

**The Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Convention**

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

December 6th, 1833

**The Declaration of Sentiments of the Peace Convention**

Boston, Massachusetts

September 18, 19, 20, 1838

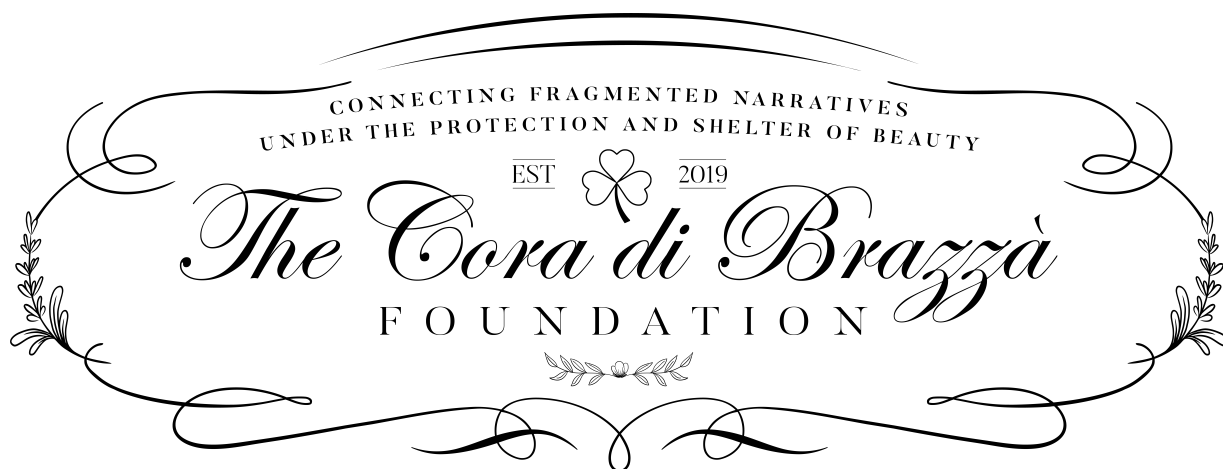
**The Declaration of Sentiments of the Women's Rights Convention**

Seneca Falls, New York

July 19-20, 1848

**We Must, But Cannot, Resort to Revolution (1959)**

Ham Sok Hon (*Translated from Korean by Ha Poong Kim*)



Printed for the 2023 Memory Parlor “Toward Unity”

*sponsored by* The Cora di Brazzà Foundation

July 19-20, 2023

Masonic Temple, Philadelphia

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This booklet was assembled by Dr. Hope Elizabeth May to be used by attendees of the 2023 Memory Parlor, “*Toward Unity*”. In some cases, transcribing from original typed and/or handwritten sources was necessary. She is responsible for any and all errors.

“*Toward Unity!*” is an expression used by Korean philosopher, poet, and peace and democracy activist Ham Sok Hon (1901-1989) in his 1959 essay “We Must, But Cannot, Resort to Revolution.” The phrase can be found on page 35 of this booklet.

하나됨으로!



# DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION

Philadelphia, December 6th, A. D. 1833

The Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia, to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following Declaration of Sentiments, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed, since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the Temple of Freedom was broadly this—'that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.' At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources; but the honest conviction that Truth, Justice and Right were on their side, made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which that of our fathers is incomplete; and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.



Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal taskmasters.

But those, for whose emancipation we are striving—constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen—are recognized by law, and treated by their fellow-beings, as marketable commodities, as goods and chattels, as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoy no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons; and are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heartbroken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.



These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slaveholding States.

Hence we maintain—that, in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore, that it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain—that no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind, by denying him the means of intellectual, social and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labor—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely, the sin is as great to enslave an American as an African.

Therefore we believe and affirm—that there is no difference, in principle, between the African slave trade and American slavery:

That every American citizen, who detains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is, according to Scripture, (Ex. xxi. 16.) a manstealer: That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law:

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations,



their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity:

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base over-throw of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments; and that therefore they ought instantly to be abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—that all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves:

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man:

Because slavery is a crime, and therefore is not an article to be sold:

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slave is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its rightful owner; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself:



Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers: and

Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard as delusive, cruel and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject :

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction. We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force, to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its



protection and they seize the slave, who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal, and full of danger: IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

These are our views and principles—these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine Revelation, as upon the Everlasting Rock.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town and village in our land.

We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions: and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. Truth, Justice, Reason, Humanity, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the



help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this Declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth; to deliver our land from its deadliest curse; to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon; and to secure to the colored population of the United States, all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation—whether we live to witness the triumph of Liberty, Justice and Humanity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause.



## 1833 Declaration of Sentiments (American Anti-Slavery Convention)

### **Maine**

1. David Thurston
2. Nathan Winslow
3. Joseph Southwick
4. James F. Otis
5. Isaac Winslow

### **New Hampshire**

1. David Campbell

### **Massachusetts**

1. Daniel Southmayd
2. Effingham C. Capron
3. Amos Phelps
4. John G. Whittier
5. Horace P. Wakefield
6. James Barbadoes
7. David T. Kimball, Jr.
8. Daniel E. Jewitt
9. John R. Campbell
10. Nathaniel Southard
11. Arnold Buffum
12. William Lloyd Garrison

### **Rhode Island**

1. John Prentice
2. George W. Benson

### **Connecticut**

1. Samuel J. May
2. Alpheus Kingsley
3. Edwin A. Stillman
4. Simeon Joselyn
5. Robert B. Hall

### **New York**

1. Beriah Green
2. Lewis Tappan
3. John Rankin
4. William Green, Jr.
5. Abram T. Cox
6. William Goodell
7. Elizur Wright, Jr.
8. Charles W. Denison
9. John Frost

