

A STUDY OF KOREAN CHURCH HISTORY AND MINJUNG THEOLOGY

Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
of the University of Manitoba
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts in Religion

March 1986

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BY

JAE JOUNG LEE

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Preface

For the several years of my study in Winnipeg (beginning in 1982) I was indebted to too many people to mention all the names in this acknowledgment. I believe that words are not enough to state my appreciation for them.

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Easter 1986

Jae Joung Lee

CONTENTS

Chapter I: Introduction.....	1
Significance of the Study.....	1
Scope of the Study.....	2
Perspective of <u>Minjung</u> Theology.....	5
Sources of <u>Minjung</u> Theology.....	6
Procedure and Emphases in the Study.....	9
Chapter II: <u>Minjung's</u> Response in the Old Kingdoms.....	11
The New Kingdom: A Centralized State.....	11
Socio-economic Conflicts in Koryo.....	13
Confucian State and Social Transformation.....	18
Social Corruption and Rise of Egalitarian Thought.....	23
The Beginning of Roman Catholic Mission and Peasants' Revolts.....	27
The Conservatives and the Reformists in the 19th Century.....	32
Social Crisis and <u>Minjung</u> Movement.....	36
Chapter III: <u>Minjung's</u> Response and Christianity Under Japanese Rule.....	41
The Early Japanese Aggression and the <u>Minjung</u>	41
The Beginning of the Protestant Mission.....	46
The Struggle of <u>Minjung</u> Against Japanese Rule.....	57
Colonial Policy and its Reflection.....	64

Chapter IV: The Period of Awakening of Consciousness.....	74
Liberation and <u>Minjung</u> Struggle.....	74
Political Procedure and Christianity.....	81
Korean War and Korean Tragedy.....	83
The Momentum of Awakening.....	87
Economic Situation under the Park Regime.....	89
Authoritarianism and the <u>Minjungs</u> Struggle.....	93
 Chapter V: Attempts at Creating a Korean Theology.....	 100
<u>Minjung</u> as a Source of Theology.....	100
Buddhism and the <u>Minjungs</u> Approach.....	103
Shamanistic Revivals.....	107
<u>Tonghak</u> Movement as a Korean Religion.....	111
New Religious Movement in Korea.....	122
Technology and the Pentecostal Movement.....	127
 Chapter VI: <u>Minjung</u> Theology and its Approach.....	 132
Nature of <u>Minjung</u> Theology as a Korean Theology.....	132
The Biblical Approach of <u>Minjung</u> Theology.....	135
The Historical Approach of <u>Minjung</u> Theology.....	140
The Cultural Approach of <u>Minjung</u> Theology.....	143
The Theological Approach of <u>Minjung</u> Theology.....	146
The Theory and Perspective of <u>Minjung</u> Theology.....	150
 Chapter VII: Conclusion.....	 153
 Notes.....	 159

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

During the last decade, Minjung Theology has been discussed widely in Korea as well as in Asia.¹ Minjung Theology has evolved through the efforts of Korean theological scholars who themselves have experienced "suffering of the Minjung",² due to their participation in the struggle for social justice and human rights. The impact of such experiences caused theological scholars to re-interpret Korean history and Church history, biblical traditions and historical events, and the identity of the Christians and the reality of the minjung in the Korean context. Therefore, they have begun to pursue the work of defining the specific theological tasks in the Korean context rather than the conventional explication of Christian doctrine.

This thesis will discuss the nature of Minjung Theology, its perspectives, its sources and the question of why it is a theology of minjung.³ In a sense, this study will deal with the theological task, both theoretically and practically, which lies ahead of Christianity and the minjung.

Regarding "the crisis of Christian identity"⁴ and "the tension of confrontation"⁵ in Korea, it is very important to formulate a Korean contextual Theology or Minjung Theology, which can interpret the reality of minjung for their liberation and which can be committed to indigenization and to social and political relevance.⁶ This means that the Korean church as well as the churches in the Third World must begin to understand the social context of the people, so that theology is forced to respond to the relevant issues of minjung such

as socio-economic conflicts and the political system of dictatorship. Minjung, who has been oppressed, does not need metaphysical theology that has sometimes marked Western Theology, but they demand an active theology to articulate their faith in order to overcome various forms of bondage.

In Latin America Juan Luis Segundo seeks to develop a theology in close relationship with a critical analysis of society and with a commitment to change society,⁷ and in the United States the theology of James Cone is worked out in the context of a commitment to the black tradition and the aspirations of black people.⁸ Similarly to study Minjung Theology means to define a theology that grows out of the life of the people. The "Theology in Action" workshops held in Manila and Kuala Lumpur in 1972 and 1973 respectively, under the auspices of the Christian Conference in Asia came to this conclusion:

Theology is beginning to pick up theological themes in the lives of the people, to relate to social analysis and social investigation which exposes conflicts in society. Significant experiments of a new life style of Christian living can be seen.⁹

Minjung Theology is still a Korean theology in the making. As Suh Kwang-sun noted, "it is a Korean Theology for the future and of the future which is emerging out of the reflections on experiences of the Korean reality...in history".¹⁰ It is the aim of this study to provide an orientation to this theological movement in Korea and also to give a further articulation of the theological perspectives of minjung's historical heritage.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Minjung Theology seeks to outline the key events of historical

development from a socio-economic point of view and to interpret the mobilization and social biography of minjung.¹¹ Minjung Theology is focussed on the identity of the minjung who disclose themselves by self-interpretation through historical events.

In this study, it is naturally required to define at the outset the conception of minjung. The minjung means the mass and at the same time just the people, who can be categorized by their own personal or communal experiences, expressed as han.¹² As Han Wan-sang says, the minjung means the people who are "oppressed politically, exploited economically, alienated sociologically and deprived educationally".¹³ His sociological analysis comes close to the theological interpretation of the minjung. Yet there remain some undefined elements. One of them comes from historical interpretation. The minjung, individually or communally, has been committed to and has created a concrete social biography through transforming their han into social dynamics. Minjung cannot be clarified by the definition of social class. As Hyun Young-hak notes, the minjung means neither the mass, which implies impersonal and non-political nature, nor the proletariat, that is the people in the narrowly ideological and political sense.¹⁴ According to him, the minjung means the suffering servants who attempt to keep hope in themselves and in the history. It is clearly different from the Marxist class analysis. Whoever understands the significance and root of minjung's han and attempts to identify with minjung, whatever they are, can become minjung.

The concept of minjung has more than a political or socio-economic definition. In minjung there is "a strong transcendental or transcending dimension--beyond history--which is often expressed

in religious form" according to Kim Yong-bock's distinction between minjung and the proletariat.¹⁵ In order to overcome their suffering from diverse personal or communal experiences, accumulated throughout life and history, the minjung struggle for justice and humanity (liberation) or mobilize their power for political hope and future (revolution or rebellion). In these ways the minjung seeks to become a living entity. Kim Yong-bock explains as follows;

Minjung is not a concept or object which can be easily explained or defined. Minjung signifies a living reality which is dynamic. This living reality defines its own existence, and generates new acts and dramas in history.¹⁶

Therefore, the history of minjung expresses the essence of Korean history. It is important to interpret Korean history from the point of view of what has been minjung's response to historical circumstances. In other words, for the understanding of reality, one has to attempt to explain how the power of historical subjects (the minjung) has been reflected in the development of each period. For instance, Lee Ki-baik classified each historical period in terms of which group appeared as the subjects of history and the characteristics of the relationship between the minjung and the ruling power.¹⁷ Based on this theory, an effort will be made to interpret Korean history and culture, not through the ruling power's perspective, but through the perspective of minjung. The focus of the study will thus be on locating the characteristics of the minjung movement and to view the development of their self-consciousness.

In order to discuss the most significant factors in the minjung movement, highlights of religious movements will be presented in order to understand the religious dimension of the minjung and how

these are closely related to important events in Korean history. It will be important to interpret the Messianic expectation of the minjung, whether or not it is related to the religious vision, and to examine the responses of the established religions and the new religions toward the minjung's accumulated anticipation.

PERSPECTIVE OF MINJUNG THEOLOGY

As has already been mentioned, Minjung Theology is emerging from the communal experiences of the political struggles of the 1970's. Through the urban industrial mission, the Christian student Koinonia and rural mission, and the strong cooperation of Christian bodies in order to realize social justice and human rights with their secular counterparts, the minjung has become a concern of Korean theology. Such a practical Koinonia is not a product of academic research, but a living expression from the field, where leaders were involved in an experienced the people's struggle. Reflecting upon the practice of their faith and theology, they began to interpret the events which happened among the minjung. The proponents of this theology now take a further step and look back over the whole of Korean history including church history from the socio-economic perspective and the concern for liberation of the minjung.

Minjung Theology is not developing, of course, in complete isolation. It has obvious similarities with other forms of Liberation theology. Black theology emerged out of the political struggle of blacks against racial discrimination in North America. African theology focused on indigenization or Africanization, and Liberation theology in Latin America adopted the principle of Marxist class analysis for the people's

liberation.¹⁸ There are similar concerns among theologies for the "oppressed", such as a rejection of European theology and affirmation of their own cultural history as a primary source.

Nevertheless, Minjung Theology is not an import of Liberation theology from elsewhere. On the contrary, the perspective of Minjung Theology is "a development of the political hermeneutics of the Gospel in terms of Korean reality".¹⁹ This theological attempt is to re-interpret the biblical events through the minjung's perspective, so that the biblical paradigms may be understood by the paradigms of minjung movement in Korean history. For instance, Suh Nam-dong points out a new perspective in which two paradigms from Biblical sources and Korean historical events make a historical mobilization of the minjung. In other words, Suh attempts to interpret the minjung movement as "the reactualization or the reincarnation of the biblical paradigms or archetypes".²⁰

Furthermore, the ecumenical perspective and the development of religious tolerance have enabled Christianity to understand the reality of minjung movement and to participate in the minjung struggle. In other words, Minjung Theology seeks to define the aspirations of the minjung in order that Korean Christianity may find its mission in the minjung's life and that the Church may participate in God's intervention in history. Eventually this perspective is developed in Minjung Theology more than that of the comparative study of religion.²¹

SOURCES OF MINJUNG THEOLOGY

Minjung Theology may be characterized by its determination to define the theological task in the Korean context and by the sources

to which it turns to accomplish a distinctive Korean theology. Therefore, Minjung Theology has dealt with the historical, cultural and religious sources related to the minjung's life and han, out of its concern to broaden the boundaries of theological study.

The main thesis of Kim Yong-bock is that the social biography of the minjung was created through their struggle to achieve Messianic politics. He analysed the historical minjung movement as well as Korean Christianity, and concluded that the minjung movement was a Messianic movement. His sources for Minjung Theology are selected in terms of the Messianic aspirations of the people arising out of the historical confrontation between the minjung and the ruling powers, using the term "the general resurrection of the minjung".²² He extended his concerns to (1) the Maitreya Buddhism tradition which has been alive among the minjung; (2) minjung's tales, such as Hong Kil-dong;²³ (3) the Tonghak Rebellion in 1894 which exposed the minjung's Messianic aspirations; (4) the Christian movement which received many different expositions by the suffering people.²⁴

Suh Ham-dong attempts to compare the paradigms of the biblical events of salvation with the paradigms of the minjung movements which appeared in Korean history. He tries to find the ways of God's intervention and the work method of the Holy Spirit throughout Korean history by the method of "the Pneumatological historical interpretation".²⁵ In order to find the evidence of the corporate spirit of the minjung, he deals with the historical events, literature and art which give expression to the old and the new religions in Korea. His ultimate concern is to resolve the minjung's han both politically and religiously. Like Kim Chi-ha,²⁶ he seeks to correlate the Gospel with the depictions

of the han of the minjung in order to articulate Minjung Theology.

Hyun Young-hak takes for his main source a typical form of the mask dance (tal-choom), which was performed as an expression of the tenacity of purpose for life. He notes that the minjung finds "newness and a revival of the spirit to persist...even wretched life...and to release their accumulated repressed feelings of han".²⁷ Therefore his concern is to draw theological implications from the Korean mask dance. He emphasizes that there are experiences of critical transcendence and the social role of transcendence in the mask dance.

It is important to evaluate Korean Church history and to compare it with the minjung's history and the history of other religions. Yoo Tong-sik, Min Kyung-bai, and Choo Chai-yong tried to depict the subjective efforts of Korean people to establish "a Korean Church", even though under the strong influences of Western missionaries. In the study of Korean church history, it should be a main concern to investigate what the Korean people's ultimate expectation as Christians have been and to discover the Christian's reaction to the suffering of the minjung in history.

Surely the most important source for Minjung Theology should be the essence of the minjung's reality throughout Korean history. The historical aspirations and the basic issue of han of the minjung will thus receive attention.

Finally, biblical sources and different theological perspectives have been reinterpreted in the light of the minjung's theme. For instance, special attention is given to the theme of "ochlos" or "am ha'aretz".

PROCEDURE AND EMPHASES IN THE STUDY

Minjung Theology suggests a new foundation for theological study and a new understanding of the minjung's paradigm as revealed both in the Bible and in Korean history. This thesis consequently focuses on the interpretation of Korean history in order to define the evolution of the essential nature of the minjung's responses in the historical context. Three important periods are discussed; the old ages of the Kingdoms, the colonial period, and the modern period after the liberation. An attempt will be made to show how the minjung has revealed visions of humanisation and historical consciousness throughout history. An attempt will also be made to assess how Christianity has influenced social transformation, following the period of the pre-Christian era (the age of the Old Kingdoms), the period of the mission (Japanese rule) and the period of evangelism (the post-liberation). This approach inevitably shows also the significance of the ruling power, even though in different forms, i.e., the authoritarian age of the kings (characterized by subservience toward China), the age of colonial rule (Japanese imperial colonialism), and the age of modernization (westernization and industrialization).

Therefore, throughout these three periods of Korean history, the main concern of this thesis is to define the characteristics of the minjung's aspirations and movements under the different types of ruling power and then to interpret the essence of the reality of the minjung in the light of this history.

Although much of this thesis will deal with past events, our concern is to indicate a new orientation. The reflection upon the

past, the attempt to clarify the resources for Minjung Theology in Korean history is done in the hope that a firmer foundation may be laid for the present day aspirations and hopes of the minjung.

CHAPTER II: MINJUNG'S RESPONSE IN THE OLD KINGDOMS

THE NEW KINGDOM: A CENTRALIZED STATE

In the eighth century, A.D., Silla, supported by Tang, accomplished the unification of the three kingdoms in the Korean peninsula. However, the contradictions within the big landowners led to feuds within the ruling class and outbreaks of violence and a number of peasant revolts. The unification broke down through the rebellion of two major figures. In the northern area of Kokuryo, Kungye, the son of an aristocratic family who had been banished as a youth, joined the rebel army of Yanggil. In this rebellion, significantly, insurgent farmers, monks, and local landlords joined forces with him. In 879, Kungye killed his master and assumed leadership of the revolt in his own right. In 901, he organized a new government and proclaimed the kingdom of the Later Kokuryo, setting out to oppose Silla's unification.¹ At the same time, another rebel leader named Kyonhwon, the son of a farmer, appeared at Kwangju in the southwest district. He proclaimed a kingdom called Later Paekje, founded in the same spirit as the Later Kokuryo.

Both Kungye and Kyonhwon challenged the corrupt ruling power of Silla which was tied with the Chinese Kingdom, proclaiming the coming down of Maitreya. The significant point of these rebellions was that both leaders claimed to be incarnations of the Maitreya.² Those revolts were expressed in the terms of political insurrection on the one hand, and also in the terms of the minjung's religious dream

and rescue of their painful life on the other hand.

Following these revolts, Wangkon, who came from a merchant family grown wealthy on the China trade, overthrew Kungye in 918 and founded a new kingdom named Koryo (Korea),³ by which the peninsula was unified once again.

The significant points were that the revolts were mobilized by leaders from the lower class and the people who set themselves against the Silla aristocracy and the royal clan and they were inspired by religious anticipation and supported by the group of bandits, peasants and slaves who suffered primarily under the ruling class. The other factor behind those revolts was the political crisis which was followed by financial chaos and the diplomatic relation with Tang, which increased the dependency on China.⁴

This rise of local war-lords like Wangkon was made at the cost of the power of local bandit groups. Yet these warlords had also their own problems. They could not rid themselves of the tradition of consanguinous relations in social and economic life, even though they opposed similar exploitation of the aristocracy who were not engaged in productive activities.⁵ This fact forced them to seek a new political system.

To make a foundation for a centralized state and to unite the clan communities, Wangkon claimed the spirit and political legacy of Kokuryo, which was characterized by her position of independence toward China, as the basis for the unification of Koryo.⁶ His major internal concern was to relive the political structure of the ruling class and externally to make territorial advances on the northern

frontier.⁷ To mobilize the ruling class, he adopted the policy of encouraging members of his family to marry the daughters of the extremely influential provincial landlords to maintain security at the grass-roots level. He himself married several of them, thus binding their families to the throne.⁸ Since he was an ardent Buddhist and believer in geomancy, both Buddhism and geomancy came naturally to play an important part in politics.⁹ Eventually, his policy had the result of allowing the local ruling groups to be able to exploit their tenants and slaves,¹⁰ which later led to serious complications within the inter-married structure of political power.¹¹

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONFLICTS IN KORYŌ

First of all, the land tenure system was used as a direct method to rule over the people. At the beginning of his rule, Wangkon established a policy of granting land to his political favorites. And when King Kyongjong ascended the throne in 976, he instituted a grain-and-fuel system of land tenure¹² which caused an overall redistribution of land to all segments of the ruling class, including the nobility. Whenever there was a new king, the land-grant system was used as a way of control to maintain the power of the administration. Therefore, under this principle of public land ownership, disorders in the land-grant system could lead directly to disorders in the nation's economic base.¹³ In fact, most aristocrats in the court were able to hold on to their estates and often managed even to enlarge them.¹⁴ Furthermore the original proposal of reducing land taxes to one-tenth of the net returns was rarely achieved. Most farmers

were tenants tilling public land and were obliged to give one-fourth of the crop to the state. Others in private estates contributed one-half of the crop to the owners.¹⁵ Besides the land tax, the most difficult burdens were corvee labor, tribute of local products, and military service.¹⁶ All men between 16 and 60 years of age were subject to labor mobilization and military service.¹⁷

Secondly, a clear distinction of the social status had its impact on the socio-economic conflicts. Below the farmers, at the very bottom of the social scale, there was a class called chonmin.¹⁸ Most of them were slaves, either public or private, who were regarded as property. Their status was hereditary and subject to trafficking. One could become a slave in various ways. Children of slaves automatically became slaves. Prisoners of war and convicted criminals also became slaves. Even commoners were often forced into slavery because of war, famine, epidemics, or usurious loans from the local gentry.¹⁹ Another group of similar status was the artisans. Actors, shamans, butchers, and weavers of willow baskets belonged to the lower class.²⁰ These were all isolated from society and excluded from all privileges, whereas the upper class, which was composed of the expanding royal clan and families, gained affluence for their help in founding the new dynasty, and powerful local magnates controlled local people for their interests.²¹ Aristocratic wealth was based on land and the practice of usury.²² This privileged class was referred to individually and collectively by the Korean term yangban, which indicated civil and military officials who were in a position to dominate society.²³

Thirdly, a monastic aristocracy grew up paralleling that which dominated secular life, since Buddhism was felt to be not only the refuge and salvation of the individual, but the protector of state

security as well.²⁴ The leaders of Buddhism became the specific group of great influence and power. Temples grew wealthy and associated with secular authorities.²⁵ Buddhism in this period was characterized as a state religion upholding the status quo. Nonetheless, at the grass-roots level, Buddhist beliefs were mixed with indigenous beliefs to create superstitious folk-lore. In fact, among the lower classes, shamanistic spiritualists and sorcerers integrated Buddhist and Taoist ingredients into their polytheistic system and enjoyed much popularity. A polarization of society was reflected in their beliefs, so that Buddhism was differently understood depending on the social status.

As a result of such social conflicts, a local uprising which was led by Mangi, occurred at the village of Myonhak-so near Kongju, a chonmin village engaged in government manufacturing, in early 1176.²⁶ When they began to occupy some districts, the government offered a suggestion in a conciliatory gesture to raise the status of the village to regular prefecture, and to upgrade the people in social rank.²⁷

A more powerful revolt of the people occurred in 1198 when Manjok led a slave rebellion in the capital city.²⁸ The motive of his insurrection was based on his self-understanding which was that since the King, the aristocrats, and generals were just men and not different from slaves, slaves also could become kings by rising up and killing their masters.²⁹ Although this slave rebellion was soon put down, it indicated significant facts about the current situation. The growth of the aristocracy within the centralized system of government had weakened the relative power of the king.³⁰ Buddhism, represented by rich

landholding monasteries tied in with the ruling class, was too flabby and corrupt to provide sufficient spiritual direction to overcome the contradictions besetting Koryo society.³¹ Furthermore Confucianism went no further than producing a highly literate aristocracy which used it to justify their own conservatism.³² Then, following the failure of the northward expansion policy, civilian supremacy over the military became firmly established.³³ However, a military coup-d'etat led by General Chong Chung-bu overthrew the civilian officials in 1170, and brought about an aggressive military rule. This military government, the general's private political organization, threw the state into serious political and social turmoil. Soon General Chong was assassinated by Kyong Tae-sung, who in turn was replaced by Yi Ui-min. Later Yi was also assassinated by Choe Chung-hon in 1196. Choe reorganized the military government to place it more firmly under his control and augmented his power with a private army.³⁴ Basically this rebellion did not renounce the monarchy, rather it took over positions of civilian officials only and established an absolute military dictatorship.³⁵ But Choe's military rule was no more successful than that of the king in finding solutions to the chronic discontent of the peasants and slaves.³⁶ Then Manjuk, originally the slave of Choe and one who had experienced the whole process of political struggle, murdered government officials, and burned government records which noted the social status of the slaves. The destruction of these records allowed many slaves to be able to escape from their original status.³⁷

The significant point of this rebellion was that the humanity

of the slaves in such a structured society was recognized by the slaves themselves. It brought to the slaves the realization that emancipation from slave status could be accomplished by their own struggle. Even though the stronger military rule could oppress the society, it was indicative that the slaves' rebellion took place for their freedom.³⁸ We can take another instance of the people's struggle against foreign invasion from the Sambyolcho. When the society of Koryo was suffering under this military dictatorship, Mongols rose to power in the Mongolian desert and extended their control to Manchuria, China, and Korea.³⁹ At first the government of Koryo attempted to resist the Mongol invasion, but in 1259 King Kojong dispatched his son to the Mongols to surrender. However the Sambyolcho, which was organized by those who tried to keep the nation, refused to submit.⁴⁰ They were driven out from Kangwha-do to Jin-do and again to Cheju-do, but they steadfastly stood up to the invader, till they were eventually defeated by the government troops and the Mongol's army. They were the only power willing to fight for maintenance of national sovereignty,⁴¹ whereas the court surrendered the state to the Mongols.

Before describing the significant social transformations following the Mongol invasion, it is necessary to examine what the Mongol intention was in occupying Koryo. The Mongols intended originally to use the Korean peninsula as a stepping stone for the invasion of Japan and as a countercheck to China,⁴² and to have a secure supply of agricultural and metal products, including hand-crafted artifacts.⁴³ In order to fulfil their wishes in Korea, they attempted to change

the land tenure system and to reform the slave system, so that these changes caused the royal prerogatives to weaken, which quickly generated new political controversies.⁴⁴ There was also cultural intermingling through inter-marriages of royal clans and the use of Mongol language and customs.⁴⁵

As a new kingdom of China, Chu Yuan-chang founded the new Ming dynasty in 1368 and advanced northward to capture the Mongol capital. Koryo immediately entered into diplomatic relations with a new dynasty emerging in China. It was forced to make a new diplomatic change, because the Mongol policy of reforming the system of labor mobilization⁴⁶ failed through the obstruction of Koryo's nobility.⁴⁷ These results meant on the one hand that district landowners were still the dominant power over people⁴⁸ and on the other hand Chu Hsi's neo-Confucianism from China inspired the scholar-officials of the late period of Koryo with reforming zeal.⁴⁹

THE CONFUCIAN STATE AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Yi Sung-gye, one of the commanders of the northern expedition returned home and rebelled in 1390. At first, Yi reorganized the military and had himself appointed commander-in-chief.⁵⁰ Before founding his regime, for his political power, he reformed the land tenure system in order to break the power of the landlords and create a new strong central government. It was supported by the Confucian scholar-officials who occupied most of the lower-positions in the bureaucracy of Koryo.⁵¹

In Yi's land reform program, grants of land were permanent and

hereditary, plus new regulations with significant innovations. The new policy aimed for centralization of the power. In this policy, owners of large estates were required to pay the land tax so that their growth could no longer sap government finances, and rents were controlled, landlords being allowed to charge their tenants no more than one-tenth of their crop as rent. Furthermore landlords were forbidden to dispossess tenants without sufficient cause, and tenants were also forbidden to sell or otherwise dispose of their rights of tenancy without permission.⁵²

The supporters of Yi accepted the new-Confucian ideas which were the background for his reforms, whereas Buddhism had its greatest impact on the Koryo royal family and the old landlord aristocracy.⁵³ The predominant class, yangban, developing their power as the Confucian bureaucracy, increased their leverage to take advantage of the monarch's inferior position with respect to the Ming dynasty of China.⁵⁴ And in the first few decades of the new Confucian state, because of the bloody competition for the royal succession among the founder Yi's sons, the Confucian spirit faltered. Hordes of meritorious subjects were given inheritable lands which to some extent allowed land accumulation.⁵⁵

The clearly divided hierarchical society was dominated by the yangban class which was composed of all civil and military officials, for whom all the positions of power were reserved.⁵⁶ For the understanding of this developed hierarchy, it is necessary to clarify the nature of the social status of social classes which came to be clearly distinguished and whose boundaries were strictly enforced. Ostensibly this was in conformity with the Confucian principle that

the ruled and the rulers must always be distinct from each other and that the principle of subordination must apply both to political and social relations.⁵⁷ The social status was divided into the following four classes: Yangban, the aristocracy from which the bureaucracy was recruited, were not to engage in manual labor, but were to serve as the intellectual leaders of the society in which everything was geared to obtain office tenure;⁵⁸ Chung-in, a relatively small class of petty officials, including professional workers in medicine, astronomy, accounting, legal work, geomancy, interpreting;⁵⁹ Sang-in, the majority of the people who were mainly farmers, merchants and artisans of free status, had to serve in the army;⁶⁰ Cho-min, mostly bondmen, both officially and privately owned, and those who were engaged in special occupations, e.g., actors, shamans, butchers. Their residences were limited to a segregated place or region. Their lives were protected by state law and often by royal and yangban patronage, because they were a part of private property.

Interclass marriage was prohibited, particularly for the lower class. The offspring of inter-class marriage was considered as dangling, or outcast, but those of sang-in and chon-min had to belong to the lower side of parental status. The conception of this hereditary class hierarchy came from eno-Confucian ethics. Chu Hsi's assertion that Confucian social precepts reflected the nature of the universe was interpreted to mean that any attempt to change one's social status was not only a crime against society, but also a sin against heaven.⁶¹ Thus the Korean society came to be characterized by strict social stratification.

The commoners (sang-in) had to pay an annual tribute to the government besides land taxes. Quotas for this tribute were set each year and collected rigorously, regardless of poor crops or natural disasters.⁶² As in the former kingdom, military service and corvee labor were required of all able-bodied male commoners between the age of sixteen and sixty.⁶³ Though forming the bulk of the population and bearing most burdens of the state, the commoners were given few opportunities for education and advancement, and were excluded from even the most minor of the government examinations.⁶⁴ Chon-min lived under totally limited freedom even to choose one's spouse for marriage. The children of slave women were also classified as slaves no matter what their father's status might have been.⁶⁵

In the 15th century, King Sejo made efforts to strengthen the state with his "elevated authority".⁶⁶ For his effective rule, he ordered that a detailed map of the Korean peninsula be made to provide greater control of outlying areas. He stepped up his military efforts to eliminate any possible resurgence of revolts. To that end a census was taken of all soldiers and reserves in the various districts. The civil register act was enforced for the same purpose.⁶⁷ The land tenure system was changed, because inheritable land grants to meritorious subjects had been increased so much that insufficient land was available for newly appointed officials.⁶⁸ The official land system was intended to solve the problem of land shortage and to limit the economic power of officials and yangban. Their economic expansion was seen as detrimental to monarchical power and so the new law allowed land grants in terms of rents for office tenure only. By this policy a strong central power could be established, but the

powerful status of the old landed yangban changed to that of an employed bureaucracy with land or a landless yangban with nominal prestige only.⁶⁹

King Sejo politically supported Buddhism in defiance of Confucian orthodoxy, in order to divert the attention of the neo-Confucian scholars.⁷⁰ So Buddhism experienced a brief revival, but after Sejo's death the old restrictions were once more enforced and new ones added. According to the new regulations, to build new temples was prohibited, the number of monks and nuns was strictly limited, the offering of public prayer on traditional festivals was forbidden,⁷¹ and after 1450, no one could enter the priesthood without a special royal permit. Priests with families were forced to leave the ministry and support their families by secular work.⁷² In 1507 the Buddhist examinations for officials were abolished and Confucian ones substituted.⁷³

The social ethics, which required absolute loyalty from the people, was based on neo-Confucian doctrines, of which most important was the principle called ye.⁷⁴ The essence of this principle was that decorous conduct in social relations and the correct performance of rituals on special occasions had an important bearing upon the prosperity of the state. In order to practice Confucianism among commoners, a simplified explanation of the traditional Confucian relationships, the Sam-gang-haeng-sil,⁷⁵ was compiled. In this book, five Confucian relationships were defined for human conduct. Special emphasis was placed on the relationship between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, between brothers, and between friends. These relationships were illustrated with stories about loyal subjects, filial sons and faithful wives, which expressed the appropriate attitude

for the lower classes.⁷⁶ These concepts required absolute loyalty to the king, yangban, or elder as a matter of justice, not affection.

The most original cultural product of the 15th century was the invention of a script based on the Korean alphabet, which contributed immensely to the common people's culture.⁷⁷ The promulgation of the Korean alphabet had a profound impact as the written form of the vernacular which was offered to be used for the literature of the lower classes. The main purpose of the Korean alphabet was defined in the preface of the Hun-min-chong-um,⁷⁸ where King Sejong announced that his intention was to provide an easy script for the illiterate people to help them understand the Confucian ethical principles of politics, and to enable communication between people who were not of the upper class. It may be said that while the Korean alphabet served to educate the people and to promote a sense of community, it also developed the cultural gap between the social classes. This point will be discussed in a later chapter.

SOCIAL CORRUPTION AND RISE OF EGALITARIAN THOUGHT

After the second invasion by Japan in the 1590's, the appearance of the northern tribes of the Manchu, the rise of the Ching dynasty, the impact of international diplomatic relations, and political corruption forced the Yi dynasty into a serious crisis. Most of all, the political power structure was changed to a pattern of factional competition in the court, which was the significant characteristic of the political struggle during the later period of the Yi dynasty, and led to social confusion.

This so-called factional split in 1585 was made between two

groups of literati, younger and elder, respectively called Tong-in and So-in.⁷⁹ The split intensified in the post-invasion period because of financial difficulty.⁸⁰ The nominal reason for the split was controversies over succession to the throne, and over a point of Confucian etiquette in regard to the proper period of mourning, but the real motivation was competition for political power.⁸¹ Although there was historically a subservient attitude to China, now conflicts arose as to the question of which dynasty, Ming or Ching, should be respected most.⁸² Besides, the decline and impoverishment of the yangban class vis-s-vis the newly rich merchants was compelled to change the basic social structure as rich peasants and merchants acquired yangban status. Even bondmen were able to purchase freedom, breaking down a traditional absolute social structure.⁸³ As the other factor, in the process of the split, the So-won, the private academies of the yangban, moved elsewhere to become a sectarian centre.⁸⁴ This tendency accelerated the political power struggle for their political advantage.

A new land tenure system and tax system were generated necessarily. The government attempted to re-survey all farmland in order to impose the tax, but greedy landowners and corrupt officials defeated the move, so that much land was never registered and taxable land remained below the level preceding the Japanese invasion.⁸⁵ Eventually, the government's various impositions, in addition to the land tax, made burdens of farmers much heavier.⁸⁶ Even more, the tax was assessed through the landlords who attempted to make further exactions. And local tribute, formerly paid in the specialities of each region, was changed into a form of grain tax.⁸⁷ The factional struggles forced a few of the yangban into such living conditions where it was difficult even to maintain customary standards. Only

a few farmers prospered who were able to take advantage of new agricultural techniques and managed to buy a fabricated yangban status. Therefore wealth was becoming the sole criterion for status, breaking down the traditional constitution of society.⁸⁸

Another change was a significant decline in the number of slaves. The slaves attacked government buildings in Seoul during the war with Japan in 1592 and destroyed large numbers of the census registers which recorded their status, thereby escaping from bondage.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the government had pressed many slaves into military service during the war, and this often entailed an automatic rise in status.⁹⁰

It is important to note that slaves attempted to emancipate themselves and once freed, made active efforts to raise their status. Whenever the government had met financial or military difficulties, the slaves were eager to offer their services in order to improve their status.⁹¹ We have to pay particular attention to this tendency of self-help efforts of slaves for their emancipation, especially during times of social corruption and power struggles. This was a significant sign of the decline of the traditional system based on Confucianism.

