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The Founding Father of Korean Democracy Beyond the Ideological Controversy: Tosan's Political Philosophy of the Humane Democracy and Its Moral Foundation

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Abstract. Although Tosan An Ch'ang-ho (Ahn, Chang-Ho: 1878–1938) is regarded as one of the key national leaders of Korea's independence movement in the early 20th century, recent scholarship has discovered that An Ch'ang-ho is "an elusive figure in modern Korean history". The debate surrounding the identity of An Ch'ang-ho as a person and as a leader in Korea's independence movement is divided among scholars according to how he is understood with regard to his involvement in the independence movement. In this paper, I argue that the controversy is largely due to the interpreters' reductionist standpoint, which fails to integrate Tosan's foundational work in moral thought with his innovative insight in political philosophy. Later in this paper, through the critical and constructive integration of Tosan's moral and political ideas, I present the concept of "humane democracy" as Tosan's original contribution to the establishment of the Korean political philosophy of democracy.

Keywords and phrases: Tosan An Ch'ang-ho (Ahn Chang-Ho), humane democracy, Korea's founding father, Korean independence movement, Korean democracy

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to reconstruct the concept of humane democracy as a distinctive Korean political philosophy of democracy by critically integrating Tosan An Ch'ang-ho's (1878–1938) foundational work in moral thought with his innovative understanding of political philosophy. The term "humane democracy" has been coined to introduce a new paradigm in the interpretation of Tosan's contribution to Korea's political thought. This distinctive concept of humane democracy will be elaborated by comparing it with the liberal and republican models of democracy. As a result of this study, I articulate an alternative political philosophy of democracy, whose political relevance and significance are compelling in today's radically globalised and pluralised society. An Ch'ang-ho's concept of humane democracy evolved out of one of Korea's most challenging and darkest moments in her history, a time particularly shadowed by Japanese colonialism against the backdrop of global imperialism. Deeply aware of the old

Korea's historical-cultural circumstances in which he detected neither the democratic liberal values of liberal democracy nor the democratic civic virtues of republican democracy, Tosan An Ch'ang-ho began to envision a new political philosophy of humane democracy, with a moral foundation established on universal values and ideals. In laying the moral foundation of humane democracy, Tosan critically appropriates various sources of the vast pool of humankind's moral-political knowledge and wisdom, which encompass philosophical and religious teachings of the East as well as the West. Although the phrase "humane democracy" is not Tosan's, I will argue that the concept of humane democracy best represents Tosan's innovative political philosophy, according to which the ultimate purpose of the democratic system is not merely to protect the individual rights of citizens, but to also to serve the enhancement of the humane society.

Before investigating the current scholarly debate on the so-called An Ch'ang-ho controversy, I will briefly describe Tosan's legacy during the early twentieth century in Korea. Tosan An Ch'ang-ho was one of the key national leaders in the early modern history of Korea. Although Korea's early modern history (from the late 19th century to the 20th century) was largely characterised by social and political instability and turmoil, including wars and colonial interventions, the early modern period of Korea was also a transforming period during which the old Korean feudal system was eventually substituted by the modern democratic political system. Tosan lived and died during this time, and his life was deeply interconnected with many turbulent and transformative events.

Regarding Tosan's work in the early modern period, it is important to recognise that Tosan was particularly distinguished from other contemporary national leaders in that he clearly understood that Korea's political independence could not be attained simply through a political or military operation without first establishing a firm moral footing among the Korean people. His innovative educational, social and organisational initiatives were deeply motivated by this understanding, and these eventually distinguished his approach from those of other national leaders. In this regard, An Ch'ang-ho was more than a political activist: he was indeed a founding father of a new Korea.[1]

The "An Ch'ang-ho Controversy"

Although An Ch'ang-ho is largely recognised as one of the greatest national leaders in Korea's early modern period, scholar consider An Ch'ang-ho to be "an elusive figure in modern Korean history" (Pak 2001, 147). As Jacqueline Pak argues, "the leading intellectuals, writers, and scholars of Korea and the West actually could not figure him out" (2001, 147). The debate surrounding the identity of An Ch'ang-ho as a person and as a leader in Korea's independence

movement is divided among scholars according to how he is understood with regard to his involvement in the independence movement. For instance, Pak defines three views in identifying An Ch'ang-ho: "gradualist-pacifist", "cultural nationalist" and "revolutionary-democrat". Pak argues that from the 1940s to the 1970s, An Ch'ang-ho was largely characterised as a gradualist-pacifist due to the popular works of Pak (2002, 111–112). In the 1980s and the 1990s, however, An Ch'ang-ho's identity began to be portrayed differently by scholars. For example, in the 1980s Michael Robinson referred to An Ch'ang-ho as a cultural nationalist, while Kenneth Wells identified him in the 1990s as a self-reconstruction nationalist by redefining cultural nationalism.[2]

Pak's tripartite categorisation, however, is not complete in delineating the entire spectrum of the An Ch'ang-ho controversy. Jung-sŏk Sŏ (Joon-Seok Seo), for example, argues in his recent book, *Korean Nationalism Betrayed*, that An Ch'ang-ho played leading roles in the "bourgeois modernization movement" along with others, such as Kil-jun Yu, Ch'i-ho Yun, and Sŭng-man Yi. According to Sŏ, An Ch'ang-ho distinguished Japan from the Western imperialist powers and did not brand Japan as an invader (2007, 51). In a critical tone, Sŏ writes, "In his many passionate and patriotic speeches he asked his countrymen to arise from their long slumber of lethargy, but it is interesting to note that he never uttered a word of criticism against Japan's imperialist invasion of Korea, nor did he exhort his countrymen to resist the so-called Protection Treaty that Japan imposed on Korea in 1905, a major stepping-stone to the colonization of the country" (2007, 28). Other scholars, however, challenge Sŏ's leftist criticism of An Ch'ang-ho. Ch'an-sŭng Pak, for instance, carefully notes that An Ch'ang-ho's nationalist view of self-reconstructionism should be differentiated from pro-Japanese self-reconstructionism (1992, 16). Unlike the pro-Japanese self-reconstructionism, An Ch'ang-ho's nationalist self-reconstructionism strategically focuses on increasing Korea's national strength in visible (industrial and educational) as well as in invisible (moral and spiritual) aspects for the eventual political independence of Korea (1992, 106).

