

Roots of the March First Movement as Non-Violent, Ordinary People's Search for Justice of the March First Movement as Non-violent, Ordinary People's Search for Justice

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Abstract

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The March First Movement of 1919 in Korea, widely accepted as a new type of movement based on the non-violence and engagement of ordinary people, has attracted many scholars to study its historical character. Yet, there are few studies on the roots of the Movement spirit. This paper introduces a unique approach, offered by Moon-Young Lee. Lee traced the roots of the Movement in four moments in a Korean history: first, ideals of ancient Koreans; Pungryu-do in Silla dynasty; Donghak and Christian movement at the end of Joseon dynasty. Lee examined the character of the agent, goal to be achieved and the means to achieve the goal in each of four moments. Comparing the four, Lee found out that there are continuity and evolution in the four moments, which explain the extraordinary feat by ordinary people in the non-violent peaceful demand of independence.

Key words :

Non-violence, Moon-Young Lee, March First Movement, Pungryudo, Donghak, Christianity in Korea

Introduction

The March First Movement of 1919 has been recognized as 'the' most significant moment in the modern history of Korea. The historical significance of 3-1 Movement was widely recognized at the time of its occurrence. McKenzie, well-known for his book, "The Tragedy of Korea (1908), stated already in 1920 as follows (1920, 5-6):

The peaceful uprising of the people of Korea against Japan in the spring of 1919 came as a world surprise. Here was a nation that had been ticketed and docketed by world statesmen as degenerate and cowardly, revealing heroism of a very high order The Koreans took their stand - their women and children by their side - without weapons and without means of defense. They pledged themselves ahead to show no violence..... It seems evident that either the world made a mistake in its first estimate of Korean character, or these people have experienced a new birth. Which is the right explanation? Maybe both.

McKenzie's assessment of Korean people's struggle towards liberty was broadly accepted by most at the time. The evaluation of the Movement as a watershed is widely shared in the current literature as well (e.g., J.B. Kim, 2000).

Despite the general consensus on the character and historical significance of the Movement, there is not much discussion on the roots of the Movement spirit. It is not easy to pinpoint contributing ideas of social movements, especially when the country, on the brink of collapse, was fraught with conflicting ideas - old and new, Eastern and Western, religious and secular, with different degrees of formalization. Without a proper theoretical perspective, it is not easy to fill the lacunae; some are short-sighted while others look too far back in the past. What is required is to have a historical understanding and a proper theoretical framework. Only when we meet the requirements, we may understand, to paraphrase McKenzie, both constant Korean character and its new birth in the Movement.

In this paper, I examine Moon-Young Lee's view of 3-1 Movement, which, I believe, captures what is constant and new in the 3-1 Movement. Lee traces the ideational roots of the 3-1 Movement in the four moments of Korean history, i.e., a foundation story of Korean tribe before the state formation, Pungryu¹ during Silla Kingdom (B.C. 57 - A.D. 935), Innaechon² and Christianity at the end

of Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). Lee shows how those four ideals are translated into the spirits of March First Movement.

This paper is composed of four sections. Following introduction, it outlines major features of 3-1 Movement in the second section; in the third, it discusses major characteristics of four moments; and, finally, it places Lee's view in his time.

The March First Movement of 1919 and its Spirits

The March First Movement broke out in March 1, 1919. Nine years after the Japanese formal colonization of Korea in 1910, Koreans proclaimed independence. The Movement came as "a world surprise" (McKenzie, op. cit.). Korean people endured under the cruel Japanese rule and, at last, took their stand against the brutality of Japanese rule with bare hands, shouted 'man-se' and demonstrated to the world that Koreans were under severe colonial repression. They took the Japanese gendarmerie and military by surprise as well. The Japanese government did not know, for a while, how to respond to unarmed ordinary Koreans, who just shouted 'Korea's Independence Manse.' The Movement lasted two months and remained peaceful till April 30 despite the cruel treatment of demonstrators.

The 3-1 Movement was organized and led by a group of religious leaders - mostly Chondo-gyo and Christianity - and students (Kim, J.B. 2000; Shin, Y.H. 2001). Yet, all Koreans involved in demonstration: old and young; low and high in social status; men and women, Chondo-gyo believers, Christians and Buddhists; residents in cities and countryside across the country, etc. The number of demonstrations, reported by the Japanese police, reached over 1,200 and demonstrators, over one million.³ Yet, demonstrators did not use violence, no fire on Japanese houses or stores. As aptly put, "it was a demonstration, not a riot" (McKenzie 1920, 252).