The most significant movement in the seventeenth century was the rise of the critical spirit and a new philosophy to replace the traditional Confucian outlook which had led to crises in politics, economy and social structure.⁹² One sign of social transformation appeared in the type of folktale or novel containing notions of popular revolt against misrule. These stories expressed the people's new social view. Fictional works by Ho Kyun,⁹³ Park Chi-won,⁹⁴ and others

revealed to people not only critical views of society but the sign of a move toward an increasing sense of egalitarianism. The major themes of these fictions proclaimed that rebellions were motivated by the people's consciousness against the ruler or the corrupt upper class, and that a strong sense of morality should be based on the true value and nature of each human being, thus challenging the norms and teachings of Confucianism. These novels delivered to the people the hope of a new society founded on justice and equality, or instructed them that the people might be saved only by the judgment of the Almighty. At the same time, they reminded the people of real human compassion as contrasted with the hypocrisy of the yangban, and developed a view in which the people could be the subjects of history and culture.⁹⁵

As relevant measures to cure or replace the traditional system, a new school of thought was growing with the intelligentsia called Sil-hak (Pragmatic philosophy for practical learning). The birth of Sil-hak connoted censure of those who held political power and an intention to bring about change in the political and social order. Those Confucian scholars who became adherents of Catholicism, activated an intellectual reaction against the preoccupation of bureaucrats with Chinese literature and the speculative side of Chu Hsi's neo-Confucianism. They demanded an end to the empty formalism and the concern for ritual trivialities, and a return to the true spirit of Confucianism.⁹⁶ They emphasized that knowledge itself could not bring any benefits unless it resulted in action.⁹⁷ From this point of view they tried to establish a position of nationalism by restoring the basic nature of Confucianism. They asked for the abolition of

class barriers and of slavery, and insisted that the expansion of private estates must be prevented. They pursued a truly equitable system of taxes and an open system of government stipends. Furthermore, they proposed that examinations for government posts should be based on equal opportunity for all classes and that this principle also should be applied to education.⁹⁸ The other important concern was to expose the true value of the people and the importance of national independence. They asserted that the King could not exist without the people (Baik-sung),⁹⁹ but that the people could exist without the King. And, emphasizing self-reliance of the nation, they insisted that political independence could be established by renouncing subservience to China.¹⁰⁰ For such purpose, they wrote and interpreted history from a critical, objective, and more or less scientific perspective,¹⁰¹ and made remarkable scientific achievements by concentrating on scientific method, technology, and applied science.¹⁰²

It was true that these Sil-hak thinkers were in some way ahead of their time. However, they were also from the yangban class. Under the ruling staturum which was still engaged in excessive exploitation, they did not systematically promote their theory and were far from being in influential positions.¹⁰³ Their ideas for reform were understood only by the small intelligentsia, so that they could not promote their practical ideas into an ideology mobilizing a national people's movement.¹⁰⁴ However, they had set the cornerstone of modern nationalism by seeking new knowledge and western-style technology and by recognizing human dignity through accepting the spirit of Catholicism, which was just beginning its mission to Korea.¹⁰⁵

THE BEGINNING OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION AND PEASANTS' REVOLTS

An introduction of Catholicism was made in association with western technology and commercial expansion through China in 1784.¹⁰⁶

It was termed So-hak, which meant literally western learning as

distinguished from eastern religion, especially Confucianism, and in the beginning it was regarded as the spiritual and scholastic background of western technology.

Until the close of the eighteenth century, Catholic converts were mainly yangban scholars of the Nam-in group, which was one of the factions fallen from power. Their concern in Catholicism was linked with western science and technology.¹⁰⁷ At first these scholars, who had a desire to help their countrymen, focussed their attention on western astronomy and calendrical science, with the practical aim of improving agricultural science, including irrigation which could help to solve the urgent problem of food production.¹⁰⁸ Nonetheless, there might have been other delicate factors of a political nature, even though the early converts' first concerns were technology. Some of the scholars strongly suggested transforming the land system which always caused political corruption as a method of exerting authority.¹⁰⁹

The first persecution of Catholics was aimed to protect religion and social customs based on Confucianism, and also to help to maintain political security.¹¹⁰ The power struggle waged among factions of the ruling class had the effect of deepening and spreading Catholicism among impoverished farmers and yangban who were excluded from office. A serious incident was the burning of his ancestral tablet by an examination graduate, Yun Chi-chung, at Chin-san in Cholla province. Through this event the government concluded that tenets of Catholicism countered Confucian ancestor worship and the social stratification theory.¹¹¹ Moreover, the government gave this event greater significance, because it was from this region and among this group of scholars

that opposition to the political system arose at the end of the eighteenth century. Thus the government began openly to persecute the Catholic converts¹¹² for political reasons. The government announced that the Catholic converts organized secret activities against national security, and they threatened the traditional humanism of Confucian culture and spread wicked western customs.¹¹³ In other words, they were judged as revolutionaries who challenged royal authority by respecting and worshipping the "heavenly God" instead of the King and their ancestors.¹¹⁴ In the persecution in 1839, eight Christian laypersons and three priests were executed. In 1866, Taewongun launched a great persecution which lasted until 1872. During this period nine French priests and about 8,000 Korean Catholics lost their lives and many more were imprisoned.¹¹⁵

The impact of this terrible persecution resulted in the stronger and more systematic resistance by Catholic believers. One example can be illustrated by a letter of petition to the Bishop of Peking in 1801 after the first persecution by Hwang Sa-young:¹¹⁶

Please send hundreds of warships and 50,000 to 60,000 soldiers with lots of cannon to Korea and let the envoy talk to the King (saying)... If the King doesn't accept and hear the envoy of the heavenly Lord, then we will punish you according to God's commandments. Take your choice, whether the king will save the nation from disaster by accepting the envoy, or lose the nation by denying him...¹¹⁷

In this radical letter, he appealed for a permanent channel of communications between China and Korea, explaining about the factional struggles and economic destitution. Besides, he asked that the King of Ching (China) should exert more pressure on the Korean government to permit freedom of mission, and suggested that this petition might

be sent to the Western nations so that they could send an army in order to protect the Christian faith in Korea.¹¹⁸

Before it reached Peking, the letter was intercepted, and both Hwang, the writer, and the messenger were beheaded. Although Hwang's position was a personal one, it seemed true that he correctly assessed the situation within the political system, as well as expressed his own passionate faith and desire to save the nation from a bad ruler. However, it could be argued that his opinions, shared with other Catholic converts, were an uncritical, naive view toward the western power.

The Catholic converts did not attempt to mobilize power among the people to reform the unjust social structure, but they tried simply to appeal to western powers in the name of freedom of faith. Therefore, even though the bloody persecutions were a shock to the people, the impact had not been transferred to the people's movement. The court of the Yi dynasty confirmed definitely that the traditional social ethics should be strictly kept, in line with the teachings of Confucianism, and condemned the Catholic converts as an anti-social and anti-national group associated with a foreign power, who intended to destroy the royal authority and historical custom.¹¹⁹

Quite separate from Catholics, a peasants' war broke out in the early decades of the nineteenth century. It was brought on by a succession of bad harvests caused by alternate drought and floods which generated a cycle of famine, excessive tax burdens and much forced labor.¹²⁰ There was a succession of minors to the throne leading to government by the Queen's relatives and a weakening of

royal power, while efficient functioning of the bureaucracy was inhibited by favoritism and nepotism, indicating the corruption of officials.¹²¹ On the other hand, the various taxes imposed on the people ruined many farmers. Besides, the people were insecure in the face of western power, and animism prevailed among the majority of the population. This supported many rumors and fantastic ideas, even the hope that new land would be given by the Almighty. Furthermore, the popular custom of fortune-telling and divination was used to criticize officials, going so far as to predict the downfall of the dynasty.¹²²

Under such circumstances, the peasant uprising in 1811 led by Hong Kyong-nae, who came of a yangban family but was poor and without a post, was the signal for numerous rebellions. He mobilized the inhabitants of the northwestern provinces and stood against the central government. The rebels proceeded to rally local populations, including community elders, wealthy merchants and even local officials. Although Hong's rebellion was short-lived, coinciding with it there were many uprisings in and around Seoul. The peasantry persevered in their struggle against oppression at the hand of the court, the local nobility and the landlords.¹²³ Some were led by intellectuals. It was clear that corruption and oppression had gone beyond tolerable limits.¹²⁴ For instance, the Imsool uprising, in 1862, was made up of more than 40 separate peasant rebellions all over the country. These were occasioned by the tremendous corruption and disorders in the administration of taxes.

Through these rebellions, it can be seen that the suffering

of the people, the oppression by rulers, the corruption of officials and economic exploitation of the people led directly to the uprisings, and furthermore that the people understood what they must do to live by criticizing the injustice and corruption of their political system.¹²⁵

THE CONSERVATIVES AND THE REFORMISTS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the Western powers and the Japanese forced Korea to open the relations for trade and Christian mission. These persistent efforts to open doors were made by merchants, missionaries, and government officials, despite the known policy of isolation and anti-Catholicism under Taegongun.¹²⁶ The reason behind this policy of isolation was because Taewongun received indications of the consequences of the aggressive policies of the Western powers by what had happened to the Ching dynasty in China.¹²⁷ In order to protect the nation from the overseas threat, the government tried to reestablish royal authority in accordance with the virtues of the Confucian tradition, and especially to keep the institutional power structure, closing down the So-won caused by the factional struggles.¹²⁸

Internally the basic policy of Taewongun appeared as an even more stubborn position. He restored the State Council and reformed the code of law for the sake of royal authority. Abolishing the rice-loan system, he restored the original system of interest-free loans to farmers and reorganized taxation for military funds. The actual result was that land taxes were increased and a new transit tax was imposed.

To the incident with the Japanese ship Unyang-ho in 1876,¹²⁹ there were two different responses.

One was by Yi Hang-no who strongly advocated repelling European capitalistic encroachment. He called for political reform, stability, and the reinforcement of Korean defence capabilities based on the basis of nationalism. He concluded that the westernization of the country could be prevented by keeping out capitalism. His disciples, and many Confucian scholars generally affiliated with his school, likewise called for the strengthening of national defence to repel foreign powers.¹³⁰ These followers were oriented primarily toward practical reforms rather than towards abstract ideas.

The other was the reaction to a booklet entitled Korea Stratagem written by Hwang Chun-hsien, a Chinese official of the Ching legation in Japan, in order to advise Korea to accept European institutions and technology for the sake of her defence capability by collaborating with China and the United States in checking the southward expansion of Russia.¹³¹ This was accepted at once by King Kojong, Queen Min and the reformists. The king sent copies to all his senior officials, but there were strongly opposing opinions about this view. The reformists agreed to Hwang's suggestions, while the conservatives forcefully insisted on keeping neo-Confucian structure for resisting western culture, Catholicism, and incursions by Japan.¹³² The Confucianists' denunciation of the foreign powers was based politically on their rejection of the family of Queen Min and the Japanese aggressors in 1883. At last these conflicts led to a revolt of the old-time soldiers against the special unit trained by Japanese instructors and which had been given special privileges by the reformists.¹³³

The conflicts became deeper between the reformists who were pro-Japanese and the conservatives who were grounded in Confucianism and respect for China. The problem was that both sides took their positions from political views without a correct judgement of the current international context. In fact, at this time no western power considered the opening of Korea important enough to send a large-scale invasion force. However, Taewongun exulted in small victories and proclaimed to the people that he would keep the policy of isolation, and continue repulsing "evil".¹³⁴ The Japanese decided to use Korea to recoup their losses resulting from unequal treaties with the western powers and as a foundation for resistance to further threats of foreign domination, as well as to fulfil their aspiration to invade China.¹³⁵ Japan forced Korea to sign on the Chemulpo Treaty, as compensation of the old military revolt.¹³⁶

In 1884 the Independent Party's Kap-sin Coup was organized by radical reformists such as Kim Ok-kyun, and others. This reform movement ended in failure within three days but, in terms of its impact, this was one of the epoch-making events in Korean history. The abortive reform plan, which covered the whole range of state administration, included such measures as the abolition of tributary relations with China, recruitment by merit regardless of birth, revision of land taxation, elimination of corrupt officials, improvement of the standard of living, restoration to order of state finances, abolition of the government grain-lending system (abused everywhere as a means of usury), and a unified financial administration to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.¹³⁷

Consequently, the failure of Kap-sin Coup, encouraged Japan

to proceed to the other step of encroachment which resulted in the Hansung Treaty, in which Japan demanded compensation for the loss of Japanese lives and property. At the same time, Japan settled pending problems with China by concluding the Tientsin Treaty in which both sides agreed to these terms: they would pull out their expeditionary forces simultaneously; they would not send instructors to train the Korean army; and each would notify the other beforehand if one should decide to send troops to Korea.¹³⁸

Thus Korea had almost lost her autonomy, and the modernization projects were practically defeated. The government had tacitly approved the Kap-sin Coup: they encouraged that it would succeed and that Japanese dominance in Korea would be assured. The Japanese knew that there would be a confrontation with China if the coup failed, but since they were sure that China would not risk war, they could conduct negotiations to their own advantage.¹³⁹ This was indeed what happened in Korea.

Briefly it can be concluded that the following facets of the power struggle happened in the nineteenth century. First, the Catholic converts who opposed traditional Confucianism desired to promote the acceptance of Western technology and power in Korea. Secondly, the reformist who favored Japan tried to carry out many modernization projects with respect to human dignity. Thirdly, the traditional conservatives, backed by Ching, made efforts to maintain Confucian social tradition and authority. In the end neither the isolation policy nor the modernization policy helped maintain the nation, but rather invited an invasion by both China and Japan.

SOCIAL CRISIS AND MINJUNG MOVEMENT

With the corruption of officials and the political struggle in the court between the Min family and the Taewongun, the people suffered from inequities in the tax and land-distribution systems. Farmers faced serious poverty following droughts in 1876 and 1888, particularly those in Cholla province.¹⁴⁰ Then, well-armed and organized robber bands began to appear everywhere and a wave of local uprisings occurred, usually directed against corrupt local officials.¹⁴⁴

In this situation, Tonghak, which could be literally translated as "Eastern Learning", appeared as a new religion, embodying elements of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and Roman Catholicism. It was founded in 1859 by Choe Che-u (1824-1864) as an alternative to Roman Catholicism, So-hak (Western Learning), after God had appeared to him in a vision telling him that Catholicism was not a true religion.¹⁴² The question was not so much one of the doctrinal matters as the characteristics of the religion, in this case the magic powers attributed to the believers and the rejection of belief in life after death. Its emphasis on the improvement of the human condition attracted opponents of the government who used it for political action.¹⁴³ Economic and social aspirations became enmeshed with the spiritual and moral teachings of the new religion.¹⁴⁴

From its inception, Tonghak's political characteristics had greater appeal than its religious ones. Although Choe's preaching had brought a religious aspect, his concerns were realistic enough, calling for national stability and security so that people could enjoy a satisfactory life. Poverty-stricken farmers soon became

the followers of Tonghak, who were able to expand their influence and organize their forces.¹⁴⁵

Tonghak's demonstration started in 1892 to demand toleration for the sect and posthumous restoration for Choe Che-u, their leader who had been executed in 1864 as a traitor, because of his revolutionary teaching. Then in 1893 about 20,000 believers of Tonghak assembled in Poun with more detailed demands for the expulsion of western and Japanese influences, especially foreign capitalism. Their manifesto proclaimed that they had sworn to death to be united in a common effort to sweep out the Japanese and the foreigners.¹⁴⁶

This movement's political character coincided well with those of Taewongun, but it came also from the heart of the people as their faith.¹⁴⁷

The decisive revolution of Tonghak, as a paradigm of the minjung movement in Korean history, occurred in 1894. The farmers of Kobu suffered seriously because of exploitation by the district magistrate Cho Byong-gap.¹⁴⁸ So a thousand angry farmers led by Chon Bong-jun broke into the magistrate's office, drove him out and seized weapons. The tax grain extorted from the farmers was confiscated for redistribution and the newly constructed reservoir, which the farmers had constructed without pay, was destroyed. When the special inspector from Seoul came to appraise the situation, he blamed the whole affair on Tonghak and began arresting believers and destroying their homes. Chon, new feeling there was no recourse but violence, sent messages to other Tonghak groups in the province, urging them to rise up against the oppression. Farmers assembled armed with clubs, bamboo spears, rifles and swords taken from armories, crushing government troops

and advancing northward to occupy Chonju, the provincial capital. Faced with this crisis, the government expressed its willingness to comply with the farmer's requests in order to disperse the rebel army by a policy of conciliation. Chon agreed to a cease-fire and gave his men leave on condition that the government implement these proposed reforms:

1. The antagonism existing between Tonghak members and the government shall be wiped out, and mutual cooperation shall be sought.
2. Severe punishment shall be dealt out to greedy, corrupt officials.
3. High-handed, wealthy people shall be punished.
4. Unprincipled Confucian scholars and yangban shall be reprimanded and reformed.
5. All slave records must be burned.
6. The treatment of the Chil-chon (seven lowest official statuses) shall be revised, and discriminatory headgear abolished.
7. Young widows shall be allowed to remarry.
8. All unnecessary taxation shall be entirely discontinued.
9. Employment of government officials shall be based on ability rather than family background.
10. Those who engage in conspiracy shall be severely punished.
11. All debts, public or private, incurred in the past shall be cancelled.
12. Farm land shall be equitably redistributed.¹⁴⁹

Furthermore the Tonghak established places for assembly in 53 counties in Cholla province, where they devoted themselves to administrative reform. At last, the government asked for Chinese intervention in order to suppress the rebellion, following which the combined Chinese and government troops recaptured Chonju.¹⁵⁰ Because Chinese took military action in Korea prior to giving any notice according to the treaty between China and Japan, Japan also moved her navy and landed an army in Korea. Betraying the commitment made earlier to China which called for a joint attack on the Tonghak rebels, the

Japanese army directed its attack against the Chinese. They defeated both the Tonghak group and the Chinese army. Countless Tonghak troops and farmers were massacred by the Japanese aggressors.¹⁵¹ Tonghak revolution was the most systematically mobilized movement of minjung for justice and human dignity, social transformation, and for national security against the invasion of foreign powers in the nation's history.¹⁵² Therefore this even could be evaluated as the paradigmatic movement of the minjung's self-consciousness to become the subjects of history. Tonghak as a new religion will be discussed again in a later chapter.

The Japanese were not content with a mere suppression of the revolt, but were bent on the destruction of the Tonghak sect. Despite the fact that military resistance had ended, the Japanese troops continued to capture and kill Tonghak believers, moving down through Cholla province and eventually firing at the Chinese warships of Asan Bay.¹⁵³

Subsequently Japan presented the Korean government with a five-point reform plan as their political program for invasion: 1. Reform both central and provincial governments by appointing competent persons as officials; 2. Overhaul the financial administration and the exploitation of domestic resources; 3. Revise the judicial system to ensure fair trials; 4. Increase armament to a degree sufficient to suppress popular rebellion and to maintain public order; 5. Establish a new educational system.¹⁵⁴

As a result of the Sino-Japanese war brought on by the Tonghak revolution, Japan forced Korea to sign a military alliance and, at the last, by the Shimonoseki Treaty, received China's recognition

of Korea as "an independent state", which allowed Japan to become the dominant power in Korea.

CHAPTER III: MINJUNG'S RESPONSE AND CHRISTIANITY UNDER THE JAPANESE RULETHE EARLY JAPANESE AGGRESSION AND THE MINJUNG

As we have seen in the previous chapter, since 1876 the invasion by Japan came about through many steps and in competition with other powerful neighbouring states. Japan had internal reasons for invading Korea, for instance, she urgently needed a source of food for the shortage. Japan also required more gold for the establishment of a wider new economic system following the Meiji Restoration.¹

Besides, there were domestic conflicts within Korea which made it easy for outside powers to exploit the situation. A political struggle between the radical reformists and the political conservatives, and corruption within the royal family and ruling class were a cause of dissension. The reason why the ruling power was losing the foundation of its authority was that it ignored the demands of minjung which were expressed through the peasants' revolts and the Tonghak revolution.² Internationally, there was the implicit encouragement of other world powers, such as England and the United States of America, which were anxious to prevent the further expansion of Russia.³ Moreover, Japan aspired to become the dominant power in Asia by winning the Sino-Japanese war.⁴ Since national security was at stake as western powers had been making full-scale encroachments in Asia from early in the nineteenth century, Japan felt it was necessary to take control of Korea to protect her national security.⁵

With her victory in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905, Japan became finally free from all obstacles to an invasion of Korea. At the outbreak of this one-sided war, Japan forced Korea to sign the

Korea-Japan Protocol, in which it was stated that Japan could interfere in Korea's domestic affairs and also expropriate lands in Korea for strategic use.⁶ The agreement was extended in Japan's favor by the Principles Concerning Facilities in Korea concluded in late May of 1904, granting more precise privileges to Japan, including the stationing of troops even after the Russo-Japanese war, the supervision of Korea's diplomatic and financial administration, the seizure of Korea's transportation and communications facilities, and concessions for exploitation in agriculture, forestry, mining and fisheries.

The systematic process of aggression since the late nineteenth century was but a step toward the expansion and consolidation of Japan's colonial domination which led to annexation in 1910. This period of Japanese rule marks the division between the privileged class of Korea allied with the Japanese rulers, on one hand, and the people who developed new aspirations and a new sense of self-consciousness for liberation, on the other hand. It was the beginning of a movement away from feudalism, away from subservience⁷ based on Confucianism, and from traditional oppressive culture.

In order to make an outline of the people's response toward the Japanese rule, according to a socio-economic point of view, the Japanese rule may be classified into four stages: 1. consolidation of aggression; 2. Japanese military and police power politics; 3. implementation of colonial policy; 4. final expulsion.

After the office of Resident-General was established on the first of February 1906, in accordance with the Protectorate Treaty defining Japan's colonial control, Japan embarked on a system of

systematic plunder. In this plunder her interests were the importation of gold and agricultural products. The first step was to gain access to some of Korea's closed harbours for plunder of rice and beans. Ever since 1882 Korea had exported 20% of her total production to Japan, and the amount increased yearly. As a result, the shortage of rice in Korea became a serious problem and the price of rice tripled.⁸ For the gold standard system of modern capitalism, Japan began to import three or four times as much gold from Korea as was produced domestically, of course at unfair prices.⁹ Japan actually planned to produce a total of 750 kg in Japan and to import from 1,875 kg to 2,625 kg from Korea.¹⁰

Another point of Japanese policy was to send young Koreans to Japan so that they might establish an indigenous leadership group to carry out Japanese policies of aggression.¹¹ The intention was to fill all the important Korean civil service positions with pro-Japanese people, who became a native bridgehead for her invasion. Moreover, Japan bribed some influential people and expelled others from their positions by threat and violence.¹²

On the other hand, the economic encroachment, like a policy of extending loans to Korea, gave Japan an opportunity to be able to make various treaties and agreements favorable to Japan, and finally led to the occupation of Korea as a colony. For instance, financial loans provided by the Bank of Japan were increased from 300,000 yen in 1900 to 1,200,000 yen in 1905.¹³ Even more significant was the fact that Japan secured these loans with a mortgage on the customs duties, the official ginseng, and the national taxes. Japan also

forced Korea to change the land-tax system and the coinage system. In this way Japan's aggressive policies forced Korea to accept major changes in the fields of finance, banking, agriculture, forestry, mining, transport, education, local administration, and even in the royal household.¹⁴

Eventually against these aggressive Japanese policies the minjung's resistance took place by a number of uprisings from 1885 onward.¹⁵ It is generally considered that there were three types of resistance. First, people took up arms to harass the Japanese military through guerrilla warfare. These guerrilla forces scattered throughout the countryside were made up, for the most part, of farmers and slaves. Secondly, there were the people who had demonstrated their opposition to those bureaucrats who collaborated with the Japanese, going so far as killing Prime Minister Kim Hong-jip and others. Thirdly, there were loyal scholars and former government officials, who appealed to the King to void all agreements and treaties with Japan. They insisted that a reformation of domestic policy could save the nation by expelling all Japanese officials who were suppressing the people's revolts by force.¹⁶

Immediately after the signing of the Protectorate Treaty while under the strong threat of violence, Emperor Kojong himself ordered that an appeal be made to the United States, thereby proclaiming to the world the Korean intention to nullify the treaties. An attempt was also made to send the King's secret envoys to the Hague Peace Conference in 1907 to appeal the terrible Korean situation. The envoys to the Peace Conference were unable to attend the meetings

because England and other nations had already signed mutual treaties with Japan. As a direct result of these attempts to seek redress on the international level, there was an increase in Japanese aggression and a corresponding increase in the Korean resistance.

Not only farmers and soldiers disbanded in accordance with the Third Korea-Japan Agreement shortly after the Hague incident, but also hunters and mine workers of northern Korea joined in the resistance. There were many Confucian scholars of the yangban class among the leading forces of such revolts. The volunteer army appeared even in small villages. In the period from October, 1907 to April, 1908, the guerrilla forces fought in 1,659 engagements, while from May to December of 1908 they fought 1,977 times. About 83,000 people took part in these engagements. In 1909 there was a decline in guerrilla activity, but still 30,000 people took part in some 1,700 encounters.¹⁷ The guerrilla warfare was directed against the Japanese police, army and military police, members of the Ilchin-hoe (pro-Japanese group which supported a theory of annexation) and other Korean officials who collaborated with the Japanese, as well as resident Japanese entrepreneurs.

Law Concerning Certification of Land Structures, and Law for Utilization of State-owned Unreclaimed Land stimulated the farmers to mobilize such resistance, because according to the laws they had lost most of their land. By June of 1910 the Japanese had taken control of about 753,000 square kilometers (290.733 square miles) of Korean land by these acts.¹⁸ As a counter-measure against the resistance, the Japanese military police force was increased from

1,200 in 1906 to 6,800 in 1909.¹⁹

Japan completed the process of invasion by the Annexation treaty concluded on the twenty-second of August, 1910 to consolidate her colonial rule under the Japanese Governor General. Finally, on the twenty-ninth of August, 1910, King Sunjong was forced to issue a proclamation yielding up both his throne and his country. The proclamation of the treaty was preceded by severe repressive measures carried out by military power, which disbanded patriotic organizations and arrested thousands of Korean leaders.²⁰

THE BEGINNING OF THE PROTESTANT MISSION

The basic policy of the Yi dynasty toward the Western powers and Catholicism was one of total antagonism, which was expressed in Choksa Chong Wi in order to "expel the evil and defend the right". After the forced opening of the door to Japan, the government of Korea could no longer pursue this policy because of pressures from international powers who threatened by force. Nonetheless, the official ban on Western religion was not lifted because of strong opposition from the traditional Confucianists, as well as from general uncompromising attitudes.

The earliest introduction of Protestantism among Koreans was made by the baptism of Lee Ung-chan in 1876, the Korean languages teacher of John Ross and his fellow missionaries in Manchuria.²¹ Even earlier the Chinese Bible was being distributed unofficially among Koreans. However, it is generally believed that the official beginning of Protestant missions occurred with the arrival of H.N. Allen, a

medical doctor and missionary from the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, who came to Korea in September of 1884.²² With his medical skills rather than his evangelical mission, he gradually gained the favor of the royal clan and laid a foundation for future evangelistic work. The actual mission was made by M.G. Underwood, an ordained Presbyterian missionary from the U.S.A. and H. Apenzeller, a Methodist missionary from the same country, who arrived in Korea in 1885.²³

The most significant thing about the Protestant mission was the fact that the Bible had already been published in Korean characters (Hangu) before the first missionaries arrived in Korea.²⁴ The translation of the Bible into the language of the common people characterized the direction of the mission of the Protestant churches, since Hangu was neglected in favor of Chinese characters, especially amongst the upper class. The translation and publication of Christian literature into the vernacular Korean was highly significant, not merely in the technical sense of improved communications, but also of the commitment of Christianity to, and identification with, the language of the common people and their national spirit.

The American missionaries made their efforts to open schools and to give modern education to children and women. The main policy of the missionaries in the first stage of their work was to gain favor with the government which had maintained a policy hostile to Christianity. The promotion of education was essentially a way to overcome an uneasy relationship with the government.²⁵

The direct and genuine mission policy embodied in the so-called

Nevius Method was adopted in 1893 by the Council of Missions. There were four articles:

1. It is better to aim at the conversion of the working classes than that of the higher class.
2. The conversion of women and the training of Christian girls should be a special aim, since mothers exercise so important an influence over future generations.
3. The Word of God converts where man is without resources: therefore it is most important that we make every effort to place a clear translation of the Bible before the people as soon as possible.
4. The mass of Koreans must be led to Christ by their own fellow countrymen: therefore we shall thoroughly train a few as evangelists rather than preach to a multitude ourselves.²⁶

According to this policy, particularly after the Sino-Japanese war, missionary work made inroads among the outcaste class of butchers and peasants, and women. Under the anxiety and ambiguity of the future, these people were ready to accept any hope to secure a kind of shelter for their lives. As an example, Pak Sung-choon, a founding member of the Sungdong Church in Seoul, led the butchers' liberation movement from 1895 to 1898.²⁷ The Independence Newspaper was published and the Independent Association was founded by the leaders of early Korean Christian groups.²⁸

In short, although the missionaries were often seen as the bearers of Western civilization and of Western power, and started their work with medical service, education, and the publication of the Bible in Hangul, the poor people could find temporary relief under their protection. Whatever the social views of the missionaries were, mission work made a strong appeal to the masses, because the Christian message was so relevant to the social dimensions of the oppressed

people.²⁹ Political oppression was clearly another cause of the increase in believers. The report to the Federal Council of Foreign Mission Boards in the United States of America makes this statement:

[P]overty, oppression and distress, resulting from excessive taxation and the corrupt administration of justice, had begotten in many minds a longing for relief, and a hope that the missionary could secure it for them. A Methodist missionary told me that most of those who came to the missionary for the first time were influenced by this motive. Beyond any other people that I saw in Asia Koreans impressed me as pathetically stretching out their hands for help and guidance out of bitter bondage.³⁰

Since the very beginning of mission work in Korea, the missionaries of the Presbyterian, and those of the Anglican Church held fast to their fundamental faith and puritan lifestyle. As A. Brown described in Mastery of the Far East, the typical missionaries kept the sabbath as their New England forefathers did a century earlier, and looked upon dancing, smoking, and card playing as sins in which no true followers of Christ should indulge.³¹ In keeping with these conservative attitudes there was a deliberate attempt to reform the traditional "undeveloped"³² customs and "unreasonable" living patterns of Koreans, according to Western Christian ethical standards. Although Lee Man-young interpreted the reform efforts of the missionaries as beneficial for society, perhaps their efforts were directed only towards making the people typical "Christians". Their efforts could be criticized as lacking in understanding of some important cultural aspects of the people, for example, the practical popular morality,³³ the custom and place of drinking in society,³⁴ and ethnic customs of faith.³⁵

Nonetheless, the mission policy to educate women, to develop sexual equality, and to start Sunday schools for children can be evaluated in a most positive manner. These demonstrated their concern

for the value of the individual. One can agree with Lee Man-youl that conversion to Christianity and the new sense of personal value arising from becoming Christian gave impetus to the movement away from feudalism, to a desire for liberation from bondage and to the new political independence movement.³⁶

The Christian converts believed that Christianity came from civilized Western nations who might help them to escape from the long history of suffering under China and Japan. When the Christian converts began to realize that one of the reasons for the misery of the nation was the impact of a political corruption, they felt that the way to unite the people was to adopt the new religious spirit and to associate with the Western powers. Eventually this new self-understanding undermined the subservience to China, but replaced it with respect for the West. Robert Spear writes about Christian political attitude as follows:

The leading spirit in the Independence Movement is Christian. Most of the patriotic demonstrations made while we were in Korea were by Christians... One spoke on the text which described the apostolic missionaries as men who were turning the world upside down, and pointed out how in Korea men had been really standing on their heads in the mud. The missionaries have come to right things. Society must be turned upside down. There is no hope in the upper class. Christianity begins at the bottom. Christianity is essentially an emancipating religion, and leads inevitably to the desire for free government and peace and popular institutions. These "progressive" Christians, though small in number, saw Christianity as the bearer of the new Western civilization. They believe "The only hope of the country is in the churches. There is no moral character in Korea. It is being created in the churches. There is no company of men, whoever small, capable of acting together. The churches are raising up bands of men who know how to combine for a common object, who are full of character

courage and hope. To convert and educate the common people is the hope of the land.³⁷

In short, the Christian leaders in the first period of mission were convinced that the only hope of the country lay in the power of Christianity and Christian education. As a matter of fact, under the threat of Japanese invasion, they hoped that the Christian mission would become the vehicle of national independence and internal social transformation. However it was a wrong attitude that they held the Western civilization in reverence, while they looked at the traditional morality so contemptuously.

One can agree with Lee Man-youll's analysis of the motives for becoming a Christian; whereas some of the yangban class and government officers converted to Christianity for the hope of national salvation by civilizing the nation, the common people converted as a way to save themselves from oppression and corruption. Therefore Christianity was adopted at two levels. One of them was the consciousness of reformation, or the intention of dependency on the Western power, and the other a move against oppression and the social system.³⁸ They saw the strength of the Western nations as a reflection of Christianity. Christianity, in their understanding, was the reason why the West had been able to develop her culture and was also the source of the richness of the political and social egalitarianism of the Western nations.³⁹

However, there was a basic problem with the missionaries' position. As already described in part, American Christianity was a blend of pietism, evangelicalism and conservatism. Most of the missionaries were especially affected by the predominant pietism of the nineteenth

century in North America. The North American brand of Christianity which was planted in Korea was primarily non-political in nature. Thus the basic position of the missionaries before 1910 was to practise the principle of separation of Church from State. The first step was taken by the Presbyterian Mission Board in 1901. The Presbyterian missionaries recommended a policy to distinguish totally church activity from politics, based on Bible teaching. In the resolution there were the following points: 1) ministers must not interfere in national politics and governmental affairs; 2) the church should be distinguished from national offices, in keeping with the treaty between Korea and the United States of America; 3) church members should be loyal to the king and officers, and observe the national law.⁴⁰ In fact, as George T. Ladd explained, when Johns and Scaranton visited the Resident Governor General in 1907, they agreed to associate with the policy of Japan to Separate the political affairs and the spiritual activities. Moreover, Harris, the Bishop of the Methodist Church in Korea, said that the Japanese politics should be praised and he confessed himself to be a most active supporter of successful politics.⁴¹ Since the pietism of the missionaries was consistent with the principle of the separation of Church and State in America, the activities of the Independence Association organized by some Christian leaders in 1896, and the Hyupsung-hoe organized by students in Paejai Hakdang (founded by Apenzeller), which protested the injustice and corruption of government and strongly opposed Japanese interference, were regarded as highly dangerous by the missionaries.

In other words, the main concern of the missionaries was for continuity of evangelical work and avoidance of conflict with the

government. However, it appears that the missionaries were somewhat naive in assuming the Law to be just, as it might be in a democratic republic or constitutional monarchy.⁴²

The missionaries were required to maintain a policy of separation of church and state by the political intervention of the Japanese Resident Governor. And the missionaries implicitly agreed to the limitations on their activities in order to maintain their extra-territorial rights. As a consequence, this policy of separation became one of the reasons which created a gap between Korean Christians and the missionaries.⁴³ At the same time it caused a section of the Christian church to be favorable to the government, and even to the Japanese during the period of colonial rule.

While the people despaired because of the invasion of their country,⁴⁴ the missionaries felt different anxieties for the future, because the attention of the people was shifted from issues of internal reform to the issues of national sovereignty and independence. Whereas the people joined in uprisings as volunteers for independence all over the country, even though they failed to attain a united national front, the missionaries not only understood the futility of such fighting, but foresaw the danger of the young church becoming a political agency. Therefore they tried to avoid a direct clash with the authorities on account of the promotion of evangelical work. Paik quotes the following from W.N. Blair, a missionary from the United State of America:

We felt that the Korean church needed not only to repent of hating the Japanese, but a clear vision of all sin against God, that many had come into the church sincerely believing in Jesus as their Saviour and anxious to do God's will... We felt... that embittered souls needed to have their thoughts taken away from the national situation to their own personal relation with the Master.⁴⁵

This basic thought was developed into the Great Revival Movement in 1907 initiated by the missionaries. Already around 1902 the numbers of Christians in the Presbyterian and the Methodist churches were over 20,000, and year by year the number increased extraordinarily.⁴⁶ The main features of the Great Revival Movement were the confession of sins after a sermon convicting the people of their sins, loud prayers, and various forms of collective emotional expression.⁴⁷ Paik noted three major factors in the success of the revival: "first, a sense of failure which created an acute sense of conflict; second, the fact that the message came from the outside; third, the definite attempt by the missionaries to bring about a revival".⁴⁸

The revival movement emphasized the importance of becoming the church of the Korean people through self-support, and self-government. The movement resulted in a remarkable increase in church membership, in self-supporting churches and new congregations. This demonstrated the potential of the church to mobilize power, as in the people's movement.⁴⁹

Under the catch-phrase "the million movement, to conquer the people with the Gospel", the revival resulted in the establishment of a strong Christian presence in Korea. Nonetheless, on the negative side, this enthusiasm removed the social issues from the people's concern. As A. Brown wrote, there had been a change in the Korean situation, creating several problem areas: 1. the initial aura of the missionary had worn off; 2. the Korean Christians' literal interpretation of the Bible; 3. the problem of missionary control of the Korean church and of their relationship with the Korean Government

and the Japanese ruler.⁵⁰

To add to these points, Kim Yong-bock thought that the Korean Christians' aspirations for national salvation were completely ignored by the rigid and narrow definition of salvation of the individual soul. As a consequence, the movement changed the peoples' concern for independence and freedom into a negative concern for the salvation of the soul. This definitely forwarded the narrow conception of an individual-centered faith with no regard for the crisis in society. Therefore this revival became a prototype of pietistic passion or spiritualism which led people away from social concerns.⁵¹

Because of the dominant missionary-controlled orthodoxy, the churches could not help but develop strong denominational ties with their founding mission bodies. Although there was an attempt to develop unity within the mission board by organizing the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea in 1905, they agreed only to divide up the various regions for evangelical activity and to cooperate in some church affairs.⁵² However, this attempt simply served to give greater encouragement to the evangelical spirit, and to resolve some of the conflict between the various mission boards.

Even though this revival movement succeeded in expanding the numbers of Christians and churches in Korea, it failed to promote the Messianic expectations of the people who sought freedom and independence from Japan. This movement was actually impossible without association with the ruler's concern. In spite of this somewhat negative view, it should be recognized that the reading of the Bible itself helped Korean Christians to move far beyond the limits of official doctrines and confessions.⁵³ The end result was a strengthening of the minds

and wills of the Korean Christians.

In this process there appeared two distinct types of action: violent and non-violent. The former was supported by those Christians who radically opposed the Japanese and the pro-Japanese politicians, and the latter by most of the missionaries. Actions of violence, such as demonstrations, assassination, suicide, and armed conflict were thus seen by the first type as authentic expressions of the Christian faith and life.⁵⁴ However, the truth was that such behaviour and attitudes expressed their passionate nationalism rather than their conviction of faith. At the same time the Church, guided mainly by the missionaries, was generally opposed to violence. For instance, it even assembled to have special prayers for the King and for the nation, which reflects the earlier intimate relationship between the missionaries and the court.⁵⁵ The main emphasis of the missionaries was on the non-violent nature of the church, and on avoiding any type of independence movement which was presumed to make conflicts between church and state.⁵⁶ Eventually under the inspiration of the great revival movement, the missionaries and church leaders concentrated on the organization of an independent regional diocese in 1907 with the goal to become the official institutional church, while some church members who were inspired by the independence movement began to form other organizations such as the Y.M.C.A., the Northwest Institute, and the New People's Association.⁵⁷

Similarly, on the recommendation of the missionaries, the Presbyterian Church adopted the creed of the Indian Free Presbyterian Church. Its strong Calvinistic contents were expressed in rigid doctrinal statements, with no regard for the passionate uniqueness

of the faithful vision of the Korean people.⁵⁸ This resulted in the domination of the Conservative and orthodox character of the Protestant churches, which was not based on a grass-roots confessional spirit, but rather on the influence of a different character from abroad.

Therefore it seems true that there was generally no organizational resistance on the part of the Church against the Japanese invasion, despite widespread individual actions of young Christians striving for independence. At this time the Church was still dominated by policies established by missionaries with an evangelical spirit and a non-political position.

THE STRUGGLE OF MINJUNG AGAINST JAPANESE RULE

From the beginning of her rule after the annexation in 1910, Japan oppressed the people more forcefully by the combined power of military and civil police, concentrating on breaking the nationwide movement for independence. The first step was to shut down all newspapers, including those published by the Japanese. Then the Governor-General ordered the police to search out and to burn books on Korean history and geography that might rouse the Korean spirit of nationalism.⁵⁹ A further step to annihilate Korean national consciousness was to reduce the number of schools, especially private schools, and to reduce the number of students in those schools. This policy was strengthened in 1913 with the promulgation of Regulations Governing Private Schools.⁶⁰ The third step was to launch a policy of systematic economic exploitation. This policy had already been practised in various ways resulting in the deprivation of Koreans, but now the Governor-General reorganized

the office of the Provisional Land Survey Bureau for the effective economic control. It was done in the name of legal regulation of land certification, but its motive was to lay a foundation of colonial exploitation. Traditionally most Koreans held property by inheritance without any particular official certificate of ownership. All that was changed. Many landowners gave up their right to their land because of the complicated process of proving ownership as well as the threat by the agents and a lack of documentation. This land survey showed a phenomenal increase in acreage from 5.9 million acres in 1910 to 10.6 million in 1918, an increase of 80%. This was attributable mainly to the discovery of unregistered land. Eventually in this way the Oriental Development Company, which was established for colonial exploitation, could expand its ownership of land. The number of tenant farmers subordinate to the company rose to 300,000.⁶¹ The number of small tenants stood at over one and a half million families.⁶²

The Governor General also restricted and controlled the formation of companies by Law of Establishing Company promulgated in 1911. According to this law Korean companies increased from 27 in 1911 to 63 in 1919, whereas Japanese companies in Korea grew from 109 in 1911 to 189 in 1918.⁶³ These examples clearly show that Japanese policies aimed at exploiting all the resources and potential for manufacturing in order to develop the capitalistic system in Japan. Even more significantly, Japan gave privileges to the so-called "new landowner class", and to company managers in order to establish a pro-Japanese front and reduce the power base for nationalism.

In the light of such programs of the colonial government, the impact of military rule caused various reactions among the people.

One was the response of the Righteous Voluntary Army which struggled as an underground guerrilla against annexation. In the fall of 1909, the Japanese authority launched a massive strong anti-guerrilla campaign, so that the guerrilla forces were brutally crushed. Those remaining were few in number and were scattered in mountainous areas. This meant that the armed resistance movement actually could not help but associate with the people, because there was no other way to survive. And with continued persecution most forces of the Voluntary Army had no alternative but to move to north of the border into Manchuria and the southern region of Russia. Out of the Japanese way, these forces joined in the Independent Army which continued fighting until the end of World War II, stationing themselves at the northern border of Korea.

The other was much personal opposition to Japan's unfair oppression. Those whom the military police arrested, interrogated and convicted were summarily the following numbers: in 1911: 18,000; in 1912: 21,000; in 1918: 82,000.⁶⁴ Lee Man-youl interpreted these increasing numbers as a sign of the increasing power of a national passion to overcome systematic oppression. one of the means adopted to resist economic exploitation was a refusal to pay unjust taxes. Such a method developed as a type of a movement initiated by the rural people of the lower class. Refusal to pay these taxes was to them a significant statement about their basic rights and an expression of their resistance to Japanese rule.

As significant events oppressed the Korean churches, Japan fabricated the event of "105 people", and promulgated the Law of Religion, and

special orders to suppress the mission schools.

The event of "105 people" was directed precisely toward the destruction of the Korean church and its potential to lead the national independence movement. The event was completely fabricated by the Japanese authorities in order to get rid of all Christian leaders. About 900 people were arrested, severely tortured and beaten during interrogation. However, the Judge was unable to get any positive evidence of their guilt on a charge of attempting to assassinate the Governor General on October 29, 1910. Nevertheless, 105 Christian leaders were sentenced to five to ten years of imprisonment. Three persons, including one Methodist minister, died in jail from torture.⁶⁵ Furthermore, as a threat, Japanese police kept watch on church assemblies by being present at church services, according to the Law of Religion.⁶⁶ With respect to mission schools, their numbers decreased rapidly after 1910. There were 820 mission schools founded by Presbyterian, Methodist, Anglican, and Roman Catholic Churches by 1910. They decreased to 778 by the end of 1910 and to 627 in 1911. By 1919 only 289 schools remained.⁶⁷

Through these experiences of suffering, the Korean people and the Christians began to understand their identity in the historical context of national crisis.⁶⁸ Suffering was understood not only in connection with the biblical sense of suffering, but also as an historical experience with significant political implications. In the process, the Christian message was accepted as a hope of national regeneration and reformation. For Korean Christians, particularly in this period, personal transformation, social reform, and national

regeneration through suffering and the acquisition of new knowledge were intimately related to each other, forming different aspects of the total salvation of the people. Under Japan's harsh military rule, Christians came to understand the symbolic revelations of Holy Scripture as a reality of history, so that they would identify the Korean Christian Koinonia with the Korean people.⁶⁹ The persecution by the Japanese caused the Christians in Korea to be able to recognize their common Koinonia in the Korean context. Moreover, since Confucian ethics was based on the ideal of self-cultivation in human relationships, the importance of communal relationships come to be newly understood at this moment of crisis. In this respect, it was a natural process that a part of the first converts to Christianity was mainly Confucian scholars, and that they were the first power group to raise a strong resistance to Japanese intervention in Korea.⁷⁰

The strong oppression of this period had the result that Christians not only recognized the significance of these historical events, but also that they gained a remarkable imagination from the biblical message through the joining of creative political action and biblical and historical hermeneutics. This cumulative experience at last caused Christians to participate and to mobilize an independent movement, such as the March First Independence Movement in 1919.

Prior to discussing the full scale of this Movement, it is necessary to analyse the world-wide and domestic context which led up to it. One was the outbreak of World War I and the statement by Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, which declared the principle of national self-determination as well as the recognition

of other revolutionary activities in the world.⁷¹ By this statement the exiled independence groups of Korea were encouraged to send a representative to the World Socialist Conference in 1917, and the Conference of Small Nations in New York, and to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Second, the vigorous activities of independence groups overseas were related to the movement at home. A manifesto to the Japanese government demanding Korean independence, presented by Korean students in Tokyo, had a direct influence which advanced the struggle.⁷² The groups of independence movements in China and Japan cooperated with the leaders at home to plan a national movement. Third, the matured experience of suffering and exploitation stimulated the national spirit to resist oppression. This experience created a new unity among the leaders as well as a concensus among the people.

The March First Independence Movement began with a declaration of national independence and of the dignity of the human being, which was signed by 33 representatives from different religious groups, namely, the Chondo-Kyo (The Religion of Heavenly Way formed by the advocates of Tonghak), Buddhism, and Christianity. The movement started with a public reading of the Declaration by the leading group and then spread nation-wide in unarmed and non-violent demonstrations. It has been estimated that about two million people took part in some 1,500 demonstrations. It is generally agreed that in reprisal about seven thousand people were killed and fifteen thousand wounded, seven hundred and fifteen private houses, forty-seven churches and two school buildings were destroyed by fire. About 46,000 people were arrested and tortured.⁷³

In the beginning, the demonstrations were centered in Seoul and other cities, but in the next two months spread to 311 counties. The movement was initiated mainly not by intellectual groups, but by lower-class people in rural areas. The Independence Movement proceeded not as a local phenomenon or an action of the intellectual class, but as a nationwide people's resistance opposing colonial domination for the sake of national survival and for the restitution of the basic rights of human beings. This point is clearly verified by the social status of the participants in the movement who were arrested. The percentage of those arrested by occupation is as follows: Farmers and fishermen, 57%; Industrial workers, 3%, Commerce workers, 8%, Service workers, 3%, Laborers and the unemployed, 7%; Intellectuals, 21%.⁷⁴

In contrast to the people's struggle, the behavior of the missionaries was rather negative toward the movement, and they kept the policy of de-politicization and they did not agree at all with such means for achieving independence. The missionaries thought it was inappropriate for the Church to participate in demonstrations for independence and even warned the government to check a symptom of such a movement in the Church.⁷⁵

The Independence Movement is characterized by a vigorous uprising of the people against Japan. The negative attitude of leaders who held intellectual views about the natural rights of man actually avoided confrontation with Japan.⁷⁶ Many of these same leaders later apostatized to become pro-Japanese. The movement followed precisely the spirit of the Tonghak revolution characterized by the deep feelings

of the people. This movement revealed the potential power of the people, and confirmed the self-consciousness of the people as Korean and human beings. As a consequence, this movement caused a basic shift in terms of Japanese policy from that time onward.

COLONIAL POLICY AND ITS REFLECTION

After the March First Independence Movement, two main streams of the people's movement for independence occurred. One was to organize the Provisional Government of Korea, the other was to launch an armed movement, the Independence Army.⁷⁷ Even though there were some rivalries among these bodies, they continued the struggle against Japan, mobilizing the people at home and abroad.

The first significant change as a Japanese counter measure to the Independence Movement was a shift from an iron hand rule to a cultural policy.⁷⁸ By this second step of colonization Japan forced Korea to become even more subservient to the Japanese colonial structure. The basic goal of this policy was to complete the process of assimilation.⁷⁹

During the period from 1920 to 1930, the statistics showed that the number of workers, factories, and Japanese capital investment increased radically, whereas the number of small tenant farmers increased from 39.8% to 46.5%.⁸⁰ An analysis of industrial capital until 1929 showed a decline in Korean capital and a rise in Japanese capital. Korean capital declined from 17.2% in 1920 to 6.4% in 1929, while Japanese capital increased from 31.8% to 62.4% during the same period.⁸¹ To maintain life, male workers had to work over 12 hours per day and 82.2% of the women worked the same hours at a rate of pay about one-half that of a Japanese worker, with no protection of labor laws.

Moreover, there were 163,000 beggars in 1931, while poverty-stricken people increased from 196,000 in 1926 to 1,048,000 in 1936. Poor people numbered from 1,860,000 to 4,200,000.⁸²

In this terribly depressing situation, there occurred eighty one-strikes by the workers in 1920 which increased to one hundred and sixty in 1930. In 1920, 4,599 workers took part in the strikes, but in 1930 there were 18,972 participants. At the same time, there were 15 disputes by farmers with 4,140 participants, increasing to 726 in 1930 with 13,012 taking part.⁸³ In the beginning these conflicts occurred spontaneously, but later on the groups organized themselves for strikes. There were only three organized groups of farmers in 1921 but they increased to 126 in 1925, while those among workers were 33 in 1920, increasing to 128 in 1925.⁸⁴

Song Kun-ho interprets these disputes as shifting from opposition to the landlords at the beginning to that of anti-collaborators, and finally to that of anti-imperialism.⁸⁵ They cannot help but resist because, as a principle means of exploitation, farm rents took from 50% to 80% of farm income. Even by the count of the Japanese Governor General, among 2,728,921 total farm households in 1924 fully 44.6% were unable to earn enough to sustain their lives. The percentage of poor tenant farmers climbed from 37.6% in 1919 to 46.5% in 1930. Therefore, Korean immigrants in Manchuria numbered 560,000 in 1927, 800,000 in 1931, and 1,450,000 by 1940.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the rest of the farmers drifted to cities to seek new jobs and engaged in extreme exploitation along with the rural development plan of the government, which was aimed at a maximum restriction

of the economic life of the colonialized people, ignoring the farmers' desire for a more prosperous life and binding them to feudal morality.⁸⁷

In this situation, Christianity turned to a more spiritual, individualistic evangelism, disregarding the disputes of the poor. The expectation of people about Christianity in the Independence Movement caused a rapid growth in membership, but the Church was indifferent to people's suffering. In 1919 many Presbyterian Churches initiated the Forward Movement as a means to the revival of evangelism, and began to practise personal evangelistic work, Bible study, dawn prayer meetings which concentrated on the personal repentance of sins, and on the seeking for the grace of healing and for spiritual experiences. The Methodist Church conducted The Century Advance in mission in order to increase the number of churches and church members.⁸⁸ In spite of such a revival movement, there occurred a reduction of churches and their memberships, because the people found no hope for their aspirations from the churches.⁸⁹

At the same time, in 1929, the Kwangju Student Uprising for national independence occurred in the spirit of the March First Independence Movement. The Kwangju Student Uprising denounced Japanese Imperialism, and this anti-Japanese movement spread to many parts of the country. Up to 1930, 194 schools took part in the movement, mobilizing some 54,000 students of the 194 schools.⁹⁰ This movement represented a student's action to speak for the people for their liberation.

The Singan-hoe⁹¹ platform was amended to reflect a more radical nationalism, attempting to make an all-out national effort to repel all colonial conditions enforced upon the Korean people. The declaration

of this strong nationalistic group was distinctively different from that of the march First Independence Movement. It contained all the urgent issues as follows:

1. freedom of speech, assembly, publication and association.
2. abolition of torture and the opening to the public of all trials.
3. abolition of all laws and ordinances which oppress the Korean people.
4. opposition of Korean emigration to Japan.
5. opposition to improper tax collection.
6. the disbanding of the Oriental Development Company.
7. the acquisition of the establishment of the right of group contracts.
8. the establishment of farming rights.
9. the official designation of the highest permissible rate of farm rents.
10. abolition of forced labor which enslaved tenant farmers.
11. liberation of juveniles and women from night labor, underground mine work and other dangerous work.
12. enforcement of an eight-hour work system.
13. revision of factory, mining, and maritime laws.
14. abolition of the system of permission for private institutes.
15. revision of the school system in such a way as to benefit Korean students.
16. the use of Korean in teaching at all schools.
17. provision of the freedom of research and the right of self-government for students at the secondary level and above.
18. improved treatment of prisoners and the freedom of reading and communication in prisons.

A significant point of these issues is that there is no mention of the freedom of mission nor any evidence of a church struggle. About this point, Song Kun-ho explained Japanese policy as one of letting the Christian evangelical movement become a national front of unity as a substitute for the radical resistance movement of farmers, laborers and students.⁹³ In other words, Japan took a tolerant view toward Christian public meetings--the masses meeting for evangelism--

and even supported these activities as a means of diverting people's attention from social consciousness and social action against Japan. The major principles of this action group were set forth to promote political and economic awakening, to strengthen national solidarity, and to disavow any form of opportunism. It established over one hundred branches outside of Seoul and its membership reached some 30,000.

After 1930, the strikes of the people became more violent and were transformed into a political struggle against Japanese imperialism. The increasing number of strikes by farmers and workers during the peak of Japanese military power when Manchuria and China were overwhelmed in the 1930s shows this same tendency. In the case of workers the incidents increased from 160 in 1930 to 199 in 1934 and involved 18,972 persons. The incidence of dispute on the part of tenant farmers increased from 667 in 1931 to 25,834 in 1935 and 31,799 in 1937.⁹⁴

In spite of such urgent issues, the Church concerned itself with a campaign of enlightenment in the country, and in the subsidiary work of improving farming practices to boost farm income. In short, the Church preferred not to participate in the people's struggle, but was only concerned to make them Christian.⁹⁵ Another reaction was that some sects of the spiritual charismatic movement arose in the churches.⁹⁶ This personal mysticism sought to intensify internal confession and to express ecstasy, guiding people to seek only spiritual repose.⁹⁷ So this characteristic became the general nature of the history of the Korean church.

The Cultural Policy of Japan which can be viewed as cultural

oppression, showed change of the colonial policy. The basic purpose of this policy was to force the Korean people to abandon their identity as a nation and to become subjects of the Japanese Emperor.⁹⁸ In order to fulfil the purpose of the new policy, in 1922, the government promulgated the second law of education which reinforced the teaching of Japanese in schools. After the March First Independence Movement, even though three Korean newspapers were published, they were all internally subsidized organs of the government.⁹⁹ And Japan encouraged the enthusiastic national movement to concentrate its efforts on the transformation of the old social heritage, while rationalizing Japan's invasion as well.¹⁰⁰ For example, Lee Kwang-su, the most popular novelist at the time, suggested the only way for a nation to survive was first of all the conversion of the nation by means of a new education:

For the sake of national conversion, it should not be based on political views. This goal could be accomplished by a long-range plan of at least fifty or one hundred years.¹⁰¹

This point of view gave Japan the advantage of a cultural policy rationalizing the liquidation of the nation itself, as well as ultimately the assimilation of the nation, as a means to suppress any opposition to Japan. In keeping with the direction of this policy, collaborators with the Japanese participated in the autonomy movement, the enlightenment movement, the national conversion movement, and so on, all designed to counteract the struggle of the people during the 1920s.¹⁰² Nonetheless, Japan gradually prohibited even these compromising movements, because they had already achieved their purpose of complete colonial rule.¹⁰³

The new colonial policy was to assimilate Koreans as subjects to the Emperor of Japan. The government promulgated the third law of education in 1938. This law brought about some significant changes. The criteria for schools was identified with those of Japan so that Korean schools were to operate on the same principles as schools in Japan. The study of the Korean language disappeared from the curriculum, being replaced by the history, language, and moral education of Japan. Furthermore, the opening of any new Korean private schools was prohibited.

At the same time the Japanese army was opened to volunteers in 1938 and by 1943 had recruited 303,000 Koreans. In 1942 conscription was begun and during the period from 1944 to 1945 Japan recruited 209,279 of Koreans for World War II.¹⁰⁴ In 1943 the Japanese navy was also opened to volunteers and enlisted about 90,000 Koreans.

Furthermore, in 1940 the new colonial policy of assimilation was stepped up, even to changing the Korean family names to the same style as those of Japanese. The purpose of this regulation about names was to stamp out family tradition which was the common base for culture and custom, as well as to control the people to a corvee.

On the other hand, the Korean communist army merged with the Korean Independence army in 1932 to form the anti-Japanese Righteous Voluntary Army, based in Manchuria. Meanwhile at home, communists attempted to lead a mass struggle by capitalizing on the crowds which gathered, but they received little response from the people. Already some clear contradictions between the nationalist and the communist leaders appeared in the common cause of fighting against the Japanese,

even though their purposes aimed at the same goal.¹⁰⁵ However, the people were not concerned about political ideologies but rather in preserving their own lives as well as the existence of the nation. In this regard there were different views between those in the people's movement and their leaders.

The most serious conflicts arose from the imposition of Japanese Shinto shrine worship. Japan pushed for the adoption of national worship at the Shinto shrine, not only in order to assimilate Korean identity, but also to destroy national patriotism as well as Christian unity. As the first step, in 1935 the mission schools in Pyongyang were required to worship regularly at the Shinto shrine. In response to this decree, the Executive Committee of the Presbyterian Church decided in 1936 to close the mission schools.¹⁰⁶ Then in 1938 the mission schools in Pyongyang as well as in other cities including Seoul were closed as a sign of resistance to Shinto shrine worship.

Meanwhile, the Methodist church accepted the request of Shinto shrine worship as a national obligation to Japan. Even though the Presbyterian Church took a stand against this worship in the beginning, eventually this Church also could not avoid carrying out the resolution because of the increased oppression of the Japanese Police in 1938.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, some churches and a considerable number of ministers and church members continued to struggle against this compulsory worship, so that the Pyongyang Seminary and about 200 churches were forcibly closed and 2,000 persons jailed, of whom 50 died.¹⁰⁸ This resistance was originally based on a religious conviction not to worship idols. However, the movement was a deliberate type of national

resistance, because the intention of the compulsory worship was to accomplish the policy of assimilation. In fact Japan also regarded this movement as one of nationalistic resistance.¹⁰⁹

In the meantime, the Presbyterian Church adopted a social creed, which regarded Christian ethics as being related to social concern, including emphasis on Christian education, social service, and repentance in order to become a new person by re-birth. However, this showed that the church was compromising about violence and struggle as being appropriate Christian behaviour. Among them there was little recognition of the national spirit and furthermore this new creed was very similar to that of the Japanese Church.¹¹⁰

The goal of Japan at the time was integrated by the political view of "the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"¹¹¹ with Japan posing as the liberator of Asian people from Western colonialism. In the name of this policy, the Korean people were forced to be involved in the war in the Pacific, as well as being victimized in many other ways. By the end of the war, about two and one-half million people were engaged in forced labor in Korea, while 723,900 had been sent to Japan and the other battlefield to work in mines, factories and military construction sites.¹¹² Korea began to be used as a supply base for Japan, and its resources were exploited. This process started with the outbreak of the war with China in 1937, and continued till the end of World War II.

After 1940, all missionaries from overseas were forcibly expelled from Korea in the name of national security. In 1938 the Protestant churches organized the Korean Christian Association which would follow and support Japanese colonial policy. In 1940 the Methodist Church

accepted a recommendation aimed at recognizing the basic policy of the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and agreed even to unite with the Methodist Church in Japan. In 1942 the Presbyterian Church followed the guidelines given by Japan, which pushed the people to use Japanese as the daily language, rather than Korean, and to promote the Imperial spirit in order to win the war in the Pacific.¹¹³

In consequence, although the armed resistance movement by the Independent Army continued around the northern border, and the Provisional Government in China fostered the independence movement abroad, most Christian and other religious leaders at home submitted completely to Japanese rule. The political parties at home and abroad had lost credibility with the people at home who could not help but yield to Japanese pressure until the end of World War II in 1945.

CHAPTER IV: THE PERIOD OF AWAKENING OF CONSCIOUSNESS

LIBERATION AND MINJUNG STRUGGLE

When the Japanese surrendered unconditionally on the fifteenth of August, 1945, liberation seemed fully to be realized in Korea. However, it was not a true liberation which had long been an aspiration of the minjung. Despite the minjung's historical demands for liberation, the United States Forces and the Soviet Union Forces occupied the Korean peninsula in the name of renunciation of Japanese Imperialism and of maintaining order, after World War II ended.

To begin with, the liberation had been achieved by the foreign powers and by international intervention. The allied powers, which gained victory in World War II, had already agreed to the planned provisions for a new occupation at the Cairo and Potsdam Conferences, without any regard for Korea's proven capability for national self-rule, and the past history of self-reliance. At the Cairo Conference in December, 1942, Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek declared that they are "mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea". The promised: "We are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent".¹ Roosevelt considered the "due course" ought to be a multilateral trusteeship of forty to fifty years. This policy was discussed and agreed to at the Yalta Conference, then announced officially in the Potsdam Declaration.² Whatever the agreements were at such conference, Soviet troops invaded North Korea, and later the United States occupied South Korea to disarm the Japanese army and also to prevent the southern penetration of the Soviets.

In the South, the basic attitude of the American authorities was in direct opposition to the deep expectation of the people for liberation, which meant to them the re-establishment of an independent state, which had known self-government for centuries until the Japanese annexation in 1910. For instance, such a position can be seen from the statement of General John R. Hodge, the first Commander of the United States Occupation Forces:

...he issued a statement saying he regarded the Koreans as breeds of the same cat as the Japanese and would deal with them as conquered enemies.³

In this situation, the problem was that Japanese colonial authorities and their collaborators were still in power by the aid of the Occupation Forces, while the minjung was ordered not to engage in any political activities.⁴ As Gregory Henderson pointed out,⁵ Korea was never important to America as a unique entity, and moreover the Occupation Forces ignored even a U.S. Intelligence Document entitled "Joint Army-Navy Intelligence Study of Korea". This Document reported as follows:

It noted the strong desires of Koreans for independence and their long history of self-rule and said that Koreans would prefer the initial inefficiencies of administrative inexperience to the danger of extended control by some successor to Japan.⁶

There is clear evidence of this policy toward the People's Committees which were organized to administer local affairs autonomously following liberation, although they seemed to be inspired by the leftists.

The People's Committees (PC), at first, proclaimed that "Korea must be for the Koreans" and "the allies must observe strict neutrality in Korean internal political affairs".⁷ Yo Un-hyong⁸ and his advocates

mobilized the organization which was inspired by the impact of Japanese colonial rule in the immediate post-liberation days.⁹

The economic crisis, which was caused by the continued colonial system and the intervention of foreign powers, stimulated the people to engage in the radical resistance. On the sixth of September, 1945, the Committee for the preparation of Korean Independence announced the formation of the "Korean People's Republic" (KPR). It was weighted obviously to the leftists, who were characterized as Korean communists or national socialists.¹⁰ The Korean People's Republic proclaimed a twenty-seven-point platform based on the following ideas, which were able to be distinguished from that of the rightists:

We are determined to demolish Japanese imperialism, its residuary influences, anti-democratic factions, reactionary elements, and any undesirable foreign influence in our state, and to establish our complete autonomy and independence, thereby anticipating the realization of an authentically democratic state.¹¹

The platform proposed by the PC for social transformation strongly attracted the people who had suffered under the Japanese and their Korean collaborators.

As a counterpart, the Korean Democratic Party (KDP), which was organized as a right-wing, was composed predominantly of large landlords, wealthy businessmen, and active collaborators. They offered no well-articulated outline of its political goals and no appealing program, unlike the KPR. As Bruce Cumings noted, the left was distinguished from the right by such characteristics as the following: 1) a commitment to a thorough going extirpation of Japanese colonial influence; 2) a commitment to mass politics and mass organization and to the social equality that this implied; and 3) a commitment to the reform

of Korea's feudal legacy.¹² The rightists' inclination was to preserve and to adopt the old Yi dynasty pattern of utilizing the state bureaucracy to protect class privileges, desiring to perpetuate the form and structure of land relations and social domination which had hitherto existed.¹³

The PC prevailed throughout the country, so that by the end of 1945 the organized groups increased to thirteen in provinces, thirty-one incities, 220 in counties, and 2,282 in townships.¹⁴ The most significant aspect of these committees on the country level was that left and right had united into one body, and were strongly supported by the common people.

Although it could be objected that this rapid and systematic movement was caused by strong stimulation from the leftists, it should be considered that it coincided with the people's desires for liberation. Nevertheless, the American authority treated KPR and the PC as merely another party, while they announced that the existing Japanese administration would continue in office.¹⁵ Thus, the military government exerted pressure to maintain the power system of the collaborators.¹⁶

There are some significant changes delivered by liberation. Literation brought about a sharp change in population patterns and some radical contradictions. The peasants were no longer simple peasants and yet not quite workers, when they returned from Japan, Manchuria, and northern Korea.¹⁷ It seems true as Bruce Cumings noted, that "such extensive population shifts were probably responsible for stimulating political consciousness in Koreans of the liberation period".¹⁸ The peasants and the workers became a power group to

expose the radical controversy between the traditional power group and the peasants mass. By 1945, the proportion of tenant-farmers had increased to 69.1% from 46.5% in 1930.¹⁹ When we count 16.8% of small farmers with the above percentage, the actual percentage of poor farmers would be over 85. It would seem clear that the struggle of farmers and workers has been directly related to the inappropriate land-tenure system, on the one hand and the development of the people's consciousness, on the other.

Liberation also brought about a division of the nation and a sharp confrontation between left and right which led to the Korean War in 1950. Although the partition was caused by the policy of foreign powers, the sharp confrontation between left and right should be understood in this perspective: on the one hand, Conservative anti-communists thought that any sort of coalition with the left, or multilateral arrangement involving the Soviet Union would mean sacrificing their political interests;²⁰ on the other hand, in the North, the PC had stimulated the people to engage in the national revolution, practicing first of all the abolition of the colonial system for revealing their political purpose.²¹

In the autumn of 1946, peasant uprising swept through some provinces in the southern Korea. The uprisings appear as a classic instance of peasant rebellion, like the most significant peasant rebellion in Korea, since the Tonghak revolution of the nineteenth century.²² They started with the general strike of railroad workers in Pusan on the twenty-third of September, 1946. Most newspapers across the political spectrum supported the goals of the strikers.

