization within the denominational family subscribes to Fundamentalist values.

shared a Fundamentalist tendency in his statement of what aspects of Biblical interpretation could be debated: “I feel like there are core elements of doctrines that we cannot [have varying interpretations on]. There is no other answer… The core elements that talk about God and salvation and Christ, like those, can't be compromised. You can't have different ideas about them.” These “core doctrines” are the same ones that Fundamentalists claimed liberal theology violated with their interpretations that did not rely on an inerrant reading of the Bible.

The Evangelical fundamentalist sentiments articulated in these quotes from Pastor Chang and John are aligned with the rejection of liberal theology that was core to the earlier U.S. Fundamentalist movement of the early and mid-1900s. This conservative stance did not tolerate liberal theologies and designated them as heresy, a destruction of the Bible, and a betrayal of faith, often breaking fellowship with churches that accepted liberal theology or Modernist biblical criticism.[97] This separatism and outright denial of alternative theologies attempted to center Fundamentalism as the sole faithful theology, the most unobstructed and natural form of Christianity. While Pastor Chang and John’s theological orientations are Fundamentalist in their rejection of liberal theology, they are not militant Fundamentalists. They expressed a sincere and earnest desire to share what they believed was the truth. The rejection of liberal theology was embedded within the very origins of their conservative theological views.

In the next section, I argue that the Evangelical fundamentalist beliefs I identified in the churches analyzed in this thesis share a foundation in the U.S. Fundamentalist tradition. In the

---

[97] Marsden, “The Rise of Fundamentalism,” 90; Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 5, 77.

next section, I trace how these Evangelical fundamentalist beliefs are reproduced and maintained in Korean American churches through Cold War infrastructures and a transpacific network of pastoral training and education.

Cold War Ruins: Evangelical Fundamentalism and Transpacific Pastor Training Networks

Helen Jin Kim's monograph *Race for Revival* forms the foundation of my analysis of the Cold War Evangelical fundamentalist infrastructures and political-theology of the Korean American churches I examine in this thesis. She argues that "[t]he modern US evangelical empire was made on the route to US Cold War expansion in Korea."[98] Kim emphasizes the role of individual relationships between white American and Korean Evangelicals and parachurch institutions that were enabled by a "militarized transpacific highway," or a series of militarized routes of connection and exchange that moved ideas, people, and capital between the U.S. and South Korea in the name of a holy war against Communism, including those required to build up Evangelical fundamentalist parachurch organizations and their movements.[99]

Kim centers the role of parachurch institutions that were founded by Fundamentalists and Neo-Evangelicals and now exert considerable influence on the Christian Right in both South Korea and the U.S. These organizations were started around the time of the Korean War and grew with the collaboration of Korean Christians. For example, with his mentor Kyung Chik Han, Bob Pierce founded World Vision in 1950 and produced films that raised support for

---

[98] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 11.
[99] Kim, 4, 8–11.

conservative evangelical humanitarianism and inspired white Christians like Harry and Bertha Holt to seek out international adoptions.[100] World Vision trained a Korean Orphan Choir and toured it internationally, promoting the image of a Christian U.S. benevolence and anti-racism.[101] The "Evangelical Pope," established the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association in 1950 and traveled to Korea 1952 to lead revivals, preach to GIs on the battlefront, and meet with Syngman Rhee, linking "white Jesus, white evangelist, and white soldier as martyred figures… of the Korean War." [102] He returned twenty years later with his translator Billy Jang Hwan Kim, a U.S. military houseboy who was sent to the fundamentalist seminary Bob Jones University.[103]

Fuller Theological Seminary (est. 1947) trained many Korean students who later returned to be Evangelical leaders in Korea and is still a hub for Korean seminary students.[104] One such student was Joon Gon Kim, friend and rival of Bill Bright – the founder of Campus Crusades for Christ (CCC) in 1951, an organization that led revivals and mobilized Christian college students.[105] Joon Gon Kim founded the first international CCC chapter in South Korea, and organized enormous revivals under the Park Chung-hee regime that rallied conservative Evangelicalism and anticommunism, while discouraging protests.[106]

The militant and separatist rejection of liberal theology can also be seen in these transpacific Korean Evangelical fundamentalists. Kim Jae Jun, a leader of liberal and *minjung*

---

[100] Kim, 97.
[101] Kim, 22, 77, 97.
[102] Kim, 23, 36–39.
[103] Kim, 77, 115–16.
[104] Kim, 147.
[105] Kim, 52.
[106] Kim, 154.

liberation theology in South Korea, founded Chosun Theological Seminary (CTS) as a liberal theological alternative to the fundamentalist Pyongyang Theological Seminary founded by conservative U.S. Presbyterian missionaries.[107] While attending CTS in 1947 (the same year Fuller Theological Seminary was founded), Joon Gon Kim and fifty other students signed a petition denouncing CTS' liberal theology and founded the Korean chapter of the National Association of Evangelicals the following year.[108]

During this period, from 1950 to 1980, the Christian population of South Korea went from less than 5% to 20% of the population.[109] Meanwhile, Fundamentalism was converted from a minority separatist faction to the leading religious voices of the U.S. Evangelical Empire.[110] I will finish this chapter by identifying two manifestations of the Evangelical fundamentalist infrastructures established by transpacific, Cold War revivalists that are connected to the Korean American churches I studied.

Pastor Chang's Journey on the "Militarized Transpacific Highway"

I was surprised to learn during our interview that Pastor Chang, the senior pastor of KCC, was directly connected to the organizations, individuals, and events traced in Helen Jin Kim's monograph. His path from South Korea to his senior pastor position at Korean Church of Christ directly followed the Evangelical lanes of the "militarized transpacific highway."

---

[107] Kim, 68; Lee, "McCormick Missionaries and the Shaping of Korean Evangelical Presbyterianism, 1888-1939," 65, 68.
[108] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 48.
[109] Kim, 3.
[110] Kim, 12.

