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Religion and Education in the (Un)making of Violence

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Modern Korea and Her Structural Violence in the Transformative Perspective of Religious Education¹

This study aims to explore modern Korea and her structural violence with the historical approach and then to suggest the transformative perspective of religious education as the unmaking function of violence. The Koreans started their modernity, resisting the violent occupation of the Japanese ruling (1910-1945). We explore her structural violence from the Japanese occupation in three historical memories: the terrible assassination of Empress Myeongseong (1851-1895) who was the last queen of Korea, the March Independence Movement of 1919, and the comfort women who were Japan's wartime sex slavery during the pacific war. In this study, I focus Gilligan's psychological approach to violence. She regards the images of violence or aggression as "a problem in communication and an absence of knowledge about human relationships" (Gilligan 1993, 45). Conversely, I assume that the enhancement or progress in the relationship may be related to the unmaking or ceasing of violence. For example, I suggest the real case of cultural exchanges between the Koreans and the Japanese through the Korean culture wave (the *hallyu*). In conclusion, as the educational strategy to unmake or cease the successive chain of violence and aggression, I suggest the transformative environment in religious education where the class members are able to enhance their mutuality and equality in the image of God.

The Last Queen of Korea: Empress Myeongseong (1851-1895)

Recently, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry noticed the "deeply felt historic differences" between Seoul and Tokyo and said that two countries would find "mutually acceptable approaches" to historic issues "from the past" in order to enhance "bilateral and trilateral security cooperation" (Yu 2014). However, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's

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controversial visit to the Yasukuni Shrine in December 2013, Japanese provocative remarks against “comfort women,” that is, sex slaves for its soldiers during World War II, and Japan’s claim to Dokdo are the main issues to make worse the current Seoul-Tokyo relationships. Especially, the assassination of Empress Myeongseong, the Last Queen of Korea, by Japanese killers is placed in the center of the icy Seoul-Tokyo relationships, because the Japanese government has never made a formal apology about such terrible assassination officially. The terrible assassination of Empress Myeongseong by Japanese killers was conducted on October 8, 1895 and this terrible event was opened to the world by the article of *The New-York Herald* to report “Murder of Korea’s Queen” on October 13, 1895. The following is the full text of that article:

Title: Murder of Korea’s Queen

Subtitle: The King a Prisoner, and His Father Proclaimed Dictator – A Cabinet of Pro-Japanese Elements.

Paris, Oct, 13. – The Paris edition of *The New-York Herald* has a dispatch from Seoul, the capital of Korea, confirming the reports that the Queen was murdered while the Japanese troops were at the palace gates. There is nothing to show, the dispatch adds, that the Japanese Minister was aware of the plot. The King is now a prisoner, and his father, the Tai-Won-Tun, the leader of the reactionary element, has been proclaimed Dictator. The new Cabinet will be made up of pro-Japanese elements. The Queen’s officials have fled. A Japanese named Soshi has been arrested for the murder of the Queen.

This article reported that the Japanese Minister had not intervened in the assassination of Empress Myeongseong. However, Homer B. Hulbert (1863-1949)’s historical report and analysis is totally different. In his 1906 book, *The Passing of Korea*, Hulbert exposed that the Japanese government systematically and definitely intervened in the assassination of Empress Myeongseong, because the Japanese government regarded Empress Myeongseong as the most obstacle about the Japanese annexation of the Korea. As the sincere friend of the Emperor Gojong and the Empress Myeongseong, Hulbert went as an emissary of the Emperor Gojong, protesting Japan’s actions, to the United States in 1905 and 1906, and to the Hague in 1906 and 1907. The first President of Yonsei University, Lak-Geon George Paik, remembered Hulbert as the following: “Hulbert was a teacher, editor, author, and above all, a friend of Korea and her people. His labor of love for Korea, besides arduous missions for the Emperor of Korea, was largely wrought by his fruitful pen and articulate speech. His writings are mostly, if not entirely, on Korea and her civilization.” (Hulbert 1906/1969, 4). Hulbert is buried in the Seoul Foreign Cemetery in Hap Chung Dong, where his epitaph, spoken by himself, is: “I would rather be buried in Korea than in Westminster Abbey” (Hulbert 1906/1969, 4). The following is Hulbert’s description of the terrible assassination of Empress Myeongseong by Japanese killers:

“A crowd of Japanese civilians, commonly believed to be *soshi*, and a considerable number of

Koreans, all heavily armed, rushed into the royal quarters. A part of the crowd went into the presence of the King, brandishing their weapons, but without directly attacking his person nor that of the Crown Prince, who stood beside him. Another part of the crowd ranged through the apartments of the Queen, seizing palace women and demanding information as to the whereabouts of the Queen. They met Yi Kyung-jik, the Minister of the Household, before the Queen's apartments and at once cut him down, but he managed to crawl into the presence of the King, where he was despatched by the Japanese. The Queen was found in one of the rooms which constituted her suite, and was ruthlessly butchered. It is impossible to state with absolute certainty whether the blow was struck by a Korean or by a Japanese, but the overwhelming probability is that it was done by one of the armed Japanese. The body was wrapped in some sort of blanket, saturated with petroleum, and burned at the edge of a pine grove immediately to the east of the pond which lies in front of the royal quarters" (Hulbert 1906/1969, 138-139).