In contrast to these views, Jacqueline Pak presents a new perspective, that of An Ch'ang-ho as a revolutionary-democrat. She asks, "Who, after all, was An Ch'angho?" (2002, 117). According to Pak, the previous characterisations of An Ch'ang-ho lack a critical component: his militaristic and revolutionary stance on the political goal of Korea's independence. By reemphasising An Ch'ang-ho's private papers, particularly his "Master Plan of Independence and Democracy",[3] which contains a detailed program of action to wage a war of independence against Japan, Pak argues that "An [An Ch'ang-ho] not only actively sought political and military means to achieve independence but also never collaborated with Japanese" (2001, 148). Composed of five major stages and 13 sub-stages, "the Master Plan is as much a mobilization road map for the independence war as

a prophetic blueprint to create a new democratic nation" (2006, 134). Pak's new paradigm, "revolutionary-democrat" provides us with a fresh perspective in understanding the multilayered and multifaceted aspects of An Ch'ang-ho's political philosophy as the most important founder of the Provisional Government in Shanghai.[4]

The so-called An Ch'ang-ho controversy regarding his revolutionary militarism, however, leaves us with an unresolved task that Jacqueline Pak does not satisfactorily address in her writings. Pak's works are primarily focused on presenting a new paradigm in understanding An Ch'ang-ho's political philosophy and strategy as a national leader of Korea's independence movement in the 1910s and 1920s. The issue on which we focus is therefore not so much a moral critique of Pak's new paradigm as it is a critical attempt to establish a bridge across the different paradigms. In doing so, we first need to critically appropriate Pak's new paradigm. Although An Ch'ang-ho developed and championed a political strategy of revolutionary militarism (especially during his Shanghai period), this should not mean that he rejected or deserted such universal moral ideals as freedom, justice, equality, and peace. On the contrary, these fundamental moral ideals were deeply embedded in the first Constitution of the Republic of Korea, which An Ch'ang-ho drafted in 1919.[5]

Indeed, although An Ch'ang-ho embraced the political strategy of revolutionary militarism, he did not reject any moral values or ideals in proposing a militaristic strategy against the colonial occupation; on the contrary, his revolutionary militarism was ultimately grounded in a universal morality. Perhaps the term "revolutionary militarism" is itself a misnomer because we could incorrectly get the impression that his revolutionary militarism was a Marxist strategy. His revolutionary militarism was, however, more akin to the Catholic tradition of "just war" theory, which stipulates that under certain conditions, resorting to war is morally justified. It is thus a mistake to posit that An Ch'ang-ho's revolutionary militarism cannot be linked with his gradual-pacifism or cultural nationalism.

Second, we need to be careful in assessing An Ch'ang-ho's revolutionary militarism. It is important to realise that he adopted the militaristic political strategy primarily as a legitimate and responsible governmental policy against the colonial government, not as an individualistic ethical stance. At this point, Reinhold Niebuhr's famous distinction between the "moral man" and "immoral society" may be helpful. In his 1932 work *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, Niebuhr argues that there are two basic social subjects, individual and group, with different moral capacities and imaginations. In individual relations, each person is reasonable enough to take account of others' interests by submerging, or even sacrificing, certain of their interests for the good of others (Niebuhr 1960, 26); in group relations, however, people will never be wholly reasonable because

their common mind and purpose will always be more or less inchoate and transitory (Niebuhr 1960, 34–35). Because of this difference, Niebuhr proposes and ratifies what is commonly known as political realism, especially in the realm of international relations.

Based on political realism, Niebuhr argues that in group relations, the moral ideal of justice can only be attained in the sense of a balance of power that legitimises the militaristic operation against the oppressive military intervention of the other group. In my view, when An Ch'ang-ho developed his revolutionary militarism in the 1910s and 1920s, he had already developed the Niebuhrian thesis of "moral man" and "immoral society". In other words, as a leader of Korea's national independence movement, An Ch'ang-ho viewed the Provisional Government's military operation in the context of group relations, that is, Korea's military operation against Japanese colonial occupation, without necessarily rejecting or denying the moral aspect of the individual person's transcendence or gradual development in moral capacity and imagination.

Therefore, we can conjecture that An Ch'ang-ho may have considered the Provisional Government's revolutionary militarism as something analogous to the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), or the American War of Independence (which he might have learned about as an adult during his two extended visits to the U.S.). According to Arthur Leslie Gardner, An Ch'ang-ho later recalled that he had attended both first and second grade classes at the local public school, during which he would have learned basic U.S. history as well as English.[6] It is not a coincidence that An Ch'ang-ho's revolutionary militarism was developed after he had first been to the U.S. in 1902.[7]

An Ch'ang-ho and Korea's constitutional democracy

Despite his revolutionary militarism, we should not overlook An Ch'ang-ho's key contribution to the emergence of the Republic of Korea, in particular his establishment of the moral foundation for the establishment of constitutional democracy in Korea. Before we discuss the details of An Ch'ang-ho's moral philosophy, however, we need to investigate how his democratic political philosophy was established, especially during his stay in the United States. According to Chin Ch'oe, An Ch'ang-ho's commitment to the democratic political system was largely due to the experiences he had while living in the United States, from 1902 to 1907 and from 1911 to 1919. Ch'oe argues that in the early twentieth century, the only Koreans who had experienced democracy were Korean immigrants living in the United States (Ch'oe 2002, 65). Other Koreans, such as those in Korea, compatriots in Manchuria, and those in Russia, were living under the tyranny of Japanese colonial rule, under the feudalistic control of Chinese warlords, or under a despotic czarist regime. The early Korean American

immigrants and settlers not only "held in awe the political system of the U.S., where they lived", but were also convinced that the new Korea should not be a monarchy, but a liberal democratic republic. Ch'oe writes, "They believed that a democratic nation was the ideal model for the new Korea, especially because checks and balances of the three governmental branches prevented abuse of power and guaranteed citizens' freedom" (Ch'oe 2002, 65).

We can trace An Ch'ang-ho's explicit appropriation of the democratic principle to as early as 1905, when he founded the United Korean Association, also known as the Commonwealth Association (Kongnip Hyŏphye), by transforming the San Francisco Social Meeting into a political association. As its first president, An Ch'ang-ho wrote a pioneering democratic constitution for the association, applying the principles of the American Federalist Constitution, which prescribed a system of separation of powers and political checks and balances. Interestingly, just as the American federal government and the local state governments comprise the basic structure of the U.S. political system, An Ch'ang-ho divided the association into a two-tiered system: the association's headquarters and the local branches (which he also helped to establish in various California cities). Commenting on the democratic nature of the United Korean Association, Pak writes that the constitution was a "product of Ahn Changho's own inimitable interpretation and application of the Presbyterian church's self-government and constitution" (2006, 133). Pak continues by saying, "the constitution was the earliest crystallisation of Ahn's constitutional democracy and practice of the rule of law" (2006, 133).