Pastor Chang was inspired to migrate to the U.S. to pursue a theological education due to the influence of Pastor Joon Gon Kim, who he revered. Helen Jin Kim describes Joon Gon Kim as one of the primary figures of Korean Evangelicalism and documents his role in connecting conservative Evangelical parachurch organizations during the Cold War. In 1957, while Joon Gon Kim was attending Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, CA, he met Bill Bright who had founded the first chapter of CCC at the UCLA.[111] In 1958, Joon Gon Kim established the first international division of CCC in South Korea.[112] And together, Joon Gon Kim and Bill Bright brought 1.3 million people together in Seoul for the historic Explo'74 Revival, the largest of the Evangelical giants' careers.[113]

During his years in the college and high school ministry at his local church, Pastor Chang's teacher was a staff member of CCC Korea. Pastor Chang explained that it was this teacher who encouraged him to attend a CCC revival led by Joon Gon Kim in the city of Daejeon in 1971, just three years before Explo'74. This revival would be a turning point for young Pastor Chang's life that would lead him to pursue theological training in the U.S. This situates the formative period for Pastor Chang's faith and future career within the transpacific, Evangelical fundamentalist revivals that Helen Jin Kim argues "ultimately connected South Korean authoritarianism with US political conservatism, establishing a transpacific Christian Right."[114]

---

[111] Kim, 68.
[112] Kim, 68.
[113] Kim, 135.
[114] Kim, 136.

Pastor Chang would go on to receive a PhD in Texas from one of the oldest and most preeminent seminaries of one of the largest conservative Evangelical denominations in the U.S. While in Texas, he would serve as a pastor to local Korean American churches as he completed his education. There, he found his calling to be a minister – as opposed to a career in academia – and upon graduation, took a job at KCC in Los Angeles, CA which was in the same denomination as his seminary. KCC would become one of the largest and oldest Korean American churches of this denomination, and 71 years after Bill Bright founded CCC on the UCLA campus, Pastor Chang's church would launch a campus ministry initiative at the UCLA, praying for revival for a generation dedicated to the Word of God among Korean American students.

As Pastor Chang's journey demonstrates, the Evangelical fundamentalist networks of churches, parachurch institutions, and transpacific movement shaped KCC. And this tradition continues; during my participant observation, I met numerous Korean and Korean American pastors-in-training who attended conservative Evangelical seminaries in Southern California amongst the KCC congregation. The Evangelical fundamentalist beliefs that I identified in the church, therefore, are not simply theological beliefs, but are also part of an Evangelical fundamentalist political-theological legacy. For Billy Graham and Joon Gon Kim, literal readings of the Bible led them to discourage rebellion against authority, while their focus on

evangelization convinced them that mass conversions, rather than protests and anti-authoritarian political organizing, would lead to change.[115]

Liberty University and Contemporary, Transpacific Pastor Training Circuits

During my interview with John, I learned that John had also spent some time growing up in the U.S. south, having lived for several years in Lynchburg, Virginia when his family first migrated to the U.S. As soon as I heard the word Lynchburg, I already knew that John's father, who is a pastor, must have attended Liberty University. Indeed, John's father received both masters and doctoral degrees from Liberty for his seminary education. Growing up in a nearby state, I was familiar with Liberty University as a hub for Koreans and Korean Americans seeking out a theological education. In this section, I will demonstrate that this overlap between John's and my experiences was no coincidence, but a remnant of the Cold War.

I identify how the Korean American churches in my thesis are connected to U.S. evangelical institutions, particularly conservative U.S. Evangelical and Fundamentalist seminaries that cater to Korean students. Historically these institutions explicitly targeted South Korea as a site for evangelism as a means to combat the spread of Communism and to advance the US's Cold War agenda. These seminaries continue to (re)circulate Evangelical fundamentalism between South Korea, the U.S., and Korean American churches. I analyze how the Evangelical fundamentalist orientations of these seminaries not only ensures the theological

---

[115] Kim, 116–17, 147–51.

beliefs identified earlier in this section, but also influences the historiographic practices of the Korean American church.

Liberty University is only one of a number of seminaries that explicitly advanced Evangelical fundamentalism through Korean-U.S. theological exchange. In her monograph, Helen Jin Kim points to Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina (established 1927) and Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, CA (established 1947) as the representative Fundamentalist and Neo-Evangelical seminaries that helped grow the influence of conservative, militant Evangelicalism in Korea by accepting students from Korea.[116] For example, after serving in the Korean War, an American soldier arranged for Bob Jones University to admit Billy Jang Hwan Kim.[117] He would go on to be translator for "Evangelical Pope" Billy Graham during his 1973 "crusade" through South Korea and later led a church of 20,000 members.[118] Just before Billy Graham and Billy Kim made their South Korea crusade in 1973 and Joon Gon Kim and Bill Bright led their Explo' 74 revival in Seoul, Liberty University was founded in 1971 by Jerry Falwell, who also founded the conservative Evangelical lobbying group The Moral Majority.[119] Liberty University shares the conservative neo-Evangelical orientation that was dominant at its founding, and through its founder, was embedded as a part of the U.S. Evangelical Right.

Not only did John's father receive his education at Liberty, but so did many of the pastors of my childhood church and even some of my friends. John's father was able to fund his

---

[116] Kim, 5, 13.
[117] Kim, 123.
[118] Kim, 130.
[119] "History of Liberty"; "Evangelicalism, Fundamentalism, and Pentecostalism."

education, in part, thanks to his work as a pastor-in-training at a small Korean American church hours away. Similarly, many of the pastors at my childhood churches circulated through this same Evangelical network connecting Korean international seminary students with an Evangelical fundamentalist-oriented education, and in the process, imparted the same theological training and ministry orientation within local Korean American churches. John also described Liberty as one of the regional hubs for seminary students from Korea, serving a similar function as seminaries like Fuller in Southern California.

Liberty University's rise as a hub for Korean international students was due to another Cold War friendship between a conservative Evangelical white American and a South Korean Evangelical: Jerry Falwell and Dr. C. Daniel Kim who served as one of the longest serving faculty members at Liberty University.[120] According to his oral history interview, Dr. C. Daniel Kim was responsible for recruiting thousands of seminary students to Liberty University through the support of Jerry Falwell beginning in 1985, prior to which there were none.[121] Dr. C. Daniel Kim's influence in supporting Korean international students that the C. Daniel Kim International Student Center at Liberty University was named in his honor.[122]

Dr. Kim was dedicated to the Evangelical fundamentalism of Korean and Korean American churches. He specifically discussed how it was critical that Korean churches continued to practice Biblical inerrancy and fight liberal theology:

---

[120] Kim, Oral History Interview of Dr. C. Daniel Kim - Kim Interview 2.
[121] Kim.
[122] "Champions for Christ - Professor Leaves Legacy for University's Korean Population."