In depth of a history, the images of Empress Myeongseong have often been distorted such as the article of *The New York Times* on November 10, 1895: "From The Westminster Gazette. The late Queen of Corea does not seem to have had a very happy life, and if all reports be true she did not quite deserve one. She ruled the King with a rod of iron, and sold every office in the realm to the highest bidder. She oppressed the people so that she was in constant fear of assassination. It was her custom to sit up all night, and she never went to bed until 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning. She had several bedrooms, so that no one knew where she slept, except her own intimates. Under her bedchamber there was a trap door, with steps leading down to a room below, where she kept always on guard fleet-footed couriers, with a vehicle in readiness so that she could fly at a moment's notice. But all these precautions seem to have been unavailing." However, the wife of Yonsei University founding father Dr. H. G. Underwood and the physician of Empress Myeongseong, Mrs. H. G. Underwood's testimony is totally different. According to Mrs. Underwood's testimonies, Empress Myeongseong had the graceful and benevolent images and had interested in the Gospel message. Empress Myeongseong had even repeated the Gospel message to Emperor Gojong and their son. Especially, Mrs. Underwood looked back on that Empress Myeongseong became the faithful patroness to support the modern education for Korean people by American missionaries such as the following:

"In the spring of 1895, the prime minister came from the Queen, saying that she desired Dr. Underwood draw up plans and estimates for a school for the sons of the nobility. A site had been selected between the west and east palaces. Her Majesty proposed to build houses for American teachers, whom Dr. Underwood was to select and recommend. The Queen was prepared to give thirty thousand dollars for buildings and from twenty to thirty thousand dollars a year for running expenses. Dr. Underwood's delight was great over this unexpected offer, practically throwing the young nobility into the arms of the Christian church. He drew up the first plans and estimates and sent them to the palace for approval. These were returned with suggestions. Amended plans were prepared and were shortly to be sent for Her Majesty's final perusal, when she was suddenly killed and a long period of political upheaval followed" (Underwood 1918/1983, 146-147).

I notice the historic “site between the west and east palaces” which Empress Myeongseong with Dr. Underwood selected for the modern education of Korean people. It is a touching and acute part of our history that site is overlapped with today’s place of Yonsei University. The historical analysis of Empress Myeongseong is very dynamic. I need to focus on Mrs. Lillias Horton Underwood’s portrayal of Empress Myeongseong in *Fifteen Years Among the Top-knots*. Because the original version of that book was published in 1904, it included Mrs. Underwood’s sensitive observations about the late 19th and the early 20th centuries’ Korean people’s life. Mrs. Lillias Horton Underwood went to Korea in 1888 as a medical missionary. Especially, she had served Empress Myeongseong as her personal medical advisor until the terrible and unfortunate assassination of Empress Myeongseong. Therefore, Mrs. Underwood’s book, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-knots*, provides us with an intimate and sympathetic portrait of Empress Myeongseong.

Mrs. Lillias Horton Underwood (1904/1977) expresses her appreciation of Empress Myeongseong as “a woman of kind-hearted and generous impulses, high intellectual capacity, and no ordinary diplomatic ability. Of stronger mind and higher moral character than her royal husband, she was his wise counsellor and the chief bulwark of his precarious power” (vii). In Mrs. Underwood’s portrayal of Empress Myeongseong, we are able to find that she has had sense and sensibility in very high level, the excellent political leadership and has been the substantial supporter of Emperor Gojong. Considering that Empress Myeongseong’s own intimates are very few, I am able to have confidence in Mrs. Underwood’s portrayal. For Mrs. Underwood (1918/1983), Empress Myeongseong was so “brilliant, forceful, and daring” that Emperor Gojong could have maintained his lordship on the throne as the rightful king (75).

There is another masterpiece to report Empress Myeongseong’s impression properly. That is Mrs. Isabella Bishop’s *Korea and Her Neighbors*. According to Pow-key Sohn, who was Professor of History at Yonsei University, “Isabella Bishop’s *Korea and Her Neighbours* was first pulished in two volumes on January 10, 1898; the next day 2,000 copies were sold, and the second edition was out within ten days” (Bishop 1898/1970, iii). That shows the high popularity of Mrs. Bishop’s book around western society in that time. Mrs. Bishop (1898/1970) visited Korea four times “between March 1894 and March 1897” (iii). Sir Walter C. Hillier, who was British Consul-General for Korea at that time, highly praised “the closeness of Mrs. Bishop’s observation, the accuracy of her facts, and the correctness of her inferences” (Bishop 1898/1970, 1). Hillier said that Mrs Bishop recorded Korean features such as “customs, institutions, beliefs, fauna and flora of Korea” with accuracy and impartiality” (Bishop 1898/1970, iv, 1). He looked back that Emperor Gojong and Empress Myeongseong also honored Mrs. Bishop with the “confidence and friendship” (Bishop 1898/1970, 1).