As briefly reviewed above, An Ch'ang-ho's early appropriation of democratic principles was later fully developed when he, as the acting premier, crafted the fundamental structure and constitution of the Provisional Government in Shanghai. In particular, An clearly stipulated not only the political equality of all Korean people but also the principle of checks and balances in the governing body.[8] An Ch'ang-ho's commitment to democratic principles can also be found in his leadership in managing such organisations as the Hŭngsadan, which he established in 1913 in San Francisco. According to Hyŏng-ch'an Kim, the Hŭngsadan was "based on the principle of separation of powers that was to ensure a governance system based on democratic republicanism".[9]

To investigate further An Ch'ang-ho's personal commitment to and political philosophy of democracy, a focus on his appropriation of the moral-political ideal of "inclusiveness" is necessary. For example, according to Hyŏng-ch'an Kim, when An Ch'ang-ho drafted Hŭngsadan's provisional charter, he designed it in such a way that each of the eight provinces of Korea had one representative. Kim writes, "This method of establishing provincial representation was considered crucial to the success of the organization by Tosan… Throughout his life, Tosan

continued to practice this principle of getting people from all provinces of Korea involved in organisational activities for Korea's independence" (1996, 90).[10] It is therefore reasonable to surmise that An Ch'ang-ho was keenly aware of the injustice of what we today call "discrimination". We do not know exactly how he came to have such a moral-political sensibility, but we may speculate that An Ch'ang-ho developed his keen sense of the moral-political value of inclusiveness and the injustice of discrimination out of his own experiences living as a legal alien in the early twentieth century in the U.S., which was then a widely racialised, and thus largely discriminatory, society. In my view, it is not wrong to say that although An Ch'ang-ho learned the formal-procedural aspects of constitutional democracy from the model of the U.S. democratic system, he somehow exceeded the contemporary American model with his radical concept of democracy based on the principle of non-discrimination.

Further, An Ch'ang-ho's perspective of democracy was grounded on a political philosophy deeply linked with his distinctive moral ideals and ethical values. This is a critical point because An Ch'ang-ho can provide us with a unique and original perspective regarding the genesis of a distinctive Korean democracy. It should be noted that in the Western tradition of political philosophy, from its earliest Greek models, such as those of Plato and Aristotle, to today's political philosophy of John Rawls, almost all political thought has been critically established on various moral tenets such as "moral virtue", "natural law" and "universal moral principle". For instance, Plato argues in the *Republic* that the moral virtue of justice becomes the core of a political society in the realisation of a harmonious order in the state. Thus, for Plato, justice becomes both a moral and a political ideal in the sense of the proper functioning of each constituting a part in the state as well as in the soul (Plato 1991, 101). From a different perspective, Aristotle considers the political state as a form of natural association in relation to the nature of human beings as political animals. The moral ideal of virtue, "the excellence of the soul," becomes not only the moral foundation of Aristotle's *Nicomchean Ethics* but also the political goal to accomplish in the *Politics* (1962, 33–51; 1995, 1–13).

In contemporary political philosophy, following in the footsteps of John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Immanuel Kant, John Rawls presents the principles of justice as an original agreement, which he tries to make concrete with the hypothetical setting known as the "original position". The ingenuity of the original position lies in the fact that every person in the original position cannot help thinking universally and impartially in choosing the political principles of justice. According to Rawls, in the original position, people would ultimately choose the two principles of justice. The first principle embodies the equal right of people to liberty, whereas the second principle, which he calls "difference

principle", dictates how social and economic inequalities are to be arranged (1971, 60).

Interestingly enough, we can find a familiar coherence in Rawls's political philosophy that the fundamental liberal moral values of equality and liberty become the key principles in his political philosophy. If political theories are grounded on distinctive moral values and ideals, as we have seen above, then what is the moral foundation for An Ch'ang-ho's political philosophy of democracy? To answer this question, we examine Tosan's moral thought, which we outline here as a tripartite moral ideal: the principles of truthfulness, the ethics of equal regard, and the philosophy of strength.

An Ch'ang-ho and his moral thought

The philosophical roots for Tosan's moral and political thought are both complex and intricate. According to Ŭi-su Pak, An Ch'ang-ho's moral ideals were constructed as a result of various examples available to him. Pak defines four sources that deeply influenced Tosan's moral and political ideals: Confucianism, the realism of the late Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910), Christianity, and pragmatism (Ŭi-su Pak 1991, 169). From the ages of nine to 14, young An Ch'ang-ho learned the Chinese classics at the local village school (*sŏdang*). Hyŏng-jin Kim, a noted Confucian scholar of the day, taught him from the ages of 14 to 16 (Hyŏng-ch'an Kim 1996, 18). Although the traditional Confucian schooling had a lasting impact on Tosan's way of thinking about people, society, and human relations, Confucianism, did not seem to give him positive inspiration. He later criticised the Confucian influence on the Chosŏn Dynasty by asserting that it had brought to the Korean people nothing but the harmful results of "empty theory", "dogmatic formalism", and "futile argument" (Myŏng-gyu Pak 1983, 28–75). Tosan's emphasis on the pragmatic moral ideal of *musilyŏkhaeng* was indeed his philosophical countermeasure to what he perceived as the empty, dogmatic and futile ideals of Confucianism.[11]

Regarding the influence of the realism of the late Chosŏn Dynasty, Ŭi-su Pak particularly connects Tosan's pragmatic realism with that of Yul-gok Yi (1536–1584), a preeminent Confucian scholar of the Chosŏn Dynasty who decisively influenced the Korean realism of the late Chosŏn Dynasty. Indeed, it was Yul-gok Yi who first used the term *musilyŏkhaeng*, in his book *Tongho mundap*. It is not clear, though, whether Tosan was aware of Yul-gok Yi and his philosophy of *musilyŏkhaeng*. Park argues that even if Tosan did not read Yul-gok Yi, both considered sincerity to be the basis of all righteous deeds (Ŭi-su Pak 1998, 157–158). Because the essence of Yul-gok Yi's ideal lay in the true knowledge and the true principle in life, which can only be attained with a foundation of sincerity,

we can plausibly conclude that Yulgok Yi's moral ideal was revived by Tosan and was particularly visible in Tosan's Hŭngsadan movement.