> we see movements, such as liberalism influenced by liberalism and rationalism in Germany in the nineteenth century, destroying the inerrancy of Bible…Thankfully, our Southern Baptist Convention is still firmly founded on Evangelism, and I am also thankful that most of our Korean churches are firmly Evangelical as well. However, I am sad when I see that seminaries are now leaning toward liberalism one by one.[123]

His statement resonates with those of Pastor Chang and John. Biblical inerrancy and literalism are not only described as central to understanding the Bible and Korean churches, but alternative theological approaches are framed as a destructive force. He frames liberal theology in Korean churches as a looming threat that could lead to a larger crisis.

He describes how conservative Evangelical training for international Korean seminary students at Liberty is critical for maintaining the Evangelical tradition in Korean churches,

> Many seminaries, they are becoming liberal. We don't, I like, I don't like to see Korean, Korean Church become all liberal because of that… Always Korea, Korean Church was started by missionary, you know, from America and depending upon America. But now they are aware of the fact that these American churches are getting liberal...that's why you have to send to, you know, Evangelical seminaries and then you have to have Evangelical seminaries in Korea, Evangelical pastors and missionaries eventually you will have. Then you'll be sound and Evangelical until Jesus comes… whenever I have chance to stand and I tell them clearly, "Become, don't become liberal. You have to be Evangelical." God has blessed Korean Church because Evangelicalism, that's true."

Dr. C. Daniel Kim's mission in recruiting Korean international seminary students to Liberty University was embedded in the same Korean and white U.S. Evangelical fundamentalist Cold War tradition that Helen Jin Kim describes. In his interview, Dr. Kim said that his efforts to recruit Korean students was specifically to ensure the continued growth of conservative,

[123] Kim, Oral History Interview of Dr. C. Daniel Kim - Kim Interview 2.

Evangelical Christianity in Korea. In fact, Dr. C Daniel Kim stated that one of his students at Liberty went on to be the successor of Billy Kim's church in South Korea.[124]

Pastor Chang was inspired by the Evangelical fundamentalism of Joon Gon Kim and Bill Bright, and educated through a transpacific Evangelical fundamentalist pastor training circuit that led him to pursue an education in an Evangelical fundamentalist seminary in the U.S. Similarly, John's father and several pastors at my childhood church were recruited to attend Liberty University through the relationship between Dr. C. Daniel Kim and Jerry Falwell. These transpacific circuits for pastoral training were not only established based on Evangelical fundamentalist imperatives to stop the spread of Communism and liberal theology, but they were also a part of the Evangelical fundamentalist political-theology that buttressed figures the Christian Right in the U.S. and authoritarian regimes in South Korea. To this day, these circuits still train pastors who travel along what Helen Jin Kim calls the militarized transpacific highway and ensure the reproduction of Evangelical fundamentalist values and beliefs in the Korean American churches studied in this thesis.

In this chapter, I identified the Evangelical fundamentalist theological orientations that characterize the Korean American churches of this thesis, and identified how these orientations are (re)produced and circulated through conservative, Cold War era infrastructures. These pastoral training networks reanimate Cold War Evangelical fundamentalist religious beliefs

[124] Kim.

amongst the Korean American churches I studied, a political-theology that collaborated and allied with the authoritarianism in South Korea and the Christian Right in the Cold War U.S.

These findings reveal a Cold War history of how the Evangelical fundamentalist political-theology came to be prominent in the U.S. and South Korea, a history that was obscured or lost in the Korean American churches I analyzed. This is evident in the repeated phrase of "*pok-ŭm-chu-ŭi, po-su-chu-ŭi*" or "Evangelicalism, conservatism" KCC pastors used to describe their theology. The Fundamentalist origins of Biblical inerrancy and literalism, salvation narratives, rejection of liberal theology, and transpacific Cold War infrastructures, have been elided. The exclusion of "*kŭn-pon-chu-ŭ*" or Fundamentalism from this description of faith reflects how the historical origins of their conservative views has been forgotten in their congregation. Again, that is why I consciously use the term Evangelical fundamentalism in this thesis to foreground the legacy of Fundamentalism in conservative Evangelicalism and the wider context of militarized, transpacific infrastructures that allowed its rise during the Cold War.

In the final chapter, I turn my attention to two Evangelical fundamentalist Korean American leaders' commemorations of the Korean War, examining how U.S. exceptionalism and the relationship between the U.S. and South Korea is reaffirmed using a salvation narrative.

Ch. 3: (Re)producing the U.S.-South Korean Alliance

In this chapter, I trace the history of Evangelical fundamentalists' navigation of the U.S. and South Korea's (sub)imperial relationship. Both during the Cold War and in the contemporary moment, Korean American Evangelical fundamentalists fostered feelings of affinity and alliance with U.S. hegemony. I note how they supported the Vietnam War and worked with South Korean authoritarian regimes.

From this context, I analyze two statements released by Korean American church leaders to commemorate and memorialize the Korean War. The first was a sermon by Presbyterian Korean American Pastor Kihong Han, the senior pastor of a very large Korean American church in Orange County, that was shared at the Korean American Southern Californian Ministers Association's memorial service and commemoration event for the 69th anniversary of the Korean War and republished by the Korean Evangelical news site *The Christian Daily* [Kidogilbo]. The second is a sermon given by Pastor Lee Sungkwon to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Korean War when he was the chairman of the Council of Korean Southern Baptist Churches in America, also republished by *The Christian Daily* [Kidogilbo].

I turn to these two sermons as representative examples of Evangelical fundamentalist Korean American memorialization practices of the Korean War performed as by these two pastors on behalf of leading Korean American Christian organizations, i.e. the Korean American Southern Californian Ministers Association and the CKSBCA. These leaders were also members of the same two denominations of the Korean American churches analyzed in this thesis. I analyze these commemorative sermons' use of Evangelical fundamentalist beliefs, especially the

deployment of salvation narratives onto history and reaffirmations of the relationship between the U.S. and South Korea.

