In ancient times communication in Korea was achieved as in most places in the world. Various methods such as word of mouth, signals and signal fires were utilised to facilitate the transfer of information. With the development of written language, communication was also accomplished by the employment of couriers to carry written messages from one location to the next. Of course, the development of paper made the delivering of written messages even easier. The evolution of the processes involved in communication developed side-by-side with the progress of human civilisation.

In Korea the first records of efforts to manage long distance communications in a more efficient manner are found in the Shilla Kingdom. According to records in the *Samguk sagi* (The History of the Three Kingdoms) in 487 CE Shilla established post stations in each of the four directions. The post system (yŏkch'ŏm) enabled messages to be transferred by way of couriers who would carry these from one outpost to the next. In the following Koryŏ period, this system of posts was extended greatly and allowed communications with outlying areas. The total number of posts in the Koryŏ period is recorded in the *Koryŏ sa* (History of Koryŏ) as being 525, which were connected by twenty-two post roads. By the subsequent Chosŏn period, the communication systems were further improved due not only to the growth in the size of the nation, but also because of situations that required rapid communications such as frequent invasions. Notable among the communication systems in the Chosŏn period was the arrangement of beacon fires that served to signal urgent information to the capital. For more detailed information, a network of post-stations was maintained, and this was utilised for most government communications. These methods were far from perfect and barely managed to satisfy the needs of government demands. Private communication systems were not institutionalised and did not blossom until late Chosŏn.

Postal Services

Due to the isolationist policies of Chosŏn, relations with foreign nations other than China and Japan did not occur until the waning days of the Kingdom. However by the mid 1880s, some innovative thinkers within the Chosŏn government had begun to embrace the systems of the West. One of the areas that these new ideas were incorporated into was that of communications. In December 1882 the Chosŏn government established the Board for General Control of Diplomatic and Commercial Affairs (*T'ongi kyoṣôp t'ôngsang samu amun*) to handle matters of communication such as postal services, diplomatic communiques and telegraphic services. This office was under the charge of Hong Yongshik, who in the following year travelled to both Japan and America for an inspection of their communication facilities. In New York, Hong was deeply impressed by the American system, and in Japan he stated that Korea needed to establish a postal system as in Japan, and he requested that Japan provide three individuals to help establish the system in Korea. In 1884 the Postal Administration (*Ujongguk*) was established in Korea by order of King Kojong, and Hong was made Vice-Minister in charge of its operation. However, later that same year while Hong hosted a banquet for government officials and foreign diplomats, conspirators carried out a *coup d'etat* (Coup d'Etat of 1884; *Kapshin* |
chŏngbyŏn) which although it ultimately failed, brought about great reforms. One of the consequences of the coup was the collapse of the postal service.

In 1895 a new post office (Uch’esa) was created first in Seoul and then Inch’ŏn, and by 1899 every county and town in Korea was able to send and receive mail. By 1900 the postal service undertook for the first time exchange of mail with foreign countries. However, by the time of the Russo-Japanese War, this service fell under the jurisdiction of the Japanese. The sphere of communications was deemed an essential area by the Japanese in Korea and after the Protectorate Treaty of 1905, there was little that the Koreans could do but watch as the Japanese seized many of the fundamental industries in Korea. In the Colonial period, the postal services in Korea were expanded and spread throughout the country. However, like all else in Korea during this tumultuous period, the postal service was subject to strict control and geared towards maximum benefit for the Japanese.

With liberation from Japanese rule in August 1945, the postal system was paralysed. Despite the nation suffering from shortages of manpower and resources, the need for a functional postal system was evident and the government made the establishment of a modern postal system a priority. With the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948, a postal system was implemented under the management of the Ministry of Communication (Ch’eshinbu). The Ministry of Communication was given autonomy in its operations, the communication industry was equipped and expanded, and a post office was established in each township. These ensured that the post office would function properly and all Koreans would benefit from its establishment.

The efficiency of the Korean post office was greatly improved with the introduction of five digit postal codes in July 1970 and the standardisation of envelope sizes in January 1974. The postal codes in Korea were revised in February 1988 to six digits, which enabled the system to become even more highly mechanised. Presently, additional mechanisation is underway including such advanced technology as optical scanning machines to further increase the efficiency of the mail delivery system. As of 1995, South Korea boasted a total of 3 455 post offices and 53 724 mailboxes across the nation. The postal system handled about 2.72 billion pieces of domestic mail in 1995, which was an increase of 10.4 per cent from 1994. International mail accounted for 21.62 million items in 1995 which was up 5.6 per cent from the prior year. Incoming international mail was numbered at 36.44 million pieces in 1995.

Since 1991 the government has been executing a comprehensive plan for the computerisation of the nation’s post offices. This plan consists of five stages beginning with the complete computerisation of domestic and international operations in 1992. The second phase was the computerisation of the domestic parcels sector, which was begun in December 1993. In July 1994, the government completed the third stage by computerising the international parcel post by linking 1 575 post offices. According to this master plan, all of the nation’s post offices are to be linked and will provide a variety of services for consumers, including such items as air and train reservations.

Telegraphic Communications

The telegraph came into East Asia in the latter half of the nineteenth c. Japan was the first in 1869 with its Tokyo-Yokohama line, and China followed in 1881 with the Shanghai - T’einchin line. Korea followed her two neighbours in 1885 with a line that linked ŭiju and Inch’ŏn and was built by the Chinese. ŭiju is located at the mouth of the Yalu River and the line was soon extended to reach deep into Manchuria, where it could facilitate the perceived need of both the Korean and Chinese governments for rapid communications. However, this line was completely under the control of the Chinese and was merely a link in their aggressive designs on Korea. The second line was the Seoul-Pusan line that was built by the Japanese in 1888. This line was then linked to Japan by an undersea cable. This
second line was initially under the auspices of the Korean Bureau of Telegrams (Chosŏn chŏnbo ch'ŏngguk) but after the Russo-Japanese War it came under the control of the Japanese Government. After the advent of the colonial period, the telegraph facilities in Korea, as all other modes of modern communication, fell under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Government-General.

During the colonial period, telegraph facilities became widespread throughout Korea. In the forty years (1905-1945) that Japan controlled the communications network in Korea, the telegraph system accomplished the following: 1) it provided a convenient facility for Japanese residents in Korea; 2) it assisted the oppression of Koreans by the Japanese government; 3) it linked Korea to the continent of Asia; 4) it served the Japanese war-effort in Asia. As with most other modernization in Korea during the colonial period, the benefit to Korean people was minimal. This is witnessed in the 1941 decree that banned any telegraphic transmissions in han'gul.

After liberation the telegraph industry in Korea was first devastated by a lack of capital, and then by the Korean War. However, in the aftermath of the War, the Korean government directed great resources into the development of a modern communication network throughout the country. As a result, by the 1970s there were telegraph facilities across the nation which served to make communications easier for those living in rural areas. Now, the importance of the telegraph system has diminished, as home, office and mobile telephones have become widespread and replaced the telegraph as the chief means of communication.

Telephone Services

Telephone technology arrived in Korea relatively soon after its invention in 1876 by Alexander Graham Bell. In March 1882 the first telephone was introduced in Korea and an experimental connection was made. However, a telephone service in the modern sense did not begin for another twenty years when the first public telephone service was introduced in Korea, on 20 March 1902. In May of the same year a line was established connecting Hansŏng (modern day Seoul) to Kaesŏng, and in June city telephone exchange facilities were established in Hansŏng. In the following year, despite interference from the Japanese, a telephone exchange facility was established in Inch'ŏn and then service from Kaesŏng to P'yŏngyang, and Hansŏng to Suwŏn were established shortly thereafter. The first phone registers in Korea (Kakchŏnhwa soch'ŏngwŏn inp'yo) revealed four numbers in 1902, and by 1905 had expanded to eighty people including their addresses.

The Japanese seized control of the telephone industry in April 1905. Expansion of telephone lines and capabilities continued throughout the colonial period, but like much else the benefit of these improvements was for the most part realized by the Japanese. After liberation, development of telephone facilities was given priority, but due to economic hardships, the Korean War and lack of resources not many gains were realized.

The actual basis for the development of the Korean communications infrastructure was provided in 1961 with the first of the Five-Year Telecommunications Plans, which were a part of the First through the Fourth Five-Year Economic Development Plans. The infrastructure facilities in Korea were first expanded with the opening of a land subscription wireless mobile telephone in 1961, which was followed by the introduction of the semi-electronic switching system M10CN in 1978. The second phase saw the establishment of two land-based satellite communications stations, the first in 1970 and the second in 1977. The third phase was marked by a coaxial carrier circuit, a type of long-distance communication network, being opened between Seoul and Pusan. The most urgent need of the telecommunications industry in Korea through the mid-1980s was to provide a communications service that met the demands of the rapidly expanding Korean economy. This period was marked by chronic backlogs of calls and corresponding numbers of
consumer complaints regarding poor service.

To better regulate the telecommunications industry and to provide more efficient and modern telephone service for Korean consumers, the Ministry of Communication was charged with resolving all of the obstacles that arose in creating a technologically advanced, modern communications network. It created two telephone companies to manage the business operations, while the Ministry itself took charge of policy-making and long-term development plans. The Korea Telecommunications Authority (Korea Telecom: *Han'guk chǒn'gi t'ongshin kongsa*) was created in 1982 and the Data Communications Corporation (DACOM) was established in 1991.

The separation of the planning and business operations proved to be successful and the telephone service in Korea has advanced markedly. At the end of 1995, the R.O.K. had 21,474,791 telephone lines and 18,299,916 subscribers. This is a ratio of 40.8 units to each one hundred people, being an increase from 39.6 units per one hundred people in 1994. Seoul boasted the largest number of subscribers with 5,093,789 followed by Pusan at 1,510,441. Moreover, the number of public telephones nationwide stood at 319,071 by November 1995.

South Korea also has vast long-distance and international networks in place. At the end of 1995, Korea Telecom had almost 1.4 million long-distance communication lines. In addition, it had 15,815 international lines consisting of 7,465 satellite lines and 8,350 undersea lines as of October 1995. DACOM adds another 3,170 to the total of international lines. South Korea has long distance connection capabilities with 231 countries using international direct dialing (IDD).

Research and Development

Research and development in the communications industry has brought about many positive changes to communications in Korea. The Ministry of Communication is seeking to bring about changes in the local telephone industry such as improving call quality and replacing mechanical switching equipment with digital equipment in order to construct intelligent communications networks. In addition, work is underway to replace paper insulated cable with foam-skin cable, which has superior transmission qualities, in order to improve the quality in subscriber lines. In the long-distance sector, items such as the digitalization of toll switching facilities, installing optical cable transmission lines among administrative organizations and constructing optical cables near highways is either planned or currently underway.

The Korean government is also vigorously pursuing a satellite communications network. Korea has leased satellite service through INTELSAT in the past and now is relying on the domestic satellite Mugunghwa for satellite communications service. The funding for the 300-billion won Mugunghwa satellite was provided entirely by Korea Telecom. This satellite was the first in the history of the nation and made Korea the twenty-second nation in the world to possess a multi-function, commercial satellite. Future plans for increasing satellite capabilities and future launchings are being approached with the Ministry of Information and Communications charged with the planning and establishing basic policies, Korea Telecom responsible for the execution of the plans, and the Korean Electronics and Telecommunications Research Institute (Han'guk chǒnja t'ongshin yǒnguso) conducting the research and development. There are currently plans underway for the launching of subsequent communications satellites to meet the future needs of Korea.