The influence of Christianity on Tosan's life and thought was not insignificant.[12] When An Ch'ang-ho turned seventeen years old, he moved to Seoul and entered Kuze Academy, a school established by the American missionaries Horace G. Underwood and F. S. Miller. At first, Tosan resisted becoming a Christian, but about a month later, he converted to Christianity. His theological stance, however, differed from that of the American missionaries, who emphasised the virtues of submission and humility. According to I-uk Chang, although Tosan was deeply Christian in all the things he did, he was not church-centred.[13] Tosan's theological view was most probably a type of social gospel similar to that found in the late 19th- and early 20th-century American theology that emphasised a social justice based on love and the gradual development of humanity.[14]

As Ŭi -su Pak notes, along with Christianity, pragmatism made a significant impact on Tosan's moral and political philosophy (Pak 1998, 169). Tosan's pragmatic perspective was drawn from various sources: his experiences in the United States from 1902 to 1907 and from 1911 to 1919,[15] the social Darwinism prevalent during this time,[16] and the works of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, a Chinese political thinker. Of these, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's influence seems to have been quite strong. For example, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's work *Ŭm-Bing-Sil-Mun-Jib* was adopted as a text of Taesŏng Hakkyo (Tae-Sŏng School), which Tosan established in Korea in 1907 for the sake of educating Korean young people. Tosan was particularly sympathetic with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's views on democratic public morals, the modern notion of nation and civil rights, freedom, self-governance and independence (Pyŏng-yong Yu 1998, 123–124). During his life, Tosan always emphasised the importance of the practicality of ideals and the gradual reformation of social structure as well as individual character.

As we have just seen, Tosan's distinctive moral and political thoughts were developed and reconstructed through various sources available to him.[17] Tosan, however, not only critically re-evaluated the sources, but also creatively reconstructed his own distinguished moral and political philosophy with a clear understanding of the historical backdrop and a deep commitment to the contemporary independence movement. We now turn to Tosan's moral reconstructionism and the specifics of his tripartite moral ideal: the principle of truthfulness, the ethics of equal regard (brotherly love) and the philosophy of strength.

The Principle of Truthfulness

For Tosan, reconstructing the principle of truthfulness among the Korean people was the most important foundational mission to accomplish. In his famous speech titled *Puhŏ wa Ch'aksil* (Vanity and Sincerity), which he delivered in 1926, Tosan claimed that the lack of truthfulness among the Korean people was essential to explaining how they came to lose their political sovereignty to Japan.[18] Before he began to criticise Japanese colonialism, however, Tosan first tried to identify an internal reason in the morals and culture of the Korean people. Deplorable as it was, Tosan did not attempt to gloss over or close his eyes to the moral evil that was then prevalent among the Korean people. The moral evil that he identified and named was the absence of truthfulness and sincerity among his fellow Koreans. For Tosan, the moral concept of evil was divided into two varieties: external evil and internal evil. Although his ultimate political goal lay in defeating the external evil of Japanese colonialism, Tosan believed that defeating the external evil should be paralleled with overcoming the internal evil. By seriously thematising the internal evil in the midst of the sweeping dominance of the external evil, An Ch'ang-ho developed and was committed to a unique and far-reaching view in constructing a new Korea.

Indeed, that Tosan tried to discover an internal cause of Korean suffering in the absence of truthfulness among the Korean people shows not only his remarkable virtue of honesty but also his critical capacity to look into the deeper layer of social-historical phenomena. If Tosan, like other nationalists, had identified the source of the evil exclusively in the external cause, that is, Japanese colonialism, his moral and political philosophy would not have been reconstructionist. Recognising deceitfulness and falsehood as a serious moral evil set against the Korean people, originally caused by empty theory, futile argument, and inert doctrinarianism, Tosan tried to reconstruct the moral principles of truthfulness and sincerity, especially among young Korean students. For instance, at Taesŏng Hakkyo, he educated young boys and girls with the primary precepts of sincerity and truthfulness. According to Pyŏng-uk Ahn, Tosan told his students, "Keep away from deceit even at the cost of your life" (Mun-sŏp Ch'oe 2004, 114). He also told them, "Don't tell a lie even for a joke. Repent bitterly if you have lost truthfulness (sincerity) even in a dream" (Mun-sŏp Ch'oe 2004, 114). Further, Tosan demanded that his students study sincerity to reconstruct the weakened nation. "The only way to restore our nation lies in sincerity. Let each one of us become a person of sincerity so that our nation would become the nation of sincerity" (Mun-sŏp Ch'oe 2004, 114). Indeed, Tosan not only believed in the transforming power of truthfulness but also tried to carry out his conviction personally as well as publicly. In this regard, it would be too limiting if we were to characterise Tosan solely as a revolutionary militant because he dedicated

himself to the higher moral criterion of truthfulness as an indispensable component of reconstructing Korea.

Regarding the principle of truthfulness, we must regard it as not merely an absence of lies. There is a more profound meaning in Tosan's philosophy of truthfulness. First of all, truth for Tosan was not solely a matter of facts and concepts. He encouraged his students to harbour sincerity and honesty in their hearts. In other words, for Tosan, truthfulness was a matter for each person's heart rather than one's mind. An Ch'ang-ho seems not to have been fully confident about the capacity of reason in terms of helping one lead the true life. In this regard, we might say that An Ch'ang-ho incorporated Augustinian realism into his worldview, but his moral realism was largely of his own construction. Interestingly, Tosan distinguished between the truthfulness of the heart and statements of truth in the mind. The main difference between these two is that while the latter is manifested only as an idea or concept, the former cannot help but realise itself as a practical reality. We can affirm this point through a further explication of his thoughts on *musil* and *yŏkhaeng*.

Musil and *yŏkhaeng* are two of the four fundamental principles of the Hŭngsadan, which Tosan established in the U.S. in 1913.[19] The words *musil* and *yŏkhaeng* mean "truth-seeking" and "truth-acting", respectively. The ideals of *musil* and *yŏkhaeng* purport to enable people to lead their lives in accordance with truth and justice. Tosan believed that there was an intrinsic, inseparable relationship between *musil* and *yŏkhaeng* in that *musil* encompasses *yŏkhaeng*. For Tosan, *yŏkhaeng* cannot exist without *musil*. As Ŭi-su Pak notes, "A full comprehension of truth always accompanies an action of belief. Action without true knowledge is like a taking a voyage on a ship without a compass to navigate with. Therefore, sincere conduct must be guided by true knowledge" (Pak 1998, 163). Ŭi-su Pak also states that Tosan established his ideals through his own experiences and observations in life, rather than acquiring them from literature. "No matter how valuable an ideal or a philosophy was, if it was not accompanied by corresponding actions, it had no meaning to Tosan" (Pak 1998, 169).