### **New Jersey**

1. Jonathan Parkhurst
2. Chalkly Gillingham
3. John McCullough
4. James White

### **Pennsylvania**

1. Evan Lewis
2. Edwin A. Altee
3. Robert Purvis
4. James McCrummill
5. Thomas Shipley
6. Bartholomew Fussell
7. David Jones
8. Enoch Mace
9. John McKim
10. Anson Vickers
11. Joseph Loughhead
12. Edward P. Altee
13. Thomas Whitson
14. John R. Sleeper
15. John Sharp, Jr.
16. James Mott

### **Ohio**

1. Milton Sutliff
2. Levi Sutliff
3. John M. Sterling



# DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS OF THE PEACE CONVENTION Boston, September 18, 19, 20, 1838

ASSEMBLED in Convention, from various sections of the American Union, for the promotion of peace on earth and good-will among men, we, the undersigned, regard it as due to ourselves, to the cause which we love, to the country in which we live, and to the world, to publish a DECLARATION, expressive of the principles we cherish, the purposes we aim to accomplish, and the measures we shall adopt to carry forward the work of peaceful, universal reformation.

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government by a resort to physical force. We recognize but one KING and LAWGIVER, one JUDGE and RULER of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which MERCY and TRUTH are met together, and RIGHTEOUSNESS and PEACE have kissed each other; which has no state lines, no national partitions, no geographical boundaries; in which there is no distinction of rank, or division of caste, or inequality of sex; the officers of which are PEACE, its exactors RIGHTEOUSNESS, its walls SALVATION, and its gates PRAISE; and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.

Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us than are those of the whole human race. Hence, we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury. The PRINCE OF



PEACE, under whose stainless banner we rally, came not to destroy, but to save, even the worst of enemies. He has left us an example, that we should follow his steps. GOD COMMENDETH HIS LOVE TOWARD US, IN THAT WHILE WE WERE YET SINNERS, CHRIST DIED FOR US. We conceive, that if a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. If he may use a dagger or a pistol, they may employ cannon, bomb-shells, land and naval forces. The means of self-preservation must be in proportion to the magnitude of interests at stake and the number of lives exposed to destruction. But if a rapacious and bloodthirsty soldiery, thronging these shores from abroad, with intent to commit rapine and destroy life, may not be resisted by the people or magistracy, then ought no resistance to be offered to domestic troublers of the public peace or of private security. No obligation can rest upon Americans to regard foreigners as more sacred in their persons than themselves, or to give them a monopoly of wrong-doing with impunity.

The dogma, that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, and that THE POWERS THAT BE in the United States, in Russia, in Turkey, are in accordance with his will, is not less absurd than impious. It makes the impartial Author of human freedom and equality, unequal and tyrannical. It cannot be affirmed that THE POWERS THAT BE, any nation, are actuated by the spirit or guided by the example of Christ, in the treatment of enemies; therefore, they cannot be agreeable to the will of God; and therefore, their overthrow, by a spiritual regeneration of their subjects, is inevitable.



We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a fallen foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defense of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office.

As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If we cannot occupy a seat in the legislature or on the bench, neither can we elect others to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.

It follows, that we cannot sue any man at law, to compel him by force to restore anything which he may have wrongfully taken from us or others; but if he has seized our coat, we shall surrender up our cloak, rather than subject him to punishment.

We believe that the penal code of the old covenant, AN EYE FOR AN EYE, AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH, has been abrogated by JESUS CHRIST; and that, under the new covenant, the forgiveness instead of the punishment of enemies has been enjoined upon all his disciples, in all cases whatsoever. To extort money from enemies, or set them upon a pillory, or cast them into prison, or hang them upon a



gallows, is obviously not to forgive, but to take retribution. VENGEANCE IS MINE — I WILL REPAY, SAITH THE LORD.

The history of mankind is crowded with evidences proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful dispositions of men can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, for the violent who resort to the sword are destined to perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy—of safety to property, life, and liberty—of public quietude and private enjoyment—as well as on the ground of allegiance to HIM who is KING OF KINGS and LORD OF LORDS, we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will ensure all things needful to us, is armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assailing force.

We advocate no jacobinical doctrines. The spirit of jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence, and murder. It neither fears God nor regards man. We would be filled with the spirit of CHRIST. If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work; we shall submit to every ordinance of man, FOR THE LORD'S SAKE; obey all the requirements of Government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.

But, while we shall adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of GOD; to assail iniquity,



in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time when the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdoms of our LORD and of his CHRIST, and he shall reign for ever.

It appears to us a self-evident truth, that, whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought now to be abandoned. If, then, the time is predicted when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and men shall not learn the art of war any more, it follows that all who manufacture, sell or wield those deadly weapons, do thus array themselves against the peaceful dominion of the SON OF GOD on earth.

Having thus briefly, but frankly, stated our principles and purposes, we proceed to specify the measures we propose to adopt, in carrying our object into effect.

We expect to prevail through THE FOOLISHNESS OF PREACHING—striving to commend ourselves unto every man's conscience, in the sight of GOD. From the press, we shall promulgate our sentiments as widely as practicable. We shall endeavor to secure the co-operation of all persons, of whatever name or sect. The triumphant progress of the cause of TEMPERANCE and of ABOLITION in our land, through the instrumentality of benevolent and voluntary associations, encourages us to combine our own means and efforts for the promotion of a still greater cause. Hence, we shall employ lecturers, circulate tracts and publications, form societies, and petition our State and national governments, in relation to the subject of UNIVERSAL PEACE. It will be our leading object to devise ways and means for effecting a radical change in the views, feelings, and practices of society, respecting the sinfulness of war and the treatment of enemies.