Other communication requirements of Korea are also being met through state-of-the-art communications technology. There are now earth stations that are linked to the INMARSAT satellite network that allow direct communications with vessels in the Indian Ocean, and plans to construct like stations for communications with air ships. Moreover, in
addition to satellite communications, marine optical cable is being largely expanded in order to augment international transmission lines. Other plans call for the digitalization of the communications network to not only provide improved telephone service, but also to accommodate the transmission of images for television. The construction of an Integrated Services Digital Network (ISDN) will allow cable television service, phone service and computer connections to the internet to all be achieved through a single connection.

The future direction of the communications industry is bound to bring about many unanticipated changes, but can largely be summarized into the following three categories: 1) efforts are being directed at both modernizing and expanding service areas for various composite media. 2) the privatization of communications made possible by the development of micro-cell mobile communications has brought increased capabilities and technological advances to mobile communications along with more favourable circumstances for consumers through additional competition. This sphere of communications will undoubtedly continue to grow and expand rapidly into the twenty-first century. 3) the development of intelligent communications networks will allow consumers to receive various services and accomplish many tasks.

New Communication Technologies

At the leading edge of new communication technologies in Korea is the advent of the so-called 'computer age'. With the goal of 'having an information and communications terminal in every house' by the year 2000, the government has been pushing to supply ten million computers since 1991. Of this projected ten million computers, the bulk are expected to come from private industry with Korea Telecom supplying about 500,000 units. Computer communication services are being expanded to meet an increasing market, from a low 627,000 subscribers as of November 1995. The Korean government is also focusing on supplying computer training and access to those who live in the nation's rural areas. To help correct the imbalance that exists between the technological levels of those in the urban and rural areas, the government introduced rural computer training centres in 1988. The number of these centres has steadily increased over the past few years and as of 1995 it stood at forty-five.

A high-speed information network is envisioned for Korea that will bring all of the resources of the vast Internet to the citizens of Korea. Under Kim Young-sam, the government promulgated a plan to harness the power of the Internet by preparing a new infrastructure, thereby allowing citizens to participate fully and benefit accordingly in this computerization and the advance of the information industry. The plan calls for 45 trillion won to be invested by 2015 and this huge project is expected to generate a total of 100 trillion won in production, create over 500,000 new jobs and to expand the gross national product of Korea by 22 per cent. The program of implementing this high-speed information network is to be conducted in two phases. First a network available to major groups such as public organizations, research centres and universities will directly impact the competitiveness of the nation. The second phase, which will be readied by 2015, will be available to private individuals.

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Communism

The Korean Communist movement (1918-1945)

Korea, which became a colony of Japan in 1910, possessed the social background (intellectuals, students and the newly-born working class) sufficient for response to the
ideas of Communism. Interest in these ideas was facilitated by the failure of the long and tortuous struggle for national freedom and progress, and this convinced Koreans of the necessity of new ideas and approaches. The colossal protest energy accumulated in Korean society since 1910 brought about a mass uprising in March, 1919 and led to important changes in the liberation movement.

Korea's first acquaintance with the Communist teaching happened supposedly at the beginning of the 20th c. in Korean emigrant circles in Russia, China and Japan. However, the main impulse came from the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, which influenced the March First Movement of 1919 in Korea. The defeat of the latter demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the nationalist leadership and its slogans, and forced the radical wing of the Korean liberation movement to turn to Communist ideology and practice. No doubt, the doctrinal basis of Communist teaching attracted much less attention; the research-based theories of Communism were understood as symbols of faith and irrefutable dogmas. The Communist pathos of social transformation and liberation struggle was what really mattered. It was looked upon as the only way to the immediate liberation of Korea, to the annihilation of the colonial yoke and of poverty and backwardness. Information about the revolutionary changes in Russia also stimulated such hopes.

In Russia, by 1917 the Korean community had emerged as a significant force, based mainly in the Far East where about 100,000 Koreans lived, the majority as poor and exploited workers and peasants. Hence many of them supported the Soviet power and defended its cause during the civil war, and the most active of them joined the Bolshevik Party. Thousands of Koreans travelled annually to Russia for seasonal jobs and brought home the news of the birth of a new life in the neighbouring country. The Korean people were especially sympathetic to the Red Army, since it fought against the Japanese, and dozens of Korean organisations participated in the fighting. There was, no doubt, significant propaganda work among the Koreans by the Russian Communist Party and the Far East Bureau of the Communist International, but one has to admit that it met with an enthusiastic response from Koreans in both Russia and Korea itself.

The Japanese colonial regime had deprived the Koreans of the possibility of developing an organized liberation movement in Korea. It was not by chance that the main centres of Korean political activity were established outside Korea. Of course, the first organizations of Korean Communists appeared in Soviet Russia, the centre of the revolutionary turmoil of that epoch. The first organization of that kind arose due to the efforts of the well known liberation fighter Yi Tonghwi, a former officer of the imperial guard who took part in anti-Japanese resistance and in cultural and enlightenment activities and then became an emigré in Russia. There he tried to combine Communism and the liberation movement of the Korean people. In April 1918 he organized the Union of Korean Socialists in Khabarovsk. He was supported by A.P. Kim-Stankevich, a leader of the Khabarovsk Bolsheviks. The Union was not long-lived. In the summer of the same year, Khabarovsk was captured by the anti-Soviet forces. Many members of the Union were killed (including Kim-Stankevich); Yi Tonghwi and some others managed to escape.

In May 1919, the surviving members of the Union and a fraternal organisation established an underground Korean Socialist Party (Chosŏn Sahoe-dang) near Vladivostok, under the leadership of Yi Tonghwi. The Party announced its decision to join the Communist International and sent a delegation to Moscow, but only Pak Chinsun succeeded in passing through the front lines of the civil war. He arrived in Moscow and spoke at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In April 1920, the Japanese occupied Vladivostok and crushed all Korean organizations based there, including the Korean Socialist Party. Some of its members joined the guerrillas, and others, like Yi Tonghwi, went to China. In China Yi Tonghwi joined hands with the Korean radical emigrés and for some time he led the Shanghai-based Provisional Government of Korea.
The first Communist organization in Korea itself was supposedly established in Seoul in 1919. The people's uprising forced the Japanese to liberalise their regime and to allow Koreans some limited political autonomy. As a result, workers, peasants and youth organizations mushroomed, with the support of the underground Communist groups. The Korean Communist organizations in Russia were naturally more active, especially in the Far-East and in Siberia. By the end of 1920 there were 16 organisations with a total of 2300 members. General supervision of these organisations was first performed by the Korean Section of the Far-East Bureau of the Russian Communist Party, and after 1921 by the Far-East Secretariat of the Comintern. The Korean representatives participated in all congresses of the Comintern. The Executive Committee many times discussed the problems of the newly born Korean Communist movement, not always taking into consideration the concrete conditions in Korea.

The aspiration of the Korean Communist organizations in Russia to unite was headed by the most powerful of them, the Irkutsk organization. In 1920, they held a congress in Irkutsk. The delegates from the Korean Communist groups in Russia found it premature to establish a separate party, but to prepare themselves for it and to lead the work among the Koreans in Russia and other countries, as well as in Korea itself. They elected the Central Committee of Korean Communist Organizations. The Central Committee published a newspaper, opened a school for party cadres and engaged in preparations for establishing of party.

In 1921, two Communist Parties of Korea were born at the same time; but since their names were also the same, they are known as the 'Shanghai faction' and the 'Irkutsk faction'. This fact reflected the self-contradictory nature of the Korean Communist movement of the period. To a significant extent the reason was in the different conditions in which both parties were founded. In Russia, the Korean Communists were closely connected with the Bolsheviks, they considered themselves to be a part of the forces of world revolution, and tried to act in union with them. The way to the liberation of Korea was, according to them, in the victory of Soviet power. In China, the Korean Communists were more connected with the local Chinese nationalists. They were concerned with the rise of the liberation struggle and the patriotic forces in Korea itself. They were unhappy with the excessive, in their opinion, involvement of the Russian Bolsheviks in the leadership of the Korean Communist movement. So their revolutionary internationalism was less pronounced. A significant role in these developments was played by the ambitions of the Irkutsk and Shanghai leaders, who contested the claim for exclusive leadership and the title of the only true and orthodox Marxists.

The nucleus of the Shanghai faction was a small group of Korean Socialist Party members led by Yi Tonghwi, who had very soon become disillusioned with the emigré Provisional Government. In May 1921, they held their congress in Shanghai, attended by 20 delegates from different places in China, Korea and the Russian Far East. The congress reorganized the Socialist Party as the Communist Party of Korea. Its Central Committee was chaired by Yi Tonghwi. Among the party founders was Pak Hŏnyŏng, who was one of the outstanding leaders of the Korean Communist movement up to the mid-1950s. In 1922, he went to Korea to take part in underground work and very soon found himself in gaol. The Shanghai faction had some 6000 members and candidate members, and had branches in Seoul, P'yŏngyang and other cities in Korea, as well as in Beijing, Harbin, Qilin, San Francisco, and in the Russian Far-East.

The congress in Irkutsk in May 1921 was attended by 85 delegates from 26 Korean Communist organizations in Korea, China and Russia. B. Shumyat'sky, the representative of the Comintern, as a guest of honour, guided the deliberations of the congress. The congress proclaimed the formation of the Communist Party of Korea, and elected its Central Committee led by Nam Manch'un, a noted military activist and journalist. The Irkutsk party had 8730 full and candidate members in 32 branches, including three in Korea and three in China.
The formation of the two Communist Parties demonstrates the growth of the Korean radicals' political maturity and their developing contacts with the world revolutionary process. Their activities facilitated the spread of Communist ideas in Korea, but neither of these parties emerged as a truly mass party, as a pan-Korean organization breaking through the barriers of the narrow emigre' circles.

The very fact of the formation of the two parties testified to the weaknesses of the liberation movement in Korea, lack of unity and organization, theoretical defects, lack of political experience, and a tendency to inter-group strife contrary to the general interest. The programs and tactics of both parties shared the shortcomings of the Communist movement of that epoch: the purposes and aims proper to the developed countries (e.g. socialist revolution, proletarian dictatorship, Soviet power) were mechanically attributed to Korea; sectarianism led to non-cooperation with the national business class; peasants and agrarian problems were looked down on or neglected altogether, and an over-estimated need to pursue militant forms of struggle. These shortcomings were also characteristic of the later Communist movement in Korea.

Shortly after they came into being the two Communist Parties began to fight among themselves. Each declared itself the only true party and criticised the other. These contradictions transferred to Korea and facilitated the split of the Communist groups there. The Comintern and the Bolshevik Party, however, assisted both parties and tried their best to prevent confrontation. Not all efforts in this direction were conscientiously made, the Far East Secretariat of the Comintern, for instance, preferring the 'Irkutskians'. In November 1921, a group of Shanghai Party members was received by Lenin. The group was led by Yi Tonghwi, and Lenin promised support to the Korean revolutionary movement. This fact strengthened the Shanghai faction's ambitions, though the meeting with Lenin was but a natural step dictated by Lenin's desire to know more about the Korean Communists outside Russia. Information on the latter was much less available to Lenin compared to information on the 'Irkutskians'.

The confrontation of the two parties forced the Communist International to look for means to make peace. A Special Commission led by O.V. Kuusinen recommended a merger of the two parties and to hold a congress to effect this. Before the congress, the Provisional Central Committee (four members representing each party) was supposed to supervise the actions of the Korean Communists. But the conflict continued in this provisional organ also. Its membership was reduced on two occasions, but to no avail. However, in October 1922, the joint congress of the Korean Communist Parties was held in Verkhne Udinsk (now Ulan Ude, Russia). 181 delegates from both parties attended, as well as members of the Communist organizations in Korea, China and Japan. Despite all efforts to keep the deliberations on a calm and constructive footing, fierce debate on organizational questions closed the congress down.