It is true that there is a similarity between Tosan's philosophy of truthfulness and American pragmatism in that both insist on knowledge as the instrument for action. Tosan's ideas, however, differ from American pragmatism because, unlike pragmatism, Tosan believed that there are essential and constant moral and political truths, such as the political principle of self-determination for a people and the ethical principle of reciprocity for individuals. Thus, for Tosan, the Korean independence movement was a movement based on truth, and the commitment to this truth was a moral right for the Korean people.

The Ethics of Equal Regard (Brotherly Love)

The second moral spirit of Korea that Tosan tried to reconstruct was the ethics of equal regard (brotherly love). Throughout his life, he wanted to see all Korean people love each other. In an article published posthumously in 1946 in *Hŭngsadanbo* titled "A Sentient Society and a Merciless Society", Tosan diagnosed Korean society as suffering from the disease of mercilessness. (P'yŏng-sŏk Yun and Kyŏng-no Yun 1997, 359–365). He claimed in his writing that although the Korean people knew how to pay respect to superiors due to the influence of Confucianism, they had forgotten how to love each other on an equal basis. He perceived that regrettable as it was, almost all social relations of the Korean people, including those of parents to children, elder brothers to younger brothers, mothers-in-law to daughters-in-law, and husbands to wives, were deeply influenced by the spirit of mercilessness (P'yŏng-sŏk Yun and Kyŏng-no Yun 1997, 361). For this reason, Tosan wanted to reconstruct the ethics of brotherly love among the Korean people. He thus appealed to his followers to devote all their efforts to constructing a sentient society. It is not clear, however, whether his philosophy of love is evidence that he was influenced by Christianity.[20] Nonetheless, no matter its origin, Tosan emphasised mutual love and the cultivation of an ethics of love between all people.

Tosan's ethics of brotherly love is exemplified by his enactment of *chŏngŭi tonsu,* which was an important spiritual ideal for the Hŭngsadan movement. While *chŏngŭi* means mutual love, *tonsu* means cultivation with depth (Kwang-su Yi 1972, 201). Tosan's *chŏngŭi tonsu* is thus distinguished by its principal emphasis on the "mutual cultivation of brotherly solidarity". The concept of *chŏngŭi tonsu* becomes the moral bedrock of his political philosophy of humane democracy. The idea of *chŏngŭi tonsu* was so central to the Hŭngsadan movement that anyone who wanted to join Hŭngsadan was required to be well versed in the concept. It is well known that candidates for membership had to undergo a rigorous interview process testing their comprehension of basic Hŭngsadan philosophy. In an interview recorded by Kwang-su Yi, Tosan presented the important idea that love is not something that occurs automatically. Rather, love is something that we have to strive to attain, just as we have to dig deeper to get water from a well that has dried up.

> Q: Mr. X, have you ever tried to study how to love?
> A: I have always thought that love came about automatically, so I have not.
> Q: If a spring automatically gushes up, why do we dig wells?
> A: In order to have more water available.
> Q: Aren't there instances when you dig a dried up well and it begins to flow again?

A: There are many such cases.
Q: There are also cases where nothing happens when you only dig a little, but when you dig deeply, water flows.
A: Now that is studying how to love!
(Gardner 1979, 179; Kwang-su Yi 1972, 201)

According to a sermon Tosan gave in a Korean church in Shanghai in 1919, love is the supreme principle of the happiness of humankind, and it must be revealed through one's actions (I-uk Chang 1976, 172). He also professed that the central essence of Christian spirituality lies in the act of love, and the act of love requires us to give and share our material resources with others in need (I-uk Chang 1976, 172). For Tosan, the Christian ideal of love was more than a particular religion's doctrinal stipulation, and because he discovered something universal in the ideal, he wanted to translate it into his reconstructive vision. He even called for the principle of non-resistance in dealing with one's fellow human beings. "If our compatriot beats us, let us be beaten. If he abuses us, let us be abused. Let us not pay evil with evil among ourselves, but let love guide us" (Mun-sŏp Ch'oe 2004, 325).

The Philosophy of Strength

The last component of the tripartite Korean moral philosophy that Tosan reconstructed is the philosophy of strength. On 7 July 1921, while staying in Shanghai, Tosan wrote a letter to his comrades in the Hŭngsadan movement in the United States, Mexico, and Hawaii. In this letter Tosan professed the gist of his own philosophy of strength. According to Tosan, Koreans had not yet developed the amount of strength required for the recovery of their sovereignty. For this reason, he urged the Korean people by saying, "What I earnestly want to ask you is this: Build up your strength. Build up your strength" (Pyŏng-uk An 1972, 70).

Tosan's philosophy of strength reflected his deep commitment to the reconstructionist vision. Tosan observed that Korea confronted three bankruptcies in those days: economic bankruptcy, intellectual bankruptcy, and moral bankruptcy. To correct these three bankruptcies, Tosan developed his reconstructive philosophy of strength with which he wanted to restore the three types of capital: economic, mental, and moral (Pyŏng-uk An 1972, 70). Of these, Tosan believed that moral capital was most profoundly and urgently necessary for the Korean people.

Regarding the matter of strength, Tosan posed three fundamental questions: What is strength? Where does it come from? And how can we build up our strength? For Tosan, strength was the determining and productive source of all reality. His

personal experiences during the time of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 made him begin to think about the importance of national strength or power. Tosan stated that weak power produces insignificant results and that strong power produces significant results (Pyŏng-uk An 1972, 69). He distinguished between two kinds of strength: physical, such as military and economic strength; and spiritual, such as morality and patriotism. This distinction is key because we can ascertain here that his "revolutionary militarism" is not only philosophically grounded but also morally incorporated into his political philosophy. Although Tosan emphasised the importance of the former, he did not undermine the significance of the latter. (Myŏng-gyu Pak 1983, 139). Tosan believed that the independence of Korea should be ultimately realised through the strength of the Korean people. For this reason, Tosan avowed, "I reach nothing but the conclusion that what we can rely on for our independence is but our own strength. Therefore, members of our Hŭngsadan are those from the start who believe in their own strength and lament our insufficient strength" (Pyŏng-uk An 1972, 69).

Tosan also argued that strength is not something given to us by chance or by luck. Strength is, rather, the outcome of hard work. Thus, to build up strength, we ought to work hard on an individual level, and then later, we have to concentrate all work done by individuals. Tosan's primary interest lay in building up national strength because without national strength, the Korean people could not create national independence out of Japanese colonialism. However, Tosan perceived that the two factors most conducive to expanding national strength are the cultivation of a sound personality and the sacred unity of those possessing such a personality. For this reason, in his famous treatise "Speech to Korean Youth", published in *Tonggwang* in 1931, Tosan stressed that the building up of Korean strength should be attained through the training and unity of individuals with strength. (P'yŏngsŏk Yun and Kyŏngno Yun 1997, 356). Throughout his life, Tosan was devoted to enabling young Korean men and women develop sound personalities. Among the several organisations that he established, the Hŭngsadan was the most conspicuous. Tosan's vision is well reflected in the records of his interviews with candidates for membership in the Hŭngsadan.

> Q: What relation to the strength of our nation is the fact of whether or not we have one more self-improved, wholesome character among our people?
> A: I think that with the increase of every single wholesome character among our people, to some extent, the strength of our whole people would increase.
> Q: In what way?
> A: Firstly, a person with a wholesome character will carry out his function in society well and there is strength in that; secondly, a person with a wholesome character is admired

> by other people and can become an important leader and in this way increase the nation's strength; thirdly, a wholesome character can become a model and other people are influenced by that model and this, I think, also affects the strength of the nation as a whole.
>
> (Gardner 1979, 181)

For Tosan, therefore, the way to patriotism for each individual is to cultivate a sound personality within oneself. Regarding Tosan's philosophy of strength, we should notice that its philosophical idea was grounded on his fundamental anthropology. Tosan referred to a human being as a "self-reforming animal" in his speech titled *Kaejo* (Reconstruction), which he delivered in Shanghai in 1919 (P'yŏngsŏk Yun and Kyŏngno Yun 1997, 251–258). For Tosan, the fact that a human being can reform itself is a fundamental truth, not only for his philosophy of strength, but also for his grand reconstructionism. Tosan saw in the possibility of the transformation of individuals the reconstruction of the nation and her political identity. In the same speech Tosan stated, "If you love Korea as I do, let us reform Korea in cooperation. We must reform her education and religion, her agriculture and industry, and her customs and conventions. We must also reform her food, clothing, and housing, her cities and rural communities, her rivers and mountains" (P'yŏngsŏk Yun and Kyŏngno Yun 1997, 253). This statement shows us how profound and fundamental his grand reconstructive vision for a new Korea was.

An Ch'ang-ho and Humane Democracy

As examined above, if there is an intrinsic relationship between political philosophy and its moral ideal, how should we characterise An Ch'ang-ho's political philosophy of democracy? Are there any unique and original aspects in his political philosophy of democracy? How would An Ch'ang-ho's tripartite moral ideal differentiate his political vision from other types, such as a liberal or a republican model? Would his philosophy of democracy ultimately be liberal because he endorsed and promoted the concept of individual liberty and rights? Alternatively, would his philosophy of democracy ultimately be republican because he emphasised the substantial ethical lifeworld (the Hegelian notion of *Sittlichkeit*) and the substantive value commitment of society as we have identified it in terms of the tripartite moral ideal? Finally, how would his political philosophy contribute to the further development of Korean democracy?

It is true that Tosan's political philosophy of democracy has both liberal and republican elements; however, that there is something unique in Tosan's political philosophy of democracy that is not achieved either by the liberal ideal or by the republican political ethos. Distinguishing Tosan's political vision from both the

liberal and the republican, Tosan's political philosophy of democracy is a humane democracy. In other words, for Tosan, the ultimate purpose of the democratic political system lies in the construction of a humane society of *universal* solidarity beyond the *narrow* promotion of individual rights or the *particular* consolidation of a society's traditional value commitments. How may we more substantively characterise Tosan's humane democracy?

First of all we need to note that An Ch'ang-ho, as Pyŏng-yong Yu notes, had liberal democratic ideals until the mid-1920s (Yu 1998, 121). His liberal democratic philosophy, however, was significantly transformed after the mid-1920s, largely due to his political involvement with different groups active in the independence movement in China, such as socialists and nationalists. During the 1920s, while democracy was the basic underlying principle among nationalists, Russian Bolshevism was the popular ideology among socialists. As Pyŏng-yong Yu argues, "They [Koreans] participated in Bolshevik movement not because they agreed with the underlying principles of the Bolshevik Revolution, but instead they thought their involvement would bring Russia's support for Korean independence" (Yu 1998, 122).

Although Tosan had never abstained from his political commitment to democracy, he seems to have been greatly inspired by socialism (the non-Bolshevik socialism of Europe), and he began to incorporate its utopian vision into his political philosophy. Instead of selecting either nationalism or socialism, Tosan tried to resolve divergences between these two political philosophies by combining elements from both. (Pyŏng-yong Yu 1998, 121). His philosophy of Great Equity (*Taegong Chu'ŭi*) was an exemplary outcome of his critical endeavour to integrate both nationalist and socialist ideals. Emphasising the equality of *all* people, particularly political, economic, and educational equality, Great Equity addressed the primacy of public service over personal matters. According to Tong-kŏl Cho, the philosophy of Great Equity "called for the creation of a democratic social policy … [which] promoted equality in politics, economy, education, and race after Korean national independence was attained" (Cho 1998, 85). Tosan's philosophy of Great Equity, developed under the influence of socialism in China in the late 1920s, shows us that his political philosophy of democracy after the mid-1920s was foundationally distinguishable from his prior support of liberal democracy, even though he was still committed to liberal ideals.

Tosan's philosophy of democracy after the mid-1920s was also different than the modern republican model. Given that the word "republicanism" refers to a specific ideology based on civic virtue in modern political science, the significant lack of a democratic civic virtue among the Korean people under Japanese colonialism caused Tosan to search for an alternative basis of democratic civic

virtue among various external sources rather than from an internal tradition. In fact, the political concept of Great Equity and the tripartite moral ideal were Tosan's highly creative and constructive efforts to substantiate a democratic civic virtue among the Korean people. According to Tosan, the rule of the people's public will was the basis for democratic civic virtue. He thus emphasised that the concrete expression of Great Equity lay in the people's submission to the public will or policy drawn from the public discourse among free people. He argued that the public idea or policy should be put before individuals. As Yong-kook Chŏng argues, the philosophy of Great Equity must be clearly distinguished from totalitarian ideology because the "Great Equity highlights individuals' voluntary service for the sake of the greater good of the society" (Chŏng 1990, 80). In this regard, Tosan's political philosophy of democracy was akin to the republican model; however, we should not overlook the important point that the substantive contents of his civic virtue embedded in his philosophy of Great Equity and his tripartite moral ideal were largely appropriated from the vast pool of the humankind's various sources of moral and political wisdom. This is why we identify Tosan's political philosophy of democracy to be humane democracy.