Evangelical Fundamentalism and South Korean Authoritarianism

In the late 1960s and early 70's, Kim Jae Jun and other progressive, *minjung* theology Christians protested the Park Chung-hee dictatorship, and at the same time, college students in the U.S. began protesting the Vietnam war.[125] However, conservative, Evangelical fundamentalists held revivals such as Explo '72 in Dallas, Texas, often noted as the peak of the Jesus Movement, which celebrated the U.S. war in Vietnam.[126] And CCC college students, the organization founded by Bill Bright that inspired Pastor Chang's pastoral career, interrupted and hijacked student protests at UC Berkeley in 1967, attempting to evangelize to Leftist, anti-war protestors.[127]

Transpacific revivalists worked alongside the Park regime so that they could return to South Korea in the 70s. Both Billy Graham and Billy Jang Hwan Kim's 1973 BGEA evangelistic crusade and Bill Bright and Joon Gon Kim's 1974 Explo revival collaborated with the Park Chung-hee Regime to hold the largest revivals of the Evangelical fundamentalists' careers. There, they discouraged protesting in favor of social change through prayer and evangelism, citing the Biblical commandment to obey authority.[128]

---

[125] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 147.
[126] Kim, 145–47.
[127] Kim, 145–46.
[128] Kim, 147.

Not only did Evangelical fundamentalists capitalize on the Cold War as an evangelistic opportunity, but they also cooperated with the Park Regime. And even as their non-Evangelical fundamentalist peers organized protests in the U.S. against the Vietnam War and protests in South Korea against military dictatorships, Evangelical fundamentalists attempted to co-opt and neutralize these movements in favor of Christian evangelical humanitarianism.

Helen Jin Kim describes how Explo '74 also became a site where revivalists aligned themselves with the Park Chung-hee regime. Kim notes that these revivals and explosions of conservative Evangelicalism in the 70s led to the growth of conservative Christian churches that

> forge[d] an unholy alliance with authoritarian Park Chung-hee… Explo '74 became a site where South Korean students were discouraged from social protest, in favor of a Christian revolution that buttressed the Park regime. These nonstate networks ultimately connected South Korean authoritarianism with US political conservatism, establishing a transpacific Christian Right.[129]

This event connected South Korean authoritarianism and Christianity with U.S. political conservatism, circulating an Evangelical fundamentalist political-theology through a transpacific network for the Christian Right. Their Evangelical fundamentalism amplified and maintained the dominant Cold War logics and the narratives of U.S. exceptionalism and benevolence. They refused to recognize how South Korea's authoritarian regime was also actively shaping work forces for the necropolitical labors required of its position as subempire to the U.S.

And indeed, these transpacific, Cold War ruins are being reanimated in the contemporary moment. In the first weekend of June, 2023, Franklin Graham, son of Billy Graham, returned to

---

[129] Kim, 135–36.

South Korea to commemorate the fifty year anniversary of his father's crusade in South Korea, preaching alongside Pastor Billy Kim in the 2002 Seoul World Cup Stadium to a crowd of 70,000 people.[130] Memories of how Billy Graham and Billy Kim worked alongside authoritarian regimes and harnessed the militarized politics of the Cold War to fuel their revival are of course absent in the commemoration of the historic, Evangelical fundamentalist crusade.

These dark details of subempire that contradict the dominant Cold War narratives of the U.S. were not acknowledged by the Evangelical fundamentalist revivalists as they preached in the 70s and in the present. In these ways, Evangelical fundamentalist political-theology obscures and dismisses U.S. imperialism, the dark side of subempire, and maintain the dominant narratives of the Cold War.

South Korean Feelings of Alliance and Affinity to U.S. Hegemony

Ju Hui Judy Han notes that contemporary, conservative Evangelical Korean Christians and missionaries narrated their relationship to the U.S. in such a way that produced a narrative of alliance and affinity with U.S. empire, which she argued was a way to direct their hegemonic desires.[131] Han notes that this was achieved by accentuating "American contribution to Korea's modernity and national security," as anti-communism, evangelical missions, and South Korean ascendancy were integrated priorities.[132] Han observes how this orientation "locate[d] Korea as a

[130] Bailey, "Return to Seoul"; Bailey, "Celebrating 50 Years of God's Faithfulness in South Korea."
[131] Han, "Contemporary Korean/American Evangelical Missions," 35.
[132] Han, 35.

partner in the co-operation of US hegemony" and impacted how they conceptualized the geography of the world as a mission field with unreached peoples.[133] In this framing of South Korean Christians' feeling of affinity to the U.S. and their alliance, the relationship between the two nations is celebrated as a partnership, albeit an unequal one.

Pastor Chang's account of the Korean War during his interview followed this framing of a close alliance and affinity between South Korea and the U.S. The Korean War was situated as a part of a greater context in which the United States' influence enabled South Korea's development and growth into a strong ally of the U.S. He stated that U.S. missionaries set up the majority of Korean churches and that the U.S. "backed" or "supported" South Korea through the Korean War. He also described the pivotal role that U.S. missionaries had in educating Korean scholars who would enable its rapid development and modernization. All of these factors pointed to their inextricably close alliance. Pastor Chang greatly emphasized their relationship politically and religiously:

> the relationship between the United States and South Korea is very important. Especially, as the entity that we call the church, we are so tightly knit to the United States that the church cannot be fathomed apart from its relationship to the U.S.

At the foundation of his description of this relationship was the idea that South Korea is indebted to the U.S., which extended modernity, military and economic aid, and Christianity to South Korea as a Christian missionary country.[134]

---

[133] Han, 38.
[134] Similar narratives were found in other Korean American churches. Han, 28.

Pastor Chang's account sought to preserve and maintain a close alliance and entanglement of the U.S. and South Korea: "when you look at Korea's politics, you cannot take out the influence of America." He even goes as far as to gently rebuke those who protest against the U.S.: "now that Korea is better off and has more strength, there are people who protest against the U.S. because they believe that Korea can live without the U.S. However, in my personal opinion, Korea still can't exist outside of America's influence, even now."

However, I argue that this framing of the U.S.-South Korean relationship positions U.S. hegemony as a benevolent power that empowered South Korea's modernization and Christian growth, while ignoring the "dark side" of the relationship, including the authoritarian rule and necropolitical labor that were required for South Korea's position of subempire to the U.S. As mentioned earlier, the subimperial relationship between the U.S. and South Korea was configured through Park Chung-hee's active assertion of South Korea into the Vietnam War and the reconfiguration of South Korean workers to be able to perform necropolitical labor, including surrogate military labor, sexualized service labor, militarized prostitution, and migrant labor.[135]

The Evangelical fundamentalist narratives and political-theology that prioritize the (re)production of the alliance between the U.S. and South Korea are not compatible with the "dark side" of subempire, which subvert the benevolent image of the U.S. Thus, Evangelical fundamentalist salvation narratives and political-theology modulate the saliency or opacity of

[135] Kwak, "The Anvil of War: The Legacies of Korean Participation in the Vietnam War," 23–25; Lee, *Service Economies*, 5–6.

certain details of the Korean War depending on their ability to corroborate dominant Cold War narratives.