It is not accidental that the Movement was peaceful. The leaders tried to ensure the movement was peaceful. The Proclamation of the Independence asked people to be non-violent and show a moral superiority. Three Action Pledges of the Proclamation summarized its action principles in a following manner: First, justice, humanity, survival, and prosperity; so we act solely in the spirit of liberty, never in the spirit of enmity; Second, we express the will of the Korean people

1) Pungryu (풍류 風流) literally means 'streams of wind.'

2) Innaechon (인내천 人乃天) literally means 'people are sky.' This is a key to the Donghak (Eastern Learning).

3) E.S Park reported that there were over 1,500 demonstrations and over two million people participated.

to the last person and to the last moment; Third, we will respect order in all our actions, ensuring our demeanor and claims honorable and upright.

Koreans' non-violence and Japanese cruelty were represented succinctly by numbers. Japanese casualties, according to the Japanese documents, were 8 deaths (6 gendarmerie members; 2 policemen) and 158 injuries (91 gendarmerie members, 61 policemen, 4 soldiers, 2 civil servants). It is evident that demonstrators fought (or were forced to fight) against the police and the military, not against any civilian Japanese. E. S. Park, prominent historian and independence fighter, reported the number of the Korean casualties and damages during the period of March 1 – May 31 as follows: 7,509 deaths, 15,961 injuries, 46,948 arrested. Damaged Korean buildings included 47 churches, 2 schools and 715 houses (cited in Shin 2001, 215). Koreans were exposed to brutal Japanese attacks and still they resisted peacefully.

The historic significance of the Movement is immediate and profound. It was a historical moment, a watershed. As J.B. Kim put it (2000, 1-2),

The March First Movement is likened to be the highest peak in the rugged range of mountains of modern Korean history and also likened to be the greatest lake into which all the streams of independence movements flowed and from which all the later streams flowed down……. It provided new awakening and courage to our national consciousness and national spirit.

Awakening the national consciousness, the 3-1 Movement gave impetus to overseas Koreans' efforts to establish their own government. In September 1919, those efforts resulted in the establishment of Provisional Government of Korea in Shanghai, China. The 3-1 spirit and the experience of Provisional Government translated, thirty years later, into the core values of Preamble of a new constitution (the Constitution of July 17, 1948):

We, the people of Korea, with her long and rich history and glorious traditions, succeed the great spirit of independence proclaimed by the Korean Government,⁴ which was established after the First Movement of 1919, and now when re-building a democratic independent state, we consolidate our national unity with justice, humanity and brotherhood ……⁵

4) "Korean government" here refers to the Provisional Government of Korea in Shanghai.

5) Justice, humanity and brotherhood are the very values exalted and embraced by 3-1 Movement.

The spirit of 3-1 Movement affected later democratic movements, including April Student Movement of 1960, democratization movements from the mid-1970s to mid-1980s and a recent candlelight vigil in 2016-2017. It is common and plausible to connect the 3-1 Movement with later democratic movements, for the 3-1 spirit was invoked frequently by major actors in the later movements and they were non-violent protests.

What about its precursors? Is there a Korean character which explains the Movement spirit? Are there distinct streams of thoughts which flowed into the spirits? Can we find a Korean character and a new birth in the march first movement?

Search for the Roots of the March First Movement Spirit

There were many conflicting and competing ideas before the 3-1 Movement, making it difficult to pinpoint the roots of the Movement. The Korean society before the Movement was in extreme turmoil for the fifty years. It underwent internal rebellion; failed reform movements; forced opening of the country to foreign powers; imperialist wars, shaping the destiny of declining Korea, first between China and Japan (1894-95), then between Russia and Japan (1904-1905); eventual collapse of Joseon Dynasty (1910); Japanese colonial rule; and the end of the First World War(1918). In addition, Korea had more than two thousand years of rich and long traditions of adopting foreign ideas and making original thoughts. To winnow out the implausible from the plausible roots of the Movement, we need a theoretical framework and a historical perspective.

Moon-Young Lee (1927-2014) and the 3-1 Movement

This paper presents and discusses Moon-Young Lee's view of the roots of the 3-1 Movement. There are several reasons – personal and professional – to take Lee's understanding serious. I list those reasons, not necessarily in the order of importance, for they are interwoven.

First, Lee (1928-2014) as student of public administration used a unique approach to the understanding of good government and good society. Lee considered Who, What and How as the keys to the understanding of good government and organizations. With this normative triad, Lee analyzed society, organization or government. He applied the same approach to the understanding of 3-1 Spirit and other previous lines of thoughts. Lee's approach makes it possible to systematically trace and compare similarities of extant ideas.