In entering upon the great work before us, we are not unmindful that, in its prosecution, we may be called to test our sincerity, even as in a fiery ordeal. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, yea, even death itself. We anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, calumny. Tumults may arise against us. The ungodly and violent, the proud and pharisaical, the ambitious and tyrannical, principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, may combine to crush us. So they treated the MESSIAH, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate. If we suffer with him, we know that we shall reign with him. We shall not be afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. Our confidence is in the LORD ALMIGHTY, not in man. Having withdrawn from human protection, what can sustain us but that faith which overcomes the world? We shall not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try us, as though some strange thing had happened unto us; but rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of CHRIST'S sufferings. Wherefore, we commit the keeping of our souls to GOD, in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator. FOR EVERY ONE THAT FORSAKES HOUSES, OR BRETHREN, OR SISTERS, OR FATHER, OR MOTHER, OR WIFE, OR CHILDREN, OR LANDS, FOR CHRIST'S SAKE, SHALL RECEIVE A HUNDRED FOLD, AND SHALL INHERIT EVERLASTING LIFE.

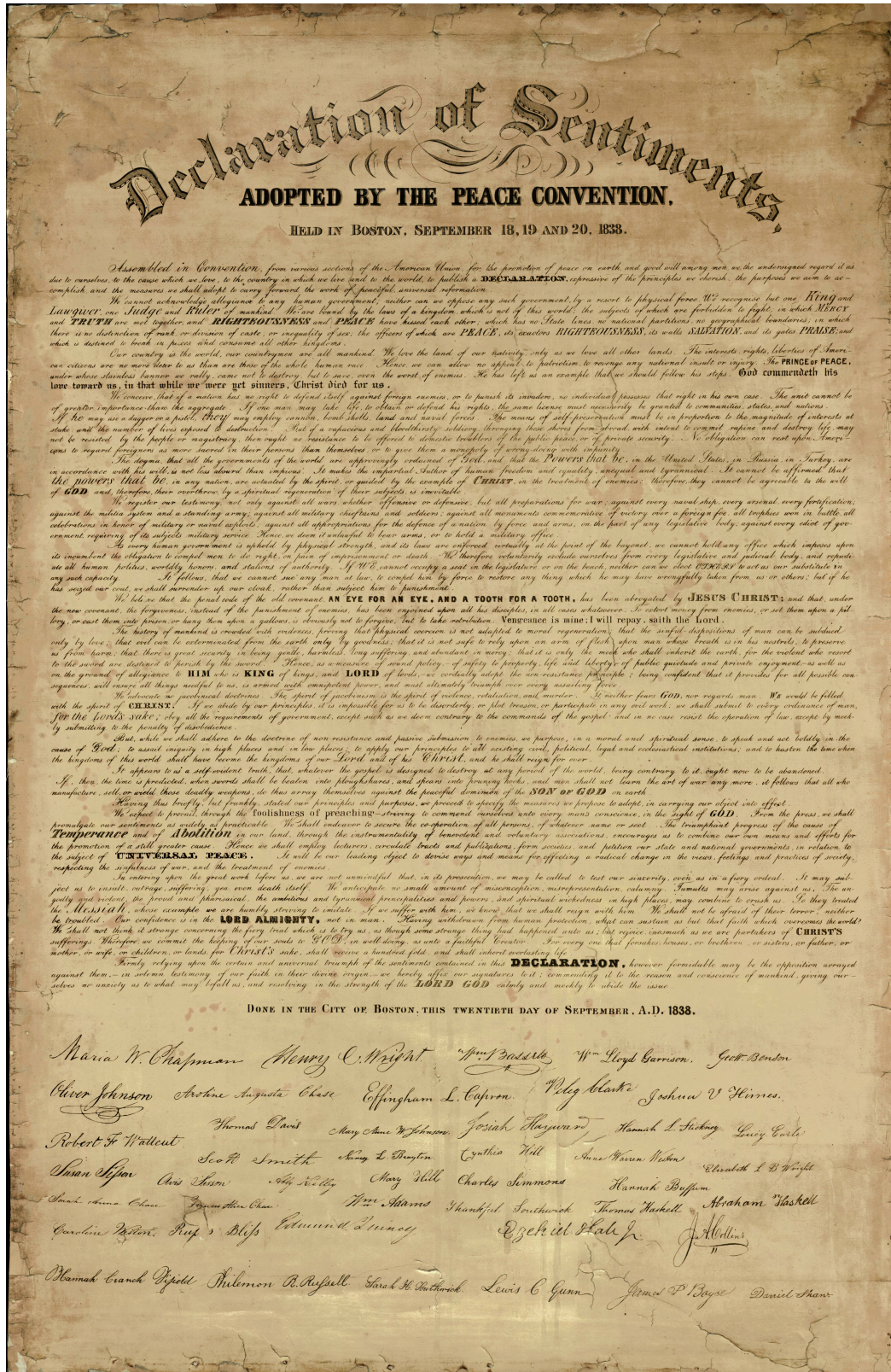
Firmly relying upon the certain and universal triumph of the sentiments contained in this DECLARATION, however formidable may be the opposition arrayed against them—in solemn testimony of our faith in their divine origin—we hereby affix our signatures to it; commending it to the reason and conscience of mankind, giving ourselves no anxiety as to what may befall us, and resolving in the strength of the LORD GOD calmly and meekly to abide the issue.