This failure made it necessary to move the centre of the movement to Korea, where Communist groups were growing both quantitatively and qualitatively. Most important among them were the Tuesday Society (Hwayohoe), led by Kim Chaebong, the Seoul Youth League (leader Kim Saguk), and the North-Wind Society (Puk'unghoe; leader Kim Yaksu). The first two were connected respectively with the Irkutsk and Shanghai Parties, and the third was organized by Korean students in Tokyo and was linked with Japanese Communist organizations. All these factors influenced the work and mutual relations of the organizations.

With the assistance of the Communist Youth International, Komsomol (Young Communists) groups appeared in Korea. The Korean Komsomol was established in 1924, prior to the formation of the Party itself. The leader was Pak Honyong who had been released from prison in 1924 and had joined the Tuesday Society. Meanwhile, in November
1923, the Comintern decided to establish the Party in Korea itself. The Korean Bureau was formed with this aim, in the Far East Branch of the Comintern, with seven members (two members each from the Irkutsk and Shanghai Parties and the Seoul groups, and one from the Japan-based Korean Communists). A representative of the Comintern was sent to Korea and commenced preparatory work to unite the groups, but the never-ending feuding made the Korean Bureau ineffective. In February 1924 the Bureau was closed.

On 17 April 1925, in a Seoul restaurant, a secret meeting was held by the representatives of the Korean Communist groups. Nineteen persons attended, from the Tuesday Society, the North Wind Society and some minor groups. The Seoul organization, however, refused to attend. Those present announced the formation of the Korean Communist Party (Chosǒn Kongsan-dang), elected a Central Executive Committee with Kim Chaebong at its head, and discussed the program and tactics of the party. Later on, these questions were discussed in the illegally circulated Manifesto of the Korean Communist Party. As a cover organization for Party activities, the True Friends' Society (Chōngu-hoe) was established. The Seoul group established the Advance Society (Chǒnjin-hoe) with the same purpose in mind. Both cover organizations of the Korean Communists are sometimes mentioned in literature under the above names.

In September 1925, the establishment of the Korean Communist Party was discussed by the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The decision was to facilitate the unity of all Communist organizations under the leadership of the KCP. The emigré parties and groups were declared to be dissolved, and their members were to join the Communist organisations in their countries of residence. The only exception was made for the Jiandao region of Manchuria, where many Koreans lived. The organisation formed there was declared a part of the KCP but advised to work in contact with the Communist Party of China. All former emigré groups were to function only as support groups. The newly-born KCP (with about 200 members) failed to emerge as a united, monolithic and well-organised party. The member groups tried to preserve their sovereignty and fought for dominance. Discussions sometimes ended in brawling. The separatist Seoul group spared no effort to prevent the KCP from assuming leadership.

Only by the end of 1926 was this group incorporated in the KCP, but this never helped Party unity. The rivalry of the foreign-based groups failed to stop after the Comintern decree and in fact had an adverse effect. Since the KCP was based on the 'Irkutskians', the Shanghai-linked groupings opposed it and insisted on the formation of a new party based on the Seoul group. The lack of political experience of the KCP leadership, and ignorance of the mores of this dangerous underground work also played its part. As a result, in November 1925, the Japanese police arrested the members of the Executive Committee, including its leader Kim Chaebong. Time was needed to organize a new Central Committee and the leading role in the party began to be performed by the Seoul group, on the foundation of which the Marxist-Leninist Group was established.

Despite its shortcomings, the KCP emerged as a factor in the development of the Communist movement in Korea. Its members led many protests, strikes, agrarian campaigns and demonstrations. Communists illegally took over leadership of many public organizations, and declared them to be of socialist orientation. Many workers, peasants and youth organizations held public meetings on the revolutionary and Soviet holidays, where they gave lectures on Lenin and the USSR. These activities were not always suppressed by the Japanese administration, which after its failure of intervention against the USSR was interested in establishing better relations with that country.

A crucial event in the national liberation struggle in Korea was the anti-Japanese demonstration in Seoul in June 1926. The pompous ceremony of the late emperor Taishō's funeral, which was intended by the Japanese to symbolize the reconciliation of the Koreans and the Japanese, turned out to be an anti-colonial manifestation. Communists were among
its organizers and acted in cooperation with the radical members of the Ch'ŏndogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way). This fact testified to the elements of cooperation between the Communist and left nationalist forces, which corresponded to the current Comintern policy of anti-imperialist consolidation. Many participants in the demonstration were arrested. Members of the KCP Central Committee found themselves in gaol and the committee had to be re-established for the third time.

In May 1927 the New Korea Society (Shin'gan Hoe) was formed on the initiative of the KCP. The Society united organizations of workers, peasants, students, the patriotic-minded bourgeois and members of diverse religious groups. It had more than 10,000 members and about 100 branches throughout Korea. The New Korea Society played a definitive role in the development of the liberation movement, but failed to emerge as its vanguard and to facilitate the formation of a unified national front. The leadership was in the hands of the reformist nationalists. The KCP failed to take the leadership reins and to ensure the militant and consolidated character of the organization.

The Japanese police left no stone unturned to suppress the liberation movement; first and foremost the Communists. News came constantly of the crushing of Communist groups and allied organizations, and the arrests of envoys from the Comintern and other international bodies. The gaols were packed, and many patriots fell victim to torture and disease. The arrests of subversives were everyday occurrences. The greatest was the arrest of one-hundred and one persons in Seoul, in the period September 1927 to February 1928. The accused Communists behaved with courage. Pak Hŏnyŏng delivered a passionate speech against colonial oppression. Eighty-four persons were sentenced. Twelve were vindicated due to the lack of evidence against them, but others died or became psychologically-disabled during the process. Pak Hŏnyŏng succeeded in escaping from gaol and found refuge in the USSR. After some years of study there he returned home clandestinely and remained underground in Korea until 1945.

New fighters replaced their martyred or gaolecd comrades, and the crushed organizations were in most cases re-established. But the strength of the party was undermined by police terror, since it was telling heavily on the ablest and the bravest. The atmosphere within the KCP, however, seemed almost designed to help the repression. Unprincipled factional struggles weakened the party and created favourable conditions for police agents and provocateurs to penetrate the party ranks. The police were easily able to prevent the activities planned by the party and to isolate such activists in time.

The fate of the KCP was decided by the Comintern in a peculiar way at the 6th Congress held in the summer of 1928. On the one hand, the preceding documents of the executive organs were confirmed by the Congress, and the KCP, as a section, was thus officially admitted into the Comintern. But on the other, this decision was followed by one which stifled the admission. The rival factions sent their envoys to the Congress and once again each claimed exclusive leading status. The Congress refused to recognise and support any of them. In effect, this decision meant the dissolution of the KCP.

It has been suggested in many accounts that the KCP was dissolved by the Comintern. This is not the case, since no decision to the effect was officially taken by the Comintern. Moreover, even after 1928, the directives of the Comintern sometimes mentioned the KCP, though it had already ceased to exist (to some extent this demonstrates the lack of adequate information on Korea in the Comintern). The liquidation of the KCP was facilitated by massive police terror against it and non-stop faction feuds within it. The decision of the 6th Congress dissolved the KCP as an independent political organization of the Korean Communists. Now, after the passage of so many years, this measure seems to be somewhat questionable, seen against the background of the development of a Communist movement in Korea which had lost impetus as a result.
The 6th Congress of the Comintern adopted the 'Theses on the Colonial Question' with a special mention of Korea. In its turn the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in December 1928 worked out elaborate theses on the situation in the Korean Communist Party. In January 1929, the Executive Committee published its message 'To the revolutionary workers and peasants of Korea'. O.V. Kuusinen, a noted figure in the Comintern, made a special statement on the problems of the Korean Communist movement. All these documents reflected the aspiration to make the struggle of the Korean Communists more effective and organized, and contained some useful recommendations. At the same time, they reflected the policy direction of the 6th Congress, which had prescribed total independence of the workers' movement and confrontation with the bourgeois nationalist movements, accused of collaboration with imperialist forces and sometimes even branded as their agents. This wrong course negated the previously adopted tactics of the united anti-imperialist front and caused great harm to the liberation movements in Korea and elsewhere.

Despite the dissolution of the KCP the Korean Communist movement continued to develop as a source of great trouble for the colonial administration. The official documents of the epoch describe it as a result of the Comintern's subversive activities. This attitude should not be totally rejected but at the same time not accepted without qualification. Many foreign Comintern representatives or Korean Communists sent from Moscow, as well as the directives and propaganda materials they brought, were seized by the police shortly after their arrival in Korea. After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and the rapid deterioration of Soviet-Japanese relations, access to Korea became very difficult. Thus, the main stimulus for the development of the Communist movement in Korea was the colonial regime.

The Communists participated in the general strike of the Wonsan workers in 1929 - the mightiest in the history of the Korean workers' movement; in the massive students' protests in Kwangju (1929), and in other popular movements. In the 1930s also, they took part in many forms of social and national protest. Numerous trials of Communists, with Japanese and Korean press accounts of the crushing of Communist units in factories, educational institutions and villages, and the widespread arrests of Koreans suspected of Communist activities testify to the wide range and zeal of the Communist movement of the 1930s.

Following the sectarian policy laid down by the 6th Congress of the Comintern, the Korean Communists engaged themselves, from the late 1920s, in the formation of 'red' workers' and peasants' unions, and associations of teachers, students and intellectuals. Led, as a rule, by Communists, these organisations were militant, active and well-guided. But by acting independently in the demonstrations, strikes and agrarian campaigns, the 'red' unions cut themselves off from other mass organizations, especially those led by bourgeois nationalists. After 1923, the Communists refused to make contact with the 'Society of Rebirth' and in 1931 the latter ceased to exist. These steps were less than useful to the Communist cause.

Meanwhile, the guerrilla struggle, which had never ended in the northern area of Korea and in the bordering territories of Manchuria, grew in the beginning of the 1930s due to the Japanese invasion. Many Korean guerrilla groups were led by Communists, and one of the most able was the group led by the young Kim Il Sung. When, after 1937, the war moved to central China, the Korean Communists there also joined the guerrilla struggle. In Manchuria and in China they were members of the Communist Party of China and fought under its guidance. But they struggled for the liberation of their motherland and tried their best to keep in touch with Korea. Sometimes the guerrillas succeeded in making a breakthrough into Korean territory, but they always had to retreat under heavy pressure from the Japanese forces. The struggle against the aggressive imperialist policy of Japan emerged as an important dimension of the Communist movement in Korea.

After 1928, the re-establishment of the Communist Party remained a crucial problem. The
Comintern stressed this necessity in its documents and secret messages despatched to Korea. This necessity was felt even more by the Korean Communists themselves. Not only in Seoul but in other places, underground preparatory committees were being formed. But they lacked experience and means, the communications between them were weak and vestiges of the old factional feuds still remained. The Japanese police quite easily suppressed these preparatory committees.

Trying to create a theoretical and organizational base for the re-establishment of the Party, an 'initiative group' of Korean Communists (supposedly USSR-based and supported by the Comintern) published, in 1934, a 'Platform of the Activities of the Communist Party of Korea', in which the main guidelines of the world Communist movement were formulated in connection with the Korean situation. The Platform was followed by an open letter 'To all factory and village Communist groups of Korea, on the factional struggle and the tasks of the Communists in opposing the factional groups'. It appealed to Communists to overcome internal conflicts and to establish a centralized, disciplined and mass-based underground party. But these documents, given all their significance, failed to combat the disunion of the Korean Communists. The main obstacle was the police terror. According to Comintern data, in the first half of the 1930s more than 6000 Communists were jailed in Korea The problem of re-establishing the Party was solved only after the liberation of Korea.