In the early part of 1895, Mrs. Bishop had four audiences with Emperor Gojong and Empress Myeongseong. In retrospect, Mrs. Bishop (1898/1970) says Empress Myeongseong’s

impressions like the following: “On each occasion I was impressed with the grace and charming manner of the Queen, her thoughtful kindness, her singular intelligence and force, and her remarkable conversational power even through the medium of an interpreter” (254-255). Mrs. Bishop’s image toward Empress Myeongseong is very similar with that of Mrs. Underwood. Especially, Mrs. Bishop’s reports included Emperor Gojong’s thoughtful consideration for Empress Myeongseong such as the following:

“On one day the whole attention of the King and Queen was concentrated on the relations between the English Crown and the Cabinet, specially with regard to the Civil List (the costs of the Crown), on which the King’s questions were so numerous and persistent as very nearly to pose me. He was specially anxious to know if the “Finance Minister” (the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I suppose) exercised any control over the personal expenditure of Her Majesty, and if the Queen’s personal accounts were paid by herself or through the Treasury. The affairs under the control of each Secretary of State were the subject of another series of questions” (Bishop 1898/1970, 257-258).

Emperor Gogjong’s inquiries may reflect the economic circumstance of the Crown and the sensitive relations between Empress Myeongseong and the Cabinet. We are able to easily catch Emperor Gojong’s thoughtful attentiveness to care and protect Empress Myeongseong. That is very different with the conventional report that “She ruled the King with a rod of iron, and sold every office in the realm to the highest bidder” (*The New York Times*, November 10, 1895). Mrs. Bishop’s report includes her acute and farewell conversation with Empress Myeongseong. In this conversation, we are able to recognize that Empress Myeongseong was so envious of Queen Victoria’s “greatness, wealth, and power” (Bishop 1898/1970, 259). Subsequently, she added to Mrs. Bishop, “Does she (Queen Victoria) ever in her glory think of poor Korea?” (Bishop 1898/1970, 259). In her question and final comment, we can assume the gloomy future of fading Korea. Mrs. Bishop’s last portrayal toward Empress Myeongseong is so simple and plain to make us have many tears.

“On this occasion the Queen was dressed in a bodice of brocaded amber satin, a mazarine blue brocaded trained skirt, a crimson girdle with five clasps and tassels of coral, and a coral clasp at the throat. Her head was uncovered, and her abundant black hair gathered into a knot at the back. She wore no ornament except a pearl and coral jewel on the top of head. The King and Queen rose when I took leave, and the Queen shook hands. They both spoke most kindly, and expressed the wish that I should return and see more of Korea. When I did return nine months later, the Queen had been barbarously murdered, and the King was practically a prisoner in his own palace” (Bishop 1898/1970, 259-260).

Mrs. Bishop (1898/1970) summarized Korean impressions through Emperor Gojong and Empress Myeongseong with five words: “simplicity, dignity, kindness, courtesy, and propriety” (260). British famous historian E. H. Carr (1961), in his book *What is History?*, said, “Development in history meant development towards the concept of freedom” (181). This sentence places emphasis on the role of historical reason or historical consciousness to

motivate common people's practices. Like Chicago theologian David Tracy's (1987) famous connotations, Dr. Hulbert's and Mrs. Underwood's memories are not dead but allow us forge "our memories and consequently our actions" (37). In the 21st century, I think that our activities to rediscover and reinterpret modern Korean history about our last queen and her terrible end are never waste of time, but the proper task which her offspring ought to practice in order to create the ideal society.

The March First Independence Movement of 1919

It is very difficult to observe and study modern Korea, excluding her violent experiences. For example, we are not able to deny that many Korean people had suffered "the major and the minor injustices and annoyances" under the suppressed ruling period (1910-1945) of Japanese Imperialism (Underwood 1926, 209). Perhaps, the Japanese government may think to officially apology for Japan's colonial rule of Korea and to put off bothering past problems through its economical compensation on the basis of the Treaty on Basic Relations between Korea and Japan of 1965. However, many Korean people's basic mind is not same with the Japanese government's official stand. Thus, we naturally assume that there are very big historic differences between Korea and Japan. Simultaneously, we may recognize that these big differences between Korea and Japan in historical interpretation give some barriers and very sensitive and uncomfortable environments to Korean and Japanese peoples, Korean residents in Japan, and Japanese residents in Korea.

The Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea defines the March First Independence Movement of 1919 as the historical event to originate the Republic of Korea such as the following:

We the people of Korea, proud of a resplendent history and traditions dating from time immemorial, upholding the cause of the Provisional Republic of Korea Government born of the March First Independence Movement of 1919 and the democratic ideals of the April Nineteenth Uprising of 1960 against injustice, having assumed the mission of democratic reform and peaceful unification of our homeland and having determined to consolidate national unity with justice, humanitarianism and brotherly love, and...

Hence, the historical meaning of the March First Independence Movement of 1919 is closely related to the governmental identity of the Republic of Korea. Most of all, I simply construct the historical outline in order to understand the violent reality of the March First Independence Movement of 1919. *Encyclopaedia of Britannica* introduces that movement as "March First Movement" or "Samil Independence Movement." According to the description of *Britannica*, that movement is a "series of demonstrations for Korean national independence from Japan that began on March 1, 1919, in the Korean capital city of Seoul and soon spread throughout the country.... Approximately 2,000,000 Koreans had

participated in the more than 1,500 demonstrations. About 7,000 people were killed by the Japanese police and soldiers, and 16,000 were wounded; 715 private houses, 47 churches, and 2 school buildings were destroyed by fire. Approximately 46,000 people were arrested, of whom some 10,000 were tried and convicted.” I basically think that Britannica’s description provides us with very violent outline about the March First Independence Movement of 1919.