1838 Declaration of Sentiments (Peace Convention/New England Non-Resistance Society)

- |                           |                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Maria W. Chapman       | 16. Lucy Earle            | 31. Thankful Southwick    |
| 2. Henry C. Wright        | 17. Scott Smith           | 32. Thomas Haskell        |
| 3. William Bassett        | 18. Nancy L. Brayton      | 33. Abraham Haskell       |
| 4. William Lloyd Garrison | 19. Cynthia Hill          | 34. Caroline Weston       |
| 5. George W. Benson       | 20. Anna Warren Weston    | 35. Rufus Bliss           |
| 6. Oliver Johnson         | 21. Elizabeth L.B. Wright | 36. Edmund Quincy         |
| 7. Aroline Augusta Chase  | 22. Susan Sisson          | 37. Ezekiel Hale Jr.      |
| 8. Effingham L. Capron    | 23. Chris Sisson          | 38. J.A. Collins          |
| 9. Peleg Clarke           | 24. Abby Kelley           | 39. Hannah Cranch Fifield |
| 10. Joshua V. Himes       | 25. Mary Hill             | 40. Philemon R. Russell   |
| 11. Robert F. Wallcut     | 26. Charles Simmons       | 41. Sarah H. Southwick    |
| 12. Thomas Davis          | 27. Hannah Buffum         | 42. Lewis C. Gunn         |
| 13. Mary Anne W. Johnson  | 28. Sarah Anna Chase      | 43. James P. Boyce        |
| (Mary A.W. Johnson)       | 29. Frances Alice Chase   | 44. Daniel Shaw           |
| 14. Josiah Hayward        | 30. Wm. Adams             |                           |
| 15. Hannah L. Stickney    |                           |                           |





Declaration of Sentiments Adopted by the Peace Convention (1838)



# DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION Seneca Falls, July 19-20, 1848

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.



The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men; both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes of divorce; in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given; as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon the false



supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education — all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment, by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.



Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation,—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of these United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and national Legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions, embracing every part of the country.

Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this declaration.



1848 Declaration of Sentiments (Women's Rights Convention/Seneca Falls)

1. Lucretia Mott
2. Harriet Cady Eaton
3. Margaret Pryor
4. Elizabeth Cady Stanton
5. Eunice Newton Foote
6. Mary Ann M'Clintock
7. Margaret Schooley
8. Martha C. Wright
9. Jane C. Hunt
10. Amy Post
11. Catherine F. Stebbins
12. Mary Ann Frink
13. Lydia Mount
14. Delia Matthews
15. Catharine C. Paine
16. Elizabeth W. M'Clintock
17. Malvina Seymour
18. Phebe Mosher
19. Catherine Shaw
20. Deborah Scott
21. Sarah Hallowell
22. Mary M'Clintock
23. Mary Gilbert
24. Sophrone Taylor
25. Cynthia Davis
26. Hannah Plant
27. Lucy Jones
28. Sarah Whitney
29. Mary H. Hallowell
30. Elizabeth Conklin
31. Sally Pitcher
32. Mary Conklin
33. Susan Quinn
34. Mary S. Mirror

35. Phebe King
36. Julia Ann Drake
37. Charlotte Woodward
38. Martha Underhill
39. Dorothy Matthews
40. Eunice Barker
41. Sarah R. Woods
42. Lydia Gild
43. Sarah Hoffman
44. Elizabeth Leslie
45. Martha Ridley
46. Rachel D. Bonnel
47. Betsey Tewksbury
48. Rhoda Palmer
49. Margaret Jenkins
50. Cynthia Fuller
51. Mary Martin
52. P.A. Culvert
53. Susan R. Doty
54. Rebecca Race
55. Sarah A. Mosher
56. Mary E. Vail
57. Lucy Spalding
58. Lavinia Latham
59. Sarah Smith
60. Eliza Martin
61. Maria E. Wilbur
62. Elizabeth D. Smith
63. Caroline Barker
64. Ann Porter
65. Experience Gibbs
66. Antoinette E. Segur
67. Hannah J. Latham
68. Sarah Sisson

**“...the gentlemen  
present in favor of  
this new movement:”**

1. Richard P. Hunt
2. Samuel D. Tillman
3. Justin Williams
4. Elisha Foote
5. Frederick Douglass
6. Henry W. Seymour
7. Henry Seymour
8. David Salding
9. William G. Barker
10. Elias J. Doty
11. John Jones
12. William S. Dell
13. James Mott
14. William Burroughs
15. Robert Smalldridge
16. Jacob Matthews
17. Charles L. Hoskins
18. Thomas M'Clintock
19. Saron Phillips
20. Jacob Chamberlain
21. Jonathan Metcalf
22. Nathan J. Milliken
23. S.E. Woodworth
24. Edward F. Underhill
25. George W. Pryor
26. Joel Bunker
27. Isaac Van Tassel
28. Thomas Dell
29. E.W. Capron
30. Stephen Shear
31. Henry Hatley
32. Azaliah Schooley



We Must, But Cannot, Resort To Revolution:  
Politics and Religion  
by Ham Sok Hon  
(Translated from Korean by Ha Poong Kim)

1. The Gordian Knot

All problems are due to politics. Nothing can be done right unless politics is done right. Everyone has his or her own eyes and mouth. Were we, therefore, to discuss our problems, we would face millions of different opinions and the ensuing knot. How to solve this knot? Theoretically it might be possible to solve it without cutting it. That would be the way passive, closed-minded literati might handle the Gordian knot. If the knot were to be handled in this way, however, it would never be solved.