Several years after the 6th Congress of the Comintern, the world Communist movement started to learn from bitter experience (especially after the fascists took power in Germany) and revised the sectarian policy. The 7th congress held in Moscow in 1935 re-oriented the Communists towards strengthening the unity of the working class organizations and their political allies. It reinforced the necessity of the wide anti-reactionary people's front and the unity of all those opposing fascism and the impending war. Raising premature slogans like 'workers' and peasants' revolution' or 'Soviet government' in the colonial countries was criticized. The Communists there were called upon to centre their efforts on the national liberation movement and the uniting of all patriotic forces into an anti-imperialist front.

The Korean Communists fighting as guerrillas in Manchuria were familiarized with the Congress decisions by the Chinese Communist Party. In February 1936, they formed the Fatherland Restoration Association (Choguk Kwangbok Hoe) which was supposed to be a nucleus for the anti-Japanese front. Kim Il Sung, Kim Ch'aek, Ch'oe Yong-gon and other prominent guerrilla commanders were among the organizers. To further the program of the Society (supposedly authored by Kim Il Sung) and to organise branches, a group of political workers was sent to Korea. It succeeded in having some underground groups connected with the Association and in forming some new ones. The Association influenced the liberation movement to a certain extent but failed to unite and lead it. The latter also depended upon the nationalists of Korea, who refused to oppose the colonial regime actively and leaned more and more to collaboration and support of the Japanese invasion plans.

After the war with China began in 1937 the Japanese took active measures to crush the liberation movement. By the beginning of the 1940s, the Japanese army had repelled the guerrillas and forced Kim Il Sung's group and others to retreat into Soviet territory. The surviving Communist units went deep underground, minimizing their activities. The number of strikes and rural protests also decreased. Progressive papers and organizations were suppressed. Nevertheless, during World War II the Korean Communists circulated anti-war leaflets, and organized some sabotage of Japanese military installations.

Modern Stage (1945-1995)

In August 1945, Korea was liberated from the colonial yoke, facilitated by Japan's defeat in World War II. The Soviet Army alone fought in Korea against the Japanese, and paid a
heavy price (1,963 killed and wounded) for the withdrawal of the invaders from Korea. The US Army landed in Korea only on 8 September when the fighting had ceased. Of the allied forces, the Soviet Army was welcomed by the Koreans as a liberator, both in the North where it was supposed to remain according to the Allies' decision, and in the South. The fact that it was the army of a Communist-ruled country from the first helped the reanimation of the Communist movement in Korea.

The news of the Japanese surrender reached Korea on the 15th of August (this day is celebrated in both the North and the South as Liberation Day). The following day the release of political prisoners began, and the surviving Communists came out of their hiding places. They grouped around Pak Hŏnyŏng, the only Korean Communist leader with more than 20 years experience of underground fighting for the Communist cause. Under his guidance an organizing committee was formed, to call a party conference urgently. The conference, held in Seoul, discussed the situation in the country and the most immediate tasks and prospects for the Communists. The elected Central Committee (28 members) was headed by Pak Hŏnyŏng. Thus, in August 1945, the Communist Party of Korea finally came into being.

The party preceded the formation of other parties and emerged as an important factor in liberated Korea's stormy political life. The development of the new party, not at all free from the now traditional contradictions, was facilitated by the organizational work of Pak Hŏnyŏng and his dedicated co-workers. In September 1945 they circulated the Central Committee's 'Appeal on the Present Situation and Our Tasks' which supplied the Communists with necessary political and practical guidelines. By November 1945, there were more than 3,000 members of the Communist Party in the south of Korea, including 342 in Seoul. The Communists played an active role in the formation and functioning of the People's Committees, spontaneously developing organs of democratic self-government. These numbered over 140. The government of the Korean People's Republic, proclaimed by the left on the 6 September, two days before the US Army's landing in Korea, was influenced by the People's Committees. The US military authorities in Korea refused to recognize these organs of power and made it impossible for them to function. The US administration relied mostly on anti-Communist nationalist leaders, headed by the rightist politician Syngman Rhee, who had just returned from exile in the USA.

In the North, the Soviet military administration at first cooperated with the nationalists led by the noted religious activist Cho Manshik. But measures were taken to the effect that in all representative organs of power Communists replaced the nationalists step by step. This was made easier after the return to Korea of the guerrillas led by Kim II Sung in September 1945. At the same time, experienced party organisation workers and administration and economic management specialists of Korean origin began to arrive from the USSR. The most well-known among them was Hŏ Kai, secretary of a District Committee of the CPSU. At the end of 1945 a large group of Korean freedom fighters led by Kim Tu-bong returned from Central China (the 'Yanan group').

The division of Korea into two zones of occupation made it necessary to organize a separate Communist leading organ in the North. In October 1945, the North Korean Organizing Bureau of the CPK was established. Kim Yong-bon, an active Communist since the 1920s, who had studied in the USSR in 1927-31 and then worked underground in Manchuria and Korea, was elected Secretary. In December 1945, he was replaced by Kim II Sung, who was actively supported and promoted by the Soviet administration as the chief political figure of the North.

The Communist ranks in the North grew rapidly. By the end of 1945 there were six provincial and 10 district party organizations with 6,000 members. By August 1946, membership had grown to 160,000. This rapid growth came mostly from the poorest peasants (workers constituted less than one-third), and this influenced the organizational
and ideological level of the party ranks. The North Korean Party unit was a nominal part of the CPK and its Bureau was subordinate to the Central Committee in Seoul, but in reality the tables were soon turned since, with Soviet assistance, the North was emerging as the centre of the Communist movement or, as party documents stated, the basis of the Korean revolution. In the divided country communications with Seoul became increasingly difficult. Thus, by the summer of 1946 there was an independent Communist Party in the North.

Under Communist guidance in the North, trade unions and youth and women's organizations developed, along with unions of artists and the creative intelligentsia. Similar organizations in the South were likewise influenced by the Communist Party. Learning from their experience of the national liberation struggle, both parties paid great attention to uniting the fraternal political forces around themselves. On the initiative of the Communists two independent United Democratic National Fronts emerged in the North and in the South in 1946. They developed, especially in the North, as significant elements of the political system.

The old feud between Communists and Nationalists which had to some extent decreased in intensity after the liberation flared anew at the beginning of 1946. The Moscow meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, USA and UK (December, 1945) decided to establish a 'great power' trusteeship over Korea, and this split Korea into two hostile camps. The right wing Nationalists led by Syngman Rhee were categorically opposed to the trusteeship decision, which they estimated as a form of humiliating protectorate. The Communists and allied left forces supported the trusteeship as the allied powers' assistance to the development of Korean democratic statehood. Thus the Communists and their allies were labelled as 'national traitors', harassed in the press and terrorized throughout the South.

In the North, Cho Manshik and his group also protested against the decision and were forcibly removed from the political scene. This allowed the Communists to assume power in the North with the help of the Soviet military administration. The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, established in February 1946, was headed by Kim II Sung; Communists occupied leading posts in it. To strengthen their political system, they carried out some important reforms (such as agrarian reform and nationalization of industry). Great attention was paid to the establishment of the national army and the security force. Assisted by the Soviet Army all attempts to resist the policies of the new power were suppressed.

The tasks of further reform in the North, and the growing confrontation with the South where an opposed political system was being formed, necessitated the unification of the political forces grouped around the Communist Party. Closest in spirit was the New People's Party led by Kim Tubong. In August 1946, this party merged with the Communist Party during the Constituent (First) Congress, and together they constituted the North Korean Workers' Party. Kim Tubong was elected Chairman, and Kim II Sung one of the Vice-Chairmen. The Workers' Party emerged as the leading force, pushing out all other political organizations. Its ranks grew rapidly. In March 1947, it had more than 600 000 members, and by January 1948, more than 750 000.

In the South, the Communist Party had about 3 000 members in 1946. In November 1946, it merged with comparatively minor allied parties, the People's and New People's Parties, and formed the South Korean Workers' Party. Hồ Hôn, a noted lawyer and well-known freedom fighter, was elected Chairman; Pak Hônyông, the real leader of the party, was elected Vice-Chairman. The founding of the South Korean Workers' Party coincided with a period of aggravating internal strife in the South, which sometimes led to armed clashes, for which the Communists were held responsible. From the end of 1946, the 'semi-legal' Workers' Party was under threat. Some of its units were dissolved, and a number of leaders were gaoloed. Still, for some time, the Workers' Party continued to oppose the administration of the separate state in the South. Its members were leaders and active
participants in the guerrilla movement of 1948-1949. This movement was suppressed by
the government, with the assistance of the US Army, on the eve of the Korean war.

In the North, the Workers' Party, assisted by the USSR, took active measures for the
development of the Korean national economy and culture. Of great importance was the fact
that in 1946-1947 the USSR handed to the North Koreans the industrial enterprises and
property of the Japanese. Between the end of 1946 and the beginning of 1947 the first local
elections in the history of Korea took place. They strengthened the position of the Workers'
Party (57 per cent of all elected candidates). The Congress of the People's Committees of
North Korea, held in P'yongyang in February 1947, elected the People's Assembly, the
highest organ of state power. In its turn, the People's Assembly elected the Presidium,
headed by Kim Tu-bong, and founded the People's Committee, the highest organ of
executive power, headed by Kim II Sung. At the same time the first economic development
plan was adopted, and became the foundation of the planned economy in the North. The
modern historiography of the PDRK considers the People's Committee to be the first
executive organ of the proletarian dictatorship which signified North Korea as entering the
transition period to Socialism (for tactical reasons Socialist aims were not stressed before
the Korean war).

The division of Korea, which had begun in 1945 with the formation of the Soviet and
American occupation zones, deepened with the aggravation of the Cold War. The leaders of
both the North and the South were involved in it and contributed their utmost to its
development. They refused any contact, compact or compromise, claimed exclusive
authority to represent the Korean nation and to decide upon its fate, and held ideological
affiliation in more esteem than the national interest. As early as 1946, Syngman Rhee laid
claim to the necessity of the separate state in the South. Power systems emerged in both
parts of the country which facilitated the partition and the formation of the two separate
states. The refusal of the USSR and the North Korean leadership to cooperate with the
United Nation's (UN) over the Korean question, led to the UN's decision of November
1947 to hold separate elections in the South. The threat of the formation of the separate state
in the South was now clearer than ever before.

The plans to hold separate elections caused a storm of protest in the South. The idea was
opposed even by some right-wing politicians who considered it to be a step leading to the
final split of the country. They insisted that elections should be held simultaneously with
elections in the North. Of course, the latter was not passive either. The question was so
important that it was discussed at the 2nd Congress of the North Korean Workers' Party.
Having analysed the Party's internal affairs and the economic targets, the Congress turned
to the crisis situation in Korea.

The Congress worked out a policy aimed at the preservation of Korea's integrity and
proposed the simultaneous withdrawal of the Soviet and US armed forces from Korea,
along with general elections to establish a united and democratic state. The state was
projected as the People's Democratic Republic. This target was to be achieved by the
consolidation of patriotic forces and the strengthening of the united democratic national
front. To work out concrete measures for opposition to the separatist elections in the South,
it was proposed to call a meeting of political parties and organizations from both parts of
Korea.

Such a meeting was held in P'yongyang at the end of April 1948. A significant group of
politicians from the South attended (including Kim Ku and Kim Kyushik, all in all 395
persons). The meeting appealed to South Koreans to boycott the separatist elections and
asked the governments of the USSR and USA to pull out their armies from Korea,
promising to take adequate measures to avoid civil war. The meeting also mapped some
important measures to rebuild and re-unify the country.
But it was too late. On the 10th of May, 1948, separate elections were held in South Korea; on the 15th of August the Republic of Korea was proclaimed.

Fighting against the separate elections in the South, the North simultaneously tried to implement its own scenario for the formation of the unified Korean state. As early as 1947, the decision had been taken to work out the Constitution of the future state. In February-April 1948, a draft Constitution was presented to the people for discussion and then approved by special session of the People's Assembly. In April 1948, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party proposed pan-Korean elections to approve the Constitution and form a central government. Legal ratification of this decision was achieved during the second meeting of the Northern and Southern political leaders and parties (the latter was rather more narrow in who it included) in P'yongyang in late June to early July 1948. On 9 July, the People's Assembly enacted the Constitution in the North and decided to hold the pan-Korean elections to the Supreme People's Assembly on 25 August.

According to the official data, the elections were held in the North and also were held illegally in the South. More than one-third of the deputies elected were members of the Workers' Party. At the first session of the Supreme People's Assembly (at the beginning of September 1948) the Constitution was finally adopted, the Presidium was elected (under Chairman Kim Tubong), and the Cabinet was formed with Kim Il Sung as its head. Pak Hŏnyŏng was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Workers' Party members held most of the important posts in the government. On 9 September 1948, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea was proclaimed. Thus two states emerged on the Korean peninsula. Neither of them considered the other as legitimate; both spared no effort, including extreme measures, to establish sovereignty over the whole of the country.

This aim required further concentration of political forces. First and foremost this concerned the Workers' Party, the existence of which in two separate units, in the North and in the South, became a nonsense. In June 1949, a unified plenary meeting of the two Central Committees was held which decided to merge the two parties into the Workers' Party of Korea. The two Central Committees also merged. This decision was not made public, and even Party members learned about the merger only after some time. The unification congress, scheduled for September 1949, never took place. Kim Il Sung was elected Chairman of the Central Committee, and Pak Hŏnyŏng Vice-Chairman. Yi Sungyŏp, Secretary of the Central Committee, was responsible for work in the South. According to Soviet data, by the beginning of 1950 the Workers' Party in the North had 825 600 members. In the South there were 714 500 members, 238 500 of them active participants in party work. The data for the South may, however, be exaggerated.

At the same time there was a merger of the national democratic fronts of the North and the South. On this basis, the Democratic Front for the Unification of the Fatherland (DFUF) was founded. It included more than 70 parties and organizations from the North, the South and overseas. The DFUF worked under the guidance of the Workers' Party. Kim Il Sung, Pak Hŏnyŏng, Kim Tubong, Hŏ Hŏn and others were members of its Presidium. It was mainly through this organisation that the Party's unification policies were carried out.

During the Korean War (1950-1953), the Workers' Party made a tremendous effort to organize resistance, strengthen the army and mobilize all resources for the needs of the front. The Party itself suffered heavy losses. During the first year of the war only, more than 70 000 of its members lost their lives. Some Party members, however, evaded their responsibilities or were expelled due to collaboration with the enemy or other misdeeds. In the South, the Party units were totally destroyed. After the liberation of the Northern territories occupied in the first stage of the war by US and South Korean troops, the Party quickly rebuilt its organisational structure. From the end of 1950, after the breakthrough by the North Korean and Chinese armies, there was a mass influx of new members to the
By September 1952, its membership had grown to one million, and continued to grow. Such rapid growth inevitably told on the qualitative content. Many qualified party workers were killed and replaced by less experienced cadres. Among the leaders of base level Party organizations 97 per cent had primary education only, or were semi-literate.

The war, with its tragic consequences for the whole of Korea, heightened the contradictions within the Workers' Party leadership. Prior to the war there were four rival factions: the 'guerrilla faction' led by Kim Il Sung, the 'local faction' (i.e. those who were active in Korea before the liberation), led by Pak Hónyŏng, the 'Soviet faction' led by Hŏ Kai and the 'Yenan faction' led by Kim Tu-bong. The war facilitated the increasing influence of the 'guerrilla faction'. It succeeded in pushing aside the hitherto most powerful 'Soviet faction', whose leader Hŏ Kai was responsible for the organizational aspect of Party work. Hŏ Kai was removed from his post in 1951 and in 1953, according to the official version, he committed suicide. Soon the turn of the local faction came. It was accused of treacherous contacts with the US, deliberate undermining of the revolutionary forces in the South, and preparing to mount a coup against the government. In 1951, Pak Hónyŏng, Yi Sungyŏp and other South Korean activists were expelled from the party and all were removed from their posts. Within a short time the majority of them had been executed.

From the end of the Korean war the Workers' Party centred its efforts on the economic and cultural rebirth of the country. The main tasks were determined and planned by the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee at the beginning of August 1953. One year was considered necessary for assessment of the havoc inflicted on the national economy and for preliminary recuperative measures. In 1954 (to 1956), the 3-year plan for the rebirth of the economy was to be implemented. After that, the first five-year plan for economic and cultural development was to be fulfilled. Due to substantial help from the USSR, China and other friendly countries, the North Korean people succeeded in a very quick (3-4 years) reconstruction and elimination of the most serious consequences of the war. Thus, the groundwork was done for the further progress of the republic.

After the mid-1950s, the Workers' Party became step by step involved in the contradictions and conflicts within the world Communist movement, as well as in the relations between the ruling parties of the Socialist countries. The North Korean Party leadership tried its best to remain independent and to block any influence from outside; it grew and more reluctant to follow the advice of the 'big brothers'. With the passage of time, the selfless assistance of the countries friendly to North Korea began to be hushed up. All victories were attributed to the Korean leadership only; the personal authority of Kim Il Sung was quickly developing into a personality cult.

A significant step in this direction was made by Kim Il Sung's address titled 'On the elimination of dogmatism and formalism, on the est'. This address was delivered at the Party workers' meeting of December 1955. In it the ideas of chuch'e were for the first time fully expounded, to be from then on the basis of the ideological work of the Party and the whole social life of North Korea. The essence of chuch'e is as follows: the Korean people are proclaimed the masters of the revolution and the unification struggle; there is a negative attitude to the use of any other country's experience; strictly exclusive consideration of the country's national interests and traditions; independence in all questions and situations; full self-reliance. At first the chuch'e ideas were styled only as a creative development of Marxism-Leninism in Korea, but gradually this thesis was replaced by the notion of 'Kim Il Sungism' in Party propaganda. Kim Il Sungism was declared to be the highest stage of Communist ideological development, a teaching relevant to all mankind. The introduction of the chuch'e ideas was accompanied by a campaign directed against grovelling before the great powers, meaning the USSR and China.

The North Korean leadership was among those who refused to support the anti-Stalinist stand of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, as well as its policy of acceptance of the peaceful
coexistence of countries with different social systems. An attempt to condemn the Kim Il Sung personality cult, undertaken by a group of high Party officials under the influence of the 20th Congress during the August 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee was crushed by Kim Il Sung. Kim Il Sung not only succeeded in defeating those attempting to overthrow his leadership, but with the help of his followers he destroyed both the Soviet and the Yenan factions. By the end of the 1950s, the Workers' Party had emerged as a strictly centralized, monolithic party centred around the sole leader of both Party and state - Kim Il Sung.

In April 1956 the 3rd Congress of the Party took place. By that time Party membership exceeded 1,100,000 members. The congress summed up the results of the reconstruction work and decided to build the basics of socialism in Korea. An industrialisation program was also adopted. The concrete targets for the first stage were set out in the 'Directives on the Creation of the Five-Year Plan for Economic Development (1957-1961)' adopted by the Supreme People's Assembly. Congress also published the declaration 'In the Name of the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland', which expounded the North's position concerning the unification of Korea. Having discussed organizational problems and ideological work, Congress worked out the Party Rules, which also contained the program guidelines of the Party. The KWP has no modern program in the form of a separate document.

During the five year plan, Socialist reforms were carried out in North Korean industry and trade, from which private capital was totally excluded. Rapid 'cooperativisation' was implemented in agriculture, and related changes took place in other spheres of life.

Despite all specific features, in most cases outward ones, the model of Socialism as projected in North Korea followed Soviet patterns. The energetic measures taken by the Workers' Party and the government brought about significant progress in the spheres of economic, cultural and social life. By the end of the 1950s, the North was apparently ahead of the South in its rate of economic growth. In September 1961, the 4th Congress of the Workers' Party discussed the results of Socialist construction. By that time the Party had more than 1,300,000 members. The Congress declared that due to the successful implementation of the five year plan the basics of Socialism had been achieved, and proclaimed the transition to full-scale Socialist construction. This process is still on-going and has passed through successive economic plans. The first of them was the seven year plan for economic development adopted by the 4th Congress (1961-1967) which set out significant steps in industrialization, technical modernisation and cultural policy.

When the military regime headed by Park Chung-hee came to power in the South, the tension on the Korean Peninsula grew considerably. In the North, a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party was held in December 1962 and announced a policy of parallel economic and defence construction. This inevitably resulted in slowing down the realization of the development targets. In October 1966, this policy was reaffirmed by the Workers' Party Conference. Taking the situation into consideration, the Conference decided to re-schedule the seven-year plan; now the completion date was set for 1970. Shortly after this, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee abolished the post of Party chairman and introduced the post of General Secretary. Kim Il Sung was elected General Secretary of the Workers' Party.

In November 1970, the 5th Congress of the Party was held. By that time it had more than 1,700,000 members. As usual, Congress discussed the results of the preceding plan, and then proclaimed North Korea to be transformed into a Socialist industrial state. Further economic targets were set out by Congress in the Directives on the Six Year Plan (1971-1976). After the official period of implementation of the plan was over, a 'regulation period' was necessary; that is, more time was needed to fulfil the plan. Similar 'regulation periods' were necessary after the formal fulfilment of the second (1978-1984) and third (1984-1993) seven-year plans.
The 6th Congress of the Party took place in October 1980. The Party had by that time more than 3,200,000 members. Further information on membership is not available. The strategic targets for the 1980s were proclaimed as follows: the construction of the solid material base necessary for fully victorious socialism, and significant improvement of the people's material and cultural well-being. The 10 projected tasks of economic construction, formulated by Kim Il Sung, became the basis for the third seven-year plan, which, as the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee noted in December 1993, was not fully implemented due to the collapse of the world Socialist system and the loss of important trade partners like the USSR and the East European countries.

During the 6th Congress Kim Il Sung put forward a full-scale program on North-South rapprochement, for the sake of the unification of Korea and the formation of a confederate state. This program is still the core of the North Korean unification policy. Congress also adopted Party Rules which are still enforced today. During the Congress, Kim Chong Il was adopted as the official heir apparent and elected to all governing bodies of the party. Kim Chong Il, the eldest son of Kim Il Sung, had worked in the machinery of the Central Committee of the Party since 1964 and he emerged as second highest ranked officer in both state and Party. Since 1980 no Congresses or conferences of the Party have been held.

According to its Rules, the Korean Workers' Party is a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party of the *chuch'e* type, founded by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. The Korean Workers' Party declares the revolutionary thought of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the *chuch'e* principle, to be its sole guiding principle. The most immediate task of the Party, as stated by the Rules, is 'the achievement of the full victory of Socialism in the Northern part of the Republic, and the fulfilment of the tasks of national liberation and the people's democratic revolution in the country as a whole. The final target is the restructuring of the whole society on the basis of *chuch'e* and the construction of a Communist society'.

The transition to a fully-fledged Socialist society requires, according to the North Korean leaders, a period of unremitting class struggle. The revolution must thus continue until the building of Communism is accomplished. To these leaders, the revolution proceeds in three fields: ideological, technical and cultural, the first being the most significant. The central role belongs to the leader - 'the great leader of the revolution', 'the hub of the unity and integrity of the toiling masses', who leads the country through the working class party, 'the headquarters of the revolution'. The people's power, which has to be constantly strengthened, may fulfil its functions only under the guidance of the party leader. The Socialist democracy is of class character and linked to the workers' dictatorship over the class enemies.

The transition to Socialism is considered to be the inevitable law for all mankind. Thus the defeat of Socialism in the USSR and some East European countries is looked upon as a temporary phenomenon. According to Kim Chong Il, this happened 'due to the plotting and collaboration of the imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces, as the result of the cultural and ideological expansion of imperialism and the corroding influence of right wing opportunism'.

The main reasons for the failure of world Socialism, in the North Korean leaders' view, were that the attention of the ruling parties was not centred on the people; that the people were not educated in the Communist spirit; that the state and society were managed by privileged circles separated from the masses; and that the unity of the people and their consolidation around the party was broken. Of negative effect also, was the dogmatic approach to Marxism, which, despite all its historical merits, was not devoid of significant limitations.
Expressing the North Korean attitude to the fate of world Socialism, Kim Chong Il was especially outspoken in his opposition to pluralism, meaning ideological liberalization, as well as to the multi-party system and the plurality of property forms, since all of these, according to him, are incompatible with Socialism. The North Korean model of Socialism was declared to be the best. Its merit and proof of durability was considered to lie in the fact that the North Korean people had a really great leader, the succession problem was solved, and that the society had a consolidated will and a single ideology, that of the great leader. But there are serious reasons to suggest that the socio-economic system of North Korea carries in itself a number of factors similiar to the ones that caused such deep shocks in other Socialist societies. The prevention of the destructive influence of these factors will depend on the depth and objectivity of the leadership's insight concerning the necessary reforms to be carried out in time and the energy applied to these reforms.

In July 1994, Kim Il Sung passed away. He was the undisputed leader of the country and the ruling party, determining both internal and external policies for nearly half a century. The levers of power have passed into the hands of his son and official successor Kim Chong Il, now styled as the 'great leader'.

In his work, *Socialism is a Science*, published in November 1994, Kim Chong Il states that, 'today our party and people face an important and honourary task to carry on, from generation to generation, and to fulfil, until victory, our great cause of Socialism, which had been started and guided by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung'. One may draw the conclusion that the new North Korean leadership will follow the chuch'e ideas, strengthen the existing regime and develop the Korean model of Socialism - that is, follow the path laid down by Kim Il Sung. But it does not mean that no changes can be foreseen in the North. The premises for change have been prepared during the preceeding decade by state measures to improve economic management, to invite foreign investment, and to bring the country closer up to date with world technical progress. One can suggest that under favourable internal and external conditions North Korea will go the same way as China and Vietnam in all specific features and strategies in the tempo, scale and forms of change in the Socialist system.

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Communism in Korea

Communism in Korea is a two-volume work that details the development of communism in the peninsula, from its origins to the early-1970s. This work was published in 1972 by the University of California Press, and is co-authored by Robert A. Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee. The first volume is subtitled The Movement and is divided into eight chapters with an index to the complete work, and the second, The Society, has seven chapters, seven appendices and a bibliography which provides sources in English, Korean, Japanese, Russian, and Chinese. The appendices include the Constitution of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK); rules of the Korean Worker’s Party (KWP); membership rosters of the KWP and the Central Committee from 1948 to 1970; the organisation of the apparat and data concerning economic matters in the North. This work of more than one-thousand five-hundred pages, contains many supporting tables.

Scalapino and Lee have accessed a variety of documents, such as official Japanese records; intelligence reports; court trial documents; the writings of prisoners; biographies; records of the Comintern; and interviews with members of the Communist movement, to conduct an exhaustive exploration of the manifestation and transformation of the Communist movement in Korea. Further, the work incorporates documents from both the North and South Korean governments, as well as the former USSR, in its quest to transcend the propaganda that so often clouded the highly-charged issues of communism. The work is meticulously presented, with cross-references and highly detailed footnotes, and thus is invaluable data for research into the historic roots of the Korean communist movement, and the conditions after the formation of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Moreover, Communism in Korea is useful for gaining an understanding of the structure of North Korean society and the interrelationship of that society; the people; the military; the government; and communism per se..

Although Communism in Korea was published in 1972 and, therefore, does not include information on more recent happenings in the DPRK, it remains worthwhile reading for comprehending the historic conditions that led to the creation and of North Korea and its transformation. Hence, this work is still in demand, as reflected in its reprint by Ilchokak Publishers in 1992.

Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys

Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys is an examination of the opening of Chosŏn at the end of the nineteenth c. Subtitled, The Opening of Korea, 1875-1885, the author is Martina Deuchler and the publisher the University of Washington Press. The work was published in 1977 and comprises 310-pages of twelve chapters, with two appendices detailing the major protagonists of the Min clan and a listing of the leading members of the Enlightenment Party.

The work begins with an examination of the situation in Chosŏn before its opening, and then details the processes that unfolded over the next decade with the onslaught of foreign culture and politics. Essential to the work is the transformation of the heretofore isolationist
Chosŏn government to one that entered into treaties with Japan and the Western powers, and the consequences of this change. The international predicament of Chosŏn is discussed as the former China-orientation of Chosŏn shifted to one which leaned towards the West and Japan. Other topics explored include the various reform initiatives, both inside and outside the government; the effects of the trade conducted in the newly-opened ports; the power struggles among various factions in the Chosŏn government; and the consequences of the failed coup d'état of 1884.

*Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys* gives a clear examination of what the author deems the most crucial decade in the events that led to the eventual collapse of the Chosŏn dynasty and the advent of the colonial period. The changes that occurred, along with those that did not transpire during this period, had major repercussions on Korea insofar as modernisation; the acceptance of Western thought; and political reforms for the remaining years of Chosŏn are concerned. Hence, this work provides valuable material for an understanding of the process of modernisation in Korea.

**The Confucian Transformation of Korea**

*The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, subtitled *A Study of Society and Ideology*, is an exhaustive examination of the processes involved in the transformation of Korean society from Koryŏ to late Chosŏn. This 439-page work was written by Professor Martina Deuchler and published by Harvard University Press in 1992. The author has divided her work into six chapters and has also included a select bibliography and an extensive glossary of terms used in the work.

Deuchler examines the processes involved in the transformation of the relatively equal Koryŏ society, insofar as the rights of women and men in the family are concerned, to the male-dominated, patriarchal society of mid and late Chosŏn. Of special interest is the presentation of the institutional aspects of Koryŏ society, in which women held economic security in their own hands. The movement of society in Chosŏn towards a patriarchy is seen as a consequence of the widespread acceptance of the neo-Confucian ideology and its emphasis on agnation and ancestor worship. Hence, women were systematically marginalized by society over time, and by late Chosŏn this was a fundamental aspect of society manifested in all social strata to varying degree. There are chapters on mourning and funerary rites, and inheritance practices, which are essential for an understanding of Chosŏn society. The sixth chapter details the situation of women during Chosŏn, including marriage; divorce; remarriage; the indoctrination of women; and secondary wives and concubines; making Professor Deuchler's work a comprehensive study of women during the dynasty.

*The Confucian Transformation of Korea* enables its reader to gain a thorough understanding of the impact of the neo-Confucian ideology on Chosŏn society and the changes that it brought about to Korean culture as a whole. The bibliography provides a wealth of sources for further study.

**Confucianism**

**Part A. History - ideas, development and acceptance**

**Historical background**

It has been argued that there is no distinctively 'Korean' Confucian philosophy, since the Korean literati largely confined their philosophical thinking to commentary on the Chinese Confucian classics. It is true that the conservative atmosphere of Confucian society, where ancestral veneration and respect for seniors were regarded as overarching duties, made the direct expression of original ideas tasteless and unacceptable. Nonetheless, a tradition which demands homage to the wisdom of the past does not necessarily preclude the need
for adaptation to changing circumstances, and as in China, the urge for innovation found satisfaction, and acceptance, in the subtle but cumulative modification of old modes of thought. In the time-honoured spirit of 'discovering the new through familiarity with the old' the Confucians of Korea became proficient not only at adapting old concepts but at times, in a more subversive sense, introducing new ideas in the clothes of ancient concepts and modes of expression.

Confucian ideas gradually filtered into the Korean peninsula through the medium of Chinese script several centuries prior to the official introduction of Buddhism in 372. In the same year one of the so-called 'Three Kingdoms', Koguryo which shared a large border with China, established a T'aehak or National Confucian Academy to educate the sons of the aristocracy. Koguryo's example was shortly followed by the kingdom of Paekche. Following its unification of the country in the seventh c. the kingdom of Shilla established a Kukhak or National Confucian College in 682 to train the large number of bureaucrats needed to rule its expanded territory.

In all these institutions the Five Confucian Classics formed the heart of the curriculum, and at least in Shilla, familiarity with the Analects of Confucius and the Book of Filial Piety was a prerequisite for high public office. Knowledge of Confucian ethics had also filtered down to the aristocracy of Shilla, as illustrated in the precepts of the 'Flower Corps' or Hwarang of Shilla which combined Confucian teachings on filial piety and loyalty with elements from Buddhism and Daoism.

Although Buddhism continued to wield enormous influence on the culture and general populace during the Three Kingdoms and the succeeding Koryo Dynasty, Confucianism, on the strength of its well-developed political philosophy, steadily consolidated itself as the backbone of formal education for the ruling elite, and concomitantly, political thought and institutions. Shortly after the foundation of the Koryo dynasty in 958 a civil service examination system was instituted based on the Confucian Classics, and the reign of Sōngjong (981-997) saw the foundation of Confucian schools in all regions of the country.

The Assimilation of Neo-Confucianism

In the light of the evidence that remains, it was in the late Koryo dynasty that Korean Confucian philosophy began to flourish, if by 'philosophy' we mean consistent attempts to understand the human condition, including human nature itself and the relationship between man and the universe.

These philosophical activities were achieved on the basis of a growing familiarity with the Chinese classics, and stimulated by the introduction of Neo-Confucianism, the teachings of the Song philosophers Zhu Xi and the Cheng brothers, by the scholars An Hyang (1243-1306) and Paek Ijong (1247-1323) in the late Koryo period. Zhu Xi in particular had grounded the practical ethics of Confucius and Mencius in a new cosmology to rival that of Buddhism in terms of sophistication and breadth of scope. He had also introduced a new, more clearly defined theory of self-cultivation which provided a viable Confucian alternative to the Buddhist promise of enlightenment that had attracted so many to the temples. Armed with the new philosophical system, Korean Confucian scholars, led by the influential reformer Chǒng Tojón (1337-1398), began to vigorously criticize Buddhism. During the Koryo period the steadily increasing wealth and influence of the temples was perceived as a threat to central government, and the new critiques reinforced efforts to consolidate the power of the State. The founder of the Chosǒn ruling line was well aware of these advantages when he instituted Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucianism as the exclusive ideology of the new dynasty, granting the Neo-Confucian scholars unprecedented status, and enshrining the doctrines of Zhu Xi as the core of a well-organized civil examination system.

The Schools of Toegye and Yulgok
Following a period of several centuries during which understanding of the new orthodoxy gradually matured, Korean Neo-Confucian philosophy flowered in the writings of its two greatest exponents, Yi Hwang (Yi T'oegye 1501-70) and Yi I (Yi Yulgok 1536-84), and in the sophisticated debates that ensued as they and their followers sought to defend their respective interpretations of Zhu Xi's doctrines. Partly on account of its ambitious scale, Zhu Xi's innovative cosmology posed a host of new questions. In particular, hints of dualism within his system, in conjunction with his ambiguous responses when questioned on the subject by his followers, provided abundant room for elaboration and debate. Like Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, Chosŏn scholars, and particularly the schools of T'oegye and Yulgok, showed great interest in the question of human nature, a natural outcome of their traditional Confucian preoccupation with ethics. They were particularly interested in the implications of the new metaphysics for this area. They struggled to clarify grey areas and resolve tensions in Zhu Xi's view of human nature with regard to the two metaphysical concepts of *li* (principle) and *qi* (material force), and the closely related question of good and evil. But it was to the role of the emotions in this context that they paid unparalleled attention, and where they made a distinctive contribution to the development of East Asian philosophy.

T'oegye is generally regarded as the greatest Korean exponent of Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism, both on account of his familiarity with Zhu's life and philosophy, and his unwavering faithfulness to his teachings. He vigorously criticized the philosophy of Wang Yangming, the main alternative Neo-Confucian school of thought, and thus contributed in making the Korean Zhu Xi school even more exclusive than it had been in China.

The most celebrated and protracted philosophical debate in Korean history, which revolved around the intricate relationship between *li*, *qi*, and the emotions, began in the correspondence between T'oegye and a friend of his, Ki Taesung (Kobong, 1527-72). This was coined the 'Four-Seven Debate' because it dealt with the 'Four Beginnings' and 'Seven Emotions'. The 'Four Beginnings', originally described by Mencius, refer to four spontaneous and benevolent tendencies common to all human beings, namely the heart of compassion, shame, modesty, and moral discernment, which represent the 'beginnings' or sources of the virtues. On the other hand, the seven emotions, enumerated in the Book of Rites, refer to the whole gamut of human sensibilities, positive and negative, such as joy, anger, sadness, delight, etc.

Following the example of Zhu Xi, T'oegye drew a clear ontological distinction between these two sets of attributes by maintaining that 'the Four Beginnings manifest *li* and the Seven Emotions manifest *qi*, where *li* referred to the rational, unifying principle of the universe and *qi* was the cosmic 'stuff' with which the myriad things are made. Endowed in man, *li* is both a natural and a normative standard, and constitutes his original nature (*ben chan zhi xing*). This nature is implanted in *qi*, to which he owes his corporality and individuality, and so his physical nature (*qizhi zhi xing*), which is the source of his bodily desires, consists of *li* and *qi* combined. Evil was regarded as originating from turbid or impure *qi* in the physical endowment. Consequently T'oegye maintained that the Four Beginnings were entirely good because they manifested pure principle and the Seven Feelings consisted of both good and evil because they manifested material force.

Kobong and later Yulgok implied that T'oegye's position was too dualistic. Yulgok, a scholar of practical bent who emphasised the importance of adapting abstract principles to circumstances, and who excelled in statecraft as well as metaphysics, emphasised the inseparability of *li* and *qi*. By describing the 'Four Beginnings' as a subset of the 'Seven Emotions', both of which were manifestations of *qi*, Yulgok in particular placed a new emphasis on the positive nature of *qi* as well as the emotions themselves.
From the seventeenth c. signs of dissatisfaction with the narrow perimeters of Neo-Confucian debate began to show. Two outspoken scholars sharing a markedly independent turn of mind, Yun Hyu (Paekho, 1617-80) and Pak Sedang (Sogye, 1629-1703), both challenged Zhu Xi's interpretations of key concepts in the so-called Four Books, which together with the Book of Changes, formed the philosophical core of the Confucian canon. They were both labelled 'traitors of the Confucian Way', a stigma not without irony, for they had implied that the prevailing Confucian orthodoxy, i.e., Zhu Xi's interpretation, was not entirely orthodox, as its speculative approach had distorted the message of Confucius and Mencius.

Yun Hyu's concept of Heaven (*ch'on*), the Confucian term for the ruling power of the universe, was particularly remarkable. Instead of equating Heaven with a universal principle in rational terms, which is how Zhu Xi had envisaged it, he reverted to the early Zhou dynasty concept of Heaven as a ruling deity who empathised with human affairs.

Like Yun Hyu, Pak Sedang tried to show that Chu Hsi had altered the original message of the Four Books, and particularly the Great Learning, by changing the order of the text and adding his own speculative interpretations. He criticized core aspects of Zhu Xi's philosophy of principle such as his equation of the nature of man with the nature of other beings, as well as his concept of self-cultivation. According to Pak, Zhu Xi's interpretation of "*gewu zhi zhi*," the 'investigation of things and the extension of knowledge', which was regarded as the initial step in a program of self-cultivation, had inflated its significance and detracted from the succeeding, more practical steps. He argued that this kind of ratiocination had caused the scholars of his age to neglect practical ethics and reverse the inductive approach of the Confucian teachings by 'skipping what was close at hand and plunging into the deep and distant'.

In view of the bitter controversy aroused by the work of Pak and Yun, it is not surprising that the voices of more inventively inclined scholars were muted in the succeeding century. In spite of this the philosophy of Wang Yang-ming, which had flourished in China and Japan, managed to surface in a more restrained, somewhat encoded fashion in the writings of its main proponent, Ch'ong Chedu (Hagok, 1649-1736). Hagok, who cultivated a sizeable group of followers, applied the principle/material force cosmology to enlarge on central aspects of Wang's thought such as the equation of mind with principle and the 'extension of one's innate knowledge' (*zhi liangzhi*).

Stimulated by developments in Qing dynasty scholarship, including *ksozheng* xfiue or 'evidential learning', which frowned on subjective speculation and emphasised a more rigorous philology including the importance of textual corroboration, the School of Yi Ik (Sŏngho 1681-1763) became a focus of philosophical activity. Yi Ik and a number of his followers, including Kwŏn Ch'ŏlsin (1736-1801) and Ch'ong Yagyong (Tasan 1764-1836), also took a great interest in Western Learning, including scientific developments as well as Catholicism. Although Yi Ik, who was known more for his encyclopedic scholarship and bold proposals on administrative reform, rejected overdependence on commentaries and called for a return to the text of the Classics themselves, his philosophy broadly adhered to the conceptual framework provided by Zhu Xi.

Nonetheless it was a follower of Yi Ik, Ch'ong Yagyong (Tasan, 1764-1836), who used the growing sophistication of evidential learning to challenge the textual basis, and the philosophical integrity, of the Neo-Confucian cosmology. Like his Qing counterpart Dai Zhen, Tasan pulled the carpet from under the conventional debate by claiming that Zhu Xi had reified *li*, originally an abstract concept signifying 'pattern' or 'law', to the status of a universal being, and thus thrown the Confucian camp into confusion with Neo-Buddhist concepts of the 'one (principle) reflected in the many.' But Tasan went one step further than other 'evidential philosophers' by redefining human nature as affective tendencies (*kiho*),
both moral and sensual, rather than ontological principle, thus providing the practical ethics of Confucius and Mencius with a novel psychological basis.

Summary

Confucian ideas gradually filtered into the Korean peninsula through the medium of Chinese script several centuries prior to the official introduction of Buddhism in 372. From the late Koryo dynasty, when the Neo-Confucian ideas of Zhu Xi were introduced, Korean Confucian philosophy began to take root. During the early Choson Dynasty Neo-Confucian philosophy flowered in the writings of its two greatest exponents, Yi Toegye and Yi Yulgok, and in the sophisticated debates that ensued as they and their followers sought to defend their respective views of human nature and its ontological foundations. The 'Four-Seven' debate, the most celebrated of these controversies, revolved around the relationship between the Four Beginnings, the spontaneous and benevolent tendencies common to all human beings, and the 'Seven Emotions', representing the whole range of human sensibilities.

During the following century dissatisfaction with the narrow perimeters of orthodox Neo-Confucian scholarship surfaced in the work of two outspoken scholars, Yun Hyu and Pak Sedang. Both challenged Zhu Xi's interpretations of key concepts in the Confucian canon such as Heaven (Tian) and the 'investigation of things and the extension of knowledge', which was regarded as the initial step in self-cultivation.

Following this Chong Chedu surreptitiously introduced the ideas of Wang Yang-ming, which had flourished in China and Japan as an alternative branch of Neo-Confucianism. He applied Zhu Xi's li-qi or principle/material force cosmology to enlarge on central aspects of Yangming's thought such as the 'extension of one's innate knowledge'.

Activated by the thorough philology of Qing kaozheng xiuue or 'evidential learning', the School of Yi Ik became a focus of philosophical development. Chong Yagyong in particular challenged the foundations of orthodox Neo-Confucianism by criticizing Zhu Xi's concept of li or principle. By redefining human nature as psychological tendencies (kiho) he provided the practical ethics of Confucius and Mencius with a novel psychological basis.

M. Setton

Part B. Philosophical impact, Schools and Examination System

Bonds and cardinal relationships

In Korea, the influence of Confucianism is subtle and yet overwhelming. While that statement may appear contradictory, it is never-the-less true because religions in Korea are expressed in many radically different ways.

Compared to Buddhism with its colourful temples, and even to Christianity with its variety of churches, Confucianism is nearly invisible. Whereas beautiful Buddhist temples set in scenic mountain landscapes, and golden images of the Buddha attract tourists as well as believers, and books and brochures about Korea are covered with photographs of those marvellous sites, Confucian buildings are plain and unpretentious. And Christian churches, large and small, dot the city and the countryside. Unique to Korea, are the red neon crosses atop the buildings that standout against the night sky in great numbers. They are a visual testament to the strength of the Christian movement in Korea. And thus it appears that Confucianism is eclipsed by its two more-visible rivals.

Even Shamanism, which is also a powerful force in Korea, appears to overshadow
Confucianism. Although the Shamans do not have grand architecture, the raucous ceremony, the garish costumes and the excitement of Shamanism rituals seem to outshine the Confucian rituals.

To those who first encounter Korean culture, Confucianism does not seem to have a strong influence on Koreans, but the more one observes Korean culture and the behaviour of Koreans in various contexts, the more one finds the subtle influence of Confucianism. More than anything else, Confucianism is a standard of behaviour - a set of rules to be applied to various relationships one finds in society. When one looks beyond architecture, and sees human interaction in Korea, then one sees the overwhelming presence of Confucianism.

Almost every social relationship is influenced by Confucianism. Confucius was not concerned about the next life (although the rituals of Confucianism focus on the ancestors), and he taught his disciples to stay away from spirits. Confucius was a political philosopher who travelled from kingdom to kingdom advising kings on methods of good government. He taught that morality and character were more powerful than might and force. He believed that obedience to one's parents at home translated into loyalty for one's ruler outside the home. He taught the ideal of the jfunzi (Kor. kunja), the nobleman, one who had cultivated good virtues in himself.

The major ritual of Confucianism is ancestor worship, or as some prefer to call it, ancestor veneration ceremonies. Beginning at the funeral, throughout the three years of mourning, and finally the annual services at the graveside, the various ceremonies for the dead are the essence of Confucian ritual. The heart of the ceremony is the food and drink, and the bows offered to the dead. After the ceremonial offering of the food, all the participants have a feast on the food, and the relationship that brings them together is renewed.

More important than the ritual, however, is the subtle philosophical impact of Confucianism on the society whether one says he believes in Confucianism or not.

In Confucianism there are three 'bonds', and five 'cardinal' relationships. The three 'bonds' (unchangeable relationships) are:
- Sovereign to subject
- Parent to child
- Husband to wife.

The five relationships are expressed as a formula that repeats the three bonds in terms of the quality of the relationships and then adds two others. The five cardinal relationships are:
- Between sovereign and subject there is uprightness
- Father and son there is closeness
- Husband and wife there is separation of duties
- Senior and junior there is order
- Friend and friend there is trust

Confucianism emphasises the values held in official relationships. One of the most basic is filial piety, a term used in English only when describing Confucianism. Filial piety is the quality of children acting respectfully to their parents. There is also a corresponding obligation for the parent to act responsibly to the children. Confucian classics state, 'Never has there been one who has learned filial piety at home, who has been disloyal to his ruler (government).'

Filial piety is first, and loyalty follows close behind. Citizens in countries with Confucian traditions often tolerate autocratic governments for long periods because change is equivalent to disloyalty, and thus, is worse than patiently suffering through with bad leaders. Confucianism, however, also calls for goodness and virtue on the part of the
leader. The rivals of Confucius in his day were those who believe might made right. By comparison, the teachings of Confucius were ethereal and abstract. Yet he taught there was greater power in morality and virtue. In fact, most of the rulers of his day rejected his teachings, and only in later centuries did Confucius become recognized as a sage.

Faithfulness on the part of women, wives and widows, who sacrificed for their husbands and parents-in-law was highly prized. Many stories of heroic women who go to extreme measures to find medicine for an ailing husband or father-in-law are found in Korea. These episodes are recorded in books, primarily collected essays (munjip) of prominent men, and on monuments. There were three kinds of monuments erected in traditional Korea - those for filial sons (hyoja), for loyal subjects (ch'ungshin), and faithful wives (Yölyö).

In rural areas today one can still see these monuments. They are inscribed stele that are usually around three to five feet tall, and at times there is a small wooden structure built over the monument. Such monuments were not built by individuals or even by committees, but rather they were only erected by authority of the king himself. Local officials would initiate the petition to the government, which would approve it at various levels and finally submit it to the king for authorization. It was a serious matter, and an important manifestation of Confucian government, a government concerned with morality first, in action.

Other important concepts in Confucianism include a concept that is expressed simply in a Chinese character pronounced in. The Chinese character is made of two elements, the symbol for man, and the symbol for the number two. It means the relationship two men should have. It is hard to translate, but the terms benevolence, goodness, and human heartedness are used. If you were to ask a scholar of Confucianism which is the most important concept, some would say in, and some would say hyo (filial piety).

Propriety, etiquette, ceremony, knowledge, and trust are also important and have impact on the daily lives of Koreans. Of these values, the importance of education is striking. Today parents make tremendous sacrifices for the sake of educating their children, and children make their own sacrifices to study hard. The value of education has more than abstract underpinnings. Historically, education was the key to social success.

In traditional times, officials were recruited to serve in the government on the basis of passing an examination. The assumption was that good men made good government. And that a good education (in the Confucian classics) made men good. Therefore, there was an extensive education system and examination system in traditional Korea. It is important to note that the only source of prestige as well as wealth in traditional times was to be a government official. Businessmen were controlled and looked down upon, lawyers, accountants, doctors, scientists, and engineers all served the government officials and were considered inferior.

Education was the key to passing an exam and achieving success in traditional times, and it is so today. In today's society rapid economic development has been the hallmark of the day, and again, education is the key to success. It has been said that the education miracle has preceded the economic miracle. The Confucian classics ask, "What is more enjoyable than studying?"

Koreans are wonderful hosts. Foreigners are given royal treatment in homes and in restaurants. The first line of the Analects, one of the classics, says, 'What is more pleasurable that greeting guests who have come from afar!'

All of the above values are expressed in many different ways in the lives of Koreans today and in the past.
Chesa (Ancestor Ceremonies, Ancestor Worship)

The ritual of Confucianism is centred on the concern for the dead. Although Confucius and later writers never described the next life in any detail, they believed in the existence of the soul and the need to offer respect to the departed. The ancestor ceremonies are basically food offerings set on a table, or altar, at the graveside, but they also take place in homes and in special memorial halls.

The ceremony is simple and usually brief, but the preparation of the food for the ceremony can take considerable time and expense. The table is set and the participants, usually descendants of the dead, bow before the altar. The ceremony is basically the same whether it is performed by a few members of a household for their ancestors, or whether it is performed by numerous officials at a national ceremony. At the large-scale ceremonies, there is often a prayer read, and then burned, and at some of the largest ceremonies there is music and sedate dancing.

The largest of all the ceremonies is the Sokchönje, the ceremony offered to Confucius himself twice a year, once in the spring and once in the autumn. The Sokchönje is offered at the site of the former national academy, currently on the grounds of Sônggyun'gwan University. There are similar large-scale ceremonies for the royal family, the kings, of the Chosôn kingdom. Those are offered at the royal shrine (Chongmyo) in Seoul.

There are special buildings, memorial halls, dedicated to the memory of one or more famous scholars from that area, at which ceremonies are offered once or twice a year, and sometimes twice a month. The memorial halls are often attached to traditional Confucian academies (hyanggyo or sŏwŏn), that once were the heart of the educational system, but now are unused except for an occasional group organized over the summer or winter vacation to study Confucian classics.

Families will offer ceremonies to their ancestors in their homes and at the graveside. In the first three years after the death and funeral of an ancestor there are special ceremonies on the anniversary of the death. After the three-year period of mourning is concluded, the ancestor is considered one of a large number of ancestor who continue to receive offerings, usually at the graveside. On the anniversary date, in most cases the death date, but in some other cases the birth date or a national holiday, the descendants of that ancestor meet and commemorate the life of the deceased.

Sokchönje

The oldest unbroken series of ceremonies to Confucius is found in Korea. At the Sônggyun'gwan, the former National Academy and now a modern university, twice a year, once in the spring and once in the autumn (like Easter and Hannika, the date is set on the lunar calendar, and thus it falls on a different day on each year's western calendar). In recent years, with reforms in China, the Chinese have a renewed interest in the ceremony that was forbidden during the Communist years, and many Chinese have come to Korea to re-learn the old tradition.

The ceremony is the most elaborate and colourful in the variety of ceremonies devoted to ancestors. There are two orchestras, one in the front and the 'porch' of the main hall, and the other in the back of the courtyard. There are also dancers who move slowly and sedately through the motions of two dances, one a military dance and one a civilian dance, denoting the two major divisions of government.

In the days of the last dynasty, the king himself, and his high court officials, would participate, but in modern times men, and a few women, dressed in old court robes carry out the ceremony. The offerings, unlike those at all other Confucian ceremonies, include
raw meat; it is believed that Confucius lived so long ago that raw was preferred to cooked meat. Large tables with heads of cows and pigs, and a variety of fruits, vegetables and cakes sit in front of each stand that holds the 'spirit tablet' of the deceased sages.

In addition to the spirit tablet of Confucius, there are those for his four disciples, the sixteen Chinese sages, and the eighteen Korean sages. The Korean sages have been canonized over the years beginning with two men from the Shilla period, two from the Koryŏ period, and fourteen from the most Confucian of all kingdoms, Chosŏn.

Several groups of officiators make several rounds of offerings to the illustrious sages. Wine is offered at each alter in turn. At one point a 'prayer' or congratulatory message is read; after which the paper on which it is written is burned at a point off to the side of the main hall. The burning symbolically takes the message from the physical world to the spirit world, from paper to smoke, so that it can be appreciated better in the other world.

The ceremony used to take several hours, but in recent years it has been streamlined so that the formal part of the ceremony takes about an hour. Foreign diplomats are invited and several attend every year lending an international importance to the time-honoured tradition.

Sŏnggyun'gwan

The Sŏnggyun'gwan (National Academy) was first founded in Kaesŏng in the Koryŏ period, but was relocated to Seoul when the capital was moved at the beginning of the Chosŏn period. Today the old buildings sit next to a modern university that carries on the name and the tradition. The old buildings serve as a reminder of the historic tradition and the importance of education in previous periods, and twice a year they are the site of the Sokch’ŏnje the high ceremony to Confucius and his disciples.

The Sŏnggyun'gwan served two functions in traditional times: it was the place for ceremonies to the great sages, and it was a place of sophisticated scholarship. The ceremonies were held on a large scale twice a year, but lesser ceremonies were held twice a month, once on the new moon and once on the full moon. Entering through the main gate the large building across the courtyard, the munmyo, is the site of the ceremonies. The building behind it is the grand lecture hall, the Myŏngnyun-dang, where students once listened to explanations of the Chinese classics in preparation for the all-important state examinations.

The Sŏnggyun'gwan represented the apex of the educational system in traditional times. Students who did well in preparatory exams could be awarded the privilege of studying at the National Academy. The state examinations were not limited to those enrolled in the National Academy, but they did get the best training available to prepare them.

The examinations were forerunners of modern civil service examinations found in many countries of the world today. In traditional times the examinations, offered almost yearly, were the major avenue of recruitment for the civil service, the most prestigious livelihood possible in traditional times. Many of the most powerful and important leaders of the state of Chosŏn passed through the gates of the Sŏnggyun'gwan academy.

The Examination System

In traditional Korea, over ninety per cent of high office holders were selected for government positions on the basis of passing the high state examination, called the mun'gwa. In the five hundred years of the Yi-Chosŏn, an elite number of 14 654 men passed the examination; less than thirty per year.

The examination was offered on a regular basis every three years, but special ones were
offered nearly every year. Special examinations were held to mark auspicious occasions, such as the birth or marriage of a prince. Thirty-three passed in a typical examination, three in the highest level, ten in the second level, and twenty in the third level; the highest receiving special honours.

Lower on the scale of prestige was another civil service examination called the sama, which had two parts, the saengwŏn and the chinsa. This examination was given without exception every three years, and only every three years; and at each offering exactly two hundred candidates were selected, one hundred from each section. In the early dynasty the sama examination served as a preliminary, with over half of the candidates going on to pass the mun'gwa. In the latter half of the dynasty the sama came to function as a terminal stage, with less than half going on to the higher examination.

In addition to the civil examination, there was a military examination used to recruit military officers. There were two parts to it - a written part, and a practical part that included shooting a bow and arrows and horseback riding. At times of national emergency the examination was offered more often than at times of peace; over 150,000 passed the examination over the Chosŏn dynasty.

There was also an examination for special skills needed to run the government. There were five test areas: medicine, accounting, geomancy/astronomy, laws, and a test for interpreters that was divided into tests for spoken Chinese, Japanese, Jurchen, and Mongolian. Those who took and passed the special skills tests were members of a few family groups who inherited the privilege from their fathers, and whose sons and grandsons could sit also. These specialists lived in the centre of Seoul and were called 'chungin', or 'central people'.

The examination system was inspired by Confucian ideology and the belief that goodness comes from education. The purpose of the examination system was to recruit good men so that there would be good government.

**Hyanggyo, Provincial Schools**

Each county, in the Chosŏn period had a government-supported school called a hyanggyo, provincial school. There the local elite would teach qualified students and prepare them for the all-important state civil service examination.

The buildings at each hyanggyo were laid out in similar fashion to those of the National Academy, the Sŏnggyun'gw'an, in Seoul. Surrounded by a fence of stonework, one entered the courtyard, through a three-doored gate. Inside the gate to the left and right was a ginko tree and straight ahead was a stone pathway leading to a large central building. The central building was used for lectures on Confucian classics. To the sides of the courtyard between the gate and the lecture hall, stood smaller buildings, and behind the main hall, usually on an uphill slope, stood the shrine. The shrine held the spirit tablet dedicated to Confucius and there were eighteen other tablets of the Korean sages, nine on each side of the hall.

The hyanggyo was different from the Sŏnggyun'gw'an in that the hyanggyo was smaller in scale, the lecture hall was in the centre of the courtyard and the shrine was to the rear. The hyanggyo did not have spirit tablets for the four disciples of Confucius or the sixteen Chinese sages.

Many hyanggyo still exist today. They are located in the county capital in a neighbourhood named either Kyo-dong or Myŏngnyun-dong, meaning the 'school neighbourhood', or the 'neighbour-hood of teaching morality.'

**Sŏwŏn, Private Academy**
In 1542, Chu Sebong founded the first of the sŏwŏn or private academies in North Kyŏngsang province. He named it Paegundong Sŏwŏn after the hall where Zhu Xi studied in China, but eight years later, when Yi Hwang was the magistrate of the county, he changed the name to the Sosu Sŏwŏn by which it is known today. The king personally wrote the characters for the sign board and thus the private academy had official recognition.

After the founding of the first sŏwŏn, several more were founded and throughout the next three hundred years over 650 sