

# **An Essay on Changes in Republican Ideas and the Nationalist Movement Activists' Recognition of the Need for Coexistence with Other Peoples**

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## **Foreword**

It is often said that the formation of nation states was completed by the 20th century and that the process of globalization is being carried out in the 21st century. In this era of globalization, barriers between nations are being lowered and exchanges between them are on the increase. Under such circumstances, there is a greater need to establish the conditions for peaceful coexistence with other peoples, particularly the Chinese and Japanese, than ever before.

Compared to people in other countries, Koreans are in a unique situation, as they have not yet completed the process of becoming a single nation state due to the division of the two Koreas and the general feeling that historical relations have not yet been properly arranged between Korea, China and Japan, which means that the conditions for coexistence among the East Asian countries are not yet ripe. Nonetheless, Koreans should work together with the other East Asian countries to solve the problems common to them. The shared history of the three East Asian countries shows that they have made efforts for peaceful coexistence with each other, while occasionally becoming embroiled in conflicts which have caused social upheaval for each of them.

This paper intends to shed light on the process by which Koreans have made efforts to coexist with the other East Asian nations, establish their identity, and differentiate themselves from the others based on a sense of rivalry. Koreans embarked upon just such an interactive movement in the period 1910–1945—a movement which most Koreans actually regarded as an anti-Japanese colonist national movement. This paper also views the Korean movement against the Japanese in the period starting from 1931 as an anti-war movement.

Significantly, this paper intends to focus on the efforts made by

Koreans to adopt and spread the republican ideology in the process of finding the nation as a group ego that differentiates itself from others, while exploring the possibility of coexistence with other peoples amid the wider nationalist movement that was being carried out internationally.<sup>1</sup> An approach to the issue from the perspective of the history of the national movement should inevitably focus on the activities carried out by Koreans in foreign countries, particularly in China.<sup>2</sup> Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this study are divided according to landmark moments in the history of the nationalist movements, i.e. Japan's annexation of Chosŏn (Korea) in 1910, the Independence Movement in March 1919, and the Manchurian Incident in 1931, and deal with what the major national movement organizations, whether socialist or nationalist, actually represented. Despite various limitations, this paper is thought to bear some significance as the first attempt to analyze the history of Korea's nationalist movements based on the themes of republicanism and the need for coexistence with other peoples. It is also thought to be significant that a paper with such a theme is presented in Japan.

## **1. Pursuit of Political and Ideological Independence**

### **1) Getting over the Theory of Peace in Asia, and People and Nations as the Prime Actors of Competition**

In the Peasant War of 1894, the Korean peasant troops were defeated by the Japanese Army, which had been called in by the Korean government. In the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), the Chinese troops were defeated by the Japanese Army. In the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), Russia was defeated by Japan. Effectively, Japan was one step closer to ruling over Korea as its colonial master, despite certain complications, such as the Tripartite Intervention. In 1905, Japan established the Residency General in Korea and started preparing to make Korea its colony, suppressing the resistance put up by righteous army and those engaged in the campaign for the restoration of national sovereignty. The international community was not interested in blaming Japan. At that time, the imperialist powers maintained mutually cooperative relations, recognizing each other's vested interests and forming a united front against the resistance of the oppressed peoples. In East Asia, Sino-centric dominance was replaced by an

international order centered on Japanese imperialism. Koreans were unable to form organized resistance against Japan's annexation of Chosŏn (Korea) in 1910, following the Japanese military's clampdown<sup>3</sup> on Korea's righteous army, and the imperialist powers did not level any criticism against Japan.

Following its victory in the 1904–1905 war against Russia, Japan began preparing to make Korea its colony, establishing the Residency General in Korea. Korean righteous army put up resistance against the Japanese and a group of people were engaged in the movement to restore the nation's sovereignty.<sup>4</sup> Groups of Koreans, including the *Shinminhoe* (New People's Association), feeling resentful about the forced dismissal of Korean troops by Japan in 1907 and the dethroning of Emperor Kojong, found it necessary to build up their power. The members of the *Shinminhoe* decided to engage in a long-term struggle against the Japanese imperialists by setting up bases for the Independence Movement in the Littoral Province of Siberia and Manchuria in 1909.<sup>5</sup>

The Japanese Emperor's declaration of war against Russia (heralding the Russo-Japanese War) included a phrase stating the recognition of the need for the independence of Korea and the maintenance of peace in Asia. Thus, ordinary Koreans sincerely wished to see Japan emerge from the war victorious. They worked hard for the Japanese troops, carrying provisions such as food and equipment over long distances, and building roads and bridges. They welcomed the Japanese troops returning from battle at the end of the war, expecting that Japan would keep its promise about the future of their homeland. In November 1905, Itō Hirobumi came to Korea as Japanese Ambassador and bribed the leaders of a Korean organization known as the *Ilchinhoe* (One Step Forward Society) to issue a statement in favor of Japan. Under his orders, the Japanese troops intimidated the Korean Royal Court and the government into signing a treaty and plundered their property. Upon seeing this, all Koreans, young and old, felt deeply resentful. This was the start of misfortune for all of Asia as well as for Korea ... First of all, we should kill him to restore our homeland's independence and

maintain peace in Asia.<sup>6</sup>

The foregoing passage is an extract from the unfinished “Tong’yang p’yŏnghwa non” [Theory of Eastern Peace] written by famed Korean patriot An Chung-gŭn immediately before his execution in a prison cell in Lushun after shooting dead Itō Hirobumi in Harbin, Manchuria in October 1909. An regarded Ito as a stumbling block to Korean independence as well as to peace in Asia.

An Chung-gŭn countered the false idea of peace in Asia asserted by the Japanese leaders, including Itō Hirobumi, from the perspective of a Korean. Shin Ch’ae-ho, for his part, laid the groundwork for getting over the Japanese view of peace in Asia by defining nationalism theoretically. He gradually came to view the Western powers, and Japan, from the perspective of anti-imperialistic nationalism.

Shin Ch’ae-ho thought that Korea fell under Japanese rule due to a lack of strong, sound nationalism. He added that nationalism was the only way to resist imperialism, saying, “We should arouse the spirit of nationalism. Let’s preserve the nation, keeping in mind that the fate of our nation should be developed by us.”<sup>7</sup> He believed that nationalism should be led by grassroots movements rather than by the king and a few bureaucrats or intellectuals.<sup>8</sup> In other words, he saw that the people should be the prime actors in the nation’s rivalry with Japan. As yet, the form of nationalism embraced by him did not take up position against imperialism. He accepted the international order dominated by imperialism as a principle, as he adopted the order based on the Universal Law and social Darwinism.<sup>9</sup>

The shameful events of Japan’s annexation of Korea in August 1910 served as an occasion to turn Shin Ch’ae-ho’s ideas into anti-imperialistic nationalism. In his article entitled “Sin kyoyuk (Chŏng’ik) kwa aeguk” [New Education and Patriotism], which was published right after the annexation, Shin appeared to lay greater emphasis on the nation than on the people as the prime actor in the rivalry with Japan.<sup>10</sup> He thought that the national characteristics inherent in Korea’s customs, ways of thinking, language, climate, history and religion were the core values that constituted the basis for patriotism.<sup>11</sup>

## 2) The Spread of Republican Ideology among the Grass Roots

As shown by the traces of republicanism adopted by the *Shinminhoe* in 1909 and thereafter, a small number of anti-Japanese movement activists explored the possibility of a change in their ideology even before 1910, when the nation was annexed by Japan.

Koreans engaged in the anti-Japanese movement in 1910 adopted three leading alternatives to the political ideology to be adopted by the nation: 1) Restoration of the absolute monarchy that asked for the establishment of a government in exile and the launch of an anti-Japanese movement to regain national independence; 2) establishment of a constitutional monarchy that asked to help Emperor Kojong escape to a foreign country to establish a government in exile and launch an anti-Japanese movement to regain national independence, and; republicanism that asked for the establishment of a Provisional Government in a foreign country, the launch of an anti-Japanese movement, the restoration of national independence, and the establishment of a democratic government. By about 1917, those advocating republicanism out of the three alternatives accounted for the majority of those engaged in the nationalist movement, which was one of the ideological features of the movement as it was carried out in the 1910s.

The Declaration of Great Unity for the Great Common Cause of the Nation (See the following.) made in July 1917 shows what they had in mind as regards the republican ideology at that time.

... On August 29 (1910), Emperor Sunjong gave up three national treasures, namely the land, the people and political rights, and we fellow activists took them over. Since that day, we have never had a moment of respite. We being completely legitimate heirs, the moment that the rights of the Korean Emperor expired became the start of our civil rights, and the last day of the Old Korea became the first day of the New Korea. Our nation has been the country for and of Koreans since the beginning of history. The transfer of sovereignty by and between Koreans has been the nation's unwritten Constitution. The transfer of sovereignty to a non-Korean is essentially invalid and can never be accepted by the Korean people. Accordingly,

Emperor Sunjong's abandonment of sovereignty in 1910 shall be deemed to be a tacit transfer of those rights to us fellow activists, and we shall naturally have the privilege of continuing to rule the country by handing on the three treasures and the accompanying obligations to succeed to the Royal line.<sup>12</sup>

The foregoing declaration shows that they believed that the sovereignty of the "New Korea" lay with the people and with the abandonment of sovereignty by Emperor Sunjong, the last emperor of Imperial Korea and the Chosŏn Dynasty, meaning that the emperor would have had no right to continue ruling the country once it had regained its independence.

The declaration was signed by most of the important nationalist movement leaders who were carrying out political activities overseas. It is a very important document in that it helps us to understand the political ideology held by the leaders of the nationalist movement at that time. The leaders drew up a plan to establish an institution through which the various nationalist movement organizations could discuss the nation's future in unity, and then develop the institution into a provisional government whose goal would be to regain independence through the anti-Japanese movement. Ultimately, the Provisional Government was set up in Shanghai in September 1919 as a body that integrated similar organizations established in Seoul, Vladivostok and Shanghai into one, advocating the idea that sovereignty lay with the people.

The nation had no opportunity to experience a civic revolution as west European countries had done. Imperial Korea (1897-1910) lost its sovereignty to the Japanese imperialists; thus, Koreans did not have an opportunity to experience democracy at that point in time. What, then, made Koreans under Japanese rule adopt the republican ideology as an alternative, even though Sunjong, the last emperor of Imperial Korea, was still alive at that time?

First of all, it is necessary to examine the international situation of that period more closely. At that time, the prime actors of the Korean nationalist movement were exiled in a number of foreign countries, including China, Russia and the U.S. Naturally, they were sensitive to the situations in the countries where they were staying as well as to changes in

the international situation.

In this respect, it is necessary to note that the Xinhai Revolution that occurred under the leadership of Sun Wen in 1911 advocated republicanism and called for an end to the Qing Dynasty. This must have been a great shock to those asking for the restoration of an absolute monarchy based on the worship of Chinese civilization.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, it could be compared to the shock felt by progressive intellectuals in non-Socialist countries the world over when, in the period running from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, the Socialist Bloc, including the Soviet Union, collapsed and the workers, the backbone of Socialist society, turned their backs on their respective regimes.

It is also necessary to pay attention to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The war, which was waged between the imperialist countries, ended with those pursuing the democratic republican system winning victory over those adopting (constitutional) monarchy. The U.S., which played a great role in helping the democratic republican factions win the victory, led other countries advocating republicanism and asserted the need for protection of democracy as one of the causes for its involvement in the war.<sup>14</sup>

A change in the political situation in Japan at that time should also be noted. In the period 1912–13, there was a movement for safeguarding Constitutionalism and putting a stop to the clan-centered social structure in Japan. At that time, Japan introduced the Taisho Democracy to its society and started establishing the political party-based Cabinet system.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, it is also necessary to note the fall of the Czar in Russia, which was brought about by the Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Lenin in October 1917. The new socialist country founded by the Bolsheviks constituted a body of power that had never before existed. They won the support of workers and peasants by speaking up for their interests and provided support for liberation movements carried out by oppressed nations. Such an attitude of Russia made leaders of overseas nationalist movements feel very friendly toward it.

Now, let's look at the prime actors of the Korean national movement. The Chosŏn Dynasty, which maintained a clearly vertical social class system, with the King at the apex of the pyramid, lost its sovereignty to Japan in August 1910. National movement activists found it necessary to attract as many people as possible to their cause in their struggle against a

powerful Japan. It was clear that they could not win the general public's support if what they strove for was to return to the previous social system ruled by the nobility after regaining the nation's independence. As shown by the Declaration of Great Unity for the Great Common Cause of the Nation in 1917, people attributed the deprivation of the nation's sovereignty to the Emperor and the ruling class. Under such circumstances, it was only natural that they should present the vision of a new nation that could vie with Japan, and ask people to take part in the struggle against Japanese colonists in order to enjoy their rights in the new independent country. Such an idea was summarized in that declaration.

The idea of Great Unity for the Great Common Cause of the Nation is rooted in the idea of the World of Great Harmony adopted by Confucian scholars in Korea and China.<sup>16</sup> In other words, the emphasis on the need for the great unity of Koreans in the 1910s, which was based on the idea that the sovereignty lay with the people, was made not merely in consideration of the prevalent situation or out of strategic need: in fact, it had a philosophical basis in its own right. Moreover, the idea of Great Unity for the Great Common Cause of the Nation even had the need for unity among all humanity in mind. It appeared in a variety of forms in the ensuing period.

In March 1919, a state funeral was held for Emperor Kojong. On the first of March, more than two million Koreans or about 10 percent of the entire population took part in the Independence Movement. According to the Japanese colonial authorities' statistics, the majority of 8,511 Koreans arrested during the protest demonstrations in the March–May 1919 period were grass roots, i.e. peasants (58.4%), intellectuals, youths and students (20.8%), those engaged in commercial and industrial businesses (13.8%), menial workers (3.9%) and the unemployed (3.1%).<sup>17</sup> Many of the participants in the protest demonstrations appear to have harbored the expectation that they would be given their own farmland once their nation regained its independence.<sup>18</sup> The majority of them took actions based on their own subjective judgment rather than blindly following others.

A wide variety of ordinary people took part in the protest demonstrations, which led to the emergence of peasants' or workers' movements in the ensuing period. Until that time, ordinary people on the Korean Peninsula had never formed regular organizations capable of

expressing their critical opinions against the ruling class. The Independence Movement that started in March 1919 rapidly spread nationwide. It was a historical event that showed that the republican ideology could take root among the general public. It was the first instance of popular democracy expressed in the shape of anti-imperialistic nationalism to be adopted by the general public. In other words, popular democracy began to take shape in combination with anti-imperialistic nationalism in Korea.

## **2. The Division of the National Movement and Realistic Accommodation of the Need for Coexistence**

### **1) Republican Ideology and Consciousness of Need for Coexistence Takes Root in Korea**

The Independence Movement started by the general public in March 1919 led to the establishment of separate Provisional Governments in Vladivostok, Seoul and Shanghai. The three provisional governments established an integrated Provisional Government in Shanghai along with the provisional national assembly in September 1919.

The integrated Provisional Government was participated in by the Korean Socialist Party, which was formed in Habarovsk, Russia in 1918 as the first Korean socialist movement group. The three Provisional Governments and the Korean Socialist Party representing their areas all advocated republicanism, although there had been no previous communications or coordination of opinions between them. It was an incident that showed the majority of Koreans were not interested in going back to monarchy after independence. The establishment of the integrated Provisional Government meant the organizational reflection of such a flow.<sup>19</sup>

Let's now check the Provisional Charter for the Republic of Korea and the platforms adopted by the Provisional Government at that time:

#### *The Provisional Charter*

Article 1: The Republic of Korea shall be a democratic republic ...

Article 3: The Republic of Korea shall be a country in which all people, both men and women, will live

in equality ...

Article 7: The Republic of Korea will hereby let it be known to the world that as a country founded pursuant to God's intention, it will join the Union of Nations to contribute to the culture and peace of humankind ...

*Platform*

1. We will let our great cause, namely equality between people, nations and humankind, be known throughout the world ...<sup>20</sup>

The foregoing Article 1 of the Provisional Charter shows that the establishment of the Provisional Government was based on the republican ideology. The Provisional Government aimed to establish a country in which all people would be treated equally as indicated by Article 3. The Platform shows that the Provisional Government aimed for equality between people, nations and all humankind. This shows that the idea of the need for unity contained in the aforesaid declaration made in 1917 was inherited by the Charter and the Platform.

Here, we need to shed light on two points. First, the Provisional Government's aim to build a country in which all people would be treated equally, as stated in Article 3 of the Charter, seems somewhat unrealistic as it fails to consider the socioeconomic layers of Korean society under the Japanese colonial rule. It must be one of the features of the country that did not undergo a process of civic revolution, unlike the countries in Western Europe.

Second, the Provisional Government's attempt to carry out its anti-Japanese movement through the Union of Nations based on its desire for unity among all humanity had certain limitations. The Provisional Government also attempted to coordinate its activities with independence fighters operating in Manchuria with the support of the international community, including the Union of Nations led by the U.S.<sup>21</sup> Yi Sŭng-man, the first President of the Provisional Government, proposed to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson that Korea be put under the control of the Union of Nations for the time being.<sup>22</sup> Many Korean national movement

activists, including leaders of the Provisional Government, made diplomatic efforts or prepared armed struggles in expectation that the international community would note the illegitimacy of Japan's colonial rule over Korea in 1921.<sup>23</sup> However, the Union of Nations led by Western powers protected the interests of the victorious countries, including Japan, in handling post-war matters following the end of World War I. In many cases, Koreans' anti-imperialistic nationalism, as identified by a few national movement activists including Shin Ch'ae-ho, failed to lead to a consistently critical attitude toward imperialist countries other than Japan.

## **2) The Division of the Republican Faction and Consciousness of the Need for Coexistence with Other Peoples Is Made More Concrete**

Signs of new changes started to appear despite the limitations of the anti-imperialistic nationalism. Youths, students and intellectuals paid greater attention to the general public, many of them being ignorant and poverty-stricken. Following the failure to obtain a substantial result from the Independence Movement in 1919, they saw the need to explore alternatives to the national movement. They noted the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and they observed the attitude countries the world over, including the Soviet Union, were adopting toward the Koreans' wish for independence at the Washington Conference (November 1921–February 1922) and the Comintern's Far East People's Representative Council (January–February 1922). They also saw the appearance of complicated conflicts following the establishment of the Provisional Government, depending on ideologies and Independence Movement methods adopted and relevant regions. After all, the general public was a result of the efforts to find an alternative. Even *The Independent*, the organ of the Provisional Government, carried the following editorial, proposing to set up a new independent movement strategy based on populism.

We are carrying out our Independence Movement for freedom and a better life ... Here and there within our movement, dark spots, which appear to be movements carried out by members of the privileged classes, have been seen. There are still those who express their views as if they belong to a special patriot class from the era of Emperor Sunjong ... Most of the general public

accommodates the dominance of such a class unquestioningly. Clearly, this is due to a lack of self-illumination on the part of the general public. However, the privileged class, which has behaved like this traditionally, should also receive blame. The independence movement should not be monopolized by heroes. All those who suffer should arise. All those who suffer from oppression should join in the movement.<sup>24</sup>

Such an attempt at popularizing the Independence Movement, i.e. the attempt to focus on the role of the general public—in contrast to the patriotic heroes of the Imperial Korea period—in the national movements and link it to the strategy of struggle appears to have taken place in the following three ways:

The faction that first raised the need for an anti-Japanese struggle in the process of the spread of populism was Ŭiyŏltan (Righteous Brotherhood), a leading anarchistic organization formed in Jilin, China in 1919. Shin Ch'ae-ho's Declaration of Chosŏn's Revolution (January 1923) is the literature that shows the ideology of the organization most clearly. Shin Ch'ae-ho insisted that the means for direct popular revolution should be implemented. He criticized the theories and ideas concerning independence in internal affairs, self-governance, political rights, the cultural movement, diplomacy, preparations, and so forth, raised by some Koreans, asserting that Koreans should stop daydreaming about such notions. He referred to the righteous army waging the struggle against the Japanese colonists as "scholars who arose out of resentment about the cause of loyalty to the king and patriotism." As to An Chung-gŭn's shooting of Itō Hirobumi in October 1910, he called it "an action which was fervent, but lacked the foundation of populist capability." He said, "The Independence Movement in 1919 contained the popular spirit in the sounds of hurrahs, but failed to have the central force of violence."<sup>25</sup> In short, Shin Ch'ae-ho thought that the nation should regain its independence through direct violent struggle on the part of the general public, and that an independent country capable of speaking up for their interests should be established.<sup>26</sup>

The second such example was the Socialist Movement Faction represented by the Chosŏn Communist Party. In the period following the 1919 Independence Movement, young Korean intellectuals both in and out

of Korea adopted the socialist ideology from Japan and the Soviet Union in an attempt to find alternatives to the national movement. Various Communist groups formed in the process of spreading the socialist ideology expanded their forces by drawing in workers, peasants, youths and students. One such faction, the *Hwayohoe* (Tuesday Society), joined the others to form the Chosŏn Communist Party in April 1925. The party headquarters in Korea established the General Operation Bureau in Manchuria, maintaining a network of operations in Tokyo and Shanghai. It continued to exist until 1928.

The declaration and platform adopted by the Chosŏn Communist Party at the time of its establishment are not available. However, the Chosŏn Communist Party Declaration made in July 1926 in the name of its Central Execution Committee expressed its commitment to the formation of a single national front for struggle against the Japanese imperialists and the establishment of a democratic republic in which the working class would be treated decently, and in which "all the powers of the country will lie in the legislative branch of the government elected by the people through direct, secret and equal election and universal suffrage."<sup>27</sup> This indicates that it planned to operate the government through the executive and legislative branches only.

With the collapse of the leadership, the third Chosŏn Communist Party was launched in September 1926, advocating the construction of a people's republic after regaining independence. There is no knowing what difference they perceived between a democratic republic and a people's republic, but the two goals they had in mind appeared to include the belief that the legislative branch should be composed through universal suffrage, as stated in the Chosŏn Communist Party Declaration. However, upon the launch of the third Chosŏn Communist Party, they referred to the construction of a Soviet-style republic in the national movement period as "radical progress," and the construction of a bourgeois-type republic as "sluggish progress," rejecting both clearly.<sup>28</sup> It can be surmised that they held such a view even at the time of the initial launch of the party.

The opening part of the Chosŏn Communist Party Declaration says, "All proletariats of the world and the oppressed people in Asia should unite."<sup>29</sup> The Chosŏn Communist Party had the aim of carrying out the national movement and constructing a country that would sympathize with

the working class of the world and the oppressed nations in Asia.<sup>30</sup> Although such a position had its roots in Marxist and Leninist advocacy of proletarian internationalism, it appears that it had its own systematic and concrete structure, although the populism of the early 1920s lacked sufficient research into how the general public could be united and how they should look to the future.

The third faction that appeared with its attention paid to the role of the general public was the social nationalists.<sup>31</sup> Many of those classified in previous research as belonging to overseas national movement factions are included herein. It was from the mid-1920s that the socialistic form of nationalism appeared among the nationalist movement faction.

In 1926, the Tamul (meaning "Restoration") Party (established in 1923 under the name of the Tamul Youth Party) fixed its platform and the direction of its activities.<sup>32</sup> The party took the position that the nation could only regain its independence if various organizations united faithfully based on a common perspective. It said that the goal could not be attained by those insisting on national capitalism, those insisting on direct proletarian revolution and rejection of the national movement, or those insisting on national liberation as the revolutionary class of the world. It insisted on building a new socialist country desired by all people, primarily by effacing the class consciousness of the general public, helping to stabilize the everyday life of people, struggling against the Japanese colonists, and driving out the capitalist system.<sup>33</sup> Its aims were made clear through its platform as follows:

1. We shall drive out our enemy and build a new country in which all people can enjoy equality in their everyday lives.
2. We shall drive out imperialism and the capitalist system.
3. We shall form a joint united front with the liberation movements carried out by the weak and small countries and the oppressed classes.<sup>34</sup>

One thing that can be understood with regard to the Tamul Party's Platform is that there was a change in the idea concerning the need for unity embodied by the Declaration of Great Unity for the Great Common Cause of the Nation and the Charter of the Provisional Government in the

process of carrying out an Independence Movement centered on the general public and setting up the construction of an independent country. The change included the insistence on unity among all Koreans sympathetic to the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist movements. The idea of "unity with all countries the world over" was also changed to that of "unity with weak and small countries and the oppressed classes." In short, they started noting the existence of multi-strata systems in both Korea and the world, unlike in the past when they spoke up for the vague concept of unity. Thus, it can be said that the generality of the anti-imperialistic nationalism of Koreans started to stand on a firm spiritual basis. What the Tamul Party spoke up for could also be found in the platform of the Korea Revolutionary Party formed in Jilin, China in 1926 and in the national movement theory adopted by it.<sup>35</sup>

Most of the members of the Tamul Party and the Korea Revolutionary Party belonged to the *Chǒng'ũibu*, which played a leading role in the Korean nationalist movement carried out in Manchuria. Although not an organization authorized by the Chinese government, the *Chǒng'ũibu* acted like a local government, collecting taxes from Koreans in the area and running schools for them. It ran what was known as *tunjǒn*, a state-run system under which groups of farmers grew crops on state-owned farmlands or newly secured lands near the border areas in order to secure military provisions or financial resources. However, such Koreans were not provided with rights corresponding to their duties, although their rights were stated in the Charter. Similar methods of operation were adopted by the *Ch'amũibu* (General Staff Headquarters) and *Shinminbu* (New People's Government).<sup>36</sup> As in the Imperial Korea period, people were still regarded virtually as semi-slaves even by these three organizations, each of which had adopted the democratic republican system.<sup>37</sup> During the colonial period, such a one-way method of organizational operation was justified for unity in the name of the struggle against the Japanese and for the nation's independence.

Among those engaged in national movements, the Socialist Nationalism Faction, which was separated from those aiming to build a capitalist country after gaining independence, appeared elsewhere than Manchuria. It was An Ch'ang-ho who appeared to adopt such an attitude in 1927 among those operating in mainland China.

In his speech made in Shanghai in July 1926, An Ch'ang-ho, insisting that the national identity and the political system should be chosen from among Communism, democracy and monarchy in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the general public, said the following:

I am not sure what my belief is called. I support the opinion of those saying that large-sized production facilities should be state-owned. As one belonging to the proletarian class, I know that I ought to struggle against the wealthy and those with capital for the sake of the poor. However, for now, I think that all Koreans, both the haves and the have-nots, both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, should be united as one in the struggles against Japan and for national revolution.<sup>38</sup>

An Ch'ang-ho also took an active part in the Korean Independence Party led by the Provisional Government faction in Shanghai in November 1929. The Korean Independence Party proposed the building of a new democratic country that would provide equal opportunities in politics, economy and education, in addition to equality in everyday life for individual people internally, and equality among nations and peoples externally, according to the contents stated in its platform.<sup>39</sup> After all, his aims were in essence no different from those of either the Tamul Party or the Korea Revolutionary Party.

The Chosŏn Communist Party, which advocated the creation of a socialist movement, and the Tamul Party, the Korea Revolutionary Party, the Korean Independence Party and An Ch'ang-ho, all of whom favored the adoption of a form of socialistic nationalism, held different views on equality and the contents of democracy they would adopt in the new country to be built after regaining national independence. The former aimed for the principle of a democracy in which the working class would achieve hegemony. However, the latter denied the establishment of a hegemony held by socialists, while holding onto an anti-capitalism and anti-imperialist position. This unique ideology was arrived at by transforming the need for the unity for the great common cause of the nation from the nation's socialist-nationalist perspective based on the nation's reality as a colony and on populism. The two also differed from

each other over the idea of establishing relations of coexistence with other peoples. The Socialist Movement Faction advocated proletarian internationalism centered on the Soviet Union, while the Socialist Nationalism Faction stressed the need for equality between the oppressor nations and the oppressed nations, and between nations generally. Nonetheless, the two factions had one thing in common: Having noted the existence of the multi-strata system in Korea, they advocated international solidarity with other weak and small nations against the Japanese imperialists rather than propose a vague populism, thereby differentiating themselves from anarchistic populism.<sup>40</sup>

### **3. The Substantiation of Republicanism, and the Spread of Conflicts and Symbiotic Relations**

#### **1) Socialist Movement Faction Advocates a Soviet-Style Republican System and a People's Republic**

After Japan initiated the Manchurian Incident in September 1931, many Koreans in Manchuria chose to fight against the Japanese invaders. At that time, Koreans belonging to the Socialist Movement Faction and the Socialist Nationalism Faction in Manchuria made quite different choices from each other, aside from the ideology they held on to.

Korean socialists in Manchuria started joining the Chinese Communist Party in 1929, thinking that they could help with the Chinese revolution first and then make preparations for revolution in Korea, all in accordance with the one-party-in-one-country principle. By the time the process was completed in April 1931, more than 96 percent of the 1,190 members of the Chinese Communist Manchurian Province Committee were Koreans. As of January of the same year, more than 90 percent of the 1,500-plus members of the Communist Youth Corps were Koreans, mostly from poor farming families.<sup>41</sup> This shows that many Koreans, judging that the democratic revolution in China would end in success and hoping that Korea might follow in its footsteps, chose to join the Chinese Communist Party. Thus, Koreans played a core role in the initial formation of the 1st to the 7th Armies of the Northeast People's Revolutionary Forces, which were led by the Chinese Communist Party, when the Manchurian Incident broke out. In effect, what Korean socialists in Manchuria did was to

engage in an act of symbiosis with arms for national survival.

However, the republicanism embraced by Korean socialists in Manchuria in 1931 differed from that advocated by the Chosŏn Communist Party in the 1920s. The former embraced the Soviet-style republican system; the latter held on to the principle of universal suffrage.<sup>42</sup> The Soviet-style republican system adopted the vocational representation system, differentiating people according to their vocation, i.e. workers, farmers or soldiers, in their right to candidacy for the parliament. Korean socialists who engaged in the movement for the reconstruction of the Chosŏn Communist Party in the 1930s copied this idea to a considerable extent.<sup>43</sup>

In July 1937, the Japanese Army invaded mainland China, thereby starting the Sino-Japanese War. With mainland China turning into a huge battlefield, Korean socialists switched to the 'People's Republic' system, while engaging in an act of symbiosis for national survival. The Ten Platforms of the Association of Koreans in Manchuria for Homeland Liberation spoke up for it in a symbolic sense. Item 1 of the Platform expressed their commitment to forming a united front against the Japanese with the aim of putting a stop to Japan's colonial rule over Korea and establishing an independent people's government in Korea.<sup>44</sup> It was an effort to attract as many factions as possible to the campaigns against the Japanese. It can be said that the Association returned to its original position, i.e. the establishment of a republican government through universal suffrage independence as advocated by the Chosŏn Communist Party in the 1920s.

All along the way, Korean socialists aimed for the formation of a society where the working class was to achieve hegemony, regardless of the type of republican principle they adopted. They used the name DPRK or the People's Republic in connection with their aim to establish a republican system either in mainland China or in Korea in the period between the commencement of the activities of the Association of Koreans in Manchuria for Homeland Liberation and the nation's liberation in August 1945.<sup>45</sup> This means that they rejected the Soviet republic system. The guidelines adopted by the socialist movement factions concerning alternate powers and democracy coincided generally with the flow of the international communist movement following the Comintern's decision in

1935 to push ahead with the anti-fascist people's front movement and the anti-imperialist national unification front movement.

## **2) Socialist Nationalist Faction's Parliamentary Republican System**

At the time of imperial Japan's invasion of Manchuria, three leading Korean nationalist factions with a socialist tendency were operating in Manchuria: namely the Korean Revolutionary Party (under the Kungminbu) operating in southern Manchuria, the Korean Independence Party belonging to the Autonomous Association of Ethnic Koreans, and the Korean Independence Army operating in northern Manchuria.

Unlike the socialists in Manchuria, these groups had their own system of command and waged joint operations against the Japanese in alliance with Chinese units supporting the Kuomintang politically.<sup>46</sup>

Let's briefly look at the Kungminbu, about which there remain ample materials attesting to its political position.<sup>47</sup>

At its second Central Congress in September 1929, the Kungminbu proposed the building of a Soviet-style government for workers and peasants once independence was regained.<sup>48</sup> Its advocacy of republicanism was not much different from that advocated by the Socialist Movement Faction. However, it appears that such a position did not last long. In 1934, the Chosŏn Revolutionary Party, having inherited the Platform of the People's Revolutionary Party formed in mainland China, made a proposal for the "construction of a true democratic republic, the securing of equality in people's everyday lives, and the promotion of peace for all mankind."<sup>49</sup> The Kungminbu also proposed "to engage in joint struggles in solid unity with oppressed peoples the world over."<sup>50</sup>

The Chosŏn Revolutionary Army, which belonged to the Kungminbu, did not carry out joint operations with the guerilla units led by the Chinese Communist Party even in mutually overlapping areas of operation until 1934. Sometimes, the two even took hostile positions against each other. In the period following September 1933, the Chinese Communist Party's Southern Manchuria Special Committee withdrew its hostile attitude toward the Koreans, while the Chosŏn Revolutionary Army also started changing its attitude toward the Chinese around 1934. Finally, in 1936, the Chosŏn Revolutionary Army organized bodies of joint struggle against the Japanese with the Chinese Communist Party-led guerrilla units and armed

units supporting the Kuomintang. In 1938, some troops of the Chosŏn Revolutionary Army participated in operations carried out by the Chinese Communist Party's units. This marked the end of the organized movements carried out by the Socialist Nationalist Faction in Manchuria.

In the meantime, the socialist-nationalist ideology proposed by An Ch'ang-ho, who had stayed in mainland China, and the Korean Independence Party was reflected concretely and with considerable sophistication in the National Foundation Platform of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea promulgated in November 1941.<sup>51</sup> Let's now look at Chapter 3 (National Foundation), Paragraph 2 of the Platform:

The second period of national foundation shall require the following: A Constitution based on equality in three sectors, i.e. politics, economy and education, shall be adopted; The goal of nationalizing the entirety of national land and large-sized production facilities shall be carried out; High-quality education shall be provided to all school-aged children; Universal and equal suffrage shall be held; All local administrative units shall be properly established; The poorest class of people in both urban and rural areas shall find their status enhanced materially and spiritually.<sup>52</sup>

Chapter 3 (National Foundation), Paragraph 4 of the Platform states people's basic rights and obligations in detail. Thus, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea consistently held on to the idea of a parliamentary republican system based on the belief that the sovereignty of a nation should lie with the people throughout the whole process of (its) development, i.e. the Provisional Charter in 1919, the Korean Independence Party's Platform in 1929, and the principle of national foundation based on equality in politics, economy and education as drafted by Cho So-ang in April 1931.

## Conclusion

This paper has looked at how Koreans' republican ideology and view of

the need for coexistence with other peoples changed and developed under national movements during Japan's colonial rule of Korea.

In the period following Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, the democratic republican ideology based on the need for unity for the great common cause of the nation spread rapidly among ordinary Koreans and national movement activists, who opened their eyes to the stark reality of the national situation and the changes in the international situation. Following the Independence Movement in 1919, Koreans adopted various ideologies, including socialism. Amid the spread of populism, the Socialist Nationalism Faction and the Socialist Movement Faction proposed various democratic republican ideologies (including parliamentary republican, Soviet-style republican, people's republic, and democratic republican systems), noting the existence of a multi-strata system among the Korean people. Throughout the diversification and division of the democratic republican ideology, Koreans gradually overcame the lack of spiritual thoroughness of their anti-imperialistic nationalism, which remained buried under the influence of theories of Universal Law and Social Darwinism.

The Socialist Nationalism Faction gradually concretized and refined its ideology. It envisioned a World of Great Harmony in which people could enjoy equality in all sectors. The Socialist Movement Faction came to settle for a democratic (people's) republican system based on universal suffrage, after making a variety of proposals. The "democratic reform" of the North Korean Temporary People's Committee started in 1946 can be said to have been among the goals which the Socialist Movement Faction embraced.

In the process of being reborn as republics, a number of Western European countries abandoned feudalism via revolution and set forth the basic principle of the people's sovereignty based on freedom, equality and democracy. The republican ideology that Koreans adopted during the period of Japan's colonial rule also embraced this basic principle. However, Koreans lacked the opportunity to adopt it through first-hand experience. It could not serve as a solid principle of application for them under the colonial rule. Moreover, such a principle could not secure its position in people's everyday lives in the period following the nation's liberation in 1945, when ex-collaborators with the Japanese colonists, who had never been engaged in the anti-Japanese struggle to realize the republican

ideology, were ruling the country. This is not to say that the basic principle could not have easily secured its position in people's everyday lives if the faction that proposed the adoption of the basic principle of republicanism while struggling against the Japanese had come to rule the country after the liberation. That is because the nation lacked the opportunity to fundamentally change the notion that the people were semi-slaves even through the struggles for independence led by the Chǒng'ũibu, Ch'amũibu and Shinminbu in Manchuria. This area requires further research, but one thing appears to be clear: Koreans needed an extended process of democratization during which the basic principle of republicanism could be settled deep in their minds. Also, their efforts to enlighten people could only be limited, given the backdrop of anti-Japanese struggles aimed at bringing an end to Korea's status as a colony.

Concerning the recognition of the need for coexistence with others, most average Koreans have traditionally failed to show friendliness toward strangers readily, while not providing hospitality or protecting the rights and benefits of the minority properly. That was one of their intrinsic limitations.

However, things have since changed dramatically. With the rapid progress made in terms of democratization and civic movements, Koreans are gradually getting over their limitations concerning the basic principle of republicanism and the need for coexistence with other peoples. In the 21st century, they are engaged in positive movements for joint prosperity and peace among the East Asian peoples, despite a series of repeated conflicts over historical issues.

## NOTES

- 1) Republicanism is sometimes divided according to its style, i.e. republicanism under direct or indirect democracy, republicanism under the parliamentary system, or Soviet-style republicanism (i.e. a People's Republic). This paper will make the approach from the latter viewpoint.
- 2) Those engaged in domestic nationalist movements in the 1920s were divided into nationalists who were either willing or unwilling to compromise, or into leftist or rightist nationalists. It is difficult to determine whether they embraced the republican ideology and the need

for coexistence with other peoples due to the limitations of the materials on hand.

- 3) For details, see “Honam ūibyōng’e taehan Ilbon’gun hōnbyōng kyōngch’arūi t’anap chakchōn” [The Japanese Military and Police Clampdown Operation against the Korean Righteous Army in Honam], *Yōksa kyoyuk* [History Education], no. 87, September 2003.
- 4) Cho Tong-gōl, *Han’guk minjokjuūi sōngnipkwa tongnip undongsa yōn’gu* [Study on the Establishment of Nationalism in Korea and the History of the Independence Movements], Chishik Sanōp Publications, 1989.
- 5) Yun Kyōng-ro, *105 in sagōn yon’gu* [Study on the Case of the One Hundred Five], Ilchisa, 1990.
- 6) *Dong-a Ilbo*, September 19–24, 1979.
- 7) *Kaejōngp’an tanjae Shin Ch’ae-ho chōnjip* [Revised Collection of Shin Ch’ae-ho’s Writings], Hyōngsōl Publishing, 1977, pp. 108–109; “Chegukjuūiwa minjokjuūi” [Imperialism and Nationalism], *Taehan Maeil Shinbo* [Korean Daily News], May 28, 1909.
- 8) *Kaejōngp’an tanjae Shin Ch’ae-ho chōnjip pyōljip* [Revised Special Collection of Shin Ch’ae-ho’s Writings], Hyōngsōl Publishing, 1987, pp. 210–229; “20 segi shin’gungmin” [New People in the 20th Century], February 22–March 3, 1910.
- 9) Pak Ch’an-sūng, “Hanmal Shin Ch’ae-hōūi yoksagwan’gwa yoksahak” [Shin Ch’ae-ho’s View of History toward End of Imperial Korea], *Han’guk munhwa* [Korean Culture], no. 9, 1988, p. 318.
- 10) *Tanjae Shin Ch’ae-ho chōnjip* [Revised Collection of Shin Ch’ae-ho’s Writings], 1977, pp. 133–134.
- 11) Chōng Ch’ang-yōl, “Kūndae kungmin kukka inshikkwa naesyōnōllijūm sōngnip kwajōng” [Process of Formation of Recognition of Modern Nation State and Nationalism], *Han’guksa* [Korean History], no. 11, 1994, pp. 76–77. In the 1910s, many national movement activists in foreign countries were studying the ancient history of the Korean Peninsula. They were engaged in research on the nation’s ancient history to locate the national identity, find the cause for resistance against foreign intrusion and secure the central force of their movement.
- 12) “Taedong tan’gyōl sōnōn” [The Declaration of Great Unity for the Great Common Cause of the Nation], *Collection of Han’gukhak*

- nonch'ong* [Koreanology Treatises], no. 9, 1987, p.4.
- 13) However, it presented a serious problem that the consciousness of belittling Chinese civilization was faced with a decisive turning point caused by an external shock rather than by their efforts. This also made them unable to see the limitations of the insistence that sovereignty lay with the people based on the theory of unity.
  - 14) Cho Tong-göl, “1910 nyöndae tongnip undong’üi pyönc’h’ön’gwa tüksöng” [Characteristics of the Independence Movement in the 1910s], op. cit., pp. 371–372.
  - 15) Kawato Sadafumi, *Nihon no seitō seiji 1890–1937nen* [Party Politics in Japan, 1890–1937], University of Tokyo Press, 1999, pp. 99–180.
  - 16) It refers to an ideal society in which those with wisdom and ability are encouraged to do their bit, the old and weak are protected, all youths find opportunities to work, and senior citizens are respected.
  - 17) Kondō Ken’ichi, *Manse soyo sagön* [Incident of Koreans’ Riot], vol. 1, 1964, pp. 223–227.
  - 18) Tongnip Undongsa P’Yönc’h’An Wiwönhoe P’Yön (Committee for the Compilation of the History of the Independence Movements) ed., *Tongnip undong saryojip* [Collection of Historic Materials concerning Independence Movements], vol. 6, 1972, p. 987; Kuksa P’Yönc’h’An Wiwönhoe P’Yön (National Institute of Korean History) ed., *Han’guk tongnip undongsa* [History of Korean Independence Movements], vol. 2, 1968, pp. 676–678, 895 and others.
  - 19) In Manchuria, there was an armed organization named *Üigunbu*. It was the last national movement organization to seek reinstatement of the monarchy (in February 1923). The collapse of such organizations was confirmed with the formation of organizations with new names from 1923–25 in Manchuria. For details, see Shin Chu-baek, “1920 nyöndae chunghubanüi tongnip chönjaengnon’gwa chach’i munje” [The Movement for the Independence War in the 1920s and the Issue of Self-autonomy] in *1920–30 nyöndae chungguk chiyök minjok undongsa* [The History of Korean National Movements in China in the 1920s and 1930s], Sön’in, 2005.
  - 20) Kuksa P’Yönc’h’An Wiwönhoe P’Yön (National Institute of Korean History) ed., *Han’guk tongnip undongsa* [History of Korea’s Independence Movements], vol. 3, 1968, pp. 326–327.

- 21) Shin Chu-baek, “1920 nyŏn chŏnhu chaeman hanin minjokjuũijaũi minjok hyŏnshire taehan inshigũi pyŏnhwa—Tongnip chŏnjaengnon’gwa kwallyŏnhayŏ” [Changes in the View of the Nation’s Reality by Korean Nationalists in Manchuria in the Early 1920s], *Han’guksa yŏn’gu* [The Study of Korean History], no. 111, 2000.
- 22) Tongnip Undongsa P’Yŏnch’An Wiwŏnhoe P’Yŏn (Committee for the Compilation of the History of the Independence Movements) ed., *Tongnip undongsa charyojip* [Collection of Historic Materials concerning Independence Movements], vol. 9, Koryŏ Sŏrim (Korea Publishing), 1975, p. 509.
- 23) Shin Chu-baek, op. cit.
- 24) “Tongnip undong’ũi minjunghwa” [Popularization of the Independence Movement], *Tongnip Shinmun* [The Independent], September 30, 1922. *Tongnip Shinmun* appears to have carried a series of articles concerning the history of Russia, the history of revolutions, and socialism.
- 25) *Kaejŏngp’an tanjae Shin Ch’ae-ho chŏnjip* [Revised Collection of Shin Ch’ae-ho’s Writings], 1977, pp. 35–46. In the early days, *Ŭiyŏltan* harvested noticeable results in punishing Japanese leaders through individual acts of violence. However, the sacrifice of the members was great, while the effect was minimal. It was transformed into a socialist movement organization in 1926.
- 26) Here, we can see that there had been a change or development in his thinking. Unlike in the period preceding 1910 when he put up people, he started putting up mobs composed of workers and peasants, paying attention to the multi-strata composition of the nation. Kang Man-gil attributed it to the experience of the Independence Movement in 1919 and to the changes in the national movement in the ensuing period. Kang Man-gil, “Shin Ch’ae-hoũi yŏng’ung, kungmin, minjungjuũi” [Shin Ch’ae-ho’s Heroes: People, Populism] in Tanjae Shin Ch’ae-ho Sŏnsaeng Kinyŏm Saŏphoe P’yŏn (The Shin Ch’ae-ho Foundation) ed., *Shin Ch’ae-hoũi sasanggwa minjok tongnip undong* [The Philosophy of Shin Ch’ae-ho and the National Independence Movement], Hyŏngsŏl Publishing, 1986, pp. 314–321.
- 27) *Pulkkot* [Flame], no. 7, September 1, 1926. Kajimura Hideki and Kang Dŏk-sang, eds., *Hyŏndaesa charyo* [Modern History Materials], vol. 29, Misuzu Shobŏ, 1972, pp. 419–421.

- 28) Kim Chun-yöp and Kim Ch'ang-sun, eds., *Han'guk kongsanjuï undongsa* [The History of the Communist Movement in Korea], Ch'önggye Yön'guso, 1986, pp. 226–227. Quoted from the resolution adopted at the third Chosön Communist Party Convention in January 1928.
- 29) *Pulkkot* [Flame], no. 7, op. cit.
- 30) Korean socialists who carried out activities in mainland China thought that a leading revolutionary issue in the Far East was the Chinese issue and applied themselves to it. They took an active part in Chiang Kai-shk's Northern Expedition in 1927 and the Guangdong Commune led by the Chinese Communist Party in 1928 (Nym Wales and Kim San, *Song of Ariran: A Korean Communist in the Chinese Revolution*, 1941; translated by Cho U-hwa, 1984). However, such symbiotic activities were not carried out so widely before the 1920s.
- 31) An attempt could be made to categorize them according to various criteria, but not in this paper.
- 32) *Tamul* means "restoration." The Party carried out activities in Liuhe and Huadian of Manchuria.
- 33) "Kōkei no.182, September 30, 1926, Tamul tō no kinjō ni kansuru ken" [Current Status of the Tamul Party], Kyōngsōng District Court, *Chōngbo* [Information], p. 652; "The Tamul Party in Liuhe and Sanyuanpu, September 30, 1926," *Nihon gaimushō keisatsushi—Kairyū bunkan-hen* [The History of Japanese Foreign Affairs Ministry: Kairyūbunkan], pp. 5649–5656.
- 34) "Kōkei no.182," op. cit., p. 655.
- 35) Many of the leaders of the Korea Revolutionary Party carried out activities as officers of Chōng'uibu. Thus, it can be said that they played the role of the ruling party in Chōng'uibu between 1926 and 1928. For more details, see Shin Chu-baek, *Manju chiyōk haninüi minjok undongsa (1920–1945)* [The History of National Movement by Koreans in Manchuria (1920–1945)], Asia Munhwa, 1999, pp. 118–123.
- 36) For activities of the three organizations, refer to Shin Ju-baek, *ibid.*, pp. 76–128.
- 37) Kim Tong-t'aek, "Kündae kungmin'gwa kukka kaenyōmüi suyong'e kwanhan yōn'gu" [A Study of Adoption of Concepts of Modern People and State], *Taedong munhwa yōn'gu* [Taedong Culture Research], no.

40, 2002.

- 38) “Onül uritüi samyöng” [Our Mission Today], *Tongnip Shinmun* [The Independent], September 3, 1926.
- 39) For the Platform, refer to *Tosan An Ch’ang-ho chönjip* [The Collection of An Ch’ang-ho’s Writings], vol. 6, 2001, pp. 827–828.
- 40) Leaders of the Socialist Movement Faction and the Socialist Nationalism Faction tried to form a united front leadership from 1927, but all their efforts were in vain due to the struggle for dominance and because of the influence of the first collapse of the collaboration between Nationalists and Communists in China in 1927.
- 41) For details, see Shin Chu-baek, op. cit., pp. 257–285. Other relevant texts include: “Chunggong Manjusöng wigüp Chung’angjök pogo—Kwanu Manju chöngch’i kyöngje sanghwang küpki hangguch’e kongjak munje, 1931.4.24” [The Report Submitted by the Manchurian Province Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to the Central Committee: Concerning the Politico-Economic Situation in Manchuria and Some Matters about Vocations, 1931.4.24] in *Tongbuk chigu hyöngmyöng yöksa mun’gön hoejip* [A Collection of Writings on the History of Innovations in Northeast Asia], op. cit., A8, pp. 16–20; “Tanmanjusöng wi shibiwölbun chojik pogo, 1931.1.3” [An Organizational Report Made in December by the Manchurian Province Committee, 1931.1.3], op. cit., A7, pp. 238–240.
- 42) In a way, it could be called a parliamentary republican system.
- 43) For details, refer to Shin Chu-baek, *1930 nyöndae minjok haebang undongnon yöngu—Kungnae kongsanjuüi undong charyo p’yön* [A Study of the National Liberation Movement in 1930s: Materials concerning the Domestic Communist Movement] I, Saegil, 1989.
- 44) “Chungguk kongsandang’üi Chosönnae hang’il inmin chönsön kyölsöng mit ilchi sabyön hubang kyonan sagön” [The Chinese Communist Party’s Formation of a People’s Front against the Japanese in Korea and the Incident of Rear Area Harassment during the Sino-Japanese War] in Kang Tök-sang ed., op. cit., 30, pp.265–266. Formed in 1936, the Association of Koreans in Manchuria for Homeland Liberation operated chiefly in Kapsan-gun, Hamgyöngnam-do and Changbai Province, China. It collapsed in 1938 due to a Japanese crackdown. For details, refer to Shin Chu-baek, op. cit., pp. 433–479.

- 45) The leading ones were the Korean Independence League formed in Huabei, China in 1942, and the Kyōngsang Com Group formed in Seoul in 1939. Concerning the latter, see Shin Chu-baek, *1930 nyōndae kungnae minjok undongsa*, op.cit., pp. 119–176.
- 46) Shin Chu-baek, op. cit., pp. 317–335.
- 47) The Korean Independence Army halted its armed struggle in Manchuria in October 1933.
- 48) “Chōhohi no. 2069, November 26, 1929, kokuminfu dai ikkai chūō gikai no tenmatsu ni kansuru ken” [Matters concerning the First Central Congress of the Kungminbu], pp. 14–15.
- 49) “Shinp’ahi no. 342, June 19, 1937, Chōsen kakumeigun no jōkyō ni kansuru ken” [Matters concerning the Chosōn Revolutionary Army], p. 771.
- 50) “Chōhohi no. 2069,” op. cit.
- 51) The National Foundation Platform was written by Cho So-ang based on equality in three sectors, i.e. politics, economy and education, in expectation of Japan’s defeat in the Pacific War and in preparation for the foundation of a new country.
- 52) Ch’oe Chong-gōn, *Taehan Min’guk Imshi Chōngbu Munsō Jimnam* [The Collection of Documents of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea], Chiinsa, 1976, p. 263.

## Summary

### An Essay on Changes in Republican Ideas and the Nationalist Movement Activists' Recognition of the Need for Coexistence with Other Peoples

This paper has attempted to shed light on the political ideologies and the views of other peoples embraced by the national movement factions during the colonial period. It has also attempted to examine the historic origins of the democratic philosophy of Koreans and how the various national movement factions viewed the other peoples surrounding their homeland during the division of the democratic republic ideology.

During the 1910s, Korea's national movement factions adopted West European-style republicanism as an alternate ideology without an accompanying civic revolution based on the belief that all Koreans should be united as one in the struggle against the powerful Japanese imperialists. They attributed the deprivation of the nation's sovereignty to Emperor Sunjong and the ruling class. At that time, changes in external conditions, such as the Xinhai Revolution, World War I, and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, inevitably had an impact on Koreans. The Declaration of Great Unity for the Great Common Cause of the Nation made in 1917 served as an occasion on which to confirm Koreans' adoption of West European-style republicanism. The establishment of the integrated Provisional Government in Shanghai in 1919 signified the acceptance of this ideology among national movement activists.

In the period following the 1919 Independence Movement, various ideologies were adopted by Koreans. In the course of such a process, those engaged in the national movement were divided into the Nationalist Movement Faction and the Socialist Movement Faction, which resulted in the division of the republican ideology. In the mid 1920s and thereafter, the Nationalist Movement Faction turned into the Socialist Nationalist Faction, while the Socialist Movement proposed various alternate forms of power in the 1920s and the 1930s. The two factions shared several things in common: namely, the anti-Japanese struggle, which aimed to regain the nation's independence, and the recognition of the need for coexistence with

other peoples, despite their division. However, national movement activists regarded the people, who after all should be the prime actors in a democratic republic, as semi-slaves, just as previous dynasties had done. Ultimately, the nation lacked the opportunity to fundamentally change such a notion even through the struggles for independence.