The genius of Alexander the Great as a statesman is to be recognized in the fact that he solved the Gordian knot by cutting it into two pieces by a sword. (Not that he was unaware of the theoretical possibility of untying it without cutting.) To solve the knot by cutting is statesmanship (politics). What confronted Alexander was a complex, entangled reality, which permitted neither the finding of a clue nor the use of a sword. But he put his sword into the knot resolutely. Wherever the sword may fall, solution is solution! Those wrangling cogitators, dumbfounded, might have said: "If one were to use a sword...." Thanks to Alexander's action, however, they too were happily delivered from their entanglement; without his action they would have remained in it, expiring gradually. Problems of our present reality are no different. Our phenomenal existence should not be our primary



concern. Nonetheless, politics is the area which calls for the use of a sword first. He is a fool who tries to solve the knot by untying it. Its resolution comes from the deliverance of the mind that is entangled with it. Alexander was one who accomplished this deliverance.

Mankind has never been so preoccupied with politics as today. Ours is the most political of all ages. This is true everywhere throughout the world, but particularly so in our country (Korea). It is because of those political traffickers that our existence has become so difficult, or rather so confusing and sickening. Korea has become utterly corrupt within a short time after its liberation from Japan. This is largely due to the sins of those political hustlers who have come on stage overnight, claiming to represent the people—without ever being invited to do so. These mediocre political traffickers have ruined this country; they have not left it alone, meddling with its life in the name of politics, acting as if they were experts in statecraft, and as if they were truly concerned with the good of the country. There is a wise saying: "The government that governs the best is the government that governs the least." Thoreau went one step further in regarding the government that does not govern at all as the best. Lao-tzu said: "Governing the state is like cooking a small fish." Governing the people is such a delicate job—like boiling a tiny fish—that it is said that there should be absolutely no poking. However, those scrambling political traffickers have poked and stroked the life of the country—thereby turning our society into a barren wasteland and the people into a lifeless mass.

The flame of a candle flares up once again for the last time, before it dies away. When the mother feels as if her womb were to burst, that's the time when the baby must come to the world. Doesn't she realize most keenly the presence of a life inside at the moment when she is about to be relieved of it? Should the mother stubbornly insist on



keeping the life inside to the end, both she and the baby would perish. Ours is the most political age. This is the meaning of the statement: All problems are due to politics.

## 2. The Demand for Revolution

All problems are due to politics. Politics must be done right before anything else. How are we to straighten up this rotten politics? A revolution is necessary: there is no other way than a revolution. How does one carry out this thing called a "revolution"? One cannot carry it out by correcting one part or a particular policy; one must correct the frame of the nation and the structure of the society, root and branch altogether. In plain language, one must cut away the decaying flesh. There is no way of bringing it back to life no matter what medicine one may apply to it. The only way is to scrape off every bit of the rotten flesh—however painful it may be so that a new flesh may come out.

Why? Because it is impossible to change the law of causation anywhere in this universe. History is merciless: one must pay what one owes without a moment of delay. Nothing can be accomplished by talk alone in the march of history. One must harvest what one sows. Jesus was gentle by nature. But he made a cutting remark: "One must pour a new wine in a new bag." And he practiced this truth in his life. This is truth, though it may sound callous and cold hearted. Truth admits of no excuse. Jesus was a revolutionary, because he knew this historical truth. It is futile to keep the decaying classes as they are, and to preach to them, admonish them, and propose or petition them to do this or that. They will never correct their rotten behavior. Nor can they. Their corruption does not come from their personal wickedness but by historical necessity. They are corrupt, because they must be. Those corrupt politicians they belong to the decaying classes.



They are like puppies that, having grabbed meatless bones in their mouths, run away in a hurry. They are scavengers of history: they have come into existence in order to feed on the dirty refuse of the past history. This is their historical role. They will do whatever they must. They will devour and devour. This they must do, even though they are aware that it is against the current of history, and in this way they are inviting their own destruction. The mentality of these politicians (in Korea) emerged in outline in 1907, the first year of the reign of Taehan Yung-hi (the last reign of the Yi dynasty, which came to an end with the colonization of Korea by Japan in 1910.) Their technique is the practice they learned while living in bondage under Japanese imperialism although they say disapprovingly, "the Japs did this" and "the Japs did that." They know nothing else. All they have in their heads are what have been cooked up under the name of American or Soviet ideology the two ideologies which, both having come to their dead ends, are now about to disappear. The politicians have swallowed these ideologies in one gulp. Beat them, squeeze them, or turn them over this way or that way, but you would get nothing from them except their ideological slogans and cliches. These politicians of the old mentality they are a species that is destined to extinction. Those who sympathize with these doomed cannibals would meet the same fate. One must discard without a second thought what one ought to. When a new day dawns, the people of the new day will be in charge and do things in a new way. It is absurd to mend old clothes with new material.

Why? Because man is man. Because of the nature of man. Because of his rational nature, because of his physical nature, and because of his relativity. Because of his self-hood. Because of the disorder in his being, which he himself cannot cure.



### 3. We Cannot Resort to Revolution

There is no other way than a revolution to straighten up this politics. We must resort to revolution. We must eliminate ruthlessly those whom we ought to be rid of, after they have become as fat as they could, like sacrificial pigs. But we cannot resort to revolution. Why not? Because there is no one who can carry it out by right. Isn't the blood with which to wash off blood also blood? All revolutions are blood. History is ultimately testimony to this fact—to the fact that we must, but cannot, resort to revolution. No revolution can succeed, for all revolutions have been revolutions. We cannot achieve our goal of straightening up politics by means of revolution. All revolutionaries have been swindlers. The prince of peace declared: 'The sheep paid no heed to any who came before me, for these were all thieves and robbers.' Why can't we straighten up politics by revolution? Because man is man. Because of human nature. Man is a creature of matter, flesh, and reason. He is subject to relativity. Because of our sins, we can achieve nothing by revolution. Those who receive judgments and those who make judgments—they are equally bound by the same law.

Man cannot be a judge. No one is human unless he judges. It is in the nature of man that he judges. But judgment by man is ultimately self-judgment. It cannot be true judgment. But it is true judgment in that sense. Man—he is forever a being that receives judgments. He is a being that has been judged before leaving his mother's womb. Judgment—that is it. History is blood. It is necessary that revolutions run through history one after another.

Human history is man's self-judgment. By revolution one commits a sin in order to fulfill righteousness. The motive is good, but the results evil. Although every revolution seeks to correct the whole, it corrects a part and kills the whole. You have grabbed the bull by the



horns firmly, but the bull dies in your grip. Revolution seeks to replace the old by what is new, but it constantly repeats itself and becomes increasingly more destructive, so that it becomes harder to correct. Revolution is a contradiction. Therefore, one must not resort to revolution. Jesus was a revolutionary, but he did not resort to revolution.

#### 4. The Idol of Almighty Politics is Doomed

Man is a creature of contradiction; it is his fate to make judgments which he himself cannot rightly make. As he was making judgments, at the same time he also had to save the world. To be sure, this salvation was a fake salvation. Man came to realize his sin because he had first become a judge and had thereby, in turn, received a judgment. Similarly, he has come to know righteousness because he first attempted to save the world and became instead one who would need salvation from the fall caused by that attempt. The supreme deity of that fake salvation has been politics. The moving force of human history until today has been the faith in the ideology of the almighty politics. In this respect, all lands and all ages have been the same. For this reason, human history leading up to the present time has been political history in almost every way. Everything depends on politics. All you need is to grasp the power to rule. Striving with this kind of mentality, humanity has arrived at the present age.

All this has now come to the final stage. The cult of the almighty politics in every country is now crying for politics, running mad, while shedding blood from its own inflicted wounds — just as the cult of Baal did in its struggle with Elijah on Mt. Carmel before its final downfall. From the story of Elijah, however, we know well what the outcome will be. Every idol drags its worshippers up to the pinnacle by



charm, but it fails them one step before reaching the top and instantly falls headlong to its demise, taking its adorers along.

The mentality of the almighty politics implies the faith in the supremacy of (brute) power. There is only power. One must possess power. For politics is nothing other than a systematic working of power. The most immediate form of power is the fist. Its extension is the weapon. A farther extension is (material) knowledge. Therefore, we have seen the rapid dissemination of the gospel of the almighty politics since the advancement of scientific knowledge. Science deals with the material realm. Accordingly, it arose, declaring that power was in matter. Modern science believed that matter and the possibility of material knowledge were infinite; therefore, it promised infinite power to humanity. Thus opened the golden age of the almighty politics. And the scientists became the prophets at the service of this new idol.

Inevitably this brought about the philosophy of the struggle for survival. This philosophy underlies every thought and practice of the modern age. It has been all but the sole driving force of modern civilization. With its ascendance all religions and philosophies of the past have lost their light, just as the moon loses its light before sunrise. Historians declare that the modern era has been the period of the spirit on the ebb. It seems as though the ebbing water would go down all the way and the sea would expose its dry bottom.

## 5. The Dawn of New Religion

When, however, the frenzied Baalish idolaters of the almighty politics tore and beat one another at the climax of their invocation, there was heard a stern voice of admonition and disdain, like that of Elijah. It said: "Nothing can be achieved by material power." Thus began humanity's great turnabout. We do not yet see fire descend from heaven upon the Baalish altar, on which Elijah poured water.



Nonetheless, it is a fact that the idolaters of the almighty politics (i.e., worshippers of power) increasingly show the sign of abandoning their idol.

We have come to realize that no problems can be solved by violent contest—namely, that (true) power lies within, not without. What is “within” and what is “without”? Within is the spirit; without is the material. The soul is within; the body is without. Power is in your soul. From now on history will be made by this soul power. The current of history will move on no longer through the struggle for survival but by the soul's shining-through. Isn't this suggested by today's world, which, having produced weapons of incredible destructivity, has been making efforts in search of ways not to use them rather than to use them? Isn't it evidenced by the fact that the mighty British Empire, despite her proud million troops, could not use even a single sword before Gandhi, the half-naked old man who was about to breathe his last from fasting? Britain had to abandon her colony, which she had been exploiting like a poisonous snake for three hundred years—thus letting the people of India gain their liberation without violence. Human history has seen nothing like this since its dawn.

In this sense the present era is an era of religious renaissance. Hasn't religious revival already become a fad in the United States? However, no new light will issue through the so-called religious revival of an established religion from the past. Every single established religion has bent her knees before the paganism of power worship, opened her skirt, and committed adultery with it. It is inconceivable that a religion licensed under capitalism has not committed an illicit union with it. Nor is it possible that a religion practiced openly under communism has made no compromise with it. Both systems, born of materialism, are through and through realistic and concerned with the present phenomenal existence. They are neither



so foolish nor so compassionate as to yield their ways because of a few persuasive words. Every religion that puts up an organized church is ultimately a cult of power and nothing but a variant of politics.

In the end, therefore, this parasitic practice (of all the established religions) will be swept into the ocean of history, together with "the mother of whores and of every obscenity on earth" (Revelation 17:5). Mention of religious revival arouses excitement among religionists—as if their time were coming. However, they are like those high priests who applauded the rise of Elijah as if they had found their ally in him. (To the disappointment of those high priests, Elijah turned a blind eye to their applause.) One cannot but break into a bitter smile at the excitement of these religionists. What is approaching is not the revival of the old religion but the birth of a new religion.

The present age finds itself in a dilemma in which one must, but cannot, resort to revolution. It will find its deliverance from the dilemma only in a new religion, which is deeper and broader than any established religion.

## 6. Politics and Religion

What is politics and what is religion? Neither politics nor religion is what I have by choice. Whether I seek it or avoid it, I live in the midst of politics since birth. Regardless of whether I seek to have faith or not to have faith, life is religious. I do not believe in my country; rather, my country has brought me into existence. I do not make religion; rather, God has created me religious. Both politics and religion have arisen from the original nature of man.

Since both have come from human nature, one would expect them to be naturally in harmony. However, that is not the case. One may regard history as conflict between politics and religion. They are like a



pair of scales, so that when this dish goes up, that dish comes down, and when that dish goes up, this dish comes down—even though together they make one. Such is history, and such is human life. The more religious the less political; the more political the less religious. This is generally the case with a historical era as well as with an individual personality. Neither politics nor religion can, however, be abandoned. This is the reason why they both exist. In this sense, it is inconceivable that there be no friction between politics and religion. As they continue their friction, however, they are both saved. When politics becomes corrupt, it is religion that saves it; when religion is about to decay, it is politics that rescues it. If humanity had had theocracy ever since the time of ancient primitive society, there would not be today's religion. In that case, we would not know in what kind of state humanity would find itself today. It was the politics of realism that rescued human society from the hands of cunning and treacherous religionists. What would have happened to the West had the Roman Catholic Church maintained its domination over it without the opposition of nationalistic politics? Even to think of this causes one to shudder. On the other hand, it has been religion that has delivered humanity from under the feet of countless tyrants, for it has inspired the fire of the spirit into the hearts of cruel oppressors as well as into the hearts of oppressed ones. But for religion, it is clear, humanity would have turned into beastly existence.

In ancient primitive society religion and government were one. Those politicians and religionists who dream of the restoration of that practice are wrong, however. The separation of religion and politics has become the necessary principle of growth for human life. Their separation came so that they both would be saved, and that human life would grow. Just as the three branches of government could stand-forming one sovereignty—only when they were separated, so politics and religion could both stand enabling humanity to be both religious



and political—only when they were differentiated from their primitive state.

Should one then seek the correct balance between the two? To do so has been a common aim among religious geniuses and political heroes. But it is a one-dimensional thought; it has arisen from the wrong drawing of the structure of human existence. The structure of life is not one—but three-dimensional. Politics and religion are not two competing realms on the same plane. A man of politics is a horizontal one. The ideal of politics is *pyōng* [Chinese: *p'ing*, meaning level or leveling]. *Jōng* [Chinese: *cheng*, meaning government] is *jōng* [Chinese: *cheng*, meaning straight]. To govern is to make straight. *Chi* [Chinese: *chih*, meaning to rule] was originally the name of a river in China. Water seeks the level (*pyōng*); to rule all under heaven [*t'ien-hsia*] is to make it level and straight, so that there will be neither ups and downs nor zigzags in the whole wide world.

On the other hand, the religious person is not one who seeks to expand on the surface of the earth, but one who aspires to rise up to heaven. Accordingly, the ideal of religion lies in loftiness, holiness, and uprightness. Religion is a vertical movement. Insofar as human existence is the product of the horizontal politics and the vertical religion in unity, human society is not something to be drawn on a (one-dimensional) plane, but rather something (to be built) in the form of a pyramid or a conoid. But even this description is inadequate, for by nature the horizontal extends infinitely, and the vertical aims at eternity. For this reason, one cannot resolve the relation between politics and religion or their friction by seeking their balance or by compromise.

Here comes to mind a Confucian attempt to harmonize politics and religion in unity. This attempt recognizes the idea of *chung* (center) as its principle. When one mentions *chung*, one tends to think of some



halfway point. But this is also a one-dimensional notion, which is wrong. Confucius (speaking of the wisdom of the sage king Shun) said in the *Chung-yung* (*The Doctrine of the Mean*): "He held the two extremes and used the mean (*chung*) in governing the people." If one reads the mean (*chung*) in the sense of "halfway point," one makes a serious error. Again in the *Chung-yung*, Confucius said: "All under heaven and states may be governed; honors and emoluments may be declined; naked swords and spears may be trampled under the feet. But the mean [Chinese: *chung-yung*] cannot be attained to." *Chung* is such a difficult ideal to realize. Certainly no one can even approach it who regards it as "some halfway point."

For this reason, Confucius was never a statesman, although he was a great teacher of government and later produced many statesmen. In the modern time, none has harmonized the relation between politics and religion as well as Gandhi. Gandhi also pointed out the absurdity of being indifferent to politics while trying to be religious. However, he was never a politician. Gandhi, the man who lay the foundation for the independence of India, said: "If I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics encircles us today like the coil of a snake from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries. I wish therefore to wrestle with the snake." *Chung* means the axis or the center of a sphere i.e., the place where politics and religion achieve unity in harmony.

## 7. The Urge to Become One

Politics and religion join human life into one under two aspects. The former unifies it horizontally, on the ground, in (material) reality; the latter unifies it vertically, in heaven, in spirituality.

What they aim at is the same: "to become one." The ideal of every statesman is to make the world one. Not only for good statesmen but also for evil oppressors, what primarily motivates them and propels



them forward—though they are unaware of it is their desire to become one. The unification of the world—this is the backbone of historical development. The ideal of every religion is to make the universe and human existence one, and make time and eternity one. From the pursuit of this ideal comes the strength of diabolical as well as noble and rational religions.

Eternal life is the motor that turns the wheel of every life. "To become one" this is the absolute imperative. Truth is one. In the beginning there was one, from which arose all things. Therefore, all things inevitably seek one, and by nature strive to reach it. The urge to become one is the nature of matter as well as the nature of the spirit. The phenomenal world is the manifestation of the same urge. Once, however, it has become manifested, this all pervading urge is, by necessity, differentiated into diverse imperfect things, inviting thus conflicts among them. The urge to become one is physical force; it is instinctive force. It brings about the struggle for survival, faith, and love. Its appearance is called economy when considered in view of our daily sustenance, and politics when considered in view of our relations of interaction. It is religion when it is understood in view of complicated spiritual relations.

The demand for liberty and equality is also the expression of the urge to become one. So are compassion, love, self sacrifice, and service to others. Even a tyrannical politician's exploitation of the people and a greedy profiteer's money making come from the unity-seeking movement of life. However, if one, knowing the way, fulfills the urge right, it is good; if one, out of ignorance, fulfills it at pleasure, it is evil. (The difference is one of knowledge and ignorance.) Religion is the effort to receive this absolute imperative the one word that lies in the ultimate source as clearly as possible. In this sense, religion stands at the summit of all human activities, both physical and spiritual. Chong



(in *chong-kyo* [Chinese: *tsung-chiao*], meaning religion) means the highest source—i.e., that which unifies all from the highest point—making them one. Hasn't an extraordinary age arrived? Isn't the world becoming interesting? This is an age in which the banners of nation-state and class-state are losing color. This is a world in which creed-obsessed churches and institutional religions are gradually becoming antique objects of museums. This is the world of science in which the difference between the spiritual and the material is disappearing. Hasn't history now received the marching order: "Toward unity!"

The United States and the Soviet Union confront each other as two opposing nations—even though they are equally products of Western civilization. Doesn't this mean that there are only two (in reality), though there are many nations? Then there must be a place where there is only one (in reality), though there are two. In fact, the United States and the Soviet Union are one, though different. They are the same in that they are both residues of the past ages to be thrown into the waste-basket of history.

India and China oppose each other—even though they are equally lost children of Asia. Although they look very much as if they were pursuing the same course, India's path is in reality not China's. In this case, two are identical but different.

There is an ordinal number which is the darling of the day—namely, *third*. The *third* power, the *third* course (of nonalignment). What does this "third" mean? It means going over and above the opposing two. Nothing is, however, truly the *third* unless it is higher than the two, standing above them. What is this higher one? It is *one* (unity). Revolution comes from opposition; consequently, no salvation comes out of it. Although our (phenomenal) reality is one in which one must resort to revolution, one can achieve nothing by revolution. We must find something higher than revolution. Revolution



[etymologically both in Chinese and Korean] means giving or receiving a new mandate. But the new mandate is the absolute imperative, i.e., the imperative of *one* (i.e., of unity). This alone is the mandate that will bring about what is new in eternity. Politics seeks unification, but it cannot achieve it. (An institutional religion is none other than a variant of politics.) John, the writer of the Revelation in the New Testament, describes the battle of Armageddon toward the end of the Revelation. This is the final battle in which all the nations on earth, united, fight against the kingdom of the spirit. Doesn't this suggest the confrontation between politics and religion? The true unity will come only when this confrontation is over. Isn't this age rushing toward the battle of Armageddon? I am saying all this not from the kind of confused state of mind from which the so-called Holy Spirit Sect speaks; I am speaking here, after having looked into history rationally.

Until today, the almighty politics has dominated all countries, races, and religions; it has swindled and divided them, causing them to fight against one another. We have been told that the strong would achieve one. Now the day is coming when the almighty politics will collapse. Until today, what humanity knew was (brute) power. Power, power, and power. But what the idol of power eventually led mankind to was atomic power. The idol itself has reached the end of its destiny; it is about to blast itself. And the human race, having followed it, is now at its wit's end. The power of an atom (*wōn-cha*) is the power of a particle (*cha*). When humanity is at a loss merely after seeing the power of a particle, what would it do when it faces the very source of the particle? *Wōn* [Chinese: *yüan*, meaning source or origin] is one. The particle must have its power thanks to the power of its source. This source makes mankind ashen faced with nothing more than the power of a particle. However, the source must be more than power. Indeed, it cannot be anything (an object). Great and awesome as power is, it must



be something, which may be caught in the net of my reason. The source (*wōn*) itself, the one itself, cannot, however, be caught in my net. To fear and worship power is something to be ashamed of: it is not worthy of humanity. We have come to the world to use power, not to be used by it.

Eradicate the practice of power worship from governments and parliaments. Only then will the prince of peace come the one who will make my world one with him. Observing the chaos of China during the Warring States period, King Hsiang of Liang asked Mencius: "Where will the world settle?" Mencius' reply was truth for all ages. "It will settle at one." "Who will be able to achieve one?" His reply: "One who loathes killing human beings will be able to achieve one." Are these not words from heaven ?



## NOTES



## NOTES



## NOTES



## NOTES



## NOTES







*Only Connect...Live in Fragments No Longer.*  
~ E.M. Forster