Therefore, we can see that Tosan's humane democracy differs from the republican model in that civic virtue within humane democracy does not originate in a society's *Sittlichkeit* as being commonly shared by its members. Tosan seems to have been deeply aware of the radically displaced *Sittlichkeit* of Korea in the early 20th century, in which he could not discover the moral grounding of democratic civic virtue, as it had been radically destroyed by Japanese colonialism. Thus, as we have seen, Tosan began to look for an alternative foundation for Korea's democratic civic virtue from among the rich resources of humankind's shared wisdoms, rather than looking to the old Korean national or parochial traditions. This is why we can trace so many diverse philosophical, religious, and moral ideas in Tosan's political philosophy of democracy. As Pyŏng-yong Yu writes: "His political ideals seemed to be influenced by a number of different sources including the Threefold National Principle (Sunwenism) of Sunwen; socialism and anarchism, the ideas of Ch'i Ch'ao Liang, the ideology of the Independence Club, and Christianity" (Yu 1998, 121). In Tosan's writings, we can also discover the ideal of civil rights and public welfare and even Abraham Lincoln's ideal of "by the people, of the people, for the people" (Pyŏng-yong Yu 1998, 125). However, we need to be cautious here so as not to identify these ideals as mere "influences" that came from the outside when we examine Tosan's critical and creative incorporation of these ideals into his proposed democratic civic virtue for Korean democracy. In this sense, Tosan's humane democracy was deeply global and universal from its origin. Indeed, in Tosan's political philosophy of a humane society, we can trace not only the Confucian moral ideal of jen (仁) and the Christian virtue of love, but also the Aristotelian civic virtue of equality and the Marxian anthropological vision of "species being" as well.

For Tosan, the ultimate purpose of the democratic state was to promote the ideal of the "humane society", beyond the protection of individual rights and the preservation of the cultural ethos of a political community. At the heart of the concept of the humane society lies the moral-political ideal of establishing the universal solidarity of all people. We should note here that the concept of solidarity has become a key concept in today's public and academic discourses. Philosophers of both Continental (e.g., Jürgen Habermas, Emmanuel Levinas, and Jacques Derrida) and Anglo-American (e.g., Richard Rorty, Peter Singer, and Martha Nussbaum) are particularly conspicuous regarding this discourse.[21] As German sociologist Hauke Brunkhorst has recently noted, solidarity is not only "a thoroughly modern concept", but also "tightly bounded up with the juridical concept of equality as with the political concept of democracy" (2005, 1). He also states that solidarity with the "other" becomes a key characteristic of modern democracy through the "inclusion of formerly excluded voices, persons, groups, classes, sexes, races, countries, regions, and so on" (2007, 105). Tosan's philosophy of humane democracy and his moral-political vision of the solidarity of all humanity contain original insights and rich narratives, both of which we need to develop further today.

Even though Tosan did not, as it turned out, have a chance to actualise his plan to build his cherished "ideal community" or "model community" in China and Korea, his endeavours show us that he envisioned the important political goal of constructing a humane society.[22] It is therefore my contention that Tosan's political philosophy should be differentiated from Lockean liberal democracy even though Tosan appreciated liberal ideals; it also needs to be distinguished from Jeffersonian republican democracy even though he opposed monarchism and aristocracy. Through the eyes of the political philosophy of humane democracy, as well as the moral vision of the solidarity of all, Tosan envisioned a society where the ideal of the democratic solidarity of the people becomes possible through the people's participation in the political realisation of the universal civic virtue that humankind has tested and verified through its long history.

Conclusion

An Ch'ang-ho was indeed a founding father for a new Korea. However, he should be distinguished from other founding fathers in that he laid the moral ground of Korea's civic virtue, which we identify here as a tripartite moral ideal. Based on these three moral elements as well as on other democratic civic virtues, Tosan envisioned a new democratic society, which we identify here as the "humane society", based on humankind's universal democratic values such as liberty, human rights, happiness, and justice. While Tosan's political philosophy of

humane democracy is inclusive enough to incorporate the seemingly divergent political views of "gradual pacifism" and "revolutionary militarism", it transcends their moral and political reductionisms that fail to integrate the invisible moral foundation of a humane society and the visible political reality of the colonial world.

From a critical-hermeneutic perspective, Tosan's political philosophy of humane democracy could become a significant proposal to consider, especially for those whose society lacks the needed civic virtues as well as a moral foundation in establishing a democratic political system, resulting in the necessity of having to build a humane democracy basically from scratch. Indeed, Korea was situated in such circumstances in the early twentieth century due to Japanese colonialism and the historical backdrop of the monarchism of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1897 A.D.). Nonetheless, Tosan envisioned a solution as to how to overcome these historical-cultural restrictions and limitations through his innovative and critical appropriation of the various moral-civic virtues of humankind. In this sense, Tosan's idea of humane democracy is truly universal allowing the possibility of further translation and application by all nations. Given that there are still many countries around the globe that face political situations similar to that of Korea in the early twentieth century, Tosan's innovative moral-political philosophy and his critical-hermeneutic perspective is still be a viable alternative for consideration.

In today's postcolonial world, we are facing a different kind of colonialism, which Jürgen Habermas diagnoses and calls "the colonization of lifeworld by system", where the modern *Sittlichkeit* of the democratic ethos, such as cultural values and civic virtues, is displaced or colonised by the systemic mode of life steered solely by power and money.[23] In this precarious situation, we may discover a substantive-remedial vision to de-colonise the colonised lifeworld by creatively reinterpreting the philosophical insights and moral ideals of Tosan's humane democracy, which prescribes us to reconstruct the system not for its own efficiency, but for universal humanity. For Tosan, the ultimate purpose of the political system of humane democracy lies in the enhancement of universal humanity among all people through the critical reinvigoration of universal civic virtues as well as moral ideals. In Tosan's political philosophy of humane democracy, we can thus discover a restorative vision to overcome the ills of the atomistic liberalism of modern democracy that undermines the very foundation of its own system.

Notes

1. Scholars such as Myŏng-hwa Yi acknowledge, too, that Tosan was more than an independence activist. Yi writes that Tosan proposed a grand vision for a new Korea in his promotion of international peace and development. See Myŏng-hwa Yi, *Tosan An Ch'ang-ho ŭi Tongnip Untong kwa Tongil Nosŏn* (Seoul, Korea: Kyŏng In Mun Hwa Sa, 2002), iv.
2. Michael Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920–1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); Kenneth Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896–1937* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990). Pak claims that Robinson's "cultural nationalism" and Wells' "self-reconstruction nationalist" mischaracterise An Ch'ang-ho by overlooking the militaristic and revolutionary aspects of his political thought that he developed during his involvement in the Provisional Government in Shanghai.
3. The "Master Plan" is Pak's nomenclature, which she believes was prepared before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, while Tosan conceived the Young Korean Academy and the leadership of the Korean National Association in America. Pak also observes that the document could have been written several years before because some of Tosan's revolutionary ideas reflect the independence scheme of the New People's Association created in 1907. See Pak, "Cradle of the Covenant", 116–148, esp. 134.
4. An Ch'ang-ho consolidated the Provisional Government in Shanghai in August 1919, carefully balancing Seoul and Vladivostok cabinet appointments. As acting premier, he also drafted the first Constitution of the Republic of Korea, which proposed a presidential system with three branches of government. See Pak, "Cradle of the Covenant", 135–36.
5. The draft of the first Constitution was composed of eight chapters and 58 articles as the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Korea. See Yŏngsu Kim, *Taehan Minguk Imsi Chŏngbu hŏnpŏmnon: Hŏnpŏp chejŏng ŭi paegyŏng mit kaehŏn kwajŏng ŭl chungsim ŭro*, 85–86.
6. Arthur Leslie Gardner, *The Korean Nationalist Movement and An Ch'ang-Ho, Advocate of Gradualism*, PhD diss., University of Hawaii, 1979.
7. Pak notes that it is possible that Ahn wrote the Master Plan before 1914 because some of his revolutionary ideas reflect the independence scheme of the New People's Association created in 1907. An Ch'ang-ho first moved to the United States in 1902. See Pak, "Cradle of the Covenant", 134.
8. The prefatory chapters IV and V of the Constitution contain the following stipulations: IV. The people of Korea are all equal; V. Korea’s

legislative right belongs to the Assembly, executive right belongs to the Executive, and judicial right belongs to the Judiciary (Yŏngsu Kim 1980, 85–86).

9. See Hyŏng-ch'an Kim, 94. Seoul Kim also quotes Kwak Nim-tae by noting that the Hŭngsadan organisation had three departments: Administrative, Legislative and Judicial Departments. A more thorough discussion of the Hŭngsadan appears later in this paper.
10. Arthur Gardner also writes, "in the establishment of Hŭngsadan, he [An Ch'ang-ho] was going out of his way to structure the association so as to provide for a nationwide movement with potential for nationwide rather than sectional impact. Tosan was to continue this pattern through his later period of leadership in the Provisional Government and, indeed, throughout the rest of his life". See Gardner 1979, 173–174.
11. The concept of *musilyŏkhaeng* will be further discussed below. Its literal meaning, however, is truth-seeking and truth-acting.
12. Pyŏng-yong Yu emphasises the powerful influence of Christianity on Tosan. He writes, "Christianity had a major impact on Tosan's political thinking". See the "Tosan's Political Philosophy", in *Strengthened Abilities: Assessing the Vision of Tosan Chang-Ho Ahn*, 124.
13. According to I-uk Chang, Tosan was aware of both beneficial and harmful aspects of Christianity as a religion, and he was not a member of a particular local church. See the *Tosan An Ch'angho*, Seoul, 36–37.
14. By American "social gospel", we mean the social gospel movement of Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918).
15. Although we do not know exactly what influence Tosan received from American pragmatism, we can conjecture that if there was any influence, it would have been largely personal rather than scholarly. According to Ŭi-su Pak, when Tosan moved to the U.S., the American philosophy of pragmatism was very appealing to him. Park also recognises commonalities between Tosan's philosophy of *musil* and the philosophical tenets of American pragmatism because both emphasise such values as "practicality, efficiency and concreteness".
16. According to Myŏng-gyu Pak, the influence of social Darwinism is important because it became a primary principle for the national movement until the early 1920s. The basic premise of social Darwinism is that national independence and survival depend on national power and that this power comes from each individual. See the "Social philosophy of Tosan An Ch'ang-ho", 138–139.
17. To the aforementioned four main sources, Myŏng-gyu Park adds the political philosophy of democracy of the Tongnip Hyŏphoe (Independence Club). See the "Social Philosophy of Tosan An Ch'ang-ho". The political philosophy of democracy, however, can be largely linked to the basic tenets of pragmatism.

18. See Yo-han Chu, *An Tosan chŏnsŏ*, Seoul, 484–485. The speech was originally published in the journal *Tonggwang* (September 1926). The speech is widely cited in other autobiographical books, such as *An Ch'angho Ildaeki,* eds. P'yŏngsŏk Yun and Kyŏngno Yun, Seoul 335–339.
19. The stated purpose of Hŭngsadan was "to deepen interpersonal relationships by bringing together trustworthy men and women committed to the principles of seeking the truth and acting upon that truth; to build wholesome character by group training in three areas, the ethical, the physical, and the intellectual; and to prepare a firm base for the great national task of the future by establishing spiritual solidarity". For more, see Gardner, *The Korean Nationalist Movement and An Chang-Ho*, 174.
20. While scholars such as Yohan Chu consider that it was the influence of Christianity for Tosan to uphold the ideas of mutual love, universal human rights, and non-violent resistance, others such as Kwang-su Yi tend to downplay the influence of Christianity on Tosan.
21. See, for example, Jürgen Habermas (*The Inclusion of the Other*, 2000), Jacques Derrida (*Of Hospitality*, 2000), Emmanuel Levinas (*Totality and Infinity*, 1980), Richard Rorty (*Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, 1989*)*, Peter Singer (*Practical Ethics*, 2004), Martha Nussbaum (*Frontiers of Justice*, 2007).
22. According to Gardner, Tosan looked around the Nanking area and found several sites, but he wanted to build the community in Manchuria because there was much good ground available there. He hoped also that he could recruit potential settlers from Korea as well as from the United States. See Gardner, *The Korean Nationalist Movement and An Chang-Ho*, 333.
23. For a more detailed discussion of the concept of the colonisation of lifeworld by system, see Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Vol. 2, trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), esp. 311–312, 325–327, 355–373.

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