Second, Lee was an activist. He resisted the

oppression of the authoritarian government and, for that, he was imprisoned three times for about five years (Lee 1991). In fact, Lee's first imprisonment was due to his involvement in "the March First Declaration to Save Korea" (March 1, 1976), which demanded democratization against the authoritarian regime. Lee's non-violent resistance and personal experience of imprisonment led him to look into the 3-1 spirit with a sympathetic eye.⁶

Third, he was a devout Christian. Christianity played a leading role in the preparation and implementation of the 3-1 Movement and Lee's understanding of, and identification with, the Christianity became a medium through which he saw the religious aspect of the Movement. Actually, Lee's self-perception as disciple of Jesus is essential to his life and work and he found acts of a Jesus in the Movement.

Fourth, Lee had analyzed Korean traditions of thoughts, relevant to the analysis of the Movement spirit (Lee 1996; 2006). His broad view of Korean thoughts enabled him to place the 3-1 Movement properly in the context of Korean thoughts and allowed him to make thoughtful comparisons. In short, Lee was in a position to systematically compare extant ideas and trace the roots of the 3-1 Movement.

The March First Movement Spirit: Goal, Method and Agent

Lee published *Public Administration in the Light of the March First Movement* in 2011. In this book, Lee integrated all of his former ideas with his analytic triad. From his first book (1962; 1980), Lee analyzed government with a framework of three major themes: what to achieve (desirable goals; tasks), how to work (efficiency) and who (agents). Good government is the government where agents with the capability of two-way communication with people achieve efficiently desirable goals for all.

Lee applied this analytic triad to the action pledges of the 3-1 Movement. He argued that three action pledges were a manifestation of ideal triad and also a matured form of what Koreans had done through its history of suffering.

The first action pledge described the goals of the Movement, "expansion of inalienable human rights" (2011, 45, Table), and character of agents. Agents of the change and agents of independence are those who want "to eradicate our longstanding sense of injustice, to extricate ourselves from today's pain, to forestall tomorrow's threat,....., as individuals, to reach its full potential..." (Declaration of the Independence)."

The second action pledge demanded involvement

of all Koreans till they achieved their goals: "to the last person and to the last moment." This was a call for the unity of Korean people in achieving the independence and a call for the involvement of ordinary people.

The third action pledge declared that they would respect the order. Koreans would be non-violent in demanding independence, for their demands were honorable and they were upright. This pledge is based on the belief that reason would win eventually. "Let us have no violence. Let us appeal to the conscience of Japan and of the world" and "do not insult the Japanese; do not throw stones; do not hit with your fists. For these are the acts of barbarians (McKenzie 1920, 243-244)."

The spirit of the Movement, summarized in action terms, was carried out in the face of brutal suppression. Non-violence could be a strategy, a weapon of the weak, yet it is really hard to maintain the non-violent reaction when the opponents cut the hands of demonstrators and fired freely at demonstrators. So, it is not far-fetched to derive the spirit of the Movement, i.e., non-violence (a method), involvement of all walks of life (method) and demand for justice and human rights (desirable goals; character of agent) from Korea's history. Lee examined four thoughts or moments in Korean history as significant precursor of the Movement spirit.

A. Ancient Koreans and the Heavenly God:⁷ Beo, Bal and Bak

We employ two methods to understand ancient people's lives. First, archeological relics. The relics are important, yet they are limited when we like to understand the customs and human interaction. Second, documents. Documents give us a lot of specific information. But, we usually do not have sufficient information, especially regarding ancient people's daily lives and human interaction. As to the Koreans, there is another difficulty. Ancient Koreans did not have their own letters. Whatever we have regarding ancient Koreans is written in Chinese. So, we have to decipher what ancient Koreans tried to convey by borrowed Chinese words. Under these circumstances, Lee used two methods to understand ancient Koreans' life. First, he started with description of Korean customs and rituals by contemporary Chinese observers. Second, he used a linguistic analysis. An etymological analysis of religious rituals, proper names and place names sheds light on what Korean cherished and what Korean ideals were.

Employing two methods of analysis, Lee found

6) Lee's father also played a role in printing and distributing leaflets in Jeonju city during the 3-1 Movement. This family history affected young Moon-Young Lee (Lee 2011, 27).

7) Ancient Koreans here refer to people of Joseon, founded by Dangun (단군 檀君). This Joseon is conventionally called Gojoseon (old Joseon), so not to be confused with Joseon dynasty (1392-1910).

key aspects of Koreans' thought and way of living together, which he called the archetype of Korean ways of living and believing. First, as depicted by Chinese history book (A.D. 3 century), Koreans worshipped the lord of the heaven (하느님, Ha-nu-nim) and the earth when they finished sowing in the spring and harvesting in the fall. At the ceremony, all the people of the town got together; danced, ate and sang together for several days and nights. This was strange to Chinese observers, because in China, only the emperor (천자 天子, son of the heaven) could worship or participate in the ritual. In ancient Korea, the heaven symbolized, among others, the sun and brightness. The son of the heaven was to help people. The motto of the heavenly god was Hongik Ingan(홍익인간 弘益人間), that is, "to benefit broadly the human world or devote to the welfare of humanity." Koreans felt they were equally the offspring of the heaven (천손 天孫), so that they could sing, dance and drink together.

Lee relied on the works of J. H. Ahn (1946) to show the parallel between ideals of ancient Koreans and the spirit of the 3-1 Movement.⁸ Ahn wrote so-to speak "the genesis" of Korea,⁹ or the dawn of Korean civilization. Through the linguistic analysis of place names –mountains and rivers – and of towns, states, offices, Ahn proposed that in ancient Korea, bae (배), bal (불) and bak (복) were central to their belief and life (1991, 72-76) bae (배) and bae-e (배어) had double meanings. It meant the void and conceiving (or belly). So, the names of places which had bae or bae-e refers to conceiving places, the origin of the tribes. Examples are bae-dal (배달 倍達), bu-yo (부여 扶餘), baekje (백제 百濟), bae-na (평양 平壤), baek-ak (백악 白岳), etc. Conceiving people, animals or raising plants is possible with the heat, fire from the sun, bak (복, sun, being bright). bal (불, 불) is the fire and it is the function of bak. So, here we see a close relationship among bae (배), bal (불) and bak (복). bak (복, sun) is the source of bal (불 or fire) and bal (불, fire) is the source of raising and growing of living things; those living things came to be bae (배 | conceiving). Ancient Koreans believed that there is baksan (복산 bright mountain) on the earth, a belief in bak (복) – belief in the brightness, sun– and they are the offspring of bak (복), that is, offspring of the heavenly god. The ancient Koreans' culture is based on the idea of unity of heaven and earth, and unity of god and man.

When the beo (배어: the void/conceiving)

8) Ahn(1891-1965) is a journalist, politician, historian, linguist and active fighter for independence. Ahn was imprisoned for his involvement in the independence movement for 7 years during the colonial rule.

9) This is a chapter name in Lee's book (2011), based on the Biblical analogy. He thought it was the first chapter of Korean history, maturing through the times to reach the spirit of the 3-1 Movement.

operates, we call it bal (불), while bal (불)'s operation comes from bak (복, sun). We can say that beo (배어) is a method of conducting; bal (불) is a blossoming of the seed or the task; and bak (복) is the desirable character of agents. Bak (복) is grammatically a root of being bright and it is the characteristics of the sun (Lee 2011, 73). Here, we find parallels between beo (배어, the void/conceiving)– bal (불, task) – bak (복, character of agent) and three action pledges: beo corresponds to non-violent method; bal, achievement of task; bak, the state of co-existence between you and me.

Ancient Koreans dreamed of the world where every tribe or tribal state lived together, realizing their own potentials. As seeds grow and blossom freely in the void, Korean tribes wanted to go along and live together with their own customs (Lee 2011, 58). The combination of the void and the conceiving and this idea of each seed living alongside with other seeds is the core of ancient Koreans' view of desirable life and state. There are non-violence, unity/involvement of all agent and enhancement of humanity. Thus, Lee called ancient Korean thought the archetype of Korean thoughts.

B. Pungryu-do (풍류도 風流道)¹⁰ : An Ideal Man on the Earth under the Heaven

According to the foundation myth of the ancient Korean state, Koreans are a descendant of Dangun, grandson of the lord of the heaven (하느님 ha-nu-nim). In that myth, we found a story of heaven (father of Dangun coming down from the heaven to help people under), earth (bear-turned-woman who accepted the seed of Dangun's father) and a man (Dangun). A man embodied the encounter between the heaven and the earth. In such a way, the myth symbolized the perfect unity of heaven, earth and men. Grandson of the heavenly god, Dangun, is an example of good leader who came down from the heaven with the ideal of Hongik Ingan – i.e. to devote to the welfare of humanity. People worshipped the lord of heaven. In the ritual to the heavenly god, Koreans drank and danced together, respecting the heaven. They came to feel they were equally the offspring of the heaven and they experienced the god in their midst. Humanism lies at the center of this narrative.

Lee claimed that the goodness of human society comes only from people, ordinary people's righteous acts (Lee 2011, 91-92). It does not come from the rulers, or the government. The goodness of Korean society disappeared when kings and the authorities,

10) Pungryu-do literally means Tao of Pungryu, "the way the spirit flows."

intent on conquering and concentration of power, restrained the liberty of people and ruled solely on the power of the sword, not the word.¹¹ This is what happened during the period of Unified Silla Kingdom (676–935). Silla ended the period of Three Kingdoms by conquering Baekje and Goguryeo with the military help from a foreign tribe (Tang Dynasty in China). Silla was a warrior state and highly stratified caste society. There was only one legitimate belief system, i.e., ideological Buddhism, protected by the state. Silla was a suffocating state (Lee 2011, 64–65).

Who is going to correct the evil government and state? The people or the authorities? Hwarang-do (화랑도 花郎徒) which emerged under the severe turmoil and travail of the Silla tells us what was the Koreans' ideal man. Hwarang-do is a group of young men who follows Hwarang (화랑 花郎) spirit, or Pungryudo. A group of selected young men, called Hwarang, trained themselves in three ways (Ryu 1996, 518–519). First, they enlightened each other of the duties of being human. The duties included teachings from Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism; second, they enjoyed each other through singing and dancing. Singing and dancing was considered a religious activity for the fellowship of god and humanity. Third, they went to famous mountains and seas; they played in nature and communed with the heavenly god. Pungryu is the enjoyment through song and dance, and Pungryudo is man's search for communion with god through song and dance. Its ideal is the unity of nature (mountains and waters), art (song and dance) and life (duties of a good man's life).

The duties of being human were summarized as Five Ethical Precepts: i) loyalty to the king; ii) devotion to one's parents; iii) trust among friends; iv) never retreat in battle; and v) kill only with forethought. The five practical ethics represent Koreans' adoption of three foreign religious ideas. Precepts i, ii and iii come from Confucianism and they represent the ethics of the earth. Precept v comes from Buddhist thought. It says 'never kill any, yet for the country, you may kill enemy at battle.' It is a Buddhist idea with practical application. It represents the ethics of the heaven. Precept iv represents man's ethics. At battle, you have to give up yourself for the community; the idea of giving up oneself comes from Taoism.

11) Lee discussed this issue of bureaucratic rationality based on the rulers' imperatives in his *The Analects of Confucius, the Works of Mencius and Public Administration* (1996). While the bureaucratic organizational culture contributed to the overcoming of the arbitrary domination, it lacks democratic culture. Lee searched for the alternative, based on the vitality of civil assembly and prophet's teaching in his *Man, Religion, State: American Public Administration, Puritanism and Luther's 95 Theses* (2001). Lee proposed the repentant individual is central to the democratic society.

Pungryudo expressed the ideal of unity of the heaven, earth and man. This idea of unity was existent at an incipient stage in the ancient foundation myth. Now, Koreans had, as ideal, the advanced form of unity in Pungryudo which adopted advanced cultures. Pungryudo is the mixture of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism integrated by the Korean humanist spirit of the unity of the heaven, earth and man. So, Choi Chi Won (857–?) stated "Pungryu is inclusive of the three religions and this enlightens the people."¹² In a similar vein, Shin Chae Ho (1880–1936) said "the Hwarang was what made Korea Korea when Chinese culture attempted to mold Korea according to itself."¹³ This spirit will enlighten Korean people.

To use the analytic triad, Pungryudo is about a man who lives on his own land (earth), following the way of human being which is in accordance with the great teachings. In Pungryudo, Lee found, above all, a view of good man who lives freely in communion with the heavenly god and nature (agent). Lee also saw the non-violence of great teachings (method), ways of being human (work) and the unity of heaven, earth and man (the desirable character of agent).

C. Donghak (Eastern Learning): Innaechon¹⁴ and Donghak Peasant Revolution

Joseon dynasty (1392–1910) was a kingdom, built on the sharing of power between the Yi royal family and a group of powerful literati-landlord families. Joseon had been successful in containing the demands of common people with its rigid form of Neo-Confucianism after its foundation in 1392. With the changes in the international arena, Joseon came to face tough challenges in the late sixteenth century and seventeenth century. First, there was a seven years' war with Japan when Japan invaded Joseon (1592–1598). Second, newly established Qing dynasty forced Joseon to recognize it as tributary overlord and sever its relationship with the Ming dynasty with invasions in 1627 and 1636. The country was trodden and devastated by foreign troops. Against such calamities, Joseon with its highly rigid neo-Confucianism was unable to modernize its system. Old factional struggles among the royal family and literati-landlord class continued when the bad harvest and imperial forces threatened the lives of farmers and the fate of the country in the mid-19th century.

According to Lee, neo-Confucianism had four things wrong and distorted society and government (Lee 2011, 124–126). First, an amalgam of royalty and filial duty. When the royalty to the king and filial duty became one, it disturbed and distorted

12) From *Samguk Sagi*. Cited from Ryu (2009), p. 520.

13) Shin 1948, cited from Ryu (2009), p. 516.

14) Innaechon (인내천 人乃天) means 'a man is the heaven.'

the function of bureaucracy. Second, no livelihood policy. In the absence of land policy for young men, serfs revolted. Third, no decentralized system. Hence, no room for regional development, led by local gentry. Fourth, a complete disregard for women within family affairs. In short, the Joseon society was suffocating.

In the mid-19th century, Joseon faced with the internal dislocation of order and tax system, on the one hand and external foreign invasion of the country and foreign ideas, called Seohak (서학 西學, Western Learning), on the other hand. In such a national crisis, Choe Je-u (1824-1864) established Donghak (동학 東學, Eastern Learning) and it grew later to be a religion, Chondo-gyo (천도교 天道教, literally, Religion of Heavenly Way). Its core teaching is epitomized by Innaechon (인내천 人乃天), i.e. a man is the heaven. It venerates the lord of heaven (한울님, Hanulnim) as the ultimate principle of good and justice. Innaechon turns the neo-Confucian distortion upside down. Every one of us is the heaven; so, the king nor parents are not the object of worship. Everyone is precious; no one need to keep a status of serf; the local people are no longer the object of local officials' exploitation. Since a woman is also the heaven, there should be no gender discrimination (Lee 2011, 128).

Choe Je-u was ingenious in propagating key ideas of Donghak. He summarized Donghak teaching with incantation of simple thirteen Chinese characters:

1. Sicheonju (侍天主) Serve the heaven (Hanulnim)
2. Johwajeong (造化定) Laws of nature be in harmony
3. Yeongsebulmang (永世不忘) Never forget 'man is a holy being'
4. Mansaji (萬事知) Come to know 'everything (above three)

Choe Je-u believed that by reciting the incantation, by invoking the faith in the heaven-earth-man relationship, believers could save the country. By incantation, Choe meant following (Lee 2011, 133-135): 1. Serve the heaven, not the current ruler; not for the private profits, but for the righteousness; 2. If you follow 1, then the laws of nature, or harmony between the heaven and thy neighbors, will set in; 3. Never forget man is a holy being; despite the hardship (even the death), never forget it eternally, not only for your lifetime; then finally, 4. You will come to know everything, i.e., the heavenly god, laws of nature, man = holy thing.

Donghak is a reshaped version of ancient Koreans' belief and Pungryu. Donghak shares the equality of people with ancient Koreans and Pungryu. Yet, it personified the heavenly god and taught that each man is the personified heaven. By respecting and serving the heaven, one can become the heaven,

a savior. Donghak took the idea of another world beyond the secular world and implied punishment from Christianity. "Hanulnim (천주 天主)" is exactly the same word that is used in Christianity for the lord (Lee 2011, 132-136). It is no wonder that Donghak followers increased rapidly in a society, rigidly stratified, lacking the well-established religious idea of savior.

After the founder was executed for propagating heresy, followers demanded the reinstatement of Choe Je-u and this reinstatement movement, combined with the demand to resolve the national crisis, led to Donghak Peasant Revolution (1894). Many considered the revolution failed, for it failed to bring about intended changes. Lee disagreed (2011, 142-148). First of all, the peasant uprising had been on-going for a while and it was succeeded by a different form, i.e., Chondo-gyo. They went hand in hand with Christians and become leaders of the 3-1 Movement. Second, the peasant uprising was preceded by Confucian reform movement (실학 實學) and its opposition to Western Learning. This made the uprising a movement with its own theoretical core. It is quite unique to Asian civilization that the religious reform movement took place (Jo 2008). It is a sign of the existence of active people and it is a precursor of a new movement, a new civilization, argued Lee. Third, the use of physical force and its defeat was a mistake and that mistake ushered in a mature revolutionary movement. In the March First Movement, people took to the streets with bare hands, shouting Manse. It is also notable that the experience of Donghak and peasant revolution planted a faith in the invisible in the believer's mind.

Donghak refined ideas transmitted from ancient Koreans and Pungryudo. So, to use the analytic triad, there are obvious parallels. Donghak taught non-violence (method), i.e. 'never forget 'man is a holy being'; if you believe there is a world beyond, you can endure the hardship in this world. Nature in harmony requires working together with your neighbors, serving the heaven (work). To serve the heaven properly, you need to believe in the righteousness of man, who is a holy being, the Hanulnim inside you (character of agent).¹⁵

D. Christianity: Sin, Judgement and Justice

In Donghak, the pantheistic heavenly god (하느님 Hanunim) became the personified heaven (한울님, Hanulnim). This is a change of immense significance. Lee implied that this change was influenced by Christianity (Lee 2011, 135-136).

Christianity was first introduced to Joseon in

15) To think of oneself as personified god is a heresy and this heretic interpretation of man or subject is to see him/herself as revolutionary agent. Lee does not emphasize this aspect enough. Yet, this is really important to understand the involvement of Chondo-gyo in the 3-1 Movement. For this view of revolutionary subject, see Jo (2008, 81-96).

the late 18th century. By its idea of equality and afterlife, with its connection with imperialist powers, Christians were perceived as subversive and threatening to the government and persecuted, as Donghak believers were persecuted. Yet, ideas of equality and the promise of afterlife appealed to many ordinary Korean people who suffered in the corrupt and miserable Joseon. Even though missionary work was officially allowed after the opening of Joseon to foreign countries in the 1880s, missionaries were initially cautious not to offend the authorities. They accepted the status quo of Joseon, involved in the education and provision of medical services and tried to keep a neutral stance to the Joseon's political misfortune. Gradually, there emerged several new phenomena for Christian churches, which eventually led to the awakening of Korean Christians and to active involvement in the March First Movement. Lee summarized the contribution of Christianity to Korean society by three key activities.

First, Sin and repentance. Some missionary leaders began to criticize social ills, such as drinking, gambling, superstitious practices, concubinage and administrative corruption. This was made possible because Christians began to repent their sins and to live by the righteousness. This led to the great awakening of Christians, rapid expansion of churches and the Revival movement from 1903–1907.¹⁶ Unique patterns of Korean service, praying together with loud voices and daybreak prayer, began around this time and they had great impact on believers to live for the righteousness (Lee 2011, 183–184).

Second, Judgement. Missionaries took the lead in repenting their sins. After repentance, missionaries asked followers to live up to their repentance. Followers were asked to take action against two key ingrained feudal practices: ritual service to ancestors and concubinage. Followers had to give up two as a prerequisite to entering the church.

Third, Justice. Koreans wanted to get a foreign help from missionaries in order to restore the sovereignty, undermined by encroaching Japanese power. Yet, missionaries put the words of Lord and living with neighbors before the elimination of arbitrary rule so that believers could understand the value of true faith. Lee said that Koreans woke up to such understanding in two ways. First, it came in a form of shadow. The repentance movement in 1907 was a movement, seeking justice beyond the secular welfare. Second, it came in a form of

substance. After they lost their country and their king, Christians came to see that the promised land of the Lord was invisible. This is clearly expressed in the Declaration of the Independence. Action Pledge said what Koreans wanted is to reclaim the inalienable rights (Lee 2011, 186).

To use the analytic triad, people came to repent sin through the help of the Holy Spirit (method of non-violence); the judgement was to let people give up ingrained bad practices and become pure (work); and it was the justice that people asked for, not the secular benefits (goal and character of the agent).

After the analysis of the roots of the March First Movement and after the examination of the heaven–earth–man ideals with his analytic triad in each of four moments, Lee concluded that it was the ordinary people, not the leaders of the movement, who repented and believed in the invisible. These people shouted and protested only with bare hands, with candle lights and flags. They worked on the earth; they are the right people only when they respect the heaven (justice). They fought in a non-violent way.

Discussion: Lee's Analysis in History and in his Life

Lee's unique analytic triad and his historical understanding of Korean thoughts going back to ancient Korea enables Lee to find roots of the March First Movement and compare them. <Table 1> summarizes Lee's analysis (Lee 2011, 45).

<Table 1> Roots of the March First Movement Spirit

| Action Pledge | Ancient Koreans | Pungryu | Donghak | the Holy Spirit |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| Non-Violence (method) | Beo (백어) | Han* | Never Forget a Holy Being | Sin |
| Unity (work) | Bal(발) | Life | Laws of Nature in Harmony | Judgement |
| Expansion of Inalienable Right | Bak(백) | Mot** | Serve the Heaven | Justice |

* Han (한) means 'numeric one' and simultaneously the whole.

** Mot (멋) refers to the beauty, not the natural beauty, but the beauty of human life.

As mentioned before, it is not easy to pinpoint the roots of the 3–1 Spirit. Lee presented a historical analysis with a theoretical perspective. It is a significant achievement. Let me discuss the significance of his analysis in two aspects.

First, Lee's unique analysis. Lee's analysis is in

16) The expansion of Korean church-goers at the turn of the century cannot be separated from the social consciousness of Koreans at the brink of Joseon's collapse. Yet, the religious dimension played a great role in accepting Christianity. For the Korean's social consciousness and expansion of church, see Lee (1998). Church-goers increased about four times in 1901–1908 (Lee, 1998, 498, 503).

the same vein with other analyses in that most of analyses saw the dawn of Korean identity starting from the ancient Koreans and Dangun myth.¹⁷ Lee's search for the archetype of Korean thought is certainly influenced by nationalist studies of Korean past under the foreign threat to Korean identity, especially at the turn of the 20th century. Yet, there are some differences. While many others see direct links between the Dangun myth and the 3-1 spirit,¹⁸ Lee introduced Pungryu and found parallels and evolution between Dangun myth and Pungryu; Pungryu was agent-centered and reflected the integration of major religious movements at the time. Also, Lee found something new in Donghak. He found not only humanism in Donghak, as in Dangun myth, but also this worldly, practical view of Donghak which propelled many Koreans to think there is a practical solution in the 3-1 Movement. In Christianity, Lee found a new element to the Korean thought, i.e., the idea of sin and repentance, which motivated Christian leaders to bravely accept the sacrifice in the wake of their involvement in the Movement.¹⁹ Each of the four elements contributed to the formation of the 3-1 spirit, argued Lee. Lee's view of four events, combined and evolved, is unique and his interpretation made us to see the 3-1 Movement distinct; the Movement spirit reflects the constant aspect of Korean character and, at the same time, it represents a new birth of Korean humanism and Korean nationalism.

For his analysis, experts on each of four moments may object to Lee's interpretation and they are right to do so, for Lee examined the four moments with a broad analytic brush. Yet, he took a really broad brush approach and that is the merit, rather than a drawback. As far as we accept his analytic triad and as far as we find his interpretation intriguing, we can safely say that Lee has made a significant, theoretical and historical contribution to the understanding of Korean people's struggle for freedom and justice. If the details to fill in became an issue of contention, Lee made a remarkable contribution.

Second, a discovery of ordinary people in his analysis. Lee shifted his analytic focus from leaders to ordinary people. Lee wrote his early works as an intellectual critic in the 1960s. When he was fired in the 1970s, he voiced objections to the authoritarian government like a prophet. He was a devout Christian above all. Yet, in August of 1979, he was drawn to the process of a garment company's labor dispute, which eventually led to the mass protests

and to the death of President Park and end of the Park government. What he learned in the process was "to have a faint hope on the ordinary people (Lee 2011, 51)." This is a big step in his intellectual journey. So, after he wrote a book on Oriental classics on bureaucracy (1996) and on Christian classics on church and citizen assembly (2001), he took a journey back to Korean classics (2006) and, finally to the 3-1 Movement, which he presented as embodying the goodness of ordinary people. That journey was also a journey back to his roots, to his childhood's pledge that he would object to the oppressive colonial rule.

Some would say that Lee's interpretation of the 3-1 Movement spirit as culmination of non-violent Korean spirit and Korean yearning for peaceful community may have been meaningful during the democratization movement in Korea when the ultimate goal was to restore democracy by the democratic rule of game and, yet, his interpretation may not be sufficient to direct us to solve the current problems of inequality and social polarization in Korea. Some would say that Lee as liberal is not able to provide solutions to correct social and political inequalities.²⁰ I do not know if he was asked such a question. My guess is that he would say the 3-1 spirit with its non-violent search for justice and with its hope on the wisdom of ordinary people will be the minimal criteria and the best guide, as far as we accept the democratic rule of the game. I agree with Lee, because the three principles of 3-1 spirit are fundamental in establishing a good society.

17) Y.H. Jeong (1995) gives a good account of how Dangun myth was invoked in the national crisis of Korean people for more than 700 hundred years as a rallying point to emphasize national unity and integrity.

18) For example, Jeong (1995).

19) It is not easy to connect Christian ideas with the 3-1 Movement. For example, see Ko (1991).

20) For the relevant discussion of nationalist ideas after 1945, see Park (2015).

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