Dr. Min Kyoung Bae (2005) described the “general figure during the first month of the movement” such as the following: “the number of the participants was 1,000,368, the number killed by the Japanese Police 3,336, wounded 9,277, imprisoned 35,712. The total population of the country in 1919 was 16,913,000 and the number of Christians were approximately 219,000. Had the Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox been included, the total Christian population would have been estimated at 318,800” (299). When we compare Dr. Min’s data with Encyclopedia of Britannica’s description, we can estimate the lengths of severity and savagery under the Japanese militaristic occupation.

| | Time | Participants | Killed | Wounded | Imprisoned |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------|---------|------------|
| Dr. Min | 1 st month | 1,000,368 | 3,336 | 9,277 | 35,712 |
| <i>Britannica</i> | around 1 year | 2,000,000 | 7,000 | 16,000 | 46,000 |

I point out that so many Koreans had successively continued to that movement for freedom in spite of Japanese police and soldiers’ terrible and disastrous suppressions. Here I pay attention to Dr. Horace Horton Underwood’s book, *Modern Education in Korea*. Dr. Horace Horton Underwood is a son of Dr. Horace Grant Underwood who was a founding father of Yonsei University and the second principle of Chosun Christian College (the old name of Yonsei University). The publishing year of that book is 1926. In that time, the Japanese ruling’s controls about the private school institutions such as Chosun Christian College are very serious. In his book, he described Korean people such as the following: “I especially regret the lack of more detailed information on the work which the Koreans themselves are now doing, but hope that sufficient has been said to indicate how large a share this promises to be how rapidly they are awakening to the their responsibilities” (Underwood 1926, xiii). Underwood’s portrayal about the Koreans is very positive and active. He basically trusts on the close relationship between the Koreans’ rapid awakening and their responsibilities.

Underwood’s description about the March First Independence Movement of 1919 is also special. He describes the main causes of that movement for Korean peoples’ freedom as “ideas of nationalism, and self-determinism, and a real desire for political independence” from the political and social unrests after the end (1918) of World War I (Underwood 1926, 209). Especially, he focuses on the injustice and suffering effects of the Japanese military during 10 years after Korean annexation by the Japanese ruling. Dr. Underwood (1926) interpreted a Declaration of Independence as “Grievances of the Korean People” (209). In addition, he emphasizes the influence of the Christians about the main character of that movement as “a series of unarmed demonstrations” (Underwood 1926, 209).

Like this, the March First Independence Movement of 1919 realized the Koreans' strong will for independence to escape from the Japanese brutal and violent occupation. In that time, the independent will of the Korean people was manifested as the form of a Declaration of Independence. Mr. F. A. McKenzie's (1920/1975) precious and devotional book, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, includes the English version of a Declaration of Independence with the title of "The Proclamation of Korea Independence" (247). Korean representative historian Park Un-sik (1861-1928), in his book *Han-Kook Dongnip Undong ji Hyol-sa* [The Bloody History of the Korean Independence Movement] (Shanghai, 1920), praised that Mr. McKenzie's *Korea's Fight for Freedom* was "an appeal to the whole world" to report "the Korean struggle for independence" (McKenzie 1920/1975, 15).

We need to pay attention to a legitimate identification of the Declaration of Independence to break and unmake the Japanese violence's vicious cycles. That document manifests the legitimate identification of the Korean people's independence like this:

"To bind by force twenty millions of resentful Koreans will mean not only loss of peace forever for this part of the Far East, but also will increase the ever-growing suspicion of four hundred millions of Chinese-upon whom depends the danger or safety of the Far East-besides strengthening the hatred of Japan. From this all the rest of the East will suffer. To-day Korean independence will mean not only daily life and happiness for us, but also it would mean Japan's departure from an evil way and exaltation to the place of true protector of the East, so that China, too, even in her dreams, would put all fear of Japan aside. This thought comes from no minor resentment, but from a large hope for the future welfare and blessing of mankind" (McKenzie 1920/1975, 249).

That document suggests the unmaking of the Japanese violent ruling of Korea and the contribution of the future welfare and blessing of humankind as the ultimate legitimacy of the March First Independence Movement of 1919. Dr. Underwood (1926) pointed out that the main cause of that movement was due to "in large measure the result of gross abuses" under the Japanese militaristic occupation and the Korean people's desire to call "the attention of Japan to these conditions" was reflected in its movement (210). Here we can find that some expressions about injustice and unequal situations and its series of demonstrations are related to the mechanism and structure to unmake the vicious cycle of violence. It is very typical that this movement reflects the idea of unarmed and nonviolent demonstration. Dr. Underwood (1926) finds such characteristics of that movement in many Christian leaders' "leading part" (209).

We are able to connect the Japanese assassination of Empress Myeongseong and their barbarous suppression of the Korean people in the March First Independence Movement of 1919 with their perceiving of danger and their aggressive responses as violence in that time. Perhaps, such traits will be universal in human society. In this aspect, the construction of connection and the reshaping of the hierarchical order will be the good model to create the society unmaking the violence.

The Comfort Women: Japan's Wartime Sex Slaves during the Pacific War

On April 25, 2014, US President Barack Obama visited to South Korea. This is his four time visits to South Korea. In their summit with South Korea President Park Geun-hye, Obama urged Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and Japanese people to recognize their aggressive past history about the issue of comfort women who had been forced into sexual slavery for Japanese soldiers during World War II. Women “between 50,000 and 200,000” were in the sexual slavery system for Japanese soldiers in that time and “the vast majority” of them were Korean women (Cumings 2010, 41). “This (Japan’s wartime sexual slavery system) was a terrible, egregious violation of human rights. Those women were violated in ways that even in the midst of war were shocking, and they deserve to be heard, they deserved to be heard, they deserve to be respected,” Obama said. “And there should be an accurate and clear account of what happened,” he added.

Even though Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe offered his “awkward” and ambiguous apologies about the issues of comfort women, he announced that there was “no evidence” for Japanese government to recruit “comfort women” (*ianfu* in Japanese), that is, “sexual slaves” for Japanese soldiers during the Pacific War on March, 2007 (Cumings 2010, 41). However, Japanese historian Yoshiaki Yoshimi, in his 1995 standard book *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*, argued that Japanese military systematically regulated the sexual slavery station. The following clauses included the regulations for the use of the soldiers’ club. These regulations were used by the 13th Independent Infantry Brigade Chuzan Garrison stationed in Zhongshan, Guangdong Province, China. The following clauses 13 to 17 included the rules about the military comfort station to have the name of “Soldier’s Club No. 2” :

Clause No. 13 – Eating and drinking in Soldiers’ Club No. 2 is forbidden.

Clause No. 14 – Fees are to be paid in cash in advance.

Clause No. 15 – As a rule, outings by prostitutes are forbidden.

Clause No. 16 – The following are not allowed to use Soldiers’ Club No. 2:

1. people who try to use it at times other than their appointed hours;
2. people who are not properly dressed;
3. people who are extremely drunk;
4. people who are likely to bother others;
5. people not mentioned in Clause No. 17, and those accompanying them.

Clause No. 17 – The use of Soldiers' Club No. 2 is restricted to military personnel and civilian employees of the army. If accompanied by an officer, however, local people [civilians] are permitted to use Soldiers' Club No. 1. (Yoshiaki 1995, 137)

Yoshiaki (1995) finds the governing rules of comfort station “from the 2nd Independent Heavy Siege Artillery Battalion stationed in Changchow in 1938” to pay each different prostitute’s fees to Chinese, Korean, and Japan comfort women: “Chinese comfort women be paid 1 Japanese yen, Korean comfort women be paid 1 Japanese yen and 50 sen, and Japanese comfort women be paid 2 Japanese yen (noncommissioned officers and officers paid twice these amounts)” (138).

Like this, Japanese military controlled the comfort women station and after the infamous Nanking massacre, its administration was applied more systemically by Japanese military. During the infamous Nanking massacre, tens of thousands of Chinese women were raped by Japanese soldiers. The Japanese authorities believed that the military comfort system helped to “prevent soldiers from committing random acts of sexual violence against women of the occupied territories” (Soh 2008, 135). And the Japanese military authorities had their own reputation “with the health of their troops” to provide Japanese soldiers with sex workers to be very healthy and clean in “hygienic conditions” (Soh 2008, 135). In that time, based on the gynecologist and army doctor Aso Tetsuo’s report in 1939, Professor Sarah Soh (2008) described that “unmarried Korean women” as “sex workers” were regarded as “gifts for the imperial troops” (135). She argues that the “Japanese military authorities soon began to look to colonial Korea as a preferred source of comfort women” (Soh 2008, 135).

Professor Sarah Soh (2008) described precisely the terrible situations of Korean comfort women at the comfort station houses of prostitution such as the following: “On weekdays the women sat in the hallway for customers to view before picking their chosen ones. This practice of ‘sitting in public display’ (*harimise*) had been common in licensed brothels of Japanese pleasure quarters since the seventeenth century. Mun Pil-gi recalled that on weekdays they served about ten soldiers, usually during evenings because the men were out fighting during the day. Yi Yong-su, by contrast, stated that she served on average four or five soldiers a day when she labored in Taiwan in 1945. According to many Korean survivors, weekends as the comfort stations were hectic (very busy). They often did not have time to eat, let alone sit in the hallway. On Saturdays and Sundays, Mun Pil-gi had forty to fifty soldiers who would come from eight in the morning until seven in the evening, after which only officers could visit. Mun recalled that soldiers lined up outside the door, waiting their turn and sometimes quarreling when someone jumped the queue (waiting line), while other survivors such as Pak Pok-sun insisted that such descriptions of queuing and quarreling were untrue. In any case, generally, each soldier was allowed thirty minutes but most left after about five minutes of sexual contact, according to Mun and others. Some brought their own condoms, but a few would refuse to use them. Mun would then insist, threatening to report them to their superiors or pleading with them to comply so they would not catch a disease”

(Soh 2008, 123). In terms of survivors' testimonial narratives, using condoms by Japanese soldiers was a mandatory rule in the comfort women station. And we are able to approach to the terrible situation of the comfort women station within the Japanese military.

Sarah Soh (2008) analyzes that the Korean "survivors' testimonial narratives" reflect how Korean working women's "gender, class, and labor" are "commodified and exploited" in the Japanese "colonial capital system" (80). In addition, she describes the systematized structure of Korea's comfort women exploitation and tragedy such as the following: "(1) gender inequality in masculinist sexual culture and patriarchal abuse of power against wives and daughters at home; (2) class exploitation in society under capitalist economy; (3) "race" discrimination under colonial rule of Imperial Japan; (4) Korea's unequal diplomatic relations with Japan (during and after colonial rule) and with the United States after the war in the nation-state power dynamics to redress (correct) historical wrongdoings" (Soh 2008, 105-106). Here we can recognize that the historical implication within the comfort women as Japan's wartime sex slaves during the Pacific War moves beyond only the foreign sensitive relation between Korea and Japan and moves into the universal horizon of social justice between the male and the female, the poor and the rich, white people and colored people, and so on. Furthermore, it will be the social practice to reduce or unmake the violence to threat the survival of human being and all creatures in the world.

Australian wartime sex slave Jan Ruff O'Herne

Jan Ruff O'Herne was born in Java, now known as Indonesia in 1923 of a fourth generation Dutch colonial family. In February 15, 2007, before the United States House of Representative as part of a congressional hearing on "Protecting the Human Rights of Comfort Women," She confessed, "I grew up on a sugar plantation and had the most wonderful childhood. I was educated in Catholic schools and graduated from Franciscan Teacher's College in Semarang, Java. When I was 19 years old in 1942, Japanese troops invaded Java. Together with thousands of women and children, I was interned in a Japanese prison camp for three and a half years." On 26 February 1944, O'Herne and six young women were taken by Japanese officers to an old Dutch colonial house at Semarang which is a city on the north coast of the island of Java, Indonesia. The distance from the Japanese prison camp to a Dutch colonial house at Semarang is some 47 kilometers. The Japanese turned that house into a Japanese military brothel having the name of "The House of the Seven Seas" in Java (Australian War Memorial).



Jan's picture

Soh (2008) describes precisely the details of the House of the Seven Seas as the Japanese military brothel for the privileged Japanese officers on the basis of the interview with Ruff-

O'Herne such as the following: "It was set up in a large Dutch colonial-style house with nicely furnished rooms for each woman, a storeroom for food, servants' rooms, a large garden with several trees, and a pen for fowl. The front veranda of the house was used as a reception area, where the officers could lounge and purchase tickets for the girls and women of their choice, whose pictures were displayed on a bulletin board. The army doctor who conducted weekly medical examinations of the women was one of the regular 'customers.' An Indonesian housemaid and a houseboy served meals and did various household chores for the Dutch comfort women, who included married 'volunteers'" (Soh 2008, 122-123). However, even though the house of prostitution of the Dutch sex slaves was luxuriously designed, Australian wartime sex slaves' violence in a Japanese military brothel was very similar with that of the majority of the Korean sex slaves.

Before the United States House of Representatives, O'Herne's testimonial confession about sexual violence at the Japanese military brothel in Samarang was shocking itself:

"When he eventually left the room, my whole body was shaking. I gathered up what was left of my clothing, and fled into the bathroom. There I found some of the other girls. We were all crying, and in total shock. In the bathroom I tried to wash away all the dirt and shame off my body. Just wash it away. But the night was not over yet, there were more Japanese waiting, and this went on all night, it was only the beginning, week after week, month after month... Never did any Japanese rape me without a fight. I fought each one of them. Therefore, I was repeatedly beaten. In the so-called "Comfort Station" I was systematically beaten and raped day and night. Even the Japanese doctor raped me each time he visited the brothel to examine us for venereal disease. And to humiliate us even more the doors and windows were left open, so the Japanese could watch us being examined... The Japanese soldiers had ruined my young life. They had stripped me of everything. They had taken away my youth, my self-esteem, my dignity, my freedom, my possessions, and my family. But there was one thing that they could never take away from me. It was my religious faith and love for God. This was mine and nobody could take that away from me. It was my deep Faith that helped me survive all that the Japanese did to me" (Ruff-O'Herne 2007).

Her sexual abuse at Japanese military brothel in Samarang had passed during four months. According to the data of Australian War Memorial, the Dutch girls including O'Herne were moved to a camp at Bogor, in West Java, where they were reunited with their families. This data describes, "This camp was exclusively for women who had been put into military brothels, and the Japanese warned the inmates that if anyone told what had happened to them, they and their family members would be killed. Several months later the O'Hernes were transferred to a camp at Batavia, which was liberated on 15 August 1945" (Australian War Memorial). In 1946, O'Herne married British soldier Tom Ruff and had two daughters. Her family emigrated from Britain to Australia in 1960. Studying Japan's wartime sex slaves' testimonial narratives, Soh (2008) focuses on O'Herne and other Dutch wartime survivors' profoundly different attitudes, even though they experienced the very similar sexual violence with the majority of the Korean sex slaves in "sociological or psychological factors" (178).

She points out that “gender socialization and the family’s class status” and “the extent of personal harm individuals and family members suffered” may play an important role for the Dutch survivors’ healing process from “irreparable damage, either in physical or psychological terms” (179). Especially, O’Herne delivered the following message in the interview with the newspaper of *The National Age* on February 25, 2014: “When such a terrible thing happens, you expect an apology. It was important for my healing process. It takes a lifetime to get over a thing like that” (Flitton 2014). Her message shows well how “hideous” many statements of Mr. Abe and Japanese in his government who do not acknowledge their past wartime crimes are.

Psychological Approach to Violence: Gilligan’s Idea

Gilligan’s study of violence provides very meaningful understanding about the violent disaster of the Japanese militaristic occupation. Gilligan (1993) studies the violence in the relationship between connection and separation. Especially, sex differences about the theme of separation and connection are very significant in her study. According to Gilligan’s study (1993), the male students in the class used to portray more images of violence in personal affiliation. But the female students in the class used to describe more images of violence in the situations of impersonal achievement. When the people perceive the feeling of danger, they used to respond their violence with a mode of aggression. Gilligan (1993) says, “As people are brought closer together in the pictures, the images of violence in the men’s stories increase, while as people are set further apart, the violence in the women’s stories increases” (42). She interpreted this psychological pattern in sex differences that “men and women may experience attachment and separation in different ways” (Gilligan 1993, 42). These differences are very significant in men and women’s responses to describe the images of violence after seeing the picture of acrobats without the safe net. In this picture, the men used to describe image of violence such as the acrobats’ falling and killing but the women do not portray the images of violence through making the safety net for the acrobats in her story but which does not exist in the real picture. Gilligan’s interpretation about that psychological pattern is very significant. She describes the male students’ images of violence such as the following: “the violence in male fantasy seems rather to arise from a problem in communication and an absence of knowledge about human relationships” (Gilligan 1993, 45). In her study, the aggression such as violence is related to some problems of communication and human relationship. Women’s portrayal of the safety net in her image which does not exist in that picture means their success in the connection and its relationship.

The Case of Cultural Exchange to Unmake the Violent Relationship

Winter Sonata is a South Korean television drama series that aired on KBS in 2002. It is the

Korean drama starring Bae Yong-joon and Choi Ji-woo. It is noticeable that the drama provides us with the meaning of “Korean-Japan cultural exchange” (Mori 2008, 131). Joon-sang’s search for his biological father in the depth of an identity crisis in adolescence and the love story of Joon-sang and Yoo-jin constitute the main plot of this drama. However, a sudden car accident erases Joon-sang’s lovely memories with Yoo-jin. During ten years, Joon-sang had lived in the United States with a new identity as Lee Min-hyeong and came back to Korea as a talented architect. Yoo-jin is co-working with Joon-sang having the new identity as Min-hyeong in the same company and they are recovering the past lovely memories.

The popularity of *Winter Sonata* in Japan surely appears in Junichiro Koizumi’s quotation such as the following: Bae Yong-joon is more popular in Japan than myself. He was the Japanese prime minister at that time. Jung-sun Park (2013) analyzes that the Korean Wave in Japan at the beginning depends on the popularity of *Winter Sonata*. It is very remarkable that “the mega hit of *Winter Sonata* and the subsequent *Yon-sama* phenomenon” changed “a stereotypical image of Korean people” in Japan (Mori 2008, 131). Yoshitaka Mori (2008), Professor of Sociology and Cultural Studies at Tokyo National University, interprets the middle-aged female group in Japan who leads the popularity of *Winter Sonata* as the active and complex agents who “re-interpret media products and eventually create their own culture” (132). They formed an *otaku*-style of *Winter Sonata*, that is, a huge fan in Japan.

The enthusiasm of *Winter Sonata* in Japan creates more newly social and cultural patterns. The middle-aged female group organizes “fan meetings,” “participates in *Winter Sonata* tour in Korea,” and starts to study Korean culture and language (Mori 2008, 131). The dramatic popularity of *Winter Sonata* makes Japanese middle-aged women understand Korean cultural background about that drama. That leads to the transformative change in a Japanese conventional image about Korea which has the meaning of a “close but far” country (Mori 2008, 137). According to Mori’s (2008) description, before *Winter Sonata*, the representative images about Korea in Japan have two characteristics. The first is a liberal perspective. Japanese people having such perspective argue that they need to apologize sincerely for Japan’s past to around countries such as Korea, China, and Philippines. The second perspective emphasizes the patriotic and nationalistic discourse in Japanese societies. They tend to justify “Japan’s colonial past” (Mori 2008, 138).

However, *Winter Sonata* provides them with a new image and vocabulary about Korea. The following is the interview of Ms. A (60+):

As I grew up in Omura city, where a camp for illegal migrants was located, I had a certain image of Koreans. They often had quarrelling with each other. They were always loud. Honestly, I looked down on them. But *Yon-sama* changed everything. I have learned about Korea through *Winter Sonata* and now understand that a large part of Japanese culture came from Korea. This reminded me that I was born in Manchuria [during Japanese colonial time]

where my father worked. (Mori 2008, 139)

According to Mori's (2008) analysis, the *Winter Sonata* phenomenon in Japan reinvents and reorganizes Japanese female's understandings and experiences about Korean with the different way. In the age of globalization, that is the realization of "the transnational potential of middle-aged women's politics" to break Korea-Japan conventional relationship such as liberalist or nationalist (Mori 2008, 141).

Transformative Perspective of Religious Education to Unmake the Violence

Many students anticipate their classroom in religious education is the transforming environment. James E. Loder's (1998) case about Kierkegaard's conversion shows well the transforming dynamics. The transforming moment has three processes: (i) collecting some people's past information and knowledge, (ii) the encountering moment between the Divine Spirit and the human spirit, and (iii) representing the "transfigured vision" (Loder 1998, 234). According to Loder's description, some people's past information and knowledge is the main source to reconstruct his or her life. Through permeating by the Divine Spirit, the human spirit experiences the transforming moment in the next stage. Finally, he or she realizes the transfigured vision in their own life span. In the case of Kierkegaard, he experiences "the identity struggle of the young man" in oppressed family environment and "his authoritarian father" (Loder 1998, 237). In this period, the ego's struggle is regarded as the preparation for resocialization due to the dynamic conversion of his personality. The transformation of ego development occurs when the Divine Spirit is working with the young man's human spirit. Loder (1998) expresses this transforming moment as the "exocentric drive" toward "the Other" (237). After this remarkable transformation, the human spirit realizes or releases his spiritual potential. According to Loder (1998), in the case of Luther, "the proliferation of Luther's writings and the beginning of the German Reformation" are the obvious evidences of the release of the human spirit (245). Loder shows well the dynamic pattern of ego development from the interplay between the Divine Spirit and the human spirit. I focus on how to apply Loder's transforming pattern of ego development to the educational environment in religious education.

In order to create the transformative environment, Susanne Johnson (1990) provides the proper solution of religious education. Her Christian educational ecology is expressed with the terms of worship, instruction, and praxis. She emphasizes all students' participation or inclusiveness (worship), the reconstruction or reformulation of their own life stories in light of the Story (instruction), and the hospitality toward the poor, the needy, and the hunger (praxis) in Christian educational contexts. It is possible that these principles such as participation, reformulation, and hospitality can be applied in the context of religious education. The participation is the principle in which students recognize themselves each part

of their class. Johnson (1990) explains the process of this participation as “the recovery of the truly human” (136). This recovery process means that some student already has experienced a transforming moment. In other words, whether or not teachers focus on the participating process of their students in the class depends on whether or not the educational environment within their classes is transformative. Secondly, Johnson often uses the expressions to create their own stories in light of the Story. This means the relationship between some tradition and its interpretation. She says, “Traditions can live only through creative reappropriation by persons who are willing to reflect critically on their lives” (Johnson 1989, 144). The teaching and learning in Christian (higher) education is initiated by the proper role of “critical thinking, reflection, and inquiry” (Johnson 1989, 142). Therefore, the classroom in religious education is not the prison where traditions rule over students’ freedom, but the dynamic process in which they transform their own lives within students’ spirits. Thirdly, the principle of praxis can be understood in terms of the concept of the self. Johnson (1989), in her book *Christian Spiritual Formation in the Church and Classroom*, contrasts the self with the ego. In order to initiate the dynamic transformation of Christian (higher) education, she emphasizes the role of the self rather than that of the ego. Pointing out male-oriented bias within the role of the ego, Johnson (1989) focuses on the relational role of the self in “the course of human development” (109). The principle of praxis is closely related to the relational self. She says, “Praxis emphasizes the prophetic office of the church. It refers to our total complex of action (including reflection on action), along with, and on behalf of, the dispossessed, the needy, the powerless. Praxis means we actively seek to place ourselves in the company of strangers” (Johnson 1990, 138). This emphasizes the mutuality and equality of all human in the image of God. The issues of isolation and loneliness are very important in the classroom. Therefore, the principle of praxis may provide us with the proper reasons about why and what we must share with others people.

In order to provide the transforming environment, the pattern of authority in the classroom is very important. We can find the good case to arise the transforming moment in the Story of the Bible. In Act 2:1-4, Luke prescribes the transforming moment in the story of Pentecost day in Jerusalem. However, before focusing on that event, we need to refer to leadership in the community in Acts 1:15-26. The church elects Matthias instead of Judas who betrayed Jesus. For the election of Matthias, the church uses very strict condition. That is whether or not to have “any reliable facts about ‘the historical Jesus’” (Willimon 1988, 24). Matthias is accepted with such qualification and participates in leadership in the community as one of authoritarians. However, in the most dramatic transforming event of Acts 2:1-4, the leadership of this new community passing such strict qualification process is not working at the moment. That means that some transforming event takes effect in the equal status, since the shared authority model of education can provide an ideal educational situation to initiate students’ passion and their active participation in educational environment (Kim 2009). In addition, the transforming moment makes the coexistence of “multiple” and “contradictory viewpoints” possible (Palmer and Zajonc 2010, 104). And the crowd of Luke’s account of

Pentecost can hear that the disciples speak in multitude of language (Acts 2:6). That reflects that the story of Pentecost day in Jerusalem (Acts 2:1-13) has the transforming motive through the analogical interpretation. Like this, we can assume that the equal class environment may be the main condition for the transforming moment to unmake the violence.

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