Korean American Christian Leaders' Memorialization of the Korean War

In this final section, I turn to statements produced by Korean American Evangelical pastors who were given the opportunity to commemorate the Korean War as representatives of Korean American Christians in Southern California. Their "6.25" sermons given during commemorative worship services are examples of historiography through preaching, serving as both religious lessons and historical accounts. These sermons were preserved as op-eds online in Korean language Christian news sites, which I have translated and analyzed.

The Korean War, as the first "hot" war of the Cold War, is not forgotten by Koreans and Korean Americans. However, I argue that the ways in which this event is remembered by Evangelical fundamentalist Korean American church leaders is profoundly shaped by a salvation narrative and Cold War Manichaean ethics. The Korean War is historicized as God's salvation and deliverance of Korean people from Communist-atheist-North Korea thanks to the intervention of the anti-communist-Christian-United States.

On the 69th anniversary of the Korean War, leading Presbyterian Korean American Pastor Kihong Han shared a commemorative sermon titled "6.25 War Through the Eyes of Faith" at the Korean American Southern Californian Ministers Association's memorial event.[136] The sermon

[136] "Tong-Chok-Sang-Chan-Ŭi Pi-Kŭk 6.25 Chŏn-Chaeng Ich-Chi Mal-a-Ya [The Fratricidal Tragedy, the 6.25 War Must Not Be Forgotten]."

was later republished in an op-ed and was organized into three points, an often-used Korean sermon format: "1. The 6.25 War was an anti-Christian war for the spread of Communism. 2. God protected the native land, South Korea. 3. Atop a mound of ashes, God bloomed the flower of the miracle of the Gospel."[137] According to this commemorative sermon, rather than a civil war fought amidst empires, the Korean War is defined as a war against Christianity and the invasion of communism, which is defined as an evil threat to the church. In this Evangelical fundamentalist framing of Korean history, the Korean War is a holy action of God that protected South Korea through the U.S.'s military intervention. According to Pastor Han, not only was the Korean War instrumental in saving South Korea from the evil atheist-Communist-North Korea, but it was also a "miracle" through which God brought the Gospel to South Korea and shaped it into a Christian nation. These points are part of an established ethnonationalist Christian rhetoric that is seen in other South Korean and Korean American pastors' commemorations and Korean War memorial services, prayers, and other practices.[138]

On the 70th anniversary of the Korean War, Pastor Lee Sungkwon, then chairman of CKSBCA, gave a commemorative sermon that was later republished as an opinion article by the Korean Evangelical news site *The Christian Daily* [Kidogilbo] titled "The Spiritual Lessons of 6.25." Pastor Lee wrote:

> "Everything is God's grace. God saved South Korea, who did not have the strength, troops, or weapons to beat North Korea when they suddenly attacked the South. The resolution

---

[137] 한기홍 [Han Kihong], "신앙의 눈으로 보는 6.25 전쟁 [6.25 War Through the Eyes of Faith]."
[138] "[서부]6. 25 전쟁 71 주년 기념 예배 및 구국기도회 [Western Region] 71st Anniversory Service for the 6.25 War and National Salvation Prayer Meeting]"; 한기홍 [Han Kihong], "신앙의 눈으로 보는 6.25 전쟁 [6.25 War Through the Eyes of Faith]"; Han, "Contemporary Korean/American Evangelical Missions," 26–28.

> issued by the Security Council within one day of the outbreak of the war and the adoption of a resolution three days later for UN soldiers to participate in the war was a miracle… The turn of the tide thanks to General MacArthur's Battle of Inchon and other defeats that the enemy couldn't anticipate were all God's grace. "For the battle is the Lord's" (1 Samuel 17:47)[139]

In this articulation, a very specific framing of the events of the war designates military mobilization as heavenly ordained acts. In Pastor Lee's framing, the violence and militarism of the Korean War are rewritten as acts of divine intervention, protection, and deliverance. In this way, he engenders a spiritual dimension to South Korea's relationship to the U.S. and the U.N. Security Council, in which their actions are miracles empowered by prayer and God's Will. By invoking a verse of the Bible, Pastor Lee positions the U.S. intervention in the Korean War as God's own creation, thereby sanctifying the South Korean-U.S. alliance it forged. As Helen Jin Kim put it: "The two evangelists [Billy Graham and Billy Kim]… relied on the salvific power of the US military as the invocation for Graham's largest crusade. They described Americans and South Koreans as bound together through the crucible of war, sacralizing their alliance through the cross."[140]

Pastor Lee's statements not only exalted the U.S. and South Korea's dependence on their economic and military alliance, but also demonized North Korea: "6.25 must not be a forgotten war. We must especially not be deceived again by North Korea or the Communist Party. They are masters of lies (John 8:44). Like Satan, they are always looking for a crack (Ephesians 4:27)." He literally associates the North and Communism with Satan, and by doing so, positions the

---

[139] 이성권 [Lee Sungkwon], "6.25 가 주는 영적 교훈 [The Spiritual Lesson of 6.25]."
[140] Kim, *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*, 120.

U.S.-ROK alliance and capitalist liberal democracy as God's actors. Taken together, these statements by Korean American Evangelical fundamentalist leaders reanimate Cold War logics: the demonization of North Korea and Communism, the sanctification of the U.S. and United Nations intervention, and a religiously articulated ethnonationalism. As he exhorts his audience not to forget the Korean War, this is how Pastor Lee insists the Korean War be remembered.

Pastor Lee's memorialization not only reproduces the bipolar Manichaean logics of the Cold War, but it also positions the U.S. as having made the most salient and severe sacrifices. In his statement, the suffering and casualties of the U.S. are prioritized, even above those of Korea. He enumerates the sacrifices of U.S. military and American youth:

> There were sixteen nations who aided us by participating in the 6.25 War. Amongst those, the American troops who participated made the greatest sacrifice. 1,789,000 participated in the war, 36,574 were killed in battle, 103,284 were injured, 3,737 were missing, 4,439 were imprisoned, a total of 137,250. These numerous youngsters sacrificed themselves for the national sovereignty and freedom of South Korea, a land they did not even know.

These specific figures are presented to emphasize the breadth and depth of the U.S. sacrifice, which is presented as the willing sacrifice of a guiltless and just body, analogous to Jesus Christ's role as the sinless substitute sacrifice for the salvation of humanity.

Amongst the 4 million casualties of the war, Pastor Lee chooses to commemorate only the 137,250 Americans who were affected, with no corresponding acknowledgement of the violence and devastation that they inflicted, the millions of Koreans who died due to U.S. "total war" strategies of aerial bombing that indiscriminately targeted public structures and civilians.[141]

---

[141] Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*; Hong, *A Violent Peace*, 5–8.

By highlighting the U.S. sacrifices and remaining silent on its atrocities, Pastor Lee's historiographic sermon preserved as an op-ed rewrites memory in a salvation narrative such that the U.S. can only be remembered as a heroic ally and benevolent force of God.

In such a salvation narrative, where the U.S. intervention into the Korean War is read as the vehicle through which God offered divine intervention and spread the gospel in South Korea, it is very difficult to also remember details that contradict the U.S.'s role as a heavenly hero. Because Pastor Lee's salvation narrative frames the U.S. as a benevolent actor, it only has the capacity to retain details that corroborate this framing.

But what about details of the Korean War such as the U.S.'s indiscriminate aerial devastation of bombs and napalm on enemies and innocent civilians, the U.S.'s conversion of the militarized sexual slavery system under the Japanese colonial power into a militarized prostitution system around U.S. military base camptowns, or the U.S. military's massacre of Korean refugees at sites like Nogeun-ri?[142] Even if the U.S.'s aerial devastation is remembered as a sole attack on the North, how can the salvation narrative also accommodate the U.S. military's demand for sexual labor and perpetration of sexual violence?

While their commemoration seeks to sanctify the relationship between the U.S. and South Korea, the salvation narrative does not have the capacity to acknowledge the relationship's subimperial formation and the marginalized, sexualized labors required to maintain the position of subempire. Histories that reveal the necropolitical labor and violence of the U.S.-South

---

[142] Moon, *Sex among Allies*; Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora*, 19, 69–71.

Korean relationship of subempire are incompatible with salvation narratives. These historical details are discordant with Pastor Lee's narrative of salvation and require a critical reevaluation of the U.S.'s role as a benevolent liberator in the Korean War. They trouble or subvert, rather than reaffirm, the salvation narrative and the U.S.-South Korean alliance. Therefore, they cannot be preserved in the Evangelical fundamentalist memorialization practiced by Pastor Lee and Paster Han.

Through these analyses, I argue that these Evangelical fundamentalist memorialization practices reaffirm U.S. exceptionalism and a special understanding of the relationship between the U.S. and South Korea. The effect of this modulation is a curation of which histories are passed down to the next generation. The primacy of salvation within Evangelical fundamentalist theology lends itself to framings of the U.S. as a beneficent savior acting out God's Will by fighting atheistic communism, empowering South Korea's military, and, most importantly, spreading Evangelical Christianity. This framing preserves the dominant U.S. narrative of the Cold War as an act of communist containment and protection of democracy, as well as Korean feelings of affinity and alliance with U.S. empire. Meanwhile, histories that undermine this salvation narrative, such as those of U.S. war crimes, are left unarticulated and inaccessible, and subsequently are not transmitted or known in the next generation.

Despite the lack of subimperial memories in Cold War history amongst Korean American churches' memorialization, the Korean War is hyper-visible as a narrative of salvation. Based on Evangelical fundamentalist practices of memorializing the Korean War, I argue that Evangelical fundamentalism modulates the salience of historical events. Historical details and memories that

serve dominant Cold War narratives, such as U.S. exceptionalism, salvation narratives, and South Korean affinity and alliance with the U.S., are more likely to be preserved and remembered by Evangelical fundamentalist practices of memorialization and historiography.

However, histories that are related to the "dark side" of South Korean-U.S. relations, such as the authoritarianism and necropolitical labor of subempire, are incompatible with these forms of Evangelical fundamentalist memory. These histories were inaccessible in the discourses of the Korean American churches I studied because they require the U.S. to be positioned in a very different role than that of a benevolent ally. Because these histories are inaccessible, they are also unlikely to be transmitted to younger generations. And with this lack of transmission is a loss of that history outside of the ghostly traces, silences, and absences that they leave behind.

Conclusion

I started this project to understand how the Korean American church was haunted. To figure out why I, a child of immigrants who spent most of his childhood at a Korean American church, new so little about modern Korean history. Through analyses of the historiographic and memorial practices of the Korean American church, I was able to identify the great influence that Evangelical fundamentalism had on the Korean American churches studied in this thesis. It greatly privileged Biblical history, while Korean Cold War history was only selectively remembered. Cold War histories that involved the violent process of subimperial development were especially silenced in historiographic practices, though ghostly traces erupted, nonetheless.

The Cold War infrastructures and relationships that enabled revivals in South Korea and the U.S. during the Cold War are also present in contemporary Korean American churches I studied through a transpacific pastoral training circuit. This circuit (re)produced Evangelical fundamentalism, including an emphasis on Biblical literalism and inerrancy, salvation narratives, and the rejection of liberal theology.

Evangelical fundamentalism modulates the salience and accessibility of memories and histories of the Cold War. Those that fit narratives of salvation and reinforced the relationship between the U.S. and South Korea were preserved, while those that disrupted these narratives were much more difficult to integrate into the dominant narratives of Evangelical fundamentalism and Cold War historiography. The silence and non-transmission of these histories and memories from the immigrant generation resulted in their erasure and loss for the younger generations. In this way, the Korean War as a salvation narrative was preserved, while the Korean church's alliance with South Korean authoritarian regimes, violent hypermasculine

developmentalism, and sexualized labor during the Cold War were forgotten in younger generations and present primarily through their absences. These reaffirmed narratives of U.S. exceptionalism and the benevolence of U.S. global presence, obscuring its imperial nature.

I did not exhume these violent histories and invoke ghosts to condemn or demonize the church. Instead, I believe the recognition that the Korean American church is filled with lively manifestations of history that have been silenced is the necessary first step to imagine otherwise. These observations, made visible through the lens of haunting, represented to me, an opening where one could start imagining a Korean American church that engaged with these histories with the intent to heal, out of a concern for justice.[143]

[143] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 58.

Bibliography

Baik, Crystal Mun-hye. *Reencounters: On the Korean War and Diasporic Memory Critique*. Asian American History and Culture. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2020.

Bailey, Laura. "Celebrating 50 Years of God's Faithfulness in South Korea." Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, May 24, 2023. https://billygraham.org/story/celebrating-50-years-of-gods-faithfulness-in-south-korea/.

———. "Return to Seoul: Franklin Graham Shares Gospel With 70,000." Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, June 3, 2023. https://billygraham.org/story/a-return-to-seoul-70000-hear-gospel-message-from-franklin-graham/.

Banks, Adelle M. "The Southern Baptist Convention Has Passed a Resolution Opposing Gay Marriage - The Washington Post." *The Washington Post*, June 17, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2015/06/17/the-southern-baptist-convention-has-passed-a-resolution-opposing-gay-marriage/.

Bebbington, David. *The Evangelical Quadrilateral*. Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2021.

Benjamin, Walter, Hannah Arendt, and Harry Zohn. *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books, 1986.

Botham, Fay. *Almighty God Created the Races: Christianity, Interracial Marriage, & American Law*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Brown, Ira V. "The Higher Criticism Comes to America, 1880—1900." *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society (1943-1961)* 38, no. 4 (1960): 193–212.

Brueggemann, Walter, and Tod Linafelt. *An Introduction to the Old Testament: The Canon and Christian Imagination*. Third edition. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2020.

Carpenter, Joel A. *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Charles, Mark, and Soong-Chan Rah. *Unsettling Truths: The Ongoing, Dehumanizing Legacy of the Doctrine of Discovery*. Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP, an imprint of InterVarsity Press, 2019.

Cho, Grace M. *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Choi, Hyunsun. "Religious Institutions and Ethnic Entrepreneurship: The Korean Ethnic Church as a Small Business Incubator." *Economic Development Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (November 2010): 372–83. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891242410375426.

Christianity Daily. "Council of Korean Southern Baptist Churches to Hold 35th Annual Meeting in Tacoma," April 25, 2016. http://www.christianitydaily.com/articles/8044/20160425/council-korean-southern-baptist-churches-hold-35th-annual-meeting-tacoma.htm.

Cumings, Bruce. *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*. Updated ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 2005.

Derrida, Jacques. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Gjelten, Tom. “Southern Baptist Seminary Confronts History Of Slaveholding And ‘Deep Racism.’” *NPR*, December 13, 2018, sec. Religion. https://www.npr.org/2018/12/13/676333342/southern-baptist-seminary-confronts-history-of-slaveholding-and-deep-racism.

Gordon, Avery F. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. New University of Minnesota Press edition. Minneapolis London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Gospel and Prayer Newspaper. “미 연합감리교회, 동성애 대처 위한 ‘한인 총회’ 창립 [Within the UMC, Korean General Assembly Founded to Address Homosexuality],” May 11, 2019. http://gnpnews.org/archives/46936?ckattempt=1.

Graham, Ruth, and Elizabeth Dias. “Southern Baptists Elect New Leader Amid Deepening Divisions.” *The New York Times*, June 14, 2022, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/14/us/southern-baptists-convention.html.

Gryboski, Michael. “Supreme Court Rejects PCUSA Claim to Property of Breakaway Conservative Congregation.” *The Christian Post*, June 12, 2018. https://www.christianpost.com/news/supreme-court-rejects-pcusa-claim-to-property-of-breakaway-conservative-congregation.html.

Han, Clara. *Seeing like a Child: Inheriting the Korean War*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2021.

Han, Ju Hui Judy. “Contemporary Korean/American Evangelical Missions: Politics of Space, Gender, and Difference.” Ph.D. Diss, University of California, Berkeley, 2009. https://www.proquest.com/docview/929138797/abstract/C0047AE85C0C429BPQ/1.

Hayes, Christine. “Critical Approaches to the Bible: Introduction to Genesis 12-50.” Lecture presented at the RLST 145: Introduction to the Old Testament (Hebrew Bible), Yale University, Fall 2006. https://oyc.yale.edu/religious-studies/rlst-145/lecture-1.

———. “Doublets and Contradictions, Seams and Sources: Genesis 5-11 and the Historical-Critical Method.” Lecture presented at the RLST 145: Introduction to the Old Testament (Hebrew Bible), Yale University, Fall 2006. https://oyc.yale.edu/religious-studies/rlst-145/lecture-1.

———. “The Parts of the Whole.” Lecture presented at the RLST 145: Introduction to the Old Testament (Hebrew Bible), Yale University, Fall 2006. https://oyc.yale.edu/religious-studies/rlst-145/lecture-1.

Hong, Christine. *A Violent Peace: Race, U.S. Militarism, and Cultures of Democratization in Cold War Asia and the Pacific*. Post*45. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020.

Hong, Grace Kyungwon. *Death beyond Disavowal: The Impossible Politics of Difference*. Incorporating Difference. Minneapolis, UNITED STATES: University of Minnesota Press, 2015. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucla/detail.action?docID=4391817.

Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. A Continuum Book. New York: Seabury Press, 1972.

Jones, Rick. “National Caucus of Korean Presbyterian Churches to Quietly Recognize Its 50th Anniversary.” *Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)* (blog), May 17, 2021. https://www.pcusa.org/news/2021/5/17/national-caucus-korean-presbyterian-churches-quiet/.

Kim, C. Daniel. Oral History Interview of Dr. C. Daniel Kim - Kim Interview 2. Interview by Randy Miller and Lowell Walters. Translated by Edward Jang Lee, July 28, 2010. Liberty University Oral Histories. https://cdm17184.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p17184coll7/id/86.

Kim, Helen Jin. *Race for Revival How Cold War South Korea Shaped American Evangelical Empire*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Kim, Nami. *The Gendered Politics of the Korean Protestant Right*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-39978-2.

Kim, Rebecca Y. "Migration and Conversion of Korean American Christians." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Conversion*, edited by Lewis R. Rambo and Charles E. Farhadian. Oxford University Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195338522.013.008.

Kwak, Tae Yang. "The Anvil of War: The Legacies of Korean Participation in the Vietnam War." *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*. Ph.D., Harvard University, 2006. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global (305336580). https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/anvil-war-legacies-korean-participation-vietnam/docview/305336580/se-2?accountid=14512.

Kwon, Heonik. *The Other Cold War*. Columbia Studies in International and Global History. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Lee, Jaekeun. "McCormick Missionaries and the Shaping of Korean Evangelical Presbyterianism, 1888-1939." Master of Theology, University of Edinburgh, 2010.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/277150621_McCormick_missionaries_and_the_shaping_of_Korean_Evangelical_Presbyterianism_1888-1939.

Lee, Jin-kyung. *Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Lee, Namhee. *Memory Construction and the Politics of Time in Neoliberal South Korea*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2022.

Lee, Rachael. "Highland Park Presbyterian Church Required to Pay $7.8 Million to Leave PCUSA." *Christianity Daily*, September 16, 2014. http://www.christianitydaily.com/articles/653/20140916/highland-park-presbyterian-church-required-pay-7-8-million-leave.htm.

———. "Hope Church in Minnesota Required to Pay $1.2 Million to Leave PCUSA." *Christianity Daily*, August 8, 2014. http://www.christianitydaily.com/articles/380/20140808/hope-church-minnesota-required-pay-1-2-million-leave-pcusa.htm.

Lee, Young Woon. "Brief History of Korean Diaspora and Educational Issues of Korean Diaspora Churches." *Torch Trinity Journal* 13, no. 2 (2010): 173–90.

Liberty Journal. "Champions for Christ - Professor Leaves Legacy for University's Korean Population," September 28, 2015. https://www.liberty.edu/journal/article/champions-for-christ-4/.

Liberty University. "History of Liberty." Accessed May 20, 2023. https://www.liberty.edu/about/history-of-liberty/.

Marsden, George M. “The Rise of Fundamentalism.” In *Turning Points in the History of American Evangelicalism*, edited by Heath W. Carter, 81–91. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2017.

Matsutani, Motokazu. “Church over Nation: Christian Missionaries and Korean Christians in Colonial Korea.” Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2012. http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:9882530.

Min, Pyong Gap. “The Structure and Social Functions of Korean Immigrant Churches in the United States.” *International Migration Review* 26, no. 4 (1992): 1370. https://doi.org/10.2307/2546887.

Mixed Race Korean Identity with Grace M. Cho and Dr. Jenn Recording. Los Angeles, CA: GYOPO, 2023. https://vimeo.com/803837667.

Moon, Katharine H. S. *Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Nguyen, Viet Thanh. “Refugee Memories and Asian American Critique.” *Positions: Asia Critique* 20, no. 3 (August 1, 2012): 911–42. https://doi.org/10.1215/10679847-1593582.

Pew Research Center. “Asian Americans: A Mosaic of Faiths.” Pew Research Center, July 19, 2012. https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2012/07/19/asian-americans-a-mosaic-of-faiths-overview/.

———. “Christian Traditions.” *Pew Research Center’s Religion & Public Life Project* (blog), December 19, 2011. https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2011/12/19/global-christianity-traditions/.

———. “Religious Groups’ Official Positions on Same-Sex Marriage.” Pew Research Center, December 7, 2012. https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2012/12/07/religious-groups-official-positions-on-same-sex-marriage/.

———. “Religious Landscape Study.” Pew Research Center, 2014. https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/religious-landscape-study/.

Roh, Hannah Amaris. *Christianity, the Sovereign Subject, and Ethnic Nationalism in Colonial Korea: Specters of Western Metaphysics*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge, 2022. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003171881.

Shin, Linda. “Koreans In America, 1903–1945.” *Amerasia Journal* 1, no. 3 (November 1971): 32–39. https://doi.org/10.17953/amer.1.3.g38n65792w5rh5m1.

Stiekes, Greg. “The Men Who Wrote Scripture Were Not Inspired by God.” *Bob Jones University Seminary* (blog), February 2, 2021. https://seminary.bju.edu/theology-in-3d/the-men-who-wrote-scripture-were-not-inspired-by-god/.

The Christian Weekly [k’ŭ-li-sŭ-ch’ŏn wi-k’ŭl-li]. “Tong-Chok-Sang-Chan-Ŭi Pi-Kŭk 6.25 Chŏn-Chaeng Ich-Chi Mal-a-Ya [The Fratricidal Tragedy, the 6.25 War Must Not Be Forgotten],” June 26, 2019. http://cnwusa.org/.

The Pluralism Project | Harvard University. “Evangelicalism, Fundamentalism, and Pentecostalism,” 2020. https://pluralism.org/fundamentalism-evangelicalism-and-pentecostalism.

Tisby, Jemar. *The Color of Compromise: The Truth about the American Church’s Complicity in Racism*. Epub edition. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2020.

Um, Khatharya. “Exiled Memory: History, Identity, and Remembering in Southeast Asia and Southeast Asian Diaspora.” *Positions: Asia Critique* 20, no. 3 (August 1, 2012): 831–50. https://doi.org/10.1215/10679847-1593564.

Vang, Ma. *History on the Run: Secrecy, Fugitivity, and Hmong Refugee Epistemologies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.

Vrasti, Wanda. *Volunteer Tourism in the Global South*. 0 ed. Routledge, 2012. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203104453.

Williams, Daniel. *God's Own Party*. Oxford University Press, 2010. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195340846.001.0001.

Yoneyama, Lisa. *Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.

Yoo, David. *Contentious Spirits: Religion in Korean American History, 1903-1945*. Asian America. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2010.

기독뉴스 [Kidok News]. “[서부]6. 25 전쟁 71 주년 기념 예배 및 구국기도회 [Western Region] 71st Anniversory Service for the 6.25 War and National Salvation Prayer Meeting],” July 12, 2021. http://www.kidoknews.net/mobile/detail.php?id=7250.

이성권 [Lee Sungkwon]. “6.25 가 주는 영적 교훈 [The Spiritual Lesson of 6.25].” *기독일보 [Kidok Ilbo]*, June 11, 2020, sec. Opinion. http://kr.christianitydaily.com/articles/104711/20200611/sbc-한인교회-총회장-6-25 가-주는-영적-교훈.htm.

한기홍 [Han Kihong]. “신앙의 눈으로 보는 6.25 전쟁 [6.25 War Through the Eyes of Faith].” *기독일보 [Christian Daily]*, June 10, 2020, sec. Opinion. http://kr.christianitydaily.com/articles/104697/20200610/신앙의-눈으로-보는-6-25-전쟁.htm.