After a while, the total numbers who joined in this strike through the nation increased to over a quarter million, most of whom were mobilized under the Chon-Pyong (The National Youth Association) auspices, whose leaders were influenced by or engaged in the leftists movement.²³ They demanded increases in rice rations, higher wages, better working conditions, freedom to organize workers and called for the Democratic Labor Law. Furthermore they demanded the release of political prisoners and the transfer of power to the PC.²⁴ In spite of strong suppression by the American Military Government in Korea, the strikes took a violent turn and developed to insurrection in Taegu. On the sixth of October, 1946, the demonstrators in Taegu killed 38 policemen and sacked the homes of Korean officials, including that of the Provincial Governor. The significance of the violence was the fact that it was directed toward the hated officials, many of whom had been responsible for similar brutalities against Koreans during the colonial era, and the first year of liberation. The rioters' particular target was big landlords and collaborators such as the magistrates and policemen who served Japan against Koreans.²⁵ The insurrection spread to many other regions. For instance, in South Cholla Province, two-thirds of all counties were touched by the uprisings, primarily because of their desperate poverty and continued exploitation. In this area, the purpose of attacks on police stations and city halls seems to have been to destroy the rice and grain collection records, because they could not continue to charge that collection.²⁶ In Cheju Islands, the violence was even more serious, and the purpose of uprisings could be seen as a basic desire of the people for liberation from poverty and further exploitation.

A steep increase in the price of rice, rising to 2,800 won per bushel in August, 1946 compared to 9.4 won in 1945, shows a failure of the free market policy of the Military Government. Besides, the rice collection quotas established by local bureaucrats forced the peasants into violence. At the same time, the corruption and arbitrary and cruel methods of dealing with the people by the police stimulated them to join in the uprisings. Nonetheless, the authority of the Military Government responded to these strikes by stating:

...serious disturbances of this nature can only further confuse the Korean people and mislead the rest of the world into a belief that the Korean people are not ready to handle their own affairs.²⁷

Thus without any respect for the demonstrators' needs and aspirations, the major attitude of the Korean National Police and the American authorities was to suppress the demonstrations mercilessly and "to recognize it as a war".²⁸ The method of suppression turned the uprisings into great violence and into nationwide demonstrations.

As part of the background of the uprisings, the Communists' instigation should be considered. Although we cannot ignore the influence of the leftists, the chief cause of the uprisings was the deep grievances of peasants and workers, and the local officials' corruption.²⁹ For example, a letter presented to a local official by the rioters in Pohang pleads:

Build democracy on this crisis. We must save people who are starving and weeping. We refuse to be a nation of traitors...³⁰

The problem was that the powerful rightists, among whom were the pro-Japanese who sought to keep their own political privileges, defeated the people's aspirations in the name of suppression of an insurrection.

POLITICAL PROCEDURE AND CHRISTIANITY

During the interim period between liberation and the occupation by the United States military and civilian authorities, various ideological groups struggled for political power. At first, the leftists and the "progressive democratic group"³¹ dominated socio-political activities. The leftists made efforts to mobilize organizations rooted among the people--peasants, laborers, industrial workers--while the rightists sought their individual interests both in political and economic concerns. In other words, the leftists identified with the people's grievances, whereas the rightists tried to keep their privileged position by supporting the foreign forces which replaced the Japanese. The leftists' ideals, which called for social transformation, were very attractive to the people, while the rightists ignored the aspirations of the people for a new society. Thus the people were easily captured by the promise of the leftists, because they had experienced exploitation by the ruling class and the foreign forces associated with this. Moreover, independence was the unique hope of the people for the sake of liberation from all sorts of bondage. Their main concern in gaining independence was to change the land tenure system first and then to rid themselves of all those whom they considered to be traitors to the nation.

The Military Government took over the press, and then entrusted the rightists and pro-government persons to manage them. In spite of this conduct, actually most reporters and editors were inclined toward the progressive democratic view and supported even the People's Committee and Korean People's Republic, so that finally a conflict

was inevitable between the government authority and the press. In this situation of great tension, terrorists from both sides committed horrible atrocities resulting in a restriction of the freedom of press by Law No. 88 of the twenty-ninth of May, 1946.³² This regulation was very similar to the Press Law promulgated in the beginning of the Japanese invasion. Now the press was suppressed and totally controlled by the political authority.

After two unsuccessful meetings of the U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission for trusteeship in September, 1947, the United Nations carried out the resolution presented by the U.S.A. which was to build up the Korean government through a national election supervised by the United Nations Special Commission, after which the occupation forces of the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. would be evacuated.³³ Despite the efforts of nationalists to create a unified government of the North and South, the United States proceeded with a general election only in the South under the political program enforced by the rightists.³⁴

From its formation in 1948 this conservative government adopted a political system based on the late model of the Japanese Imperialism, to which was added a democracy inspired by the United States. Its ideological position was strong anti-communism. Since then, the policy of anti-communism has been the strategy for maintaining political authority, while neglecting to move towards democracy. Anti-communism has led to the use of terrorism to subvert the needs of the people and to consolidate dictatorial powers in one person.³⁵

When freedom of faith was guaranteed after liberation, the

Christian denominations spent their efforts in defining their orthodoxy and ignored the people's concern for freedom and right.³⁶ Unfortunately, this tendency was related strongly to the Church politics and the rightists' political interests.³⁷ The problem was that the leadership of the Korean Church was still captured by the collaborators, thus true repentance for the past was not realized. Therefore, the Church leaders had little intention and concern to fulfil the hopes of the people for real liberation, to make efforts for ecumenical unity, or to lead in securing political justice.³⁸ There was a controversy over the purification of the Church, a confrontation between Calvinistic fundamentalists and the progressive radical reformists as well as regional conflicts which caused divisions leading to the formation of new sects.³⁹ Consequently, the impact of this sort of struggle was to separate the church from the needs of the people and from any significant participation in the national agenda.

KOREAN WAR AND KOREAN TRAGEDY

The new Government of the Republic of Korea headed by Syng-Man Rhee was recognized by the United Nations General Assembly on the twelfth of December, 1948. In the north, the election for the Supreme People's Assembly was held in August 1948, and the Assembly announced the formation of the People's Democratic Republic, which was immediately recognized by the U.S.S.R. and its satellites.

By June of 1949 the withdrawal of the American Forces and the dissolution of the Military Government had been completed, while the Soviet Union claimed that all their troops had been withdrawn

by the end of 1948, although the commanding general did not leave.⁴⁰

Right from the beginning the Rhee government was faced with complicated dilemmas; economic crises and internal criticisms from individuals and the mass media, which clamored for getting rid of collaborators (especially those in the national democratic movement), and serious rebellions, seemingly Communist inspired, and so on. The Rhee government began to oppress persons who opposed or criticized the established political system, because the foundation of the government and the Korean Democratic Party was organized mostly by pro-Japanese or groups associated with Japanese rule. Thus the politics of the First Republic had followed the established colonial methods to oppress the people.⁴¹

The Korean War started with the invasion by the North Korean Army on the twenty-fifth of June, 1950. This war was carried out at great cost in terms of human life, and also with immense damage in terms of human freedom and democratic aspirations. South Korean military casualties have been estimated at 320,000 and the estimated number of civilian deaths has been put as high as one million.⁴² There were over 141,000 American casualties and about 14,000 of other United Nations forces.⁴³ Finally the war was ended by the armistice agreement signed between the representative of the U.N. Command and the North Korean Command on the twenty-seventh of July, 1953.

During the crisis the Government Party tried to amend the constitution in order to re-elect Rhee as the President. For this, martial law was proclaimed on the twenty-sixth of May, 1951, and the constitution was revised by force. This was the first step toward

dictatorship, leading to a prolonged seizure of political power, suppression of the freedom of media⁴⁴ and the people's voice, including the opposition party. In order to support Rhee, some Christian leaders organized a special supporting commission at the national and local levels, so that Christian power became even more directly associated with the ruling party.⁴⁵ As has already been mentioned, after the liberation, Christianity failed to clear up the stain of collaboration with the colonial supporters, and now by its political alliance with authority failed again to recognize its mission to the people.⁴⁶

In addition, a new religious movement appeared within Korean Christianity. Especially after the armistice, the charismatic and spiritual elements of the new religious movements attracted people who had seen the ambiguity in the position of the conservative church towards the corrupt social system.⁴⁷ The effect of this new religious movement was to confront people with their personal affairs while separating them from social issues. In a later chapter these problems will be discussed in much more detail.

Under Rhee's authoritarian rule, the government attempted to control and suppress the mass media. A significant part of the press kept its credibility with the people by its clear critique of socio-political issues, in spite of strong pressures and violence.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, special interest groups, the intelligentsia, and even some church leaders became more strongly associated with Rhee's power for their personal advantages. This resulted in the political tragedy of a corrupt election in 1960.⁴⁹ In 1958 the Government Party forced to carry a resolution on national security, thereby effectively preventing critical activities of the existing system

of government.

Economically, the foremost problem was the inflation which was enormously increased by the Korean War. Inflation affected primarily urban workers who fled into the city from farming areas. The chronic inflation was a main cause of corruption and contributed to widespread dishonesty.⁵⁰ Corruption was deeply embedded in the practices of the government and accelerated economic imbalance. The economy was dependent upon the United States' economic aid, which was reduced according to the United States policy after 1957. Korean economy of the post-Korean War can be illustrated with the appearance of large monopoly enterprises and the stagnation of agriculture largely because of the importation of the United States agricultural surpluses, which deepened the poverty of the mass of the people.

In this situation, the Rhee regime in 1954 changed again the constitution to open the way for Rhee to maintain political power.⁵¹ To this end, the Rhee's regime also enacted The Emergency Law of Publications and Press in 1955, which was based on the Kwang-moo Press Law promulgated by Japan during the colonial rule in order to suppress totally the media.⁵² According to this law, numerous newspapers and magazines were closed down by the Government, some temporarily and some permanently. Furthermore, reporters, editors and even publishers were all frequently arrested or imprisoned. Terrorism was also widely used as a further harassment.

Finally, flagrant irregularities in the presidential and vice-presidential election of March 1960 caused a violent reaction, the April Nineteenth Student Revolution. It was an enlightened minjung

movement, which was inspired by the ideology of democracy and the aspiration for justice. More than two hundred demonstrators were killed by the police. After two hundred professors from twelve universities in Seoul joined in this students' demonstration, Rhee finally stepped down on the twenty-seventh of April, 1960. The impact of this event was so enormous that the people experienced how important the historical consciousness of minjung was for the development of democracy.⁵³

THE MOMENTUM OF AWAKENING

The April Nineteenth Student Revolution has been generally viewed as a dramatic expression of and triumph for the Korean people's democratic aspirations. The revolution created momentum for the people's self-consciousness and raised the possibility of achieving a democratic system of government. There were, however, too many contravening factors--such as the political conservatism of the United States of America, the impact of military rule, the corruption of conventional political power groups in Korea--to build a democratic system based on the people's franchise.

The revolution forced Rhee to step down at once and confirmed a certain freedom for the people, but the spirit of the revolution could not be continued without building up the basic foundation of democracy. In the free general election, the Democratic Party, the opposition during the Rhee regime, emerged overwhelmingly victorious. But the new ruling power was more or less unchanged in terms of political nature.⁵⁴ This new political power also failed to interpret correctly

what was the deep-rooted people's concern.⁵⁵ They neglected to assimilate the energy of the people for relevant social transformation. At the same time, they did not have enough time to carry out their political program.

The new "democratic" regime was brought to an end by the military coup d'etat which was carefully planned and skillfully executed by a group of military officers on the sixteenth of May, 1961.⁵⁶ At first they tried to convince the people that their revolution was designed to save the nation from the threat of North Korea's attack, and to save the nation from the social chaos. They argued that Korea was not yet ready for a full-fledged democracy, and a period of controlled preparation was necessary for a "new, efficient and incorruptible government which will guarantee liberty and justice under law, and provide for a better economic, social and political way of life for our people".⁵⁷ But their political revolution contributed to the arrest of the attempt to build up democratic society. From the beginning, the military revolutionaries disregarded the new atmosphere of the people to be able to develop democracy. Besides, the leader, General Park Chung-hee could be seen as one of the collaborators with the Japanese and once was imprisoned because of his participation in the rebellion led by the Communists. Thus it would be safe to say that this military group prepared the coup for the sake of their political purposes. And it seems true that the political role of the United States and of other factions against the Chang regime (The Democratic Party) contributed to the establishment of a highly conservative government.

The military revolutionaries violated their own "revolutionary pledges", i.e., the goal of "preparation for an ultimate civilian democracy", and then secretly organized the Democratic Republican Party before the ban on political party activities was officially lifted.⁵⁸ Accordingly, this party started with a definite advantage for the elections in 1963. This sort of political intrigue resulted in a repetition of the historical tragedy of the people and substituted the historical sacrifices for democracy with another dictatorship.

ECONOMIC SITUATION UNDER THE PARK REGIME

For an understanding of the socio-economic situation under the Park regime (the Democratic Republic Party), it is necessary to divine it into two periods: first, from 1963 to 1972, and second, from 1972 to 1980, viewing the "Revitalizing Reforms"⁵⁹ in 1972 as the second revolution.

Generally speaking, the Democratic Republicans seemed more successful in the economic field. First of all, whatever was the political character of the military revolutionaries, they could not help but associate themselves with the nationalistic tendency of the mass of people.⁶⁰ However, their economic policy was based on a form of national monopoly capitalism, so that economic growth was given great weight to the investment in specific strategic fields. This plan of development resulted inevitably in increasing dependence on enormous amounts of foreign aid, and demanded a strong centralized authority.⁶¹ The government was bent on achieving economic growth, without considering the development of a sound national economic

foundation. Such a model had no choice but to depend on foreign aid, and this brought about a serious social polarization and a large amount of foreign debt.

In detail, the average annual growth rate of the GNP during 1962 to 1972 was 9%, and per capita income rose from \$75.00 in 1962 to \$255.00 in 1972. According to the consequence of the First Five Year Economic Development Plan (FYEDP),⁶² the agricultural, forestry and fishery sector increased annually by 5.3%, while mining and manufacturing increased by 15%, and social overhead capital and other services increased by 8.1%.⁶³ This rapid growth fostered an unbalanced pattern of growth in the economic structure. Furthermore the agricultural and fishery sector increased annually only by 2.0% during the second FYEDP,⁶⁴ while manufacturing and mining grew by 20.9%.⁶⁵

For foreign capital, the first FYEDP set the target at 425 million dollars, but actual investment from abroad was over 700 million dollars. The total sum of foreign capital in the second FYEDP increased to 2,239 million dollars during the third FYEDP it was no less than 5,800 million dollars.⁶⁶

Significantly, it should be noted that foreign investors are legally allowed to be able to ignore laborers' rights or demands, according to the Provisional Exceptional Law concerning Labor Unions and the Settlement of Labor Disputes in Foreign Invested Firms, which was promulgated in order to induce foreign capital. Labor movements were totally restricted. The government controls over labor organizations in foreign-invested firms were stronger than elsewhere.⁶⁷

To promote industrialization, the government maintained a policy

of low prices for agricultural products and low wages for labor. In the agricultural sector, the government's investment was largely put into projects of land improvement, irrigation systems, and manufacturing agricultural tools and fertilizer, but did not help to increase income of farmers and to develop agricultural foundations. For instance, the total food grains production was increased from 5.9 million m/t in 1961 to 8.1 million m/t in 1979,⁶⁸ but food self-sufficiency had declined from 91.1% in 1961 to 59.9% in 1979.⁶⁹ In order to appropriate this shortage, and to keep a low price level for domestic food crops, the government had to import a large amount of foreign grains. The total quantity of imported grains was increased from 3.9 million m/t/ in the first FYEDP to about 15 million m/t in the third FYEDP.⁷⁰

As a result of this trend, the government's agricultural policy led to a serious gap between the rich and the poor in both urban and rural areas, a massive outflow of the population from rural areas into urban areas, and an increase in the social issues in the urban areas and so on. Nevertheless, the cultivatable land per farm household decreased from 1.04 hectares in 1945 to 0.88 hectares in 1974.⁷¹ This indicates that little change had been made in an agricultural system of intensive farming during the past thirty years. The overall tendency is one of intensifying family labor while excluding the hired labor on the farm, obstructing any change to a capital investment system for agriculture. A more serious aspect of the problem may be seen in the number of farm household with 0.5 hectares or less of land, which accounts for 33% of the total number of farm

households. According to the Agricultural Cooperative Year Book, 1979, the average annual income of three poor households is a mere 58% of that of the labor family in the city.⁷²

Such an imbalance became much deeper because of the high rate of increase in prices of manufactured goods.⁷³ For the sake of industrialization, farmers have been forced to make sacrifices, and they have never been able to escape from the low level of living. Furthermore, another situation was the sprouting of big slum areas in the cities and serious polarization between geographical regions and new social classes.

To conclude our discussion of economic issues, attention should be paid to the pressures created by the foreign loans. The government had to acquire foreign capital, not only for financing production, but also for the repayment of foreign debts. For instance, in 1978, 58.3% of the total foreign capital in public, commercial and bank loans were used for international deficit payments. This ratio increased to 77.2% in 1979, and 88.3% in 1980.⁷⁴ The deficit of payments is largely due to repayments of foreign debts and repatriation of direct investments. These comprised 60.5% of the expanded deficit in 1980 as against 13.5% in 1978 and 14.3% in 1979.⁷⁵

The process of dehumanization became more serious than ever, so that this tendency as well as social polarity caused great suffering and at the same time motivated an awakening in the people to move toward securing human dignity and human rights. The minjung came to a fresh awareness of themselves.

AUTHORITARIANISM AND THE MINJUNG STRUGGLE

The people came to be more and more oppressed in the name of the twin goals of anti-communism and economic development. The rage of allowable political expression and even of basic human rights were drastically limited through the Anti-Communism Law, the National Security Law and the establishment of the Korean CIA.

When Park narrowly won the presidential elections against Kim Dae Jung,⁷⁶ it was generally agreed that Park resorted to massive ballot-tampering, bribery and intimidation in order to achieve that result.⁷⁷

In October, 1972, as a second revolution, Park announced the abolition of the Constitution and its replacement by the Yushin⁷⁸ Constitution. The stated reasons for making another revolution were "to save the nation from disorder and inefficiency rampant among the people and from political factional strife and discord".⁷⁹

The main point under this new constitution was that all limitations on the tenure of the presidency were removed. The president was empowered to appoint and dismiss at will the Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers, Supreme Court Judges. The president appointed one-third of the National Assembly Members by nomination and could issue any emergency decree which he thought necessary.⁸⁰ Immediately the power to issue emergency decrees was used to the full. It is no exaggeration to say that the Korean people began to suffer under the leadership of a government more undemocratic than any since Korea was liberated from the Japanese in 1945, and with less justification.⁸¹

Decree No. 1 (issued in January, 1974) prohibited any "denial, opposition or defamation" of the Yushin Constitution. Decree No. 2 ruled that offences against any Emergency decree would be tried by Court-Martial and Decree No. 4 banned the main student union and specified penalties, including execution, for students engaging in any sort of criticism or anti-government political action. Finally, Decree No. 9 ranged widest of all in banning "fabricating false facts or making false presentation of facts", truly allowing the government to consolidate its totalitarian authority and the power to clarify what is a "false fact". Furthermore this decree prohibited "denying, opposing, distorting or defaming the Yushin Constitution, or asserting, petitioning, instigating, or propagating revision or appeal thereof by means of assembly, demonstration, or by using mass-communication media such as newspapers, broadcasts or new correspondence, or by making documents, pictures, records, or other publications".⁸²

This institutionalised suppression was defended by the government on several grounds. One main reason offered by the regime was that external danger was so great and so imminent as to leave no alternative. The other was that it was an unpleasant necessity in the present stage of capital accumulation and development which would soon be obviated by rapid economic growth and greater prosperity.⁸³

One must recognize that many of the crucial incidents, which were used by the regime to foster a sense of crisis and insecurity and to justify its own continuance, were either fabrications or deliberate provocations. Moreover, we would expect to see evidence of great pressure from popular discontent for such measures to be

adopted of necessity. It was alleged that the National Democratic Youth and Student Federation and the so-called "People's Revolutionary Party" in 1974 were manipulating some Christians and students and popular demonstrations in the interests of a northern-sponsored plot, but without clear and reasonable evidence.⁸⁴ It seems that the case had been fabricated by the authorities, as was an attempt to arouse prejudice against academics, churches, and other groups with demands for liberation.

The terrible tortures, numerous executions, and fabricated confessions challenged the people and the Korean church to resist the dictatorship. Countless Koreans manifested a determination to resist oppression and to assert their basic human rights and values. One significant event was the prayer meeting in the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Seoul on the first of March, 1976, at which a call was issued for the restoration of democracy. The text presented at the prayer meeting was a "Declaration for National Democratic Salvation", which was signed by a representative group of leading intellectual and religious figures.⁸⁵ The text dealt with all the political, economic, and social issues through a democratic view and a perspective of the Christian faith. Another one was the "Korean Christian Declaration of 1973" made by leading clergy of the Korean Church. Besides these, there were the "Declaration of Human Rights in Korea" by the National Council of Churches in Korea in 1974 and the "Theological Statement of Korean Christians" in the same year.⁸⁶

The voice of the people contributed to the appearance of new waves of protest which linked students and Christian activities with

the workers' movement. This represented the beginning of a new stage of history. Through their struggles and suffering, Christians were motivated to understand the real meaning of human dignity, thereby discovering the value of workers, farmers and the people in slum areas. These events also forced the Church to re-evaluate the history of Christianity in Korea, as well as the history of the Korean people, and furthermore to re-interpret the meaning of Holy Scripture.

The struggle for social justice and human rights since the 1970s has led Christianity to a deeper understanding of its identity. The Korean Church began to associate with various oppressed people, including a radical group of Buddhists,⁸⁷ intellectuals,⁸⁸ and some politicians.⁸⁹

The Yushin system caused indescribably suffering and the sacrifice of many victims. Its impact, however, caused the people to realize that the nature of their struggle was that of becoming the subjects of history and culture. In spite of strong oppression, several movements of workers, farmers, and students, which were based on a heightened historical consciousness, evolved from insisting on their own rights to further a basic social transformation. A typical case was the struggle of textile workers of the Dongil Textile Company and Y.H. Trading Company in the late 1970s, who struggled not only against subhuman working conditions and exploitation, but also against the aggressive socio-political system.⁹⁰

Since 1972 many reporters of the leading daily newspapers and broadcasting systems had protested the control of speech and information by the dictatorship in conjunction with the owners of the media. This led to the dismissal of more than 300 reporters in 1975.⁹¹

The event of the Andong Catholic Farmer's Association in 1979 indicated this cruel oppression of the peasants through the government-manufactured propaganda.⁹²

By 1979 a national front was formed, the "National Congress for Democracy and Reunification"⁹³ which was composed of clergymen, students, professors, workers, peasants, dismissed reporters and a substantial number of politicians. Unlike as in the past however, this struggle was not led just by students, but became a truly national struggle drawing people from all walks of life. Thus the demonstrations in which citizens took part with students in Pusan and Masan in 1979 predicted the Park regime's inevitable fate.⁹⁴

When the struggle for democracy reached its peak in 1979, it met an unexpected turning point with Park's assassination. This traumatic event resulted in the establishment of yet another military dictatorship, turning aside the national expectation for the abolition of the Yushin system and a restoration of democracy. The seed of the seventeenth of May, 1980, coup, the third military coup since the liberation, was the seizure of power by Chun Doo Hwan on the twelfth of December, 1979.

Chun's regime has been characterized by the 1980 massacre in Kwangju. Many people who joined in the demonstration for a restoration of democracy were killed by military operations. While the massacre must be viewed as a military action, it is rather important to note that the commanding officer of the U.S. Army in Korea took no effective action to stop the series of events in which all normal military rules were violated. A politicized military had become the source for controlling the people, and destroyed again the aspirations of

the people for democracy and humanization.

Chun first exerted his power by disbarring 305 prominent politicians, including Kim Dae Jung, from political life. Chun also enhanced his absolute control of the media. In December, 1980, Chun issued an order to unify all the press and communication firms both in Seoul and in local areas.⁹⁵ The policies of banning and merging media firms were an indication of the regime's total control of all information. There was an attempt being made to control the nations' thought and politics by the Basic Press Law, an unprecedented law in Korean history. At the same time severe restrictions were placed on publications. The reporting of news as publishing is being systematized to support and to protect the Chun regime.

Over and above these measures, numerous new methods of restriction and persecution have been established, e.g., the Law of Assembly and Demonstrations, the Purification Camp, the New Labor Law, the various campus regulations including a restriction of Christian education in mission school, and so on. In August, 1980, the government issued "guidelines for the purification of labor unions" to further control the unions and to eliminate union activities aligned with the Urban-Industrial Mission.

In the field of economy during the last three years, the foreign debts increased to over 40 billion dollars, which were twice as large as those of the Park regime. The numbers of incidents on university campuses and in other areas increased in 1982-1983, threatening the people more than ever.

However, the harder the conomic, social, military and political pressures became, the stronger was the resistance on behalf of human

rights and social justice. Yet it seems clear, too, that the dictatorship can survive in Korea, despite its lack of legitimacy and totalitarian politics, by the strong association with the foreign powers. Consequently, the people in Korea have to confront both the internal authority and the external powers which have suppressed their aspirations. Historically, such an experience of suffering has served to motivate the minjung and to awaken them to an awareness of their situation. It has served to point them to the way of humanization and liberation.

Throughout Korean history, it is apparently true that the minjung has been called to be the subjects of history. That is the significant point of Korean history.

CHAPTER V: ATTEMPTS AT CREATING A KOREAN THEOLOGY

MINJUNG AS A SOURCE OF THEOLOGY

When we interpret Korean history in the perspective of the minjung as described in the previous chapters, Korean history is revealed as the process of the minjung's self-discovery, through which the minjung defines its own identity and creates its own social biography. In Korean history we can recognize that the core of the minjung is revealed as a potential power of history, and then becomes a driving force of the social transformation. Therefore the essence of the minjung as a dynamic of history, should be looked upon as a main source of theology in the Korean context.¹

In the context of socio-economic perspectives, the total subjective experience of the people became the basic energy to motivate their power through the historical aspirations and sufferings, their struggles and defeats. Such a conception of the people has become crystallized in the term minjung.² Thus the identity and reality of the minjung, not as the simple existence of the people in history, but as the power or source motivating the social biography throughout history, can shape the reality of history as well as a Korean Theology.

The characteristic of the minjung in the Korean context can be understood through analysing the nature of the historical motivations of the minjung movement. According to Kim Yong-bock, the notion of the minjung signifies "a living reality which is dynamic, changing and complex in the context of a socio-political perspective".³ The minjung has had contextual dimensions. The minjung has generated the social, and political biography through the experience of socio-

economic struggles. However, the definition of the minjung cannot be conceived simply in terms of social class, such as the Marxist proletariat, or the cast, because the minjung has had "strong overtones of transcendency and a beyond-this-world dimension", often expressed in religious aspirations, while "the Marxist proletariat has anticipated socio-economic determination bound to the historical possibilities for social transformation".⁴ In this point of view, we have to see how the history of the minjung has been closely related to a religious anticipation of a transcendent future. The reality of the minjung is based primarily not on the notion of a classical revolution, but on religious aspirations for salvation and liberation in order to become more fully human through self-understanding of its own existence in and beyond the context of history. The notion of the minjung is defined by the minjung who disclose themselves through their hopes and sufferings, through their struggle for liberation from any kind of bondage which leads to dehumanisation.⁵ In other words, the notion of the minjung may be considered a living entity reflected by the political, social, economic and religious context. The minjung is the people who recognize self-consciousness in the social context and generate new acts for liberation from han, which is unique historical and culture experience of the people in Korea.

The characteristics of social biography of the minjung can be defined by a study of the socio-economic history of Korea, which enables us to grasp the reality of the minjung objectively.⁶ Throughout Korean history the minjung has been forced to become entirely the object of the ruling power. At the same time the minjung has attempted

to bring about a historical transformation by recognizing their position in the socio-economic relations rather than emphasizing the value of individual existence. Moreover, they generated their actions and stories of self-determination, interpreting or accepting different religious substances for their liberation from the present context of suppression.⁷

In this way, the social biography of the minjung has contained either a strong religious element based on Messianic aspirations or a nationalistic and revolutionary character related to the historical consciousness.⁸ The social biography is manifested in the historical events of uprisings against poverty, social discrimination, oppression by the ruling powers, and the foreign invasions. Through these events, the minjung expressed physically the concerns to explore the way of humanisation and liberation. As evidence of such expressions of the minjung, there are the examples of folk legend, talchoom or pansori.⁹

The historical motivation of the minjung movement has come from the minjung's self-understanding of the social, political and religious corruption and unjust exploitation by the ruling class. The most remarkable point of the minjung movement is that the more they have been defeated, the more they could revive and struggle.

The minjung has manifested such a motivation through the religious expression, for instance, of their faith in the Maitreya from Buddhism, Utopian aspiration from Shamanism, and historical Exodus and Resurrection from Christianity. Thus the historical motivations of the minjung movement has related very intimately to its religious experiences.

In conclusion, it could be said that the reality of minjung, both for this world and for a future world, arose out of the historical confrontation between the people and the powers. As Kim Yong-bock stated: "the reality of the people's movement does not appear as a kind of illusory or utopian dream, but manifests itself as the core of history for their liberation".¹⁰ In other words, the historical aspirations and religious expressions have merged into the movements of minjung.

BUDDHISM AND THE MINJUNG'S APPROACH

In Korean history, Buddhism has manifested two different facets in the perspective of the minjung movement. Buddhism was brought to Korea in 372 A.D., through China. Buddhism in Korea is based on the doctrines of Mahayana.¹¹ In the development of Mahayana Buddhism, it introduced the new conception of an eternal Deity and of the Messianic idea which influenced the acceptance of such doctrines. According to Mahayana Buddhism there are those who in their very next incarnation are due to become Buddhas, so that they may assist others in working out their salvation. In interpreting Buddhist doctrines,¹² attention should be paid to the idea of transmigration and "the Wheel of Life", which has been reflected in the faith which affirms a Messianic hope. This perspective reveals the reality of a basic idea of the people towards a successive rebirth, going up or down with the wheel through the various stages of heaven, or of earth, or of hell, with no escape until Nirvana or "Paradise" is attained. Therefore, according to this teaching on the final goal

of faith, the people should identify with the Buddhist "ten commandments", the "Eight-Fold Path", and "the Four Noble Truths".¹³

In Buddhism, human existence is explained in the cycle of existence, reincarnation, on the same level as other creatures. According to the law of karma (literally means deed or doing of human being), human existence, as an endless cycle of birth and death, can be expressed in the Truth of Suffering, the first of the Four Noble Truths. Therefore, human existence is characterized by the fundamental root of impermanence and suffering, from which human beings can never escape completely as long as human is human.¹⁴ The second Truth reveals the cause of this suffering. The craving for passion, the craving for existence, and the craving for total selfishness cause unhappiness and rebirth in the way of becoming.

In order to escape from the suffering and the craving, Buddhism teaches the doctrine of karma, which governs all kinds of action, and dominates the World of becoming as well. It contains the moral dimension of the human act, namely the problem of freedom, as a cosmic, universal and unchangeable law.¹⁵ Thus it has a sense of dynamics of human action as well as the moral dimension of the human act. Therefore the Eight-Fold Path indicates fundamental conditions of human action for a systematic progress toward the goal, nirvana. Moral behaviour and a sincere purpose, as good karma, are required positively for a new world. Thus, nirvana, in terms of liberation, means supernatural transformation of the self as well as structural liberation from all sorts of earthly suffering and relationship.¹⁶

Since the nineteenth century, Buddhism has been understood as the religious base for the formation of the minjung's life foundation,

especially through their belief in Maitreya Buddha, Miryuck (the Messiah to come).¹⁷ When it was accepted by the people, Buddhism did not remain a religious object, but gave to the people a motivation of struggle to liberate their life from the bondage of this world. However, the rulers regarded this belief as heretical and attempted to suppress it.¹⁸ In this way Buddhism was separated into two different strands of belief according to the political intention of the ruling class and the needs of the people.

On the one hand the belief of the ruling class in regard to Amita, who is of this world, was used to teach the people the doctrines of renunciation and the transitoriness of all forms of material existence, revealing the Buddhist paradise. On the other hand, the belief of Maitreya appealed to the people as the realization of the future-oriented world¹⁹ which would follow this world. In other words, the idea of belief in Amita was adopted as a method to rule over the people, whereas belief in Maitreya among the people contributes to revolutionary practice and belief for liberation from oppression.²⁰

The Maitreya Buddhist learning was founded by Wonhyo (618-686), who mastered the Avatmasaka sutra and wrote commentaries to the Wisdom, Lotus, Nirvana, Amitabha, and Diamond sutras. He attempted to synthesize Buddhist thoughts from a higher level of abstraction in order to reconcile conflicts in the religious domain. At the same time, he taught the egalitarian ethics and liberational conception through his new interpretation of sutras. In the Unified Silla period, the faith of Pure Land prevailed among the common people, following the teaching of Wonhyo. The Pure Land in the Western Paradise where

Amitabha dwelt became the object of the faith of the masses. The Pure Land faith reflected a tendency among the common people toward alienation from the world, a feeling of despair that arose out of the gross inequities in Silla society.²¹

Under the Confucian society of the Yi dynasty, the privileges of Buddhism, which were enjoyed during the period of the Koryo dynasty, were discontinued. For example, in 1405, the thirteen existing Buddhist sects were ordered to amalgamate into seven, the lands owned by the Buddhist temples were resurveyed, and the ordinary reading of the Buddhist scriptures in the palace and the practice of the erection of monasteries near each royal tomb was forbidden. In 1422, the seven sects were ordered to integrate again into two branches, the Sun (contemplative sect) and the Kyo (practical sect), which continue in existence today.²² At the same time, the status of Buddhist monks and nuns is greatly reduced to one of the seven lowest official occupations and the eight socially degraded groups.²³ Under the influence of this situation, the belief in Maitreya atrophied into a superstitious belief mixed with shamanism.²⁴ But the important point of Buddhism as a source of the minjung movement is that most Buddhist monks were organized into military bands for protection against foreign invasion, such as when the Japanese invaded Korea in 1592 and the Mongols in 1231. An outstanding example of this is the Subdue Demons Corps of warrior-monks that were mobilized against the Jurchen invasions.²⁵

From this point of view, it seems clear that belief in Maitreya Buddha is embedded in the corporate spirit of the minjung as their

hopes and yearnings for the coming new world to replace this devil-ruled world, while belief in Amita becomes the protecting power for the ruling class in the name of national security. And whenever a revolutionary movement was not possible and the people fell into deep despair, belief in Maitreya was transformed into various distorted pseud-religions mixed with conceptions of shamanism.²⁶ On the other hand, by the political intention of the Japanese government, Buddhism was revived for the justification of the colonial ruling policy, as a counter balancing power to the Christian church.²⁷ Thus Buddhism played a part both in undergirding the ideology of the state and in suppressing the resistance of the people.

As a general conclusion, it can be said that the minjung generated their own social biography from religious teaching. Therefore such a belief in Maitreya "provided occasions of reunion, the reassertion of social solidarity, and so sustained social cohesion, and furthermore it solemnized the social order, providing a basis for social control".²⁸ Buddhism had determined its religious role among the minjung. In other words, the dimension of the minjung brought about the flourishing development of Buddhism. Especially the teachings of Chinul (1158-1210), i.e., "Sudden-enlightenment", connoted the awakening of the people to the fact that the human mind was none other than the Buddha-mind.

SHAMANISTIC REVIVALS

It is true that shamanism has functioned as a significant belief, from a religious and social point of view, among the people in the Korean society. Despite such a strong and wide foundation in the

grassroots, shamanism has been condemned publicly and despised by the literati. Nonetheless, the more such a condemnation increased, the more shamanism entered into the inner life of the common people, especially women, who were despised as well.²⁹ Shamanism has shown a transcendental dream of the people and penetrated into the suffering life of the people. For instance, the legend of Ahwang princess, as a story of the origin of Mudang (Shaman), explained to some extent what the concerns of the people were. This legend told a story, in which peace and prosperity prevailed in China during the Yo reing. The princess prayed to Heaven on behalf of the people for the hopeful future. In this story the people dreamed to restore the peaceful reign of Yo as the ideal world, in which the people would enjoy affluent life beyond the present poverty and sorrow. The worship toward the Ahwang princess was an expression of future-oriented dreams of the people.³⁰ In fact, in Seoul and the northern areas, the story of the rejected princess was known as the ethos of Mudang and in some areas as Kong-sim (literally means public-mind), which meant the public concensus of the people.³¹ Meanwhile, in the legends like the above story, there is an implication that the ancestors of Mudang are intermediators of the Will of Heaven and are regarded as direct descendants of the God of Heaven.

One of the important roles of Mudang is to protect the people from disease and disaster. As a prophet and a healer, Mudang was involved in the personal private life as well as in the national affairs. Furthermore, the people presumed that Mudang should become the highest ruler of the earth for the sake of their liberation from

the present bondage. Therefore, shamans confronted with the unfortunate events and tragedies of the people, attempted to play a prominent role in the liberation of the people. Through shamanistic practices, shamans were believed to deliver the will of God in Heaven to the people. They were regarded as messengers and representatives of the gods. For instance, Dangun,³² who was regarded as a great shaman, became the first human king and the archetype of the ancestor of the Korean people.

The creation of such legends, which dealt with the origin of Mudang cult, attempted to bring its image closer to traditional faith and the people's anticipation. Therefore, an understanding of this traditional faith and dream expressed in the old legends and the stories of Mudang might be "the genuine rediscovery of national consciousness and the spiritual resources of the Korean people."³³ From this point of view, the shamanistic rituals have been not only religious services, but also ways of expression of the people's concern, namely the people's han.

Since the fourth century, shamanism has adopted some contents and rituals of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism.³⁴ Shamanism has been deep-rooted among the people's daily life, being intimately united with such developed religions, later including Christianity. The ceremonies of Mudang (there are also some male shamans called Pak-soo) were practiced, not only as private affairs related to individual fortune and a household richness, but also as community services in small villages in connection with common interests and communal celebration of harvest, and so on.³⁵ The major concern of the ceremonies was to liberate the people from misfortune and suffering by the power

gods. Therefore, the shamanistic rituals contain the telling of the people's social biography and the revealing of the present reasons for suffering. Fortune telling has been an important part of shamanistic rituals in order to help the people to avoid and to change their unfortunate affairs.

Shamanistic views are bound up with specific underlying feelings of Korean people, expressed as han. Generally speaking, han embraced four different meanings: first, han is understood in terms of the cumulated results from the historical suffering of the nation which has repeatedly been invaded and ravaged by the powerful neighbour countries, China and Japan, and Mongols; secondly, the continuing experience of suffering under the oppression of the tyranny and yangban caused han in the mind of the people, who could not change their social status; thirdly, under the influence of Confucian laws and social structure, which discriminate against women, slaves and the common people, their lives were understood as han; finally, due to suffering from disease, poverty and illiteracy, daily life became han.³⁶ Han has dialectic meaning. Han can be translated as sorrow, despair, frustration, defeated feeling, suffering and some negative terms, and at the same time, as hope, self-determination, revenge, liberation, and so on. Because of these characteristics, han functioned among the people as a positive motivation for self-determination for personal and social liberation, and at the same time as a negative cause of despair about oneself. Thus, the main topic of the rituals of shamanism centered on resolving this han so that the people could get a certain hope of future. In other words, the fundamental character of shamanism lies in the process of repression, liberation and reintegration.

Especially the ecstasy which was experienced during the practice of rituals was a new experience of the other world, which would fulfill their dream of liberation from suffering and frustration. The specific experience of ecstasy is said to be able to solve han, from han of the sexual repression of private life to han of the socio-political oppression of public life.³⁷

The experience of transcendence through the shamanistic rituals can produce positive effects on the people. It creates wisdom and power for the people to survive by resolving personal han of suffering, and encourages the people internally and externally to fight against social power and individual destiny. Thus such an experience of critical transcendence places the people not only over against others who oppress them, but also over the people themselves and their fatalism.³⁸ In this sense, it is not true to say that there is no historical consciousness in shamanism, because self-disclosure in shamanism is related to a much deeper understanding of total human existence. At the same time, shamanism has not been exclusive, but has been tolerant by accepting the religious experiences of the other religions including Christianity. A later discussion will show how shamanism was related to the foundation of Tonghak, which was an event of such importance to both the Korean people's history and to Korean religions.

Shamanism, therefore, should be reinterpreted in terms of the interrelationship between the Korean people's life and religions, because Korean culture including all transplanted religions from outside has inevitably taken and developed its spiritual and physical characteristics in connection with the shamanistic thoughts and rituals.

As a ground of culture, customs, and the arts, shamanism has been a means of motivating historical events of changing the fate of individuals.

TONGHAK MOVEMENT AS A KOREAN RELIGION

Tonghak (litterally "Eastern Learning"), was a native religion that originated and flourished in the late nineteenth century Korea, made a very significant motive in terms of religious and national consciousness and social transformation. Although the founder of Tonghak, Choe Che-u (1824-1864), claimed his mystical experiences of spirit possession as the basic theory of the religion, the religion contained some factors of shamanism, Neo-confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and eve Sohak (a designation of Roman Catholicism). His syncretism was not simply synthetic, but attempted to collect some necessary elements from different traditions. He revealed the experience of his spirit possession as follows:

The people call me Sang-je (God). You are born into this world to teach this law, and therefore, do not doubt or be suspicious. Then shall I teach the people with the Western Way (Christianity)? Not that. I have a Young-boo (a kind of charm), which is eternal medicine, which cures the diseased, saves the dead soul to make it alive, and controls all the sins and evils of human society. Write it on the paper, and burn it. Put the ashes in the clean water and drink it.³⁹

Such a religious experience is common to Korean shamans and a usual sign of conversion experience. But a significant element of his position comes from the expression of the relationship between Tonghak and Christianity. He criticized the existing religions, Buddhism and Confucianism. According to him, they lost their religious power to save the people and the nation, because their religious ways have

been exhausted.⁴⁰ Despite his strong critical attitude toward those religions, there are several points from those religions which are incorporated in his theory. Choe Che-u answered to a Buddhist monk as follows:

I am neither a Confucianist, nor a Buddhist, nor a Taoist, but I love the principle of the whole ways. There is no place where there is no "Heavenly Way" (which means the way of Tonghak), there I have to love the whole ways... The old Buddhism, Confucianism and all other old ways are totally impossible to guide new people. But we have to grasp the destiny of the endless truth which can produce new and lively spirit out of the dead body. We have to transform the old and create new heaven, new earth and new people.⁴¹

He showed his syncretic thought by using the term "whole ways" and furthermore he seemed to adopt for his social ethics, the Christian idea of "new heaven and new earth", originally recorded in the Book of Revelation. From this point of view, his thought seemed to make the motive of the social transformation of this world from the reflection on a Western religion, despite his attitude of anti-Roman Catholicism. Some doctrinal concepts provide further evidence of Christian influence.

According to Choe Che-u, God in Tonghak is transcendent and immanent as ultimate existence.⁴² The unique and revolutionary concept of God revealed in his doctrine, "the people's mind is at the same time the Heaven's mind".⁴³ The people's mind means here a collectively integrated mind of the common people who are now "poor" and "oppressed". "Heaven's mind", therefore, is not in the ruler's and aristocrats' mind. Choe Che-u said also, "Do not try to find God in the empty space. Do not try to find God near or far, because you have God in your body".⁴⁴ For Choe, God in Tonghak is the just God of the people who are suffering under the unjust oppressor. God in Tonghak

is the one who is willing to save the people from the oppression and finally to acknowledge the dignity of the people.

Thus Choe stated the principle that everyone should be treated equally and honorably, because God can be served only when we treat the people as we treat God. In this principle the people mean the oppressed people, namely, women, slaves, the poor, and so on. According to his theory, In-nae-chon (humanity is heaven), a human being, whatever his or her social status, is potentially God or heaven, which had been definitely identified only with Kingship according to Confucian ethics in Yi dynasty. In Tonghak, the Heavenly Mandate, that usually has been understood to be channeled through the kings, is no longer belonging to the kings, but is revealed through the leaders of Tonghak and the common people. The people are the direct medium of the Heavenly Mandate. Thus this principle expressed the greatness of the common people, since a human being is the highest order of evolution in the universe. Moreover, human nature reveals perfectly the nature of heaven and the universe, showing that the human being is the ruler of the nature and the best expression of the universe.⁴⁵ Kang Chae-on explained the logical conclusion of

In-nae-chon:

Tonghak rejects all the idols that mediate between person and God. The representatives between God and person such as saints (Confucius, Buddha, and Jesus, etc.) belong to the former age; in the latter era (present era) the spirit of Heaven (God) directly descends to persons and becomes one with persons. The principle of the unity between heaven and person rejects any mediating existences such as ideologies, institutions and social authority systems, between person and God (heaven).⁴⁶

The norms of In-nae-chon aimed to recognize the relationship between

person and God. The highest object of anticipation in this principle is to reject any kind of social oppressive systems through confirming the unity of the people and God. It declares that a person is the object of God's salvation.

The goal of Tonghak is to build the kingdom of heaven on earth⁴⁷ through God's miraculous intervention in history for the sake of bringing about the total transformation. For this purpose, Tonghak emphasized that the mind of the people revealed the mind of Heaven, which became the motive of the Tonghak Revolution in 1894. Thus the principle of In-nae-chon was applied to the ethical theory of Sa-in-yo-chon (literally means "to treat the people as though they were heaven") which expressed the virtues of sincerity, respect and faith without any kind of discrimination. The leaders of Tonghak, in the light of this principle, urged that the foundation of the people's thought must be changed in order to put away evil thoughts and old habits. Their attempt was to restore the original nature of the people that came along with the mind of Heaven. This indicates that the doctrine of In-nae-chon directs the people to liberate themselves from the context of personal and social corruption. The leaders of Tonghak believe that the people can achieve their true humanity through changing their lifestyle and practising true faith.

The kingdom of heaven expressed in Tonghak is not somewhere outside or beyond this world, but it must be realized in this world. The central nature of the apocalyptic transformation in Tonghak is Tong-gui-il-che, which means "all persons will return to unity".⁴⁸ Eventually, according to this theory, the four seas become one house

and all reaces become one person, which means that the people at the bottom who have been oppressed by all kinds of means have begun to organize themselves in order to build the kingdom of heaven on earth. Therefore, Tonghak discloses the human beings' self-achievement through self-effacement for this world as a better place in which to live. Thus, the message and the doctrines of Tonghak rapidly attracted large numbers of oppressed people from all economic and intellectual levels, including poor and unlettered farmers as well as the politically discredited members of the yangban class.⁴⁹

Despite the founder's proclamation of the differences of Tonghak from Roman Catholicism in 1864, Choe Che-u was actually executed as a heretic on the grounds that he had embraced and spread "Western Learning".⁵⁰ The Government policy was to destroy the Tonghak movement whose power had grown as a great threat to the authority. His execution by the government for teaching "Western Learning" and for agitating the innocent people indicates that the ideas of Tonghak were regarded as implicit dynamics for social transformation.

After the martyrdom of Choe Che-u in 1864, the second leader, called Tae-sin-sa (literally means "Great Divine Teacher"), Choe Hae-wol (1829-1898), promoted the founder's teaching and attempted to reorganize the dispersed Tonghak members through an underground route. He also made refinements of his own ideas, and applied Tonghak doctrines to practical situations, for instance, he formulated religious and ethical principles in terms of social equality. He said:

We, the disciples of Choe Che-u, have the same feeling with you. However, major critical action requires a proper time and fortune, and in my opinion, that occasion has not yet arrived. The reason is that, since the

execution of our former teacher, the faith of most of the followers has not yet developed roots and also the attitude of the people is not yet favorable toward our way. When there is not popular understanding, if we should take action thoughtlessly, it will be like planting seed out of season... If there should be any further failure at this time, it would be impossible to rebuild the strength of the Great Way... you keep these things in mind and wait until a later time.⁵¹

His intention was to liberate the suffering people in accord with the founder's teaching. But a more important consideration for him was how to build up religious expectations for a new world in order to alleviate their own suffering and how to clear the name of their founder who had been executed as a traitor in the name of the followers of Christianity. He addressed his intention and refined the direction of Tonghak's doctrine in the Petition that was sent to the Governor Lee Kyung-sik on December 19, 1982, as follows:

Our teacher, Choe-Che-u, receiving a direct order from God, tried to spread widely the virtue of Tonghak as the way in which Heaven and Person are one, in order to save the people from suffering. Unfortunately, he was falsely accused of being a heretic and was martyred in Taegu... Therefore, the great desires for which we who follow the Way with wholehearted devotion are praying day and night are the welfare of the country and the security of the people... I specially request you to: 1) forward to His Majesty a recommendation that the wrong against our former teacher be redressed; 2) issue orders to all the local authorities to save our remaining people from death.⁵²

Choe Hae-wol was clearly against the use of violence to redress the founder and to claim the human dignity and freedom of faith. To this moderate petition, the reaction of the government was so strong that Tonghak should quit the practice of the doctrine in accordance with the law. The people of Tonghak were persuaded to give up their

beliefs and to return to the righteous learning (Confucianism). Eventually after the failure of the petitioning efforts, a substantial number of Tonghak was convinced that a more forceful method would be necessary if the movement was to gain redress for their beliefs. At last, this religious movement developed and reached the stage of the Tonghak Revolution (1894-95), which was led by Chon Bong-jun, who was the leader of the Southern district of Tonghak and criticized the moderate approach of Choe Hae-wol.

Chon attempted to put the theory of In-nae-chon, and Sa-in-you-chon, into practice for liberation of the people from various discriminatory contexts. He distributed statements throughout the country describing the purpose of rebellion as destruction of the yangban class, in order to re-establish peace for the country and to save the people from marginalized life.⁵³ At the same time he asked the people not to ignore loyalty to the King. He said: "People were patient and patient again until they could not be patient any more. Finally we were forced to rise up".⁵⁴

Although there were some controversies over Chon's approach and different motivations among the Tonghak leaders in leading the rebellion,⁵⁵ nevertheless, the rebellion was clearly based on the leadership of Chon and the Tonghak ideology.

First of all, the rebellion was motivated by the people's religious expectations in the process of accepting and interpreting the doctrines and teachings of Tonghak. The ethical teachings were reinterpreted for the praxis by the adherents. For example, Chon was actually recognized by the followers as the manifestation of the anticipated Messiah-to-come in Tonghak.⁵⁶

Secondly, in order to defend the country against foreign invaders, specifically the Japanese, a systematic and forceful action was inevitable in the light of bringing about a new world. The apocalyptic vision of social transformation based on the Tonghak social thought provided the spiritual foundation of the rebellion. The content of the anticipated new world order through the rebellion was expressed in the statement of Chon, The Call for Justice:

The preciousness of person lies in the fact that there is morality among people. The relations between the King and his ministers, and between father and son are most important. After the wise King and just ministers, charitable father and son of filial piety, there is also the peace of a nation.... But today the ministers do not think how to repay the King's grace, rather they waste their wisdom in order to steal positions and pay. They accuse loyal servants as wicked and just men as rebels. There are a lot of officials who oppress the people. The heart of the people changes every day; there is no way to live and furthermore no way to protect their lives...all the people are the foundation of the nation. When the foundation is destroyed, the nation too will necessarily be ruined. How can it be right not to think about the protection of nation and the peaceful life of the people and only care for one's own self-interest by wasting national wealth? Although we are useless people in this countryside, we live by the land and with the clothes given by the King... The people in the eight provinces shall unite into one mind and all the people shall gather together; we shall take the oath of life.⁵⁷

In the above statement, issued in January 1894, Chon emphasized that the causes of injustice and crisis of nation were unjust ministers and government officials who destroyed the right relationship of the King and oppressed the people in many ways. According to Chon, the people should be the foundation of the nation and so the people were the power to be able to protect the nation from destruction.

Therefore the people who were committed to the liberation struggle described what was unjust through their holistic perception. Factual descriptions of the socio-biography of the people had the function of debunking the false and distorted pictures of life, which were painted by the ruling class people for their own interests. The rebellion had reasonable justification in the context of the extreme inequities committed by the government toward the lower classes, particularly toward the Tonghak followers in the late 1800s.

Thirdly, politics and religious practices were holistically integrated in the Tonghak Revolution. The practical application of the principle (the Way of Tonghak) was the basic idea of the founder. The core of Tonghak doctrines is Si-chon-ju which means "bearing God (Heaven)" or "serving God".⁵⁸ Choe Che-u explained Si-chon-ju as follows: "Serving (bearing) means that one has Spirit within and energy without...God means calling with respect and serving like parents".⁵⁹ Here he affirmed that man has the most highly developed intellectual power, and so man has to serve God in his very being and experience throughout the history. Therefore Si-chon-ju is the idea of equality, which means that everyone has the heavenly Lord in their heart. This idea became the spiritual foundation of the rebellion for the realization of the Heavenly Kingdom.

There have been some controversies about the relation between the Tonghak religion and the Tonghak movement. Noh Jong-sun analyzed these controversies as "continuity theory" and "discontinuity theory".⁶⁰ As an example of the discontinuity theory, Noh took the Marxist historian's theory. For example, Chun Suk-dam argued that Tonghak

religious organizations were accidentally used by the peasants and there were no revolutionary and progressive elements in Tonghak thought.⁶¹ Chun, one of the Marxist theologians, viewed the Tonghak Revolution of 1894 simply as a peasants' rebellion, which did not contain any religious elements and any organic relationship with Tonghak. Thus the Marxist theologian's view emphasized only the physical involvement of the peasants in the revolution, without regard to the spiritual motive based on Tonghak's social thought. According to another theory, Kim Yong-sup noted that Tonghak was only concerned with religious development and that Chon Bon-jun in his revolutionary activity had nothing to do with the Tonghak teaching.⁶² He attempted to separate the religious stream of Tonghak and the revolutionary stream of the peasants. His view was erroneous on account of the fact that he failed to recognize that the peasants' self-consciousness had been aroused by the teachings of Tonghak and that the peasants eventually viewed Chon Bong-jun as a living Messiah in accordance with the doctrine of apocalyptic transformation. As Yoo Se-hee observed,⁶³ the above-mentioned theory sought to explain the intensive participation by the peasants only from within the general socio-economic situation at the end of the Yi dynasty rather than Tonghak influence. Yoo Se-hee wrote:

If we remember the correlations between "value" and "environment",...in Chalmers Johnson's terms, these two different approaches can be reconciled: The Tonghak religion was nothing but a by-product of the specific environment in which the peasants suffered. In this sense, it might be more reasonable to define the characteristics of the Rebellion as a peasant uprising, most of whom followed Tonghaks not because of the religious beliefs but because of the organized leadership provided by the Tonghak, a leadership which the peasants could not supply themselves. The

accumulated grievances of the peasants were articulated in an indirect form, that is, through support of the Tonghaks, who, like themselves, were also suppressed by the traditional system.⁶⁴

Yoo defined the Tonghak religion as a by-product of the environment, and he suggested that the peasants used the Tonghak leadership only for their liberation from econo-political oppression. He gave too much weight to the environmental factors in analyzing the rise of Tonghak, and did not recognize that the peasants have never been an organized group in Korean society. His reductional method is not appropriate to define how the Tonghak's religious teachings coincide with the revolutionary motivation of the peasants.

The rise of the new belief of Tonghak and the rebellion of the peasants cannot be separated into two distinct movements, as they are one in a concrete historical context. The belief of the people determines the values, ideologies, and the motivation of the struggles of the people. Tonghak's teaching was not only concerned about the suffering of the people, but also about a much higher level of the social transformation, which supported the religious ethics of Tonghak, In-nae-chon and Sa-in-you-chon. Therefore Tonghak Revolution was motivated by the people's mutual religious concerns and the people's self-determination for their liberation from poverty, oppression and suffering under the great leadership of Chon Bong-jun.

After the rebellion was totally suppressed by the Japanese and Korean armies in December of 1894, the rest of Tonghak members dispersed voluntarily and hid themselves in the mountains.

The third leader of Tonghak, Son Pyung-hi, who was elected in

1897, tried to rebuild the shattered organization by revitalizing the spiritual life of Tonghak. As a strategist in both a religious and a socio-political movement, Son deliberated over the domestic political problems as well as the complicated international relationships, especially those between China, Japan, and Russia. In terms of political realities, Son judged that there were three possible courses of action: 1) revolt, 2) realization of drastic governmental and social reforms, and 3) active participation on the side of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War (1904) against Russia.⁶⁵ As a political approach, Son had organized the Progressive Group (Chin-bo-hoe) as a nationwide Tonghak organization.⁶⁶ This political action group achieved some success in its program, but lost touch with the original revolutionary character of the previous Tonghak movement, which was rooted in the people's grievances, so this action led it to merge with the pro-Japanese organization, Ilchin-hoe.⁶⁷

In 1905, when Tonghak were struggling between the external pressure from Japan and the internal pressure from the political group of pro-Japanese, some of the leaders who had been prominent in Chondo-gyo (The religion of the Heavenly Way), organized according to Tonghak spirit, from which Ilchin-hoe was expelled. While Chundo-gyo attempted to revitalize the defeated group of Tonghak, the expelled, who were pro-Japanese, organized a rival cult called Sichon-gyo (The Religion of the Serving Heaven) in order to stand against Chondo-gyo.⁶⁸

To make progress in rebuilding the membership of Chondo-gyo, Son Pyung-hi embarked on an extensive campaign of evangelization. He established modern schools in Seoul and taught the basic principles

of the traditional doctrines of Tonghak. His major concern was to re-interpret the principle of unity of mind and matter, the theory of consistency of religion and politics, the doctrine of the transmigration of the spirit, and the principles of sacrifice, faith and discipline.⁶⁹ He especially emphasized that each member must develop self-reliance and a sense of Heaven within oneself.

Through this revitalization program, Chondo-gyo was able to set up a large nationwide power, which assumed a leading role in the cause of Korean nationalism and independence. Chondo-gyo was going to settle down as an established religion in Korean society. Later once again, in 1919, Chondo-gyo took the central role in the March First Independence Movement in cooperation with the Protestant churches and the Buddhists. Nonetheless, the revolutionary spirit and the transcendental character of Tonghak faded in the process of becoming established as a Korean religion. At the same time, it is also true that the Tonghak movement, as an indigenous and a synthesized Korean religion, sought to raise human self-consciousness and disclosed the people's aspirations through the evolution of its religious and social doctrines.

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN KOREA

As a result of social chaos, and more or less as a reaction against the established religions, many new religions appeared both immediately before and after the Korean War (1950-1953). There were around two hundred different groups of which ten were pseudo-Christian, twenty-five pseudo-Buddhist, fifty Zungsan-gyo, and the others number

about one hundred.⁷⁰

Among the pseudo-Christian groups, the Yongmoonsan Temple was founded in 1950 by ra Woon-mong, the Tongban-gyo in 1953, the Unification Church in 1954 by Moon Sun-myung, and the Millennium Temple in 1955 and so on.⁷¹ The leaders of these new religions insisted that they had received a special revelation from God, and had experienced mystical visions related to the Messianic Kingdom. They identified themselves with the second coming of Jesus. For instance, Park Tae-sun, the founder of the Millennium Temple, proclaimed that he embraced special powers of grace to heal and to forgive, identifying himself with the "Olive tree" or "the righteous man from the East" revealed in the Holy Scripture. He proclaimed the impending arrival of the Kingdom of the Millennium. He attracted sincere members and founded a faith community as a visible kingdom of the Millennium in which all shared personal property and led a communal, sacred life in order to meet the new world. This community is characterised by a combination of industrial work and a religious community life as an imitation of the primitive Christian community. Park built some factories including a heavy-industry plant in the town of Sosa and Dukso to supply financial aid for evangelization. Most adherents in that community converted from the other Christian denominations. By virtue of the charismatic leadership of Park, he raised himself as the object of worship.⁷² In place of the doctrine of atonement through Jesus' crucifixion, he substituted his powerful blessing and "living water". He proclaimed himself as a transcendent being and showed evidence for this by performing miracles, most notably those of healing.

The Unification Church⁷³ evolved its own highly complicated theology, practices, and fundamental beliefs. To put it briefly, Moon's version of Christianity was a new heresy based on his pseudo-Christian philosophic world view as set forth in his book Divine Principle.⁷⁴ His central doctrinal tenet comes from his unique interpretation of Creation and Restoration. In this book, Moon says that "Jesus, as Second Adam, saved man spiritually but not physically, for he did not complete the task in which the First Adam failed". So he pronounces that people need another Messiah who can save people physically as well. Thus the Unificationists believe that "the Third Adam who is among us will have perfect children, thereby break the power of all since the First Adam's failure".⁷⁵ With the coming of this Third Adam, Moon himself, the period of the "Third" or "Completed Testament" will finally begin to realize itself on earth. In this way he asserted that he came to complete the New Testament as the "Third Adam" in order to save the people both spiritually and physically.⁷⁶

In the principle of restoration, Moon calls for the "Unification of science and religion", and also the "Unification of politics and religion".⁷⁷ He makes a theory of unification by which all things, including human beings, should become one beyond separation of "internal character" from "external shape". The Divine Principle teaches the theory of polarities, and attempts primarily to restore and actualize the "Four position foundation", namely "the relationship between God, Adam (husband), Eve (wife) and children".⁷⁸ In his doctrine, it is said that the life of unificationists should be focussed upon the process of unifying with the family of the second advent.⁷⁹ Thus

the Unification Church's systematic program emphasizes "the restoration of 'old-fashioned' morality, chastity before marriage, prayerful marriage, a readiness to accept guidance in the choice of a partner, marital love which reflects the love of God, and transmission of spiritual perfection to children".⁸⁰

Politically, the ultimate goal of the Unification church is to bring about a "world-wide theocratic socialism for the whole world".⁸¹ Moon criticizes Marxists for using wrong methods of force for the ideology of dialectical materialism on the one hand, but agrees with their concern for a global society of socialistic quality on the other.⁸² Nonetheless, Moon's position is to regard America as the political model for an international Kingdom of Heaven on earth as a socialist governmental structure.⁸³ For this purpose, Moon points out that "Korea is the new Israel, and America is her defender as the leader of the Abel forces of this world, thus it must maintain its democratic strength, ideologically and militarily, to shatter the Cain forces of totalitarianism represented above all in communism".⁸⁴

Distinguished from the organized church itself, there are several groups which are concrete manifestations of Moon's political, social and religious ideas. Particularly noted may be, the International Federation for Victory over Communism, the Freedom Leadership Foundation, the Collegiate Association for Research of Principles, the International Cultural Foundation,⁸⁵ and so on.

As Suh Nam-dong has analysed, it is true that the Unification Church created more or less a new vision of Christianity as an indigenized theological perspective.⁸⁶ However, in criticism of

Moon, it may be claimed that his systematic principles were not an interpretation of God's events revealed in human history, but statements from Moon's personal mystical experiences. The concern to restore the human relationships is not a central issue in the Holy Scripture.⁸⁷ Also, in order to solve the question of polarity in this modern era, it is necessary to challenge the structural polarity which is embedded in the political, social, economic, and cultural order. There is deep contradiction between Moon's principles and practices, which seems unrelated to mutual solidarity or reconciliation within the world, e.g., Moon's relationship to the right wing in the United States and Korea. He has paid no attention to the socio-economic injustice of the people, but rather has associated strongly with the oppressive rightist regimes.⁸⁸ His business interests pushed him to keep such political position. Furthermore, real questions can be raised about the integrity of Moon Sun-myung himself. Rather than showing any specific Messianic characteristics, he has been an ordinary person who was once jailed for adultery, and recently has been imprisoned for tax evasion. Although theologians of the Unification church regard him as a prophet, a John the Baptist, or a Second-coming Messiah, he has merely developed another religious cult.

There are several common characteristics of these new religions. They are generally critical towards the rigid traditions of established churches with their hierarchy and firm doctrines. During the difficult period just after the Korean War in 1950, they tempted the poor and spiritually weakened people into conversion by using visible comforts.

The new religions adopted the method of shamanistic blessing with the founder taking on the role of a shaman as a charismatic and mystical being. They seduce the people by spreading mystical experience of healing and blessing, and also willingly support the ruling class, paralyzing the people's consciousness. The new religions participate actively in society only as an attempt to achieve their own tangible interests.⁸⁹

The reasons why such new religions were able to gain ground among the people could be explained from the unsolved problems within the established religions. When the established religions missed the real social issues and began to be immersed in the issues of their own establishment, the people turned themselves to new religions for their salvation from the suffering. The abstract or highbrow beliefs of the established churches seemed often socially irrelevant. The established churches, including Buddhism, promoted a religious life imported directly from the West or the East, having no vitality to solve national concerns linked with the aspirations of the people.⁹⁰ However, the new religions did not succeed in solving such problems; rather they used their alleged mystical powers to lead the people into false ways.

TECHNOLOGY AND THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT

One can say that the rapid industrialization in Korea during the 1970s has brought about an imbalance, with economic dependency on foreign capital and technology. This tendency is very similar to what happened in the colonies developed by British technology.

In the nineteenth century generally the technological means of the imperialists used to create their empire.⁹¹ And the empire did not bring the glad tidings of peace and goodwill toward men, but filled the people with "cruelty",⁹² e.g., dehumanization, social conflicts, and so on. Thus, the question of what the development has brought to the people is important for the discussion of a Korean theology.

As examined in the previous chapter, the development of economics has created many social problems, e.g., rapid urbanization and massive urban migration, a widening gap between rich and poor with greater discontent among the people, centralization of power and political oppression, rise in materialistic values and a breakdown of traditional values, an emergence of new religious sects and charismatic, mystical movements, and so on. The policy of export-oriented industrialization had increased foreign dependency, producing a monopoly of power and capital. At the same time it destroyed human values, freedom and social order.

The conception of development should be re-examined in a socio-economic perspective as well as in the view of promoting social justice. Development should not mean merely Westernization, or industrialization and urbanization, but should be grounded upon promotion of justice and human rights. The goal of development in Korean context should be the realization of a democratic society which guarantees basic human rights and the accomplishment of national unification which has been the Korean people's historical desire. The realization

of social justice based on guarantees of socio-economic equity and the realization of creative and autonomous human values on the cultural level should be the basic elements of development. In other words, development must be related to the promotion of national-historical consciousness for self-determination and independence. Therefore development should be discussed as the minjung's concern for liberation.⁹³

The argument about development centers not on the quantity, but the quality of life, as can be seen in early 20th century England.⁹⁴ In order to harmonize these two elements of development, the political system should be transformed into a new one, in which the minjung may, as subjects, participate in the development process. Thus technology, industrialization, and urbanization should be evaluated according to whether or not the practice of development is done for deepening and expanding of grassroots participation.⁹⁵

The concern of the fundamentalists and those who engaged in the Pentecostal movement was to teach God's blessing and supernatural grace as concepts of development through a mystical interpretation of the Holy Spirit, and to regard secular development as merely a bad dream. This movement began in the 1960s and has rapidly expanded its influence on the church programs and mission in the 1970s. The characteristic elements of this movement seem similar in many ways to mystical movements that originated around the 1930s.⁹⁶ The contemporary Pentecostal movement has been initiated by the Full Gospel Church of Cho Yong-ki, the Christian Campus Crusade of Kim Joon-kon and the Jesus Evangelical Corps. They emphasized individual satisfaction gained through church-centered life rather than communal

development through achieving social justice.

The fundamentalist interpretation of the Holy Scripture and enthusiastic faith spread, not only among the unconverted, but also among members of the other established churches. Fundamentalism, enthusiasm and individualism characterize the nature of these organizations, and enabled them to gain large numbers of adherents.⁹⁷ Through a mass movement,⁹⁸ on the one hand, they have empowered their own evangelical activities, and, on the other, have supported propaganda of the dictatorship, which pretended to guarantee religious freedom in Korean society. A consequence of Pentecostalism is the retardation of the people's movement for social justice. They have associated themselves with the dictatorship in opposing the progressive movement and the struggle for human rights. They adopted the principle of de-politisation of Christianity, while they admitted the regime's oppressive policies. Whereas they say that they proclaim and practice the "true-gospel", they severely criticize the ecumencial movement and object to industrial and rural missions.

The modern period of the 1970s under the dictatorship which emphasized economic development through political monopoly, was characterized by a rise of mysticism or the enthusiasm of new religions. In contrast with the political struggle of the progressive churches, the new religions and the charismatic churches have had no answer to the minjung's deep aspiration, because these religions and churches were basically lacking in historical consciousness.

This situation stimulated theologians and others to create a theology that was capable of a creative response to social and religious

conflicts. Thus the foundation of a Korean theology is clearly laid in the religious and historical development of the people.

CHAPTER VI: MINJUNG THEOLOGY AND ITS APPROACHNATURE OF MINJUNG THEOLOGY AS A KOREAN THEOLOGY

A Korean theology has been sought through various religious and theological experiences, which emerged from the reflections on the historical and religious expression of the Korean people.¹ It is in such a perspective that Minjung Theology is investigated as the theology of the minjung and for the minjung.

In order to define the nature of Minjung Theology, we must discuss the entity of minjung as the essential source of theology. The conception of the minjung can be interpreted as a political term. The characteristics of the minjung are then explained in the context of a relationship between the ruling authority and the oppressed masses. As Kim Yong-bok points out, the political definition of the minjung comes from the interpretation of the socio-economic dynamics of the minjung in history as well as their various social biographies expressed in social struggle, culture, and language.² Thus the nature of the minjung is a dynamic, complex and resilient reality in the Korean history. Therefore the minjung does not mean the power of one socio-economic class, which in order to succeed may even justify totalitarianism. Rather, the minjung means the people who try to become subjects in history. Despite any social discrimination, the one who prefers to associate with the oppressed and to share one's life with the minjung can become one of the minjung. The minjung means being willing to depart from the establishment, limitation, absoluteness, and han in the sphere of socio-economics, politics and culture.

In the Korean context, the minjung has realized historically their self-reliance through their struggle against oppressive powers and social structures, opening their destiny and responding to the historical dimensions.³ As a historical living entity, the minjung may be defined by their self-disclosure in accordance with the affirmation of their own identity, because the minjung is the people who manifest a historical truth and put their experience and historical understanding into practice.

Based on this assumption about the minjung, Minjung Theology applies a new perspective of theological study in its interpretation of church history, dogmatics, and biblical hermeneutics.⁴ From this point of view, Minjung Theology attempts to identify the paradigm of the minjung movement in Korean history with the biblical paradigm revealed as God's intervention in the history of the people--such as habiru, hebrew, am-ha aretz or oklos.⁵ According to Kim Yong-bock, there are two categories of Messianism: the one is expressed in terms of Japanese ultranationalism, neo-colonialism, Communism, economic-political totalitarianism, and modern technocracy,⁶ and the other, the Kingdom of God, and a new heaven and a new earth. The Japanese ultranationalism was the final goal of Japanese invasion during the colonial period. Neo-colonialism has been adopted as a new method of economic-political domination by the First World countries, and Communism has been an illusion given by the communists in the North Korea. Totalitarianism and modern technocracy have dominated the people in the name of national security and economic-social development. The minjung has been persuaded to follow such a political Messianism

by the ruling powers at home and overseas. Eventually, the minjung has experienced downfall by engaging in the justification of the absolute ideology of the ruling powers. In contrast with such a political Messianism, Messianic politics, which is revealed in the Holy Scripture and also anticipated by the minjung, has shown the image of the Kingdom of God, a new world of the minjung's liberation, and a premise of radical transformation of society through the minjung's engagement in history.⁷

The specific factor facing the Korean Theology is the issue of national unification of the North and South. The issue of unification is one of the main concerns of minjung's historical aspiration, and the only way to escape from continued subjugation. The dictatorship has committed various violations and justified the oppressive policies, taking full advantage of the theory of unification, which has been monopolized by a specific authority. The minjung has never been allowed to discuss the issues of unification, and has been forced to follow the policies of the government. Therefore, in Minjung Theology, it is very important how to deal with the issue of unification through the perspective of minjung's historical experience. By this theological quest, Minjung Theology should disclose a new vision for liberation from polarization, corruption and dehumanization. This is the relevant theological task: to strengthen the minjung voice in their creative struggle against a powerful evil.⁸ In this perspective, Minjung Theology is defined as a theology of praxis and a theology of mission.

For such theological tasks, Suh Nam-dong points out the thesis

from the poet Kim Chi-ha's theological vision:

Minjung Theology is the unification of Tonghak and Christianity, the unification of the renewal of the human spirit and the revolutionary change for justice in the social structure, the unification of personal prayer and the corporate mass, the coincidence of heaven and earth, the coincidence of worldly food (bread) and heavenly food (freedom)...⁹

This theory of unification shows basically the new world of the minjung. The task of Minjung Theology is to define the process in which the minjung themselves seek their own liberation and salvation through establishing their own identity as the subjects of history.

Historically the minjung has exerted their potential power to save the nation and themselves, whenever the nation has been dominated by evil powers in domestic life and from overseas. Based on this understanding of the minjung, as Yoo Tong-sik says, the theological task is "to create an environment which will guarantee the rights of people, which in turn, will further the cause of freedom, toward the future".¹⁰

THE BIBLICAL APPROACH OF MINJUNG THEOLOGY

Minjung Theology has directed its efforts to establish references to the people in the historical context of the events recorded in the Holy Scripture, and to synthesize these references with the Korean people's historical consciousness. Thus Minjung Theology tries to compare the main characteristics of the Biblical events with the paradigms of the Korean historical events, intending ultimately to relate the new events of God's revelation as disclosed through the

people's history to the history of salvation.¹¹

For instance, Suh In-suk has defined the basic thesis of the Old Testament as "the cry of God--The Liberation of the Poor".¹² According to his interpretation, the Torah proclaimed the rights of the poor, the Prophets (Nevi'im) spoke of the suffering of the poor, and the Writings (Kethubim) expressed the hope and the joy of the poor. Basically his interpretation is focused upon the conception revealed in the Holy Covenant (Exodus 20:22-23:33) as the original reference for the paradigm of human rights.¹³ For him, the object of God's revelation and of God's covenant must be the poor.

Suh Nam-dong identifies the poor with the Hebrews in the Old Testament. He argues that the basic references to Minjung Theology are the events of the Exodus and the process of mobilizing the new community, Israel. He attempts to establish the theory that explains how these paradigms have been re-actualized and reincarnated in the Korean people's history.¹⁴ His point is to define the nature of the people's history as the events that define their consciousness and express their aspirations.¹⁵

In Minjung Theology the event of the salvation of the people is regarded as the re-actualization of the event of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. The total witness is emerging from these two historical events, because God reveals Himself through the historical events in the life of Jesus which he is sharing with the people rather than through some mysterious religious experiences.¹⁶ In other words, the Exodus, as a political event, was re-actualized, as the paradigm of God's intervention, according to the experience of the people,

whenever the people understood God's self-revelation, and practiced it in their lives.

In connection with this view, Suh Nam-dong interprets that Jesus revealed himself, not as the Messiah, but as a figure of the people. Furthermore, his resurrection can be realized in the reality of history in the midst of the people's resistance, in the same way, as according to the Gospel of Luke, Jesus appeared again in Galilee after his resurrection. Both the Q source and the Gospel of Mark provide evidence of this kind. Especially in the Gospel of Mark, the central thesis seems to focus on the total transformation of the people.

Ahn Byung-mu interprets the concept of ochlos, in the Gospel of Mark, to mean the people, or the minjung.¹⁷ His concern is to define the reality of the people and their relationship to Jesus primarily through the approach of redaction criticism. He says that there are thirty-six occurrences of the word ochlos in the Gospel of Mark, all without describing who is referred to, strongly suggesting that the author of the Gospel intentionally indicates contextual meaning in the use of that word, instead of the more popular term laos.¹⁸ His interpretation is based on the theory which takes the central thesis from the use of that word in the Gospel of Mark. In contrast to Paul's epistles, he pays attention to the following points:

- 1) this Gospel was written when the Jewish War had already started, or when Jerusalem was already occupied in 70 A.D., and the Jews were expelled from the land of Judea;
- 2) Unlike Paul, Mark's concern seems to present the historical Jesus prior to the resurrection;

3) Mark seems to concentrate, not on an abstract Christology, but on the reality of the people and of Jesus based on historical events.¹⁹ Ahn Byung-mu is convinced that the ochlos should be distinguished from the laos and the people of God. The ochlos is not the people defined in a religious sense or in a special class, but is the people who belong to a category which has been marginalized and abandoned in that society. Ahn's specific view of the term ochlos is that the ochlos is not consolidated into a conception, but is defined in a relational way by socio-economic references. They were not an organized power group, but simply were feared by the unjust power, and distinguished from the Zealots. According to the Gospel of Mark, Jesus preached and proclaimed that the Kingdom of God was already at hand among the ochlos, who assembled around Jesus, anticipating the new world. In other words, the ochlos was a group of those who expected a definite hope through waiting for the arrival of the Kingdom of God.

In the same way, Suh Nam-dong interprets the status of the Hebrews as the original concept of habiru or hapiru. He states that the habiru means the lower class people who were isolated or abandoned by the ruling power. He pays attention to the fact that habiru was not a name of an organization such as a type of nation and tribe or cultural community, but called individuals who shared occasional experiences of suffering with each other.²⁰ The original community of Israel was formed by the combination of the self-consciousness of habiru with the aspirations of the Hebrew who experienced the Exodus.²¹ They formed one community according to the covenant which

regulated the land owning system, and other essential matters for the peaceful community. Suh Nam-dong argues that the two nuclear events of the Old Testament, the Exodus and the formation of the original Israel community, indicating the ideology of the political, social, and economic system which protects the people from all kinds of bondage.

Scholars of Minjung Theology readily can be recognized by their Biblical hermeneutics. They define the events revealed in the Bible as paradigms of God's intervention. They analyse the paradigmatic events as socio-economic relationships. Their concern is to disclose how God's intervention is re-actualized in human history, as the events of the people.

Scholars of Minjung Theology also focus their studies on the character, the biography and the response of the people. They center their attention on historical reality in a way that allows them to apply the people's experience to the interpretation of the Biblical events. In other words, the central thesis of the Bible, for them, is how the people find God's revelation from this history, and how they respond to God and history in order to realize true salvation. For instance, they take the original community of Israel during the period of Judges as a paradigm of the Kingdom of God. In Minjung Theology, the movement of the people who try to realize justice and peace against the oppressive system is regarded as another Exodus movement, and at the same time is seen as another effort to restore the original community of Israel in the world.

THE HISTORICAL APPROACH OF MINJUNG THEOLOGY

Minjung Theology is significant because of its approach to an analysis of history. Taking a socio-economic view, Minjung Theology has reconceived the core events of history as a paradigm of minjung movements. They replace the traditional historical view based on the transformation of the Kingship with an historical process of minjung's self-consciousness, thereby interpreting the social biography of the minjung.²²

In historical studies of this type, the following agenda requires consideration: 1) What is the identity of the minjung? 2) How is the energy of the minjung mobilized and channelled into the development of their social biography? 3) What does the minjung movement mean regarding historical development? 4) What is the ongoing profile of minjung movement? 5) What are the religious implications?

As can be seen from the history of minjung movements in Korea as analysed in previous chapters, the minjung movements promote minjung's position to an increasingly prominent role in Korean history.²³ The characteristics of the minjung's identity in each historical period as well as the expression of minjung movements has varied depending on the character of the period. For instance, the minjung has characteristically been changed from slaves, farming slaves, peasants, craftsmen and laborers to others who associated with the former, along with the stage of the social transformation. Nonetheless, the specific point is that the goal has not been changed throughout Korean history. This is the reason why the pattern of ruling power has been unchanged and also the minjung has been destined never to liberate themselves

from historical oppression.²⁴ Thus the context of the people can be defined by the conception and motivation of han, which seems generally just indignation,²⁵ an accumulated feeling of repression, both individually and collectively. Suh Nam-dong interprets the feeling of han as the essence of the social biography of the oppressed people of Korea. A dynamic element of han, a feeling with a tenacity of purpose for life, becomes the energy for revolution or rebellion, in order to be liberated from the han, which has been aroused by a hopeless fate, experienced through unjust treatment, social discrimination and frustration or indignation. Here the self-transcendence of the minjung means social, political and historical transcendence.²⁶

Kim Yong-bock explains: "the minjung is the permanent reality of history, while Kingdoms, dynasties and states rise and fall.... The minjung transcends the power structures which attempt to confine them through the unfolding of their stories. Power has its basis in the minjung. But power as it expresses itself in political powers does not belong to the minjung. These powers seek to maintain themselves; and they rule the minjung."²⁷ Kim develops his thesis in which he characterizes the whole history of Korea as a controversy between "Messianic politics" and "political Messianism". He makes a clear distinction between a desirable new world based on the people's political concern and a hypocritical political ideology or system practices by the ruling authority for its political interest. In the other perspective, Suh Nam-dong explains the people's movement based on their self-consciousness as historical resurrection of the people.²⁸ He points out that awareness of the moral contradictions within the

ruling class, a growing social consciousness and self-criticism of the oppressed people bring about historical development. It seems appropriate that the development of history should be interpreted in terms of the minjung's striving for self-realization. When the minjung is viewed as the subject of history, the historicity of events is best understood in respect of the minjung's participation in history. In this way, we can make an assumption that the minjung's aspirations achieved a historical momentum when the nation encountered crisis.²⁹ Likewise, Kim Byung-suh points out the significance of the influence of the early churches, observes the process of change and notes the results, thereby through a sociological perspective interpreting the relationship between the social transformation and its impact on church growth. He calls attention to two important traditions: one is the tradition of the people's motive for emancipation formed during the period from 1890 to 1919, as reflected in the radical social transformation; the other is the new vision in the national ethos, with its ideas of human dignity based on the ideology of freedom, which evolved during the period of the March First Independence Movement.³⁰ Kim notes that the Korean churches were founded on these traditions in the beginning, but lost them and then began to associate with the negative aspects of modernization, so that eventually the churches came to be enmeshed in bureaucratic regulations.

The important point in this historical approach of Minjung Theology is to clarify the process and the motives of the minjung movement as the evolution of the people's social biography. The view of history presented to us by minjung Theology is that the minjung has gradually developed a momentum by which to liberate themselves from the position

of being mere historical objects and to become authentic historical subjects. In this process of history the minjung movements were motivated primarily by a recognition of their han caused by socio-political corruption and inhumane exploitation.³¹ The continuity of the minjung movement has created the social biography of the people which related to their deep-rooted personal and communal experiences, primarily either in literary forms or in a traditional sequence of events.³² Besides, religious Messianic expectation provided for the people a new vitality and hope to fulfil their needs.³³ Therefore the shape of the movement may be seen either in the various rebellions or in many ordinary ways of the people's life.³⁴ The minjung movement provided a ground for nationalism and the national ethos.³⁵ Even though such movements have usually become combattants in a struggle against the ruling class, at the same time the minjung has never rejected the authority of the kingship.³⁶ The other motive of minjung movement is considered from the nature of the leaders of the minjung movement, who come from the social stratum of suffering discrimination.³⁷

Consequently, the historical approach of Minjung Theology seeks to define the minjung's historical process of recognizing and promoting their historical consciousness.

THE CULTURAL APPROACH OF MINJUNG THEOLOGY

The conception of culture becomes an agenda to be reinterpreted from the perspectives of theology and history. Kim Yong-bock attempts to disclose the reality of culture through the cultural biography which has been created and shaped through the historical experiences

of the people.³⁸ Prior to analysing the substance of culture, he defines the relevant issues of cultural problems: "cultural repression, cultural confusion, demolition of cultural identity, cultural dislocation or cultural conflict".³⁹

Minjung Theology proposes a critical review of the cultural process which reflects either an internal or external oppressive cultural system. In the Korean context there are characteristics of the cultural aspirations of the people, on account of the substance of the Korean culture which has the potential to liberate from the cultural oppression, to transform society, and to fulfil the people's needs. Thus culture itself becomes an object of theological study for defining the tasks of the culture in mission. In Minjung Theology, the cultural dimensions of the life of the people is understood not only as the motive of liberating culture, but also the total identity of culture for salvation. While Minjung Theology agrees with H.R. Niebuhr's view of Christ transforming culture,⁴⁰ Minjung Theology has developed a new idea to create a dynamic meaning of culture in terms of power to mobilize a community through self-transformation.⁴¹ The minjung has discovered for themselves the value of their culture! In Minjung Theology it is said that a dynamic cultural biography is created not by the position of Christian culture or the views of established theology, but by the rediscovery of the cultural values of the people.⁴² This approach deals with the cultural issue of the minjung as an effort to overcome the interpretation of co-existential relationships between religion and culture.⁴³ Furthermore this trend is an effort to find a horizontal and vertical foundation for a new cultural community.⁴⁴

According to analyses of the minjung's culture, transcendence has been the central concept and factor in the culture of the minjung in a dynamic role to overcome the fatal substance of han which has existed throughout their life. This is not a movement into some metaphysical world, but one which is deeply rooted in the historical experience of the people. Therefore the substance of culture basically comes from the people's life and the people's religious expressions as well as from socio-political experiences.⁴⁵ When religions were delivered to the people in Korea, they were reincarnated among the people according to the social conditions and their aspirations. In this way religions were filtered out and reinterpreted by the people's anticipation, as a substance of culture in the thought of Paul Tillich.

In this view, culture is a synthesized reality which is formed through the religious dimensions, such as Messianic politics.⁴⁶ When the people are interpreted as the permanent reality of history, the culture of the people is defined in political and religious terms, because the culture of the people was created and promoted primarily through political suffering and struggle, contributing to the development of Messianic politics.

From this perspective of the culture of the people, Minjung Theology seeks to create a "Messianic style of life".⁴⁷ Kim Yong-bock takes the Great Revival Movement in 1907 and the March First Independence Movement in 1919 as evidences of the creation of liberating and celebrative culture.⁴⁸ He brings up the concepts of the language of the minjung from these events, in order to define the minjung's lifestyle as

their cultural value.⁴⁹

The cultural approach of Minjung Theology in a condensed form is another effort to secure a paradigm of the minjung's social biography interpreting the language of the minjung. This approach can be compared with the method of the "Religionswissenschaft",⁵⁰ because of its religious understanding of cultural motive. It does not attempt to impose any specific Christian view of culture as distinguished from the traditional culture, nor does it make any effort to unite the two different cultures. Rather it is a contextual theological view, which forms a theory through understanding and clarifying the vitality of the minjung and the elements of their culture.

THE THEOLOGICAL APPROACH OF MINJUNG THEOLOGY

Minjung Theology is not a product of scholarly work, but a theological response to the historical dimension of the people. It starts primarily from an understanding of the substance of the minjung, their historical destiny and their life and culture. Minjung Theology is clearly distinguished in terms of its inductive and practical perspective.⁵¹ Minjung Theology deals with practical, historical experience as an authentic mediation of God's revelation, while the traditional theology introduced in Korea takes its theological mediation from a deductive inquiry into God's transcending existence based on the canonical interpretation of the Holy Scripture and the interpretation of the church dogmatics.⁵² Minjung Theology abandons the traditional theoretical speculative method and the abstract conception of theology, because traditional theology has tended to justify or

to become the ideology of the ruling power and to support or to bless the theory of domination, as a "herrschende Theologie".⁵³ Therefore, according to traditional theology in the Korean churches, dogmatics used to be the theory and the law, not only to justify church authority, but also to provide the theoretical foundation for the established structure and ideology. In terms of traditional theological perspective, Minjung Theology cannot be called a theology, but rather a kind of counter-theology,⁵⁴ or a kind of Christian movement. Its main position is to criticize the system of oppression, the ideology of domination, and the oppressive culture through the visions and experiences of the people. In this sense, Minjung Theology shares some notions of theology with Liberation Theology described by Gustavo Gutierrez as "a theological reflection born of the experience of shared efforts to abolish the current unjust situation and to build a different society, freer and more human".⁵⁵ Nonetheless, Minjung Theology does not remain in this "social awareness and the desire to act",⁵⁶ but focusses on the the minjung and the total subjective experiences of the minjung. Marxism, socialism, and Utopianism represent Gutierrez's chief weapons of implementation,⁵⁷ while in Minjung Theology, the historical experiences of han and the style of life to resolve this han, instead of any ideological views, are championed as the vehicle for the realization of the Messianic Kingdom.⁵⁸ In other words, Minjung Theology is a confession of and a witness to God's revelation and historical intervention through the reinterpretation of the minjung movement in Korean history.

As a significant point of Minjung Theology, Suh Nam-dong suggests

"the unification of the renewal of the human spirit and the revolutionary change for justice in the social structure".⁵⁹ He deals with three different materials: a paradigm of the minjung movement as an external expression; the tales of han as internal expressions; and the new formulation of minjung's story for future as a living vision. It is possible to compare this view with the fundamental unity described by J.M. Bonino, quoting Gutierrez' assumption: "The couples liberation/salvation, love of the neighbor/Christology, politics/eschatology, humanity/Church, and human solidarity/sacraments, cover the classical loci of theology indissolubly relating them to the search for socio-political liberation and the building of a new humanity".⁶⁰

As has been observed earlier, Kim Yong-Bock adopts Messianic politics as the main topic of Minjung Theology. From his point of view, the content of the Messianic Kingdom might come through the realization of "justice, koinonia and shalom". His orientation is that Messianic politics have been revealed through the minjung's movement. He says that this movement creates the motivation, scope and direction for the minjung to open their own destiny.⁶¹

In Minjung Theology the framework for theological interpretation is based not only on the personal existence of human beings, but also on the social conditions of human existence which determines humanity. In this sense, Minjung Theology shares a common emphasis with other expressions of Asian theological thinking.⁶² The tasks for theology emerge from within the people themselves and the theological framework has been extended to encompass the history of the people in the process of forming a new liberated humanity. In other words,

the people themselves provide the theological framework, and become a subject of theological studies.

From the perspective of minjung history, the Messianic Kingdom is understood in the anticipation of a definite goal in human history. The conception or vision of the Messianic Kingdom as well as the Kingdom of God contains not only transcendental characteristics but also practical attributes, looking forward to a new world, and a new society. The doctrine of the Incarnation and the Resurrection are interpreted as the process of realization or re-actualization of the Messianic revelation in history, in order to create or to transform history. The resurrection happened again in the midst of the events of the minjung for liberation. The resurrection of the minjung is a concrete vision of history in which "the people realize their corporate subjectivity in participating in the Messianic Kingdom".⁶³ Through the resurrection of Jesus, the Messiah and the minjung become partners in actualizing the justice of God over the evil power in history.

The experiences of suffering and the confession lead the minjung to recognize the oppressive power and to mobilize them for solidarity and resistance. The minjung movement seems the practice of redemption and a realization of the crucifixion in history. The minjung discover for themselves the way to reveal the truth in history and determine for themselves the way to participate in God's redemption. Thus Minjung Theology does not aim to interpret the Western Christian heritage, but to interpret the historical reality of God's redemption in the Korean context. Minjung Theology does not secure "the ideology of Establishment",⁶⁴ but attempts to formulate a contextual theology

in Korea for the fulfilment of the people's aspirations and participation in the minjung movement.

THE THEORY AND PERSPECTIVE OF MINJUNG THEOLOGY

It is appropriate to divide into three phases the significant theological attempts which have been made in Korea: 1) the theology introduced by the missionaries, 2) an attempt for an indigenous theology, 3) new theological approaches which shared some theological ideas with Liberation Theology, Political Theology and Black Theology,

Minjung Theology as a theological attempt is based on the historical and eschatological view of reality. This view is an attempt of a new conceptualization from historical paradigms of the minjung movement in Korea. As has been observed, the people have been the motivating force of historical development, the source for the mobilization of national energy, and the dynamic for a new vision of religions. On the one hand, in order to reveal the minjung's position as subjects in history, Minjung Theology practices a socio-economic analysis of history. Through this perspective Minjung Theology defines the context of the minjung and their reactions sociologically, phenomenologically, economically, and culturally. Minjung Theology as a political hermeneutics of the Gospel seeks a political interpretation of Korean Christian experience, and a political understanding of the people's experience. Minjung Theology is essentially based on a framework of political theology which takes into consideration the socio-economic and political history of Korea and the socio-political biography of the Christians in Korea. In other words,

Minjung Theology is an accumulation and articulation of theological reflections on the political experiences of Christian students, laborers, the press, the professors, farmers, writers and intellectuals as well as theologians in Korea in the 1970s.⁶⁵ It is a creative study of those people who rediscovered that the minjung's experience has had a connection with religious anticipation throughout Korean history.

On the other hand, Minjung Theology adopted the method of the comparative study of religion. The historical experience of the oppressed Korean people was transformed into the religious language of the minjung. In the light of this interpretation, as major examples can be seen: the coming of Maitreya in Buddhism, the Messianic expectation in shamanism and other new religions, the second apocalypse in Tonghak, the new heaven and earth of Christianity, and the Utopian dream in the people's literature. The basic and traditional religious foundation of the people can be understood from the point of view of their active anticipation of salvation. Minjung Theology has to confront "religious Messianism" as well as "political Messianism",⁶⁶ because such Messianism produced a false ideology to weaken the people by encouraging them to support only the existing political and social system. Furthermore, such an ideology actually helps the people to fall into religious fundamentalism and political acquiescence.

In Minjung Theology, a theological reflection is starting from the contextual point of the minjung's historical contemplation. It is not bound into a theoretical dogmatics, which is sometimes separated from the historical context. Therefore theological reflection in Minjung Theology not only admits Christian ideas, but also includes

the other religious expressions of the minjung as well as historical social thought. This cannot be interpreted in accordance with the ideology of the ruling class as the framework of theological thoughts. From this perspective, Minjung Theology formulated a new point of reference, namely God's historical sovereignty for the realization of the original intent of creation in history. God reveals Himself as the protagonist with and among the minjung to unify the minjung's historical aspirations and God's ultimate concern. The existence of God can be seen within the minjung's movement, mobilization, and ideology for the realization of their self-reliance.

Minjung Theology finally attempts to define the identity of Christianity in the Korean historical context, in connection with the historical aspirations of the minjung. Minjung Theology unifies the separated streams in the social, ecclesiastical and national history. Briefly, Minjung Theology is a new theological challenge to formulate a theory for the practical purpose of fulfilling the Korean minjung's Messianic expectations, in which religious and socio-economic visions are unified.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

It may fairly be said that Korean history has been a progressive expansion of the social base of the ruling power and simultaneously a struggle for life of the minjung. Korean history, religious experience, literature, and social rituals, have been altered significantly by the historical response of the minjung, who have continuously tried to create their own corporate spirit. However, the minjung's motivation in history has been ignored in the field of Korean history and cultural sciences.¹ In fact, the minjung's culture, language and anticipations have been intentionally distorted in most historical reviews along with an over-emphasis on the ruling classes. For instance, the ruler-colonialist historians have ignored the role of the minjung in history and have taught a distorted view of history. Also the traditional theologians have neglected to seek the religious-historical expectation of the minjung; instead they have sought the Western theological theories to justify the transplanted church.²

As a Korean Theology, Minjung Theology is required to spell out with clarity the origins of the social biography of the minjung and how the identity of the minjung has been changed throughout Korean history. The reason why the minjung should be the focus in a Korean Theology is that the minjung has been the one continuous reality of history, generating new ways of mobilizing Korean energies in accordance with their self-consciousness and historical aspirations. The major characteristics of the minjung, as revealed in the Korean context, can be summarized as follows.

First, the minjung can be interpreted as the masses of a historical reality, but not as a specific unchanging group. Its formation is self-determined as a reflection of political, social, cultural and economic environmental conditions. In other words, the individual has been able to recognize his own existential value and historical motives not only from personal experiences, but also from communal experiences and the corporate spirit.

Second, the minjung has been considered as a potential power in Korean history. They found their active role in history through their self-recognition of socio-political corruption and economic inequality. Dehumanization, poverty, and exploitation caused them to fight against all kinds of establishment. They have also maintained a strong opposition to foreign domination. The significant point of their struggle is that the minjung developed their self reliance on national independence and their lives. In this way, they are able to understand how to practice the truth and how to respond to the religious teachings.

Third, the minjung has anticipated a hope of future liberation and a new world. There is no preference for the status quo but a looking forward to future possibilities. By their reinterpretation of culture, politics and religion, they have participated actively in the making of history. For instance, the Tonghak movement and the Great Revival of Christianity in 1907 under Japanese rule are exemplary of the minjung's active participation in history.

Fourth, the minjung have established their own leadership which has been fully identified with the minjung. Generally, leaders of

the minjung have been respected both as religious and as political figures. The significance of this leadership is its authority which has been rooted in the life and the aspirations of the minjung. Therefore the minjung's leadership was not simply a manifestation of hero-worship, rather it was a commitment to the minjung's expectations.

Fifth, the minjung has transmitted a historical experience from generation to generation individually and communally. The characteristics of the minjung have been inherited throughout the minjung movement, and reactualized in various cultural forms. This can be expressed in terms of han, a complex tangible reality. Han has been the source of grievances and simultaneously the source of energy for the minjung's historical resurrection.

With respect to the minjung movement, the following questions may be raised from the viewpoint of historical development: What does development mean in the Korean context? Is the minjung movement a genuine hope of history and an affirmation of the future? How can the religious mission of Christianity, and other religions, associate with the minjung's expectation? Since Minjung Theology makes efforts to resolve various polarities and the han of minjung, is it merely a fashionable theology that confronts only immediate issues? Is it merely a regionally and temporarily limited theology?

To respond to such questions, one must consider the interpretation of paradigms of the minjung movement and of biblical events. Typical minjung movements, such as Tonghak in the late Yi dynasty, the March First Independence Movement under Japanese Rule, and the Modern Democratization Movement in the 1970s, started from similar visions, were

driven by similar motivations, and aimed at similar goals. (Diagram II) The basic position begins with the minjung's aspirations, such as an improvement in the human condition, by liberation from poverty, exploitation, suppression, foreign invasion, political intervention--all recurring problems. The minjung's struggle is a search for the ultimate solution to their han, through various means and towards the different manifestations of their socio-political goals. (Diagram III). In accordance with their han, individuals share personal experiences with others so that they can mobilize themselves as a historical force. The most significant factor in the minjung's struggle is a combination of complex issues which consequently stimulates the minjung to resist the ruling powers. (Diagram I and Diagram IV). One sees that the minjung was formerly isolated from the main stream of history. However, once the minjung finally cut through the cover of oppression, it appears that they may save history itself by the fulfillment of their historical aspirations. (Diagram V).

The minjung in Korea has been formed and changed in the process of history, but has maintained the potential for affecting Korean history through their own style of life. Based on this fact, a Korean Theology and its tasks should be investigated from the perspective of the minjung. In other words, the minjung should be the central point of consideration, and therefore the minjung should be the focus of historical reality in the same way as God's self-revelation in Holy Scripture. Furthermore, not only being human must be interpreted from a Christian point of view, but also the Christian must be reinterpreted from the point of view of being human, that is, of being part

of the minjung. Accordingly, traditional and contemporary theological views need revision.

Minjung Theology is a living theology developed in the minjung movement. It has evolved out of the minjung's social biography. Moreover, the minjung's biography has had an effect on the evolution of Minjung Theology. The normative paradigm of the minjung movement provides a definite ground for understanding the paradigm of God's intervention in history, revealed not only in the Holy Scripture but also in the contemporary secular world. Thus minjung Theology cannot be defined in terms of traditional theology, but it can be defined in terms of the minjung's language and lifestyle. Minjung Theology attempts to establish evidence that biblical events have been, and are being, recreated in the minjung movements. According to Kim Yong-bock "the general resurrection of the people' should be understood in terms of the Messianic subjectivity of the people. Consequently, it is important not just to clarify what Minjung Theology is, but to consider what should happen for the minjung and what their theology could contribute towards the realization of their historical aspirations. Therefore, Minjung Theology shows a method of praxis that unifies and transforms what exists.

Diagram I: Minjung and Ruling Power

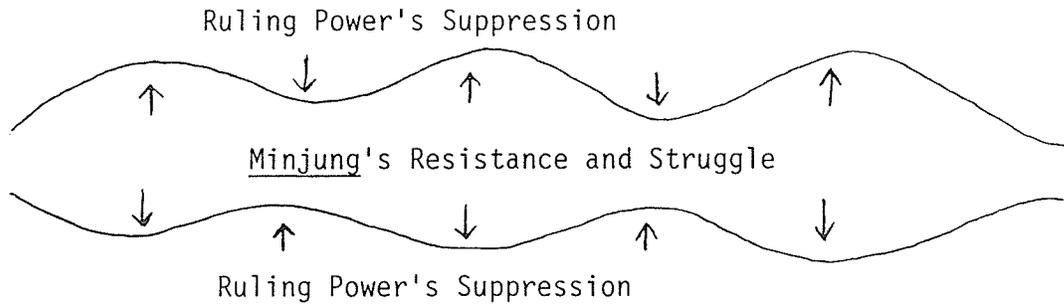
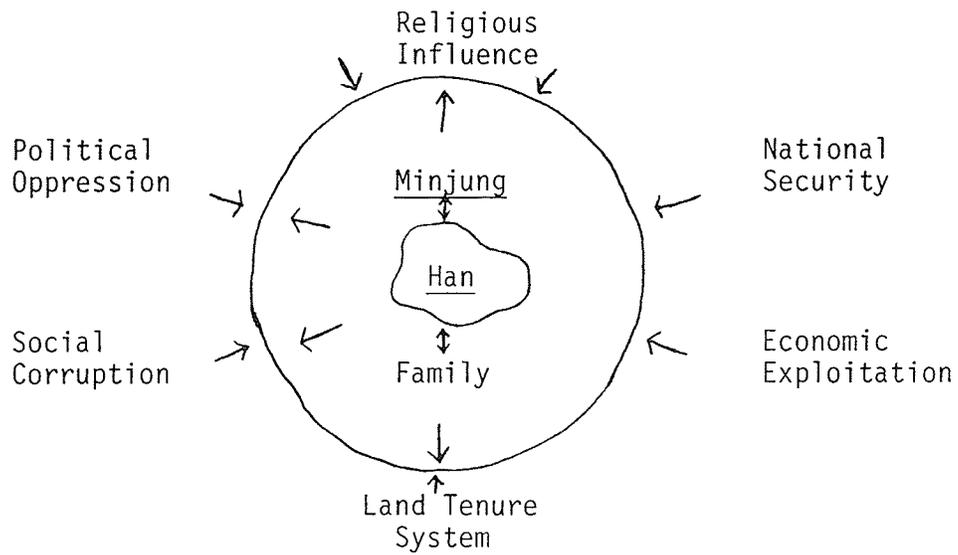
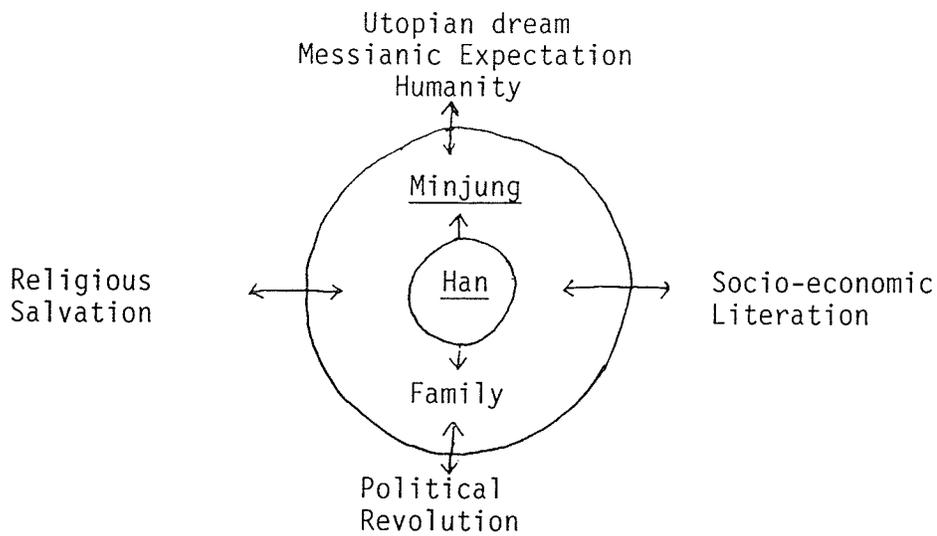


Diagram II: The Motive of Minjung's Movement



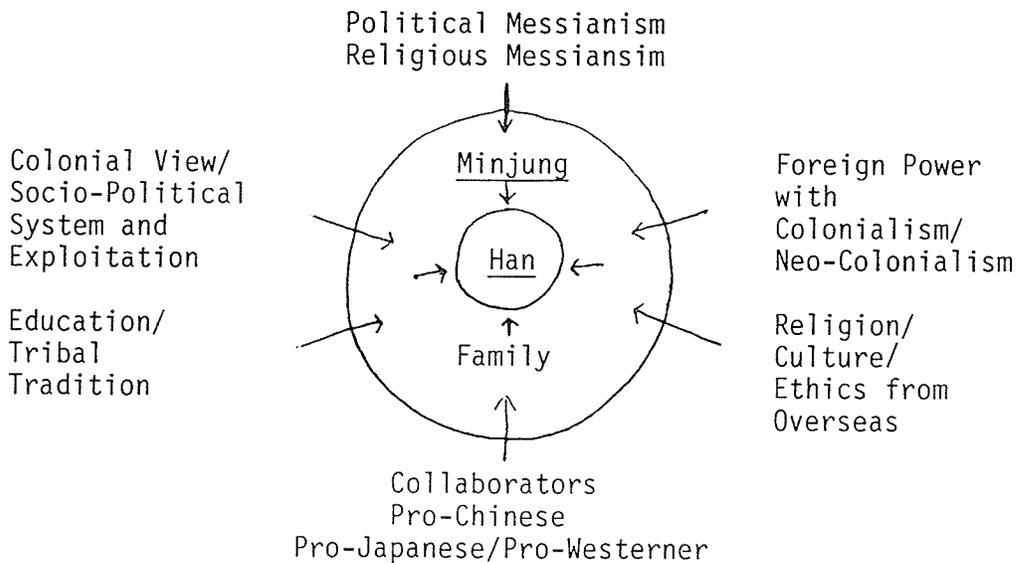
[Han: minjung's suffering and tragedy]

Diagram III: Minjung's Historical Aspirations



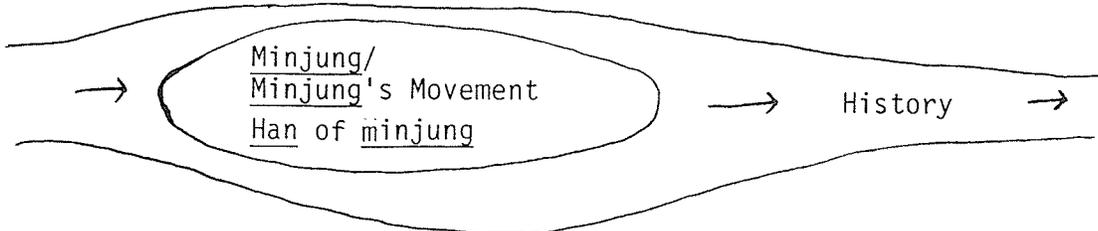
[Han: minjung's self-determination]

Diagram IV: The Types of Oppression



[Han: minjung's self-consciousness]

Diagram V: Minjung, as the subjects of History



NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹In 1978, the Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia has dealt with the issues of the minjung and Korean Theology, and published the volume, entitled "Minjung Theology".

²This phrase has been widely used by the Korean historians and theologians as an expression representing the Korean people's historical experience.

³As a Korean word, minjung is a combination of two Chinese characters min and jung. Minjung means 'mass' or 'the mass of the people', expressing political meaning and sociological sense. Minjung contains both an individual and a communal character. Recently some scholars have suggested that the minjung can be defined by their self-determination in the political struggle. With respect to this definition, the minjung means the common people, who determine self-consciousness by themselves, distinguished from the civilian or mass. See Lee Man-youl, "The minjung in Korean history", The Understanding of Korean Modern History (Seoul: Literature and Intellectuals, 1981), pp. 315-23, and Suh Kwang-sun, "A Biographical Sketch of "Asian Theological Consultation", in Minjung Theology, ed. The Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1983, pp. 15-16. cf. Irving L. Horowitz, ed. Masses in Latin America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) pp. 5-9.

⁴Jürgen Moltmann, The Crucified God, trans. by R.A. Wilson and John Bowden (London: SCM, 1974), p. 7.

⁵This phrase expresses the relationship between church and state having existed since 1960s.

⁶Suh Kwang-sun, Minjung Theology, p. 36.

⁷Juan L. Segundo, S.J., The Community Called Church, trans. by John Drury (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1973) Chapters IV and V.

⁸James H. Cone, "Reflections from the Perspective of U.S. Blacks: Black Theology and Third World Theology", in Irruption of the Third World, eds. by V. Fabella, M.M. and S. Torres (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983), pp. 235-45.

⁹Oh Jae-shik and John England, eds. Theology in Action: A Workshop Report (Singapore: EACC, 1972).

¹⁰Suh Kwang-sun, Minjung Theology, p. 17.

¹¹See Suh Nam-dong, "Historical References for a Theology of Minjung", in Minjung Theology, p. 157.

¹²According to Suh Nam-dong's definition, han means a deep inner feeling which rises out of the unjust experiences of the people. He explains that han is a suppressed, amassed and condensed experience of oppression caused by mischief or misfortune, so that it forms a kind of "lump" in one's spirit. Therefore, han is a deep-rooted consciousness both from historical and personal private experiences. See Suh Nam-dong, "Towards a Theology of Han", in Minjung Theology, pp. 55-69.

¹³Han Wan-sang, Minjung and Society (Seoul: Chongro Books, 1980), pp. 26-7.

¹⁴Hyun Young-hak, Minjung, The Suffering Servant and Hope, unpublished paper, (New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1982), p. 2.

¹⁵This distinction is very important, because Korea was confronted by the Communists in the North. Kim Yong-bock, "Messiah and Minjung", in Minjung Theology, p. 184.

¹⁶Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, p. 184.

¹⁷See Lee Ki-Baik, A New History of Korea, trans. by E.W. Wagner, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), x-xi.

¹⁸Bonganjaló Goba, "Emerging Theological Perspectives in South Africa", in Irruption of the Third World, pp. 24-29. G. Gutierrez, "Reflections from a Latin American Perspective", pp. 222-34.

¹⁹Suh Kwang-sun, Minjung Theology, p. 17.

²⁰Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 157.

²¹The purpose and perspective of religious study in Minjung Theology should be distinguished in many ways from those of the comparative study of religion.

²²Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, p. 192.

²³Hong Kil-dong is the name of a protagonist in the novel of Ho Kyun in Korea. See Chapter II, Notes No. 93, 95.

²⁴Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, pp. 192-3.

²⁵Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, pp. 158-9.

²⁶Kim Chi-ha, one of the best known poets in Korea, was born in the South Cholla Province in 1940, and is a graduate of the Seoul National University. Since 1970 he had been imprisoned many times for his critical writings about government and society. After almost

six years of solitary confinement, he was released in 1980. He is the author of The Gold Crowned Jesus (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1978).

²⁷Hyun Young-hak, "Theological Analysis of the Korean Mask-dance", in Minjung and Korean Theology, ed. by the Committee of Theological Study (Seoul: KNCC, 1982), pp. 366-7.

CHAPTER II

¹Han Woo-keun, The History of Korea, trans. by Lee Kyung-shik (Seoul: The Eulyoo Publishing Co., 1970) pp. 117-18. Sohn, Kim and Hong, The History of Korea (Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1970), pp. 76-7.

²Suh Nam-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology (Seoul: Hankil-sa, 1983), pp. 75-6.

³Han, 1970, pp. 118-9.

⁴This point must be the most important one for an understanding of a dependency on foreign countries.

⁵Sohn, 1970, p. 78.

⁶Sohn, 1970, p. 81.

⁷Sohn, 1970, pp. 82-4.

⁸Han, 1970, p. 128.

⁹Han, 1970, pp. 125-6.

¹⁰Han, 1970, p. 129.

¹¹Han, 1970, pp. 128-9.

¹²Sohn, 1970, p. 90. The so-called Stipend Land Law occupied a central position in the land system. This law evolved from the yokbunjon system of 940, which had allocated grants of land as rewards for merit following the reunification.

¹³Sohn, 1970, p. 91.

¹⁴Han, 1970, p. 134. This had been one of the privileges given to the aristocrats since the early history.

¹⁵Sohn, 1970, p. 91.

¹⁶Han, 1970, p. 135.

¹⁷Han, 1970, p. 135.

¹⁸Han, 1970, p. 135.

¹⁹Sohn, 1970, p. 96.

²⁰Williams E. Henthorn, A History of Korea (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 96.

²¹Han, 1970, p. 145.

²²Han, 1970, p. 146.

²³Han, 1970, p. 146.

²⁴Han, 1970, p. 146. However, Buddhism in Koryo was clarified as the character of a protector of national security, or of the royal authority.

²⁵The general characteristics of the established religions have been defined along with this point of view. See Lee Ki-baik, 1984, pp. 132-4.

²⁶Han, 1970, p. 160. Minjung theologians generally accept this peasants' uprising as the first type of the minjung movement. Since the military coup, these uprisings happened elsewhere.

²⁷Han, 1970, p. 160.

²⁸Sohn, 1970, p. 108.

²⁹Sohn, 1970, p. 108.

³⁰The power of the aristocrats is one of the characteristics

of the political system of Koryo. See Lee Ki-baik, 1984, pp. 121-2.

³¹Sohn, 1970, p. 104.

³²Sohn, 1970, p. 104-5.

³³Sohn, 1970, p. 108.

³⁴Han, 1970, pp. 158-9.

³⁵Sohn, 1970, p. 108.

³⁶Han, 1970, p. 163.

³⁷Han, 1970, p. 163.

³⁸Suh Nam-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology, p. 68. Lee Ki-baik, 1984, pp. 143-4.

³⁹Sohn, 1970, p. 110.

⁴⁰Sohn, 1970, p. 115. This special rebellion should be interpreted in the perspective of which group of the people becomes really a defense power of nation. See Suh Nam-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology, p. 67.

⁴¹Han, 1970, pp. 169-70.

⁴²Han, 1970, p. 170.

⁴³Han, 1970, p. 171.

⁴⁴Han, 1970, pp. 174-5.

⁴⁵Han, 1970, pp. 175-6. Sohn, 1970, pp. 118-19.

⁴⁶Sohn, 1970, p. 123.

⁴⁷Han, 1970, p. 179.

⁴⁸Han, 1970, p. 181.

⁴⁹Han, 1970, p. 183.

⁵⁰Han, 1970, p. 190. This rebellion, the military revolution, should be reinterpreted in terms of the nature of the military power in Korea.

⁵¹Sohn, 1970, p. 130.

⁵²Han, 1970, pp. 241-3.

⁵³Sohn, 1970, p. 130. Henthorn, 1971, p. 139.

⁵⁴Han, 1970, pp. 204-5.

⁵⁵Sohn, 1970, pp. 140-1.

⁵⁶Sohn, 1970, pp. 148-9.

⁵⁷This point is important for understanding the background of the relationship between the ruling power and the people. See Sohn, 1970, p. 149.

⁵⁸Sohn, 1970, p. 150.

⁵⁹Sohn, 1970, p. 150.

⁶⁰Sohn, 1970, p. 150.

⁶¹Sohn, 1970, pp. 150-1.

⁶²Han, 1970, pp. 250-1.

⁶³Han, 1970, p. 251.

⁶⁴Han, 1970, p. 251.

⁶⁵Han, 1970, p. 254.

⁶⁶Sohn, 1970, p. 137.

⁶⁷Sohn, 1970, p. 137.

⁶⁸Sohn, 1970, p. 137.

⁶⁹Sohn, 1970, p. 138.

⁷⁰Sohn, 1970, p. 139.

⁷¹Henthorn, 1971, p. 151.

⁷²As the background of this persecution on Buddhism, the corruption of the Buddhist monks should be considered as the main point. See Sim Il-sup, "A Study on the Social Thoughts and the Process

of Christian Mission in the Late Yi-dynasty", Sinhak Sasang, Spring 1980, pp. 144-5.

⁷³Henthorn, 1971, p. 152.

⁷⁴As a principle of Confucian thought, this means "propriety", "ritual", "decorum", and so on.

⁷⁵Han, 1970, p. 286. A Book which explained the appropriate attitudes of the people in the social life. A kind of guideline.

⁷⁶These relationships should be reviewed in the perspective of political purpose to make a spiritual foundation to rule the people. Ultimately, by emphasizing the loyalty to the king, this philosophy contributed to the destruction of revolts.

⁷⁷In fact, the Korean alphabet was invented for the people's literatural communication, while the upper class used their high-literature of Chinese letters.

⁷⁸The official guideline book to teach the Korean alphabet, which means "to teach the 'poor' people with right sounds". See Han, 1970, pp. 292-4.

⁷⁹The factional split, four factions, became intensified during the post-invasion period. See Henthorn, 1971, pp. 190-5.

⁸⁰Han, 1970, p. 300.

⁸¹Han, 1970, p. 300.

⁸²Sohn, 1970, p. 159. During the eighteenth century, the number of yangan increased from 9.2% to 70.2% of the population, whereas the commoners decreased from 53.7% to 28.2%, and bondmen from 37.1% to 1.5%.

⁸³Sohn, 1970, pp. 161-71.

⁸⁴Han, 1970, p. 303. For instance, during Sukjong's reign (1674-1720), when factional strife reached a climax with the victory of the Noron (one of the factions).

⁸⁵Sohn, 1970, pp. 160-2.

⁸⁶Han, 1970, pp. 305-6.

⁸⁷Han, 1970, p. 306. The problem was that the assessment of tax was unfair, and local tribute was transmuted into a further tax on grain.

⁸⁸Han, 1970, p. 313.

⁸⁹Han, 1970, p. 314.

⁹⁰Han, 1970, p. 314.

⁹¹Han, 1970, pp. 314-5.

⁹²Sohn, 1970, p. 174.

⁹³Ho Kyun (1569-1618) was a pioneer who began to write novels in Korean alphabet. But his more important contribution was his radical social thoughts. For instance, he wrote: "the humanity of men and women is given from heaven, and the ethics of human life are thought by the saints. The people should not against the humanity from heaven, whereas they could abandon the instruction of saint". Hong Kil-dong Jon (the Tale of Hong Kil-dong) is his exclusive social novel. See Suh Nam-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology, p. 285.

⁹⁴He criticized yangban's faults in his novels, Yang-ban Jon and Ho-saeng Jon. See Sohn, 1970, p. 175.

⁹⁵Yim Hyung-taik, New Study of Hong Kil-dong Jon (Seoul: Changjak and Bipyung, 1979), Suh Nam-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology, pp. 284-8.

⁹⁶Han, 1970, p. 322.

⁹⁷Based on the empirical studies, the Sil-hak adage was "to clarify the truth, seek evidence", and the scholars convinced of the truth of the Confucian adage "agriculture is the basis of the government". See Henthorn, 1971, pp. 208-10. Lyu Cho-ha, "Development of Confucianism in Korea", in Culture and Political Rule, 1982, pp. 107-44.

⁹⁸Yu Hyong-won (1622-1673) and Yun Chung (1629-1714) were members of this new school, which practically developed the new vision to transform the hierarchical principle. See Han, 1970, p. 325. Yi Ik (1681-1763) openly advocated the abolition of class barriers and of slavery.

⁹⁹This radical view comes from the recognition of the value of the people in terms of the political relationship between the king and the people.

¹⁰⁰This point has been the most basic issue throughout Korean history. However, the vision of this political independence was more or less influenced by Catholicism.

¹⁰¹Chong Yag-yong (1762-1836) developed this perspective. See Han, 1970, pp. 329-30.

¹⁰²Henthorn, 1971, p. 212. Sohn, 1970, pp. 176-7.

¹⁰³Sohn, 1970, p. 178.

¹⁰⁴Chon Kwan-woo, "The Historical Structure of Korean Nationalism", in The Korean Nationalism, ed. Jin Duk-gue (Seoul: Hyundai Sasang-sa, 1976), pp. 78-9.

¹⁰⁵Sohn, 1970, pp. 184-5.

¹⁰⁶Sohn, 1970, p. 184.

¹⁰⁷Sohn, 1970, p. 185.

¹⁰⁸Sohn, 1970, p. 185.

¹⁰⁹Historically, the land tenure system has been changed along with the transformation of political authority to keep their power. See Song Kun-ho, Korean Contemporary History (Seoul: Korea Theological Study Institute, 1979).

¹¹⁰Han, 1970, pp. 345-6.

¹¹¹Han, 1970, pp. 321-2. G. Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1978), p. 43. It is very difficult to agree with Sim Ilusup's interpretation, as resistance against the traditional feudal system, because that event occurred simply in private homes, not as a communal demonstration. See Sim Il-sup, "The Evaluation of the Early Mission of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea", in The Christian Thought, November 1978, p. 24.

¹¹²This political view can be seen from both the government and the Converts. See. Min, The History of Korean Church, p. 82.

¹¹³See Hong Soon-chang, The Korean Nationalism in the Late Yi Dynasty (Seoul: Tamgu-dang, 1975), pp. 57-8.

¹¹⁴See Hwang Jun-ho, Chosun Chaikryak (Korean Strategy) (Seoul: Kunkuk University Press, 1977), p. 91. The Confucianists criticized Catholicism and mobilized to make a petition to the King. See Han, 1970, pp. 378-9.

¹¹⁵Han, 1970, pp. 364-70.

¹¹⁶Hwang Sa-young (1774-1801), the son-in-law of Chong Yak-jong. In order to inform of the miserable persecution which happened in 1801, he sent a secret letter to the Bishop of Peking, which was

written on the white silk of 62cm length and 38cm width. See Min, The History of Korean Church, p. 73.

¹¹⁷Choi Sok-2oo, "The Roman Catholic's Mission and the Transformation of Politics", The State Power and Christian Church, p. 111. Min, The History of Korean Church, p. 74. Yoo Hong-youl, The History of the Catholic Church in Korea (Seoul: The Catholic Press, 1972), p. 167.

¹¹⁸Min, The History of Korean Church, p. 74.

¹¹⁹Min, The History of Korean Church, pp. 114-5.

¹²⁰Sohn, 1970, p. 188.

¹²¹The Korean History, XVI, (Seoul: The Commission of the National History Compiling, 1975), pp. 392-4.

¹²²Han, 1970, p. 354.

¹²³Sohn, 1970, pp. 188-90.

¹²⁴Sohn, 1970, p. 190.

¹²⁵Han, 1970, pp. 344-5.

¹²⁶His original name is Lee Ha-ung (1820-1898), the father of King Kojong. His regency was from 1864-1873.

¹²⁷Han, 1970, p. 362.

¹²⁸Han, 1970, p. 363.

¹²⁹The Japanese applied the lesson they had learned from the Americans in 1854. Under the pretext of a survey of sea routes, they sent this battleship, and brought about armed clashes with Korean troops. Sohn, 1970, pp. 194-5.

¹³⁰Sohn, 1970, pp. 196-7. Especially Choi Ik-hyun insisted strongly against any contact with Japan and the Western powers. See Sim Il-sup, Sin hak sasang, 1980, Spring, pp. 154-6.

¹³¹Han, 1970, pp. 376-77.

¹³²Sim Il-sup, Sin hak Sasang, 1980, Spring pp. 153-4.

¹³³Sim Il-sup, Sin hak Sasang, 1980, Spring, pp. 156-8, and Sohn, 1970, pp. 199-200.

¹³⁴Han, 1970, pp. 362-77.

¹³⁵Sohn, 1970, pp. 195-6.

¹³⁶In this treaty in 1876 Korea consented to Japan's new six-article demand including permission of the stationing of Japanese troops in the capital for the defense of the Japanese legation. See Sohn, 1970, p. 200.

¹³⁷sohn, 1970, pp. 204-5. The critical view is suggested by Song Kun-ho, "The Historical Background of Korean Nationalism", in The Korean Nationalism, 1976, pp. 113-5.

¹³⁸Sohn, 1970, p. 206.

¹³⁹Han, 1970, pp. 394-5.

¹⁴⁰Han, 1970, p. 403.

¹⁴¹Han, 1970, p. 404.

¹⁴²cf. Kim Han-gu, "Tonghak: Revitalization Movement in Korea", Dissertation University of Toronto, 1970, and Henthorn, 1971, p. 221.

¹⁴³Kim Yong-bock, "Messiah and Minjung", in Minjung Theology, p. 188.

¹⁴⁴Han, 1970, p. 405. cf. Ro Kwang-hai, "Power Politics in Korea and Its Impact on Korean foreign and domestic Affairs: 1882-1907", Dissertation University of Oklahoma, 1966, p. 20.

¹⁴⁵Sohn, 1970, p. 210.

¹⁴⁶Sohn, 1970, p. 210.

¹⁴⁷Han, 1970, p. 406.

¹⁴⁸Cho had been appointed to the district magistrate of Kobu in Cholla Province in 1892. See Han, 1970, pp. 406-7.

¹⁴⁹Song Kun-ho, The Korean Nationalism, pp. 109-12. Oh Chi-yong, Tonghak Sa (Seoul: Minhak-sa, 1975) pp. 126-7.

¹⁵⁰Sohn, 1970, p. 211.

¹⁵¹Sohn, 1970, p. 212.

¹⁵²Recently such a view is being reinterpreted by scholars who investigate the perspective of the Minjung's self-reliance and independence against foreign invasion.

¹⁵³Han, 1970, p. 413.

¹⁵⁴Sohn, 1970, p. 212.

CHAPTER III

¹Yu In-ho, "Economy of the Korean People under the Japanese Colonial Rule", History and Christianity. (Seoul: Minjung-sa, 1982), p. 17. In this article, Yu emphasized that the socio-economic conflicts in Japan, the pressure after the unequal treaty with the United States, and other five nations in Europe were causes for Japan to decide on the invasion of Korea.

²Han, 1970, pp. 394-5.

³Sohn, 1970, pp. 219-26 and 229-31.

⁴Yamabe Kentaro, Korean Invasion of Japan (Seoul: Tae-pyung Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 9-18. Here the author described that the character of Japan's nationalism was based on the ideology of the "great Asianism" under Japan. This nationalism was developed since the Meiji regime and became the basic principle for foreign affairs.

⁵Lee Ki-baik, 1984, p. 308.

⁶Sohn, 1970, p. 230.

⁷The political dependence upon China.

⁸See Moon Chong-chang, The History of Aggression by Modern Japan (Seoul: Bakmoondang, 1964).

⁹Yamabe Kentaro, Korean Invasion of Japan, pp. 110-1.

¹⁰Yu, History and Christianity, pp. 31-32.

¹¹See Kang Song-jin, The Japan Policy of Invasion in Korea (Seoul: Kankil-sa, 1980), p. 120.

¹²See Song Kun-ho, Korean Contemporary History, 1979, p. 250.

¹³Japan National Bank, The 50 years History of JNB, pp. 83-7.

¹⁴Sohn, 1970, p. 232.

¹⁵See Lee Young-hi, Korean Nationalism (Seoul: Somundang, 1977), McKenzie, F.A., Korea's Fight for Freedom (London, 1920), pp. 147-8.

¹⁶For an instance, Chang Chi-yon, the publisher of the Hwang sung Sinmun, made an appeal to the nation through his editorial, assailing the forced treaty concluded on the seventh of November, 1905, cf. Kim Young-soo, ed. The Identity of the Korean People (Seoul: National Unification Board, 1983), p. 36.

¹⁷See Lee Ki-baik, 1984, p. 317.

¹⁸During the period from 1906 to 1911, 17,779 of the volunteers were killed, 37,000 were wounded, and 2,139 were taken captive. See Song, Korean Contemporary History, p. 116.

¹⁹Sohn, 1970, p. 240.

²⁰Sohn, 1970, p. 243, Lee Ki-baik, 1984, p. 313.

²¹Min, 1982, pp. 168-70.

²²cf. Underwood, H.G., The Call of Korea (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908), p. 134. Min, The History of Korean Church, p. 149-51.

²³Min, 1982, p. 152.

²⁴Min, 1982, p. 169. Lee Man-youl, The Christianity and People's Movement in the Late Yi Dynasty (Seoul: Pyongminsudang, 1979), p. 27.

²⁵Min, 1982, pp. 126-33.

²⁶Cf. Clark C.A., The Korean Church and the Nevios Methods (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1930), pp. 33-4. Kim Deuk-hwang, The History of Korean Religion (Seoul: Haemun-sa, 1963), pp. 396-7. This principle was practically developed from the views of mission for missionaries given by Rev. John Nevius in 1890.

²⁷See G. Paik, 1978, p. 204. The first converts among the butchers became an instrument for spreading Christian liberty as well as freedom among his caste, and stimulated a large number of butchers to become Christian.

²⁸This movement was led by Suh Jae-pil, Lee Sang-jae, Yun Chi-ho, and so on. See Isabella B. Bishop, Korea and Her Neighbours (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970).

²⁹Choo Chai-yong, "The Minjung and the Christian History", in Minjung and Korean Theology (Seoul: Korea Theological Study Institute, 1982), p. 226.

³⁰Arthur Brown, Mastery and the Far East (New York: Charles Scribner, 1919), p. 517.

³¹Brown, 1919, p. 532.

³²Missionaries used to regard the traditional life style as "undeveloped" culture in the point of Western View. See Richard

Rutt, A Biography of James Gale and a New Editions of his History of the Korean People (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, 1972).

³³Lee Man-youl, 1979, pp. 33-35.

³⁴Lee Man-youl, 1979, pp. 36-38. Arthur Brown, 1919, pp. 541ff.

³⁵It should be noted that a superstitious belief of the minjung was not simply the worship of idols, but a quest for hope.

³⁶Lee Man-youl, 1979, p. 59.

³⁷Robert Speer, Missions and Politics in Asia (New York: Revell and Co., 1898), p. 287.

³⁸Lee Man-youl, 1979, p. 71.

³⁹Lee Man-youl, 1979, p. 78.

⁴⁰Christian Sinmoon, November 3, 1901.

⁴¹See G.T. Ladd, In Korea with Marquis Ito (New York: Charles Scribners, 1908).

⁴²Lee Man-youl, "The Korean Protestant Church under the Japanese Colonial Rule", in The State Power and Christian Church (Seoul: Minjung-sa, 1982), pp. 138-40.

⁴³Choo Chai-yong, "A Brief Sketch of a Korean Christian History", in Minjung Theology, p. 76.

⁴⁴Choi Ik-huon, who was one of the eminent scholars of Confucianism, declared a call for an uprising in "Five Reasons Against". See Lee Ki-baik, 1984, p. 299.

⁴⁵Paik, 1978, p. 369.

⁴⁶See Underwood, The Call of Korea, p. 145.

⁴⁷Min, 1982, pp. 252-4.

⁴⁸Paik, 1978, p. 374. He says here, "...Following the revival, the new religious experience was severely tested, but it has survived

⁶²Yu In-ho, "The Economics during the colonial period",
Minjung and Economy (Seoul: Minjung Sa, 1982), p. 85.

⁶³Yu In-ho, Minjung and Economy, p. 88.

⁶⁴Lee Man-youl, The State Power and Christian Church, p. 145.

⁶⁵Kim Choon-bai, The Story of Persecution of Korean Christianity
(Seoul: CLS, 1969), pp. 28-9.

⁶⁶Arthur J. Brown, The Korean Conspiracy Case (New York, 1912),
p. 7.

⁶⁷Lee Man-youl, The State Power and Christian Church, p. 148.

⁶⁸See Kim Yong-bock, "Korean Christianity as a Messianic Movement
of the People", Minjung Theology, pp. 88-90. Kim Yang-son, A Study
of Korean Christian History (Seoul: Presbyterian Churches Assembly,
1956), pp. 85-6.

⁶⁹See Kim Yong-bock, "Historical Transformation, People's Movement
and Messianic Koinonia', Dissertation Princeton Theological Seminary,
1976. He sees the character of Koinonia as the motivation of cultural
transformation and political regeneration.

⁷⁰Lee Ki-baik, 1984, pp. 336-7.

⁷¹Han, pp. 474-5.

⁷²Han, p. 476.

⁷³Pak Un-sik, The Bloody History of Korean Independence Movement,
1946. According to Pak, the participants were 2,051,488, and the
demonstrations occurred 1,542 times. Imprisoned persons were calculated
at 43,306 and 7,509 were killed and 15,950 were wounded.

⁷⁴Park Song-su, "March First Movement and Social Status", in
Essays in March First Independence Movement in Commemoration of the
50th Anniversary (Seoul: Tong-A Ilbo, 1969), p. 374.

⁷⁵Song, Korean Contemporary History, p. 311.

⁷⁶Especially Song Kun-ho analysed this point from the Independent Declaration which concerned intellectual idealism, regardless of any struggle. See also Min, 1982, pp. 315-16.

⁷⁷Sohn, 1970, pp. 266-8.

⁷⁸Sohn, 1970, p. 269.

⁷⁹Sohn, 1970, p. 270.

⁸⁰Park Kyung-sik, Japan Imperialism Rule Over Korea, p. 270.

⁸¹Sohn, 1970, p. 277.

⁸²Song Kun-ho, "Nation and Christianity under Japanese Rule", in Nationalism and Christianity, pp. 48-85.

⁸³The Report on Situation of Security in Korea (The Office of the Governor General, 1933), pp. 163-9.

⁸⁴The Report, pp. 163-9.

⁸⁵Song Kun-ho, Nationalism and Christianity, p. 87.

⁸⁶Lee Ki-baik, 1984, pp. 357-8.

⁸⁷Sohn, 1970, p. 278.

⁸⁸Song, Nationalism and Christianity, p. 89.

⁸⁹Song, Nationalism and Christianity, p. 90.

⁹⁰Sohn, 1970, pp. 317-8., Lee Ki-baik, 1984, p. 364.

⁹¹Singanhoe was the central body of strong movement of nationalism.
Song Kun-ho, Culture and Political Rule, p. 160.

⁹²Sohn, 1970, p. 317.

⁹³Song, Nationalism and Christianity, p. 90.

⁹⁴Song, Nationalism and Christianity, p. 92.

⁹⁵Song, Nationalism and Christianity, p. 94.

⁹⁶Min, 1982, pp. 357-85.

⁹⁷Min, 1982, pp. 386-99.

⁹⁸Song, Culture and political Rule, p. 156.

⁹⁹See Kang, The Study of Japanese Policy of Rule over Korea, pp. 411-2.

¹⁰⁰Song, Culture and political Rule, p. 162.

¹⁰¹Lee Kwang-su, "The Theory of National conversion" Kaebuyuk, Seoul, 1921. 11. 22. and 1921. 11. 23.

¹⁰²For instance, in 1934 the summer enlightening activity held under the sponsorship of Tong-A Ilbo was banned, and in 1936 the urgent regulation for the control of subversive documents was practiced.

¹⁰³Song, Culture and Political Rule, p. 163.

¹⁰⁴Sohn, 1970, p. 299.

¹⁰⁵Min, 1982, p. 429.

¹⁰⁶Min, 1982, pp. 430-1. The Presbyterian missionary, W.N. Blair, was forced to get out from the Assembly by Japanese police, because of his opposing position. As other opinion, see Song Kun-ho, Nationalism and Christianity. The Assembly records regarding this resolution read as follows: "...We understand that the worship at Japanese shrine is not a religious ritual and not against the Christian doctrine, but a patriotic national ceremony. Therefore we will practice this worship prior to all, so that we could participate in the entire mobilization of national spirit under this emergency as a nation of the Emperor". See The 27th Assembly Records of the Presbyterian Church, 1938, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷Moffett, S.A. The Christians of Korea (New York, 1962), p. 75.

¹⁰⁸Lee Man-youl, The State Power and Christian Church, p. 187.

¹⁰⁹See the editorial of Tong-A Ilbo, 1922. 1. 7. and Christian Sinbo, 1924. 10. 15. Kim Chang-je, "The Religion of People", Chongnyon, Vol. II No. 2, 1926, p. 13.

¹¹⁰Min, The History of Korean Church, 1982, p. 439.

¹¹¹This was a propaganda of the Japanese dream for their colonialism.

¹¹²Han, 1970, p. 496.

¹¹³Min, 1982, pp. 440-1.

CHAPTER IV

¹Bruce Cumings, The Origins of the Korean War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 106.

²Stephen Pelz, "U.S. Decision on Korean Policy, 1943-1950: Some Hypotheses", in Child of Conflict, ed. Bruce Cumings (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983), pp. 97-105.

³Robert T. Oliver, Syngman Rhee (London: Robert Hall Ltd., 1955), p. 202.

⁴General Hodge instructed his officers that Korea "was an enemy of the United States" and therefore "subject to the provisions and the terms of surrender". Cumings, 1981, pp. 126-127. New York Times, September 23, 1945.

⁵See Gregory Henderson, Korea, the politics of the Vortex (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 121.

⁶Cumings, 1981, p. 129.

⁷Cumings, 1981, p. 72.

⁸Cumings, 1981, pp. 267-70.

⁹Yi Man-gyu, History of Yo Un-hyong's Struggle (Seoul: Chongmun-gak, 1946), p. 208.

¹⁰Refer to appendix A in Cumings, 1981, pp. 445-6. See Suh Dae-sook, The Korean Communist Movement 1918-1948 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

¹¹Chung Kyung-cho, Korea Tomorrow (New York: MacMillan Co., 1956), pp. 304-6.

¹²Cumings, 1981, p. 86. Suh Dae-sook, 1967, pp. 330-1.

¹³Cumings, 1981, p. 99.

¹⁴Cumings, 1981, p. 273. The attention should be paid that this source was from Lee Kang-kuk's The Construction of Democratic Korea (Seoul: Chosun Inmin-bo, 1946). Lee was one of the strong leaders of the Left.

¹⁵It seemed true that this policy had definitely resulted in failure to promote the unification and democracy. Cumings, 1981, pp. 142-3.

¹⁶Cumings, 1981, pp. 146-7.

¹⁷Cumings, 1981, pp. 276-7.

¹⁸Cumings, 1981, pp. 277.

¹⁹Refer to Appendix D. in Cumings, 1981, pp. 450-33.

²⁰See G. McCormack and J. Gettings, eds., Crisis in Korea (Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1977).

²¹McCormack and Gettings, 1977.

²²Cumings, 1981, p. 352.

²³Cumings, 1981, p. 354. Chon-pyong (The National Youth Association) had the stronest leadership to mobilize the youth, and their demands were realistic.

²⁴Cumings, 1981, p. 354.

²⁵Cumings, 1981, p. 358.

²⁶For instance, in South Cholla, the victims were: 54 killed, 61 wounded, 357 arrested, while police victims were ten killed, 38 wounded and eleven missing. Forty-seven cities and towns were touched by this uprising. As the purpose of this uprising, we have to pay attention to this point. Cumings, 1981, pp. 364-7.

²⁷Cumings, 1981, p. 371.

²⁸Cumings, 1981, p. 372.

²⁹Cumings, 1981, pp. 371-3. However, it is important to note how the involvement of local People's Committees and PC-affiliated organizations was possible, and what their basic dimensions were. Even though there was strong initiative from the Communists, it should be emphasized what the self-governing organs of the people demanded, preceding the strikes.

³⁰Cumings, 1981, p. 374.

³¹Song Kun-ho, "The History of Mass Communication since the National Liberation", in Mass Communication and Society (Seoul: Minjung-sa, 1983), pp. 171-5.

³²Song Kun-ho, Mass Com. and Society, pp. 160-1.

³³Stephen Pelz, Child of Conflicts, pp. 110-1.

³⁴Such efforts can be seen through the activities of Cho Man-sik in North and Kim Ku in the South. About this point, Pelz noted: "...if Hodge had not already sided with the collaborationist Right in South Korea, there would have been a chance for the Americans and the Russians to create what Stalin would term a bourgeois-democratic government. The two great powers might then have rapidly turned

over to this new regime the responsibility for election, withdrawn their troops, and neutralized the country". Pelz, 1983, p. 108.

³⁵Cumings, 1981, pp. 432-3.

³⁶Min, 1982, pp. 457-8. However, in North, the struggle against the Communism was remarkable. See Kim Yang-sun, The Christian History during the Ten Years after Liberation (Seoul: The Presbyterian Churches Assembly, 1956).

³⁷Min, 1982, p. 456.

³⁸Kim Yong-bock, "Church and State after the Liberation", in The State Power and Christian Church, 1982, pp. 201-3. Kim Kyung-jae explained the situation: "Church does not turn itself to the people's concern, but the people and the history do not expect anything from the church", in "Christianity and the National Movement", The Nationalism and Christianity, 1981, pp. 114-5.

³⁹Min, 1982, pp. 458-62.

⁴⁰Sohn, 1970, p. 332.

⁴¹Han, 1970, pp. 504-5. For further understanding of the crisis between South and North, see John Merrill, "Internal Warfare in Korea", in Child of Conflict, 1983, pp. 138-57. Song Kun-ho, Mass Com. and Society, 1983, p. 184.

⁴²See Kim Chum-kon, The Korean War (Seoul: Kwangmyong Publishing Co., 1973), p. 108.

⁴³Kim Chum-kon, 1973, p. 110.

⁴⁴Song Kun-ho, Mass Com. and Society, 1983, pp. 190-6.

⁴⁵Kim Yong-bock, The State Power and Christian Church, 1982, p. 202.

⁴⁶Chang Ha-gu, "Revolution and Repentance of the Church", Christian Thought, May 1962, pp. 37-43.

⁴⁷Min, 1982, p. 470.

⁴⁸Min, 1982, pp. 471-3.

⁴⁹Song Kun-ho, Mass Com. and Society, 1983, p. 196.

⁵⁰According to the source of the Economic Survey in 1959, the deficit showed -18 in 1955, -864 in 1956, -1,110 in 1957 and -2,891 in 1958. (p. 151). Park Hyonchae, "Korean Economic Changes and People's life since 1945", History and Christianity, 1982, p. 108. W.D. Reeve, The Republic of Korea (London, 1963).

⁵¹with an Assembly of 203 members, the total votes in favour, 135, were not two-thirds of one vote short of the required majority. However, the government pushed that the amendments have been passed according to its irregular interpretation of the counting of fractional votes. See Lee Young-ho, "The Politics of Democratic Experiment", in Korean Politics in Transition, ed. E.D. Wright Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), pp. 22-3.

⁵²Song Kun-ho, Mass Comm. and Society, 1983, pp. 194-9.

⁵³Chosun Ilbo (Daily newspaper in Seoul) noted in an editorial that "the dark era of tyranny is past. The reign of the gangsters is over". Quoted in New York Times, May 1, 1960. However, this revolution became degraded as a simple uprising by the later military regime. cf. Kim Chae-joon, Chang-kong Chon-jip (Seoul: Hansin College Press, 1971), II, p. 306.

⁵⁴Song Kun-ho, Mass Com. and Society, 1983, p. 219.

⁵⁵Song Kun-ho, Mass Com. and Society, 1983, p. 220.

⁵⁶Kim Se-jin, "Military Revolution in Korea, 1961-3, Dissertation University of Massachusetts, 1966. John Kie-chang Oh, "The Political Role of the Military: The Making of the Third Republic', Sidney D. Brown, ed. Studies on Asia, 1967 (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1967).

⁵⁷Lee Yong-ho, Korean Politics in Transition, 1975, p. 29.

⁵⁸KNCC, Christian Year Book (Seoul: KNCC, 1972), pp. 196-7.

⁵⁹This was another revolution for keeping political power and founding solid authority.

⁶⁰Park Hyon-chae, Minjung and Economy, 1982, p. 109.

⁶¹Park Hyon-chae, 1982, p. 110-4.

⁶²The First Five Year Economic Development Plan, which was from 1962 to 1966, aimed to carry out rapid industrialization and modernization.

⁶³The Bank of Korean National Income in Korea, 1978, in The Bank of Korean Monthly Economic Review 1980.

⁶⁴The period was from 1967 to 1971.

⁶⁵The Economic Plight of Korean Farmers (Seoul: CISJD, 1982), p. 10.

⁶⁶The period was from 1972 to 1977. The Conomic Plight of Korean Farmers, p. 11.

⁶⁷This was the basic policy toward the multinational cooperation for the sake of leading investment from overseas.

⁶⁸The Economic Plight of Korean Farmers, p. 17.

⁶⁹The Conomic Plight of Korean Farmers, p. 19.

⁷⁰The Year book of Agriculture and Forestry Statistics, 1977.

⁷¹The Year Book of Agriculture and Forestry Statistics, 1979.

⁷²The average annual income of the poor farm household is slightly above \$800.00, while that of the labor family is about \$1,550.00.

See the Report on the Results of Farm Household Economy Survey (1962-76), The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1977.

⁷³The editorial of the Choong-ang Daily Newspaper, May 15, 1975.

⁷⁴The Bank of Korea, "Tendency of 1980 Balance of International Payment", Monthly Review, March 1981, pp. 30-41.

⁷⁵Monthly Review, March 1981, p. 74.

⁷⁶See Edwin Guthman, "Kim Dae Jung, a brave man who knows freedom", The Philadelphia Inquirer, April 22, 1984. Kim Dae Jung, "Let's back Korean Democrats", Chicago Tribune, June 21, 1984.

⁷⁷See the Statement of Korean Student Christian Movement, Christian Sinmoon, June 24, 1967. Song Kun-ho, Mass Com. and Society, 1983, pp. 260-63.

⁷⁸This term means literally "renovation", but rendered into English by Park's propagandists as "revitalization". The idea of this term was originally following the revolution of "Meiji Yushin" in the nineteenth century in Japan.

⁷⁹However, the basic intention of the government was to establish the life-long dictatorship of Park. See Lee Pu-yong, "Mass Communication in Korean Society during the 1970s", in Mass Communication and Society, 1983, p. 295.

⁸⁰See Amnesty International, Political Repression in South Korea (reported by William J. Butler), 1974, pp. 2-3.

⁸¹Donald Ranard, Far Eastern Economic Review, May 23, 1975. He was the Director (1970-74) of the Office of Korean Affairs at the Department of State of the United States of America.

⁸²Walter Easey and Gavan McCormack, "South Korean Society: The Deepening Nightmare", in Korea North and South, eds. G. McCormack and Mark Selden (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), p. 79. cf. Korean Studies, Vol. I, No. 10, October 1976.

⁸³McCormack and Selden, 1978, pp. 81-2.

⁸⁴According to this event, professors, students and social leaders of 1,024 were arrested and about two hundred among them were sentenced from five years in jail to life. See Kim Yong-bock, The State Power and Christian Church, 1982, p. 228. Korea Newsletter, August 1, 1974 and January 15, 1975. Amnesty International, 1975 Report, pp. 22-3. After this event, KNCC organized officially the Commission of Human Rights on the eleventh of April, 1974.

⁸⁵Kim Yong-bock clarified that the issue of this statement was primarily the restoration of democracy. Kim Yong-bock, The State Power and Christian Church, 1982, p. 229.

⁸⁶Choo Chai-yong, Minjung Theology, p. 79. In its conclusion, it states: "...we resolve that we will follow the footsteps of our Lord, living among our oppressed and poor people, standing against political oppression, and participating in the transformation of history, for this is the only way to the Messianic kingdom".

⁸⁷The Christians in Korea came to recognize the value of laborers, farmers and isolated people, and furthermore to respect the meaning of other religions in order to share mutual concerns as a part of mission.

⁸⁸Journalists, especially the expelled reporters from Tong-A Newspaper and Cho-sun Newspaper, etc., and poets and novelists concerned about social justice.

⁸⁹Kim Dae Jung, "Democracy in Korean History", Korea Scope, Vol. III, No. 1, March 1983.

⁹⁰See CISJD, The Laborers' Movements and Democracy in Industry (Seoul: Minjung-sa, 1983).

⁹¹See Lee Pu-yong, Mass Communications and Society, 1983, pp. 280-349.

⁹²Suh Nam-dong interprets this event as the model of oppression, then says "han" from this unresolved suffering, in A Study of Minjung Theology, 1983, p. 85-6.

⁹³Under the Yushin system, this organization was the most important one which represented the opinions from the people. See Peggy Billings, Fire Beneath the Frost (New York: Friendship Press, 1984).

⁹⁴See Harold C. Hinton, Korea under New Leadership (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983).

⁹⁵See "Status Report on Freedom of Speech in Korea", Korea Scope, Vol. III, No. 2, October 1983.

CHAPTER V

¹Kim Yong-bock, The Korean People and Christianity (Seoul: Hyung-sung-sa, 1981), pp. 109-10.

²Kim Yong-bock clarifies the term, minjung, as the subjects of history in the perspective of the relation between minjung and power. Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, p. 183. Minjung can be clarified by the contextual interpretation.

³Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, p. 184.

⁴Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, p. 184.

⁵See Cho Nam-ki, ed. The Issues of Human Rights (Seoul: KNCC, 1978).

⁶Suh Nam-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology, 1983, pp. 63-4.

⁷Hyun Young-hak, Minjung Theology, pp. 47-54. Chae Hee-wan, "The Cultural Movement in the 1970s", in Culture and Political Rule (Seoul: CISJD, 1982), pp. 168-219.

⁸Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, p. 184.

⁹Talchum (mask-dance) was performed in a village festival, asking for the blessing of the gods and criticizing the social corruption and their masters, yangban. And a story or a melancholic melody in Pansori (a king of singing) expressed the sorrow and defeated life as han. See Cho-Dong-il, The Principle and Tradition of Talchoom (Seoul: Hankil-sa, 1979), Cho Dong-il and Kim Heung-kyu, Understanding of Pansori (Seoul: Hankil-sa, 1978), Lim Chin-taek, "Folk Tales and Pansori", in Silchon Munhak, II, 1981.

¹⁰Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, p. 186.

¹¹A full set of the whole Buddhist Mahayana was brought from China in 928 A.D.

¹²A. Clark, Religions of Old Korea (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1981), pp. 20-1.

¹³The Eight-Fold Path speaks about right belief, right aspiration, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right endeavour, right thought, and right meditation. According to the Four Noble Truths, all existence involves suffering. All suffering is caused by indulging in desires. All suffering will cease with the suppression of personal desires. To achieve this suppression, one must follow the "Noble Eight-fold path".

¹⁴Winston King, Buddhism and Christianity (Philadelphia: Westminster Press), pp. 115-7.

¹⁵Andre Barean, "The Experience of suffering and the Human Condition in Buddhism", in Buddhism and Christianity, eds. by C. Geffre and M. Dharamony, (New York: The Seabury Press, 1979), p. 25.

¹⁶E.A. Burtt, The Teachings of the Compassionate Buddha (New York: The New American Library, 1955), pp. 115ff.

¹⁷See Ko Eun, "Belief in Maitreya and Minjung", in Literature and Intelligence, Seoul, Spring 1979. Miryuck has been the object of worship among the people as the coming Buddha for their salvation. We have to note that Maitreya Buddhism disappeared in Japan and China. During the period of king Sook-jong (1674-1720), Jang Kil-san was proclaimed as a guerilla leader who would overthrow the corrupt system through a Maitreya revolution in order to save the people.

¹⁸Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 174.

¹⁹Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, pp. 174-5.

²⁰Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 175.

²¹Lee Ki-baik, 1984, p. 82.

²²Clark, 1981.

²³As the lowest class, the seven lowest official occupations (chil-chon) were official messengers, guards, watchmen, oarsmen, sailors, torch-guards and post couriers, while the eight socially degraded groups (pal-ban) were official slaves or private slaves, professional entertainers, fortune tellers, sorcerers, butchers or blacksmiths (skilled craftsmen), Buddhist priests or nuns, artists, and acrobats. See Korean History Research Centre, Outline of Korean

History (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1975), pp. 293-4.

²⁴To anticipate Yonghwa world in the belief can be compared with the concept of the Kingdom of God.

²⁵Takahasi Hatata, The History of Korea (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1951). Here he admits that Korean people have been able to resist the powerful foreign invasions on account of their belief in Maitreya, in spite of their powerlessness. Also see Lee Ki-baik, 1984, pp. 133f.

²⁶For instance, Baikbaik-gyo, Yongkwa-gyo, and so on. Especially, Chong-Kam-rok, which was a kind of apocalyptic and astrological faith, was widely read by Koreans since the eighteenth century. See Yoo Tong-sik, The History and Structure of Korean Shamanism (Seoul: CLS, 1975).

²⁷Clark, 1981.

²⁸Bryan Wilson, Religion in Sociological Perspective (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 33.

²⁹Clark, 1981, pp. 170-1.

³⁰Mudang used to wear a special costume of yellow and red color, which resembled the robes of the princess.

³¹Lee Jung-yong, Korean Shamanistic Rituals (Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1981), pp. 7-8.

³²Clark, 1981, p. 176.

³³Lee Jung-yong, 1981, p. 26.

³⁴Yoo Tong-sik, The Way and Logos: Mission and Tasks of Korean Theology (Seoul: CLS, 1978), pp. 152-151.

³⁵Lee Jung-yong, 1981, p. 132.

³⁶Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 58. He interprets han as the original energy of the minjung movement. Even personal experience of han makes oneself participate in the communal events.

³⁷Lee Yung-yong, 1981, p. 184. Yoo Tong-sik, 1978, p. 156.

³⁸Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, 1981, p. 52.

³⁹Choe Che-u, The Great Canon of Eastern Learning (Seoul: Dong-a Publishing Co., 1961), p. 16.

⁴⁰Lee Don-wha, "Tong-kyung Dae-jun", in Tonghak Sasang Charyo-chip, Vol. I, ed. by Paik Soon-jai (Seoul: Asia Joonwha-sa, 1979), p. 59.

⁴¹Lee Don-wha, "The Collection of Tanghak Thought", in Tonghak Sasang Charyo-chip, Vol. II, 1979, pp. 65-6.

⁴²See Chung Chin-hong. A Textbook of Korean Traditional Religions for Christians in Korea, unpublished thesis, San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1981, p. 119.

⁴³Lee Don-wha, Tonghak Sasang Charyo-chip, Vol. I, p. 58.

⁴⁴Lee Don-wha, Tonghak Sasang Charyo-chip, Vol. III, 1979, p. 228.

⁴⁵Benjamin B. Weems, Reform, Rebellion and Heavenly Way (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1964), pp. 9-10.

⁴⁶Kang Chae-on, "Transformative Thought in Korea", in Historical Transformation People's Movement and Messianic Koinonia, by Kim Yong-bock, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1976, p. 201.

⁴⁷Sin Yong-ha, "A Short History of Chond-gyo Youth Party", in Tonghak Sasang Charyo-chip, Vol. III, 1979, p. 29.

⁴⁸Shin Yong-ha, 1979, p. 28.

⁴⁹Weems, 1964, p. 13.

⁵⁰Choe was beheaded in 1864, during what Tonghak called "the Time of Great Tribulation", See Weems, 1964, p. 12, and Clark, 1981, p. 148.

⁵¹Lee Don-wha, Chundo-gyo Changkeun-sa (Seoul: Asia Moonwha-sa, 1979), pp. 102-3.

⁵²Lee Don-wha, Chundo-gyo Changkeun-sa, 1979, pp. 136-7, Weems, 1964, p. 23.

⁵³See Ro Tae-gu, A Study on Tonghak Rebellion (Seoul: Baiksan Sodang, 1982).

⁵⁴Choi Hyun-shik, Tonghak Revolution History (Seoul: Kumkang publishing Co., 1980), p. 252.

⁵⁵In order to interpret Tonghak rebellion, we have to examine two groups. The one, who was represented by Kim Sang-ki (Tonghak and Tonghak Rebellion), interprets Chon as a politically ambitious opportunist for seizing power rather than a genuine adherent of Tonghak. They emphasized the point that Chon had tried to use the rebellion as a screen for Taewongun's return to political control, depending on an agreement with Taewongun. The other recognized that Chon was an outstanding patriot who was interested in establishing a utopia in accordance with the Tonghak principle. Furthermore they interpret that the government persecution and Japanese pressure had left the Tonghaks with no practical alternative to rebellion. Therefore, although Chon and Taewongun had interests in a common interpretation, it can hardly be accepted regarding the people's suffering that prevailed at that time. See Oh Chi-yong, Tonghak Sa (Seoul: Minhak-sa, 1975), pp. 126-7.

⁵⁶Suh Nam-gond, Minjung Theology, p. 171.

⁵⁷Oh Chi-yong, 1975, pp. 119-20.

⁵⁸Kim Yong-Choon, "Chondo-gyo Thought and its Significance in Modern Korean Tradition", in Korea and Asian Religious Tradition, ed. by Yu Chai-shin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 240.

⁵⁹Choe Che-u, 1961, p. 13.

⁶⁰Noh Jong-sun, Religion and Just Revolution (Hamden, Connecticut: Center for Asian Theology, 1984), p. 199.

⁶¹Shun Suk-dam, "The Tonghak Peasant's Unrest as a Summing-up of the Feudal Society of the Yi Dynasty", in The Economic History of Korea (Seoul: Bakmoon-sa, 1949), pp. 171ff.

⁶²Kim Yong-sup, "An Analysis of the Court Testimony of Chun Bong-jun", in Sahak Yongku (The Historical Study), No. 2, 1958, pp. 25f.

⁶³Yoo Se-hee, "A Study of Korean Peasants' Uprisings: 1862-1894", Yoksahak Yonku (The Study of History), 1962, pp. 73-4.

⁶⁴Yoo Se-hee, 1962, pp. 76-7, and see Chalmer Johnson, Revolutionary Change (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1966), p. 21.

⁶⁵Weems, 1964, p. 55.

⁶⁶The name and strategy of the society has been changed as follows: "Taedong-hoe" (Great East Society) in 1904 was the first, then this was changed to "Chungnip-hoe" (Neutrality Society) and later to "Chingohoe" (Progressive Society). Weems, 1964, p. 55.

⁶⁷This society was founded by Lee Yong-gu and Song Hyung-joon who had collaborated with the Japanese. Weems dealt with it in the

connection with political context. See Weems, 1964, p. 59 and p. 63.

⁶⁸Weems, 1964, p. 64.

⁶⁹As a basic idea of "In-nae-chon", Son declared that moral and political matters cannot be regarded as separate from each other, from the standpoint of human relations, while Christianity adopted the principle of de-politisation in the Church and faith.

⁷⁰Yoo Tong-sik, 1978, p. 144.

⁷¹Yoo Tong-sik, 1978, p. 145-6.

⁷²See Choi Sin-dok, A Comparative Study on New Religions in Korea (Seoul: Chambit-sa, 1965). Especially Tak Myong-hwan's articles are the outstanding products for understanding and analysis of the new religious movement. See The New Religions in Korea, I & II (Seoul: Sungchang-sa, 1972).

⁷³It's full name in English is "Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity". Warren Lewis says that it would be appropriate to make this title even more inclusive "for the unification of world religions", since this is the ultimate goal of this association. See Warren Lewis, "Is the Rev. Sun Myung Moon a Heretic? Locating the Unification Church on the Map of Church History", in A Time for Consideration, eds. M.D. Bryant and H.W. Richardson (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1978), pp. 199-200.

⁷⁴The Unificationists call this book "the Revealed Scripture". The fifth edition in English was published in 1977 in Washington D.C. by the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity.

⁷⁵See Unification Thought Institute, Explaining Unification Thought (New York: UTI, 1981), pp. 112-4.

⁷⁶Explaining Unification Thought, 1981, p. 220.

⁷⁷W. Lewis, A Time for Consideration, 1978, p. 178.

⁷⁸W. Lewis, A Time for Consideration, 1978, pp. 182-4.

⁷⁹W. Lewis, A Time for Consideration, 1978, p. 190.

⁸⁰Joseph H. Fichter, "Marriage, Family and Sun Myung Moon", in A Time for Consideration, 1978, p. 139.

⁸¹W. Lewis, A Time for Consideration, 1978, p. 211.

⁸²Explaining Unification Thought, 1981, pp. 142-3.

⁸³M.D. Bryant, "Unification Eschatology", in A Time for Consideration, 1981, pp. 268-73.

⁸⁴Rodney J. Sawatsky, "Moonies, Mormons and Mennonites", in A Time for Consideration, 1981, pp. 37-8.

⁸⁵W. Lewis, A Time for Consideration, 1981, pp. 201-2.

⁸⁶Min, 1982, p. 491. Suh Nam-dong, "Study on the Divine Principle of the Unification Church", in Contemporary Theology (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970), VI, p. 181.

⁸⁷Suh Nma-dong criticized this point as a kind of romantic restorationism of the past cultural consciousness.

⁸⁸Min, 1982, p. 493.

⁸⁹Yoo Tong-sik, 1978, pp. 148-51.

⁹⁰In the Third World's context, this issue is raised elsewhere as a similar type. See Choan-seng Song, Third-Eye Theology (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1979), pp. 192-5 and 246-52.

⁹¹Daniel R. Headrick, The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Oxford University

Press, 1981), Chapter XV, "The Legacy of Technological Imperialism".

⁹²Headrick, 1981, pp. 209-10.

⁹³See The Report on International Consultation on Development in Korea (Seoul: CISJD, 1982). Kim Yong-bock, The Korean People and Christianity, 1981, pp. 54-67.

⁹⁴See Martin J. Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 111-8.

⁹⁵The Report on International Consultation on Development in Korea, 1982, p. 11.

⁹⁶Min, 1982, pp. 386-99.

⁹⁷For instance, the Full Gospel Church in Seoul insists that its members are over a quarter million. The Charismatic movement has emphasized just spiritual and personal salvation. See Song Kil-sup, "The Orthodoxy and the Heresy in Korean Church", Sinhak Sasang, Summer 1981, pp. 244-64.

⁹⁸Kim Kyung-je, "The Crisis of Korean Christianity", Sinhak Sasang, Spring 1980, pp. 26-7. For instance, there were huge evangelical mass conventions: Billy Graham, Expo 74, National Evangelization Convention, and so on.

CHAPTER VI

¹Yoo Tong-sik, 1978, pp. 174-87.

²Kim Yong-bock, The Korean People and Christianity, 1981, pp. 90-6.

³This is Lee Ki-baik's assumption, which is suggested as a new point of view in Korean history.

⁴Suh Nam-gond, A Study of Minjung Theology, 1983, pp. 48-50.

⁵Pak Choon-su, "God of Hebrew", in Minjung and a Korean Theology, 1982, pp. 133-50.

⁶Kim Yong-bock Minjung Theology, pp. 190-1.

⁷Kim Yong-bock, The Korean People and Christianity, 1981, pp. 117-20.

⁸Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, p. 192. Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 156.

⁹Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 178.

¹⁰Yoo Tong-sik, "Rough Road to Theological Maturity", in Asian Voices in Christian Theology, ed. G.H. Anderson (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1976), p. 176.

¹¹This is a basic thesis of Minjung Theology.

¹²See Suh In-suk, The Cry of God: The Liberation of the Poor (Waekwan, Korea: Bundo Publishing Co., 1979).

¹³See Suh In-suk, the Cry of God, 1979.

¹⁴Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p 157.

¹⁵Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 157.

¹⁶Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 158.

¹⁷See Ahn Byung-mu, "The Subjects of History in the Gospel of Mark", Hyon-jon, November 1979.

¹⁸Ahn Byung-mu's emphasis is laid on distinction between "ochlos" and "laos". Ahn, "Jesus and the Minjung in the Gospel of Mark", in Minjung Theology, pp. 148-9.

¹⁹Ahn Byung-mu, Minjung Theology, p. 140.

²⁰Suh Nam-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology, 1983, pp. 262-7.

²¹Suh Nam-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology, 1982, pp. 143-4.

²²Suh Nam-dong points out the motivations of becoming minjung from the experience of han in Korean historical context. See Suh Nam-dong, "Towards a Theology of Han", in Minjung Theology, pp. 55-68.

²³See Suh Nam-dong, "Who are the Minjung?", in A Study of Minjung Theology, 1983, pp. 105-220.

²⁴Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 58.

²⁵Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 64.

²⁶Suh Nam-dong primarily agreed with the notion of han which Kim Chi-ha made. According to Kim Chi-ha, a great revolution, which was caused by the minjung's han, became an eternal revolution, a higher order than a social revolution. Minjung Theology, pp. 178-9.

²⁷Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, p. 183.

²⁸He clarifies that the minjung movements were motivated for the sake of the people's life and rights in Korean history. He attempts to contrast the biblical events with the minjung movements in Korea. See Minjung Theology, pp. 170-3.

²⁹Choo Chai-yong, Minjung Theology, pp. 73-79.

³⁰Kim Byung-suh, "The Culture and Social Phenomena in Korean Society", in The Korean Church of Minjung (Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Assembly, 1983), pp. 52-60.

³¹The peasants' uprisings, which are represented by the Tonghak Revolution, indicate this point.

³²Suh Nam-dong tried to find a co-relation between the change

and transformation in arts style and the process of liberation.

³³The religious Messianic expectation has been the central thesis to demand a universal justice which ought to be realized through culture and history. See Kim Chi-ha, "The Dream of Revolutionary Religion", in Living Theology in Asia, ed. John C. England (London: SCM, 1981), pp. 21-5.

³⁴See Hyun Yong-hak, Minjung Theology, 1981, pp. 47-54.

³⁵Lee Hong-ku, "The Essence of the Korean Nationalism", in The Korean Nationalism, 1976, pp. 171-200.

³⁶We can see such an instance from the Tonghak Revolution.

³⁷Whether or not they were from the yangban class, they have shared the same consensus as defeated people.

³⁸Kim Yong-bock, "Theology of Cultural Mission", Christian Thought (Kodok-gyo Sasang), No. 303, September 1983, pp. 17-8.

³⁹Kim Yong-bock notes these phenomena as cultural crises in his article "Cultural Mission". cf. Charles H. Kraft, Christianity in Culture, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1981). Kim Yong-bock, Christian Thought, September 1983, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁰H.R. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper and Bros., 1951).

⁴¹Kim Yong-bock, Christian Thought, September 1983, pp. 20-21.

⁴²Yoo Tong-sik, 1978, pp. 169-71. Here he notes three points: nationalism, self-identity, and social justice.

⁴³Yoo Tong-sik, 1978, p. 173.

⁴⁴Yoo Tong-sik, 1978, pp. 176-8.

⁴⁵See Chae Hi-wan, "Cultural Movement in the 70's", in Culture and Political Rule (Seoul: CISJD, 1982), pp. 168-219.

- ⁴⁶Kim Yong-bock, The Korean People and Christianity, 1981, pp. 164-5.
- ⁴⁷Kim Yong-bock Minjung Theology, p. 186.
- ⁴⁸Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, p. 189.
- ⁴⁹Kim Yong-bock, The Korean People and Christianity, 1981, pp. 164-5.
- ⁵⁰See J.M. Kitagawa, ed. the Comparative Study of Religion (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958). Joachim Wach, Types of Religious Experience: Christian and Non-Christian (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1951).
- ⁵¹Suh Nam-dong, A Study of minjung Theology, 1983, pp. 162-5.
- ⁵²See Suh Nam-dong, "Re-actualization of Crucifixion and Resurrection", Church and World (Monthly Journal of KNCC), April 1983.
- ⁵³Suh Nma-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology, 1982, pp. 234-5.
- ⁵⁴Suh Nam-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology, 1983, pp. 305-6.
- ⁵⁵See Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1973).
- ⁵⁶Jose Miguez Bonino, Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation (Philadelphia; Fortress Press, 1975), p. 69.
- ⁵⁷Bonino, 1975, xii.
- ⁵⁸Suh Nam-dong, A Study of Minjung Theology, 1983, p. 136.
- ⁵⁹Suh Nam-dong, Minjung Theology, p. 178.
- ⁶⁰Bonino, 1975, p. 71.
- ⁶¹Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, pp. 186-7.
- ⁶²John C. England, Living Theology in Asia, 1981, vii.
- ⁶³Kim Yong-bock, Minjung Theology, 1981, p. 192.

⁶⁴Suh Nam-dong totally rejects the effort to secure such an ideology of "Establishment".

⁶⁵Suh Kwang-sun, Minjung Theology, p. 16.

⁶⁶Kim Yong-bock takes the example from the Church under the Nazis and the churches which associated with the political rulers. Kim Yong-bock, "New Task of the People and the Religions in the Third World", in History and Christianity, ed. Chung Sang-bock (Seoul: Minjung-sa, 1981), pp. 217-28.

CHAPTER VII

¹The traditional historical view centered on the history of the dynasties has dominated the interpretation of Korean history. However, the School of Neo-nationalism, whose leaders were Sohn Jin-tae, Moon Il-pyong and Shin Chae-ho, developed the new historical scholarship which argued for socio-economic perspectives in historical methodology.

²cf. Lee Man-youul, The Understanding of Korean Modern Historical Science (Seoul: Munhak and Chisung, 1981), pp. 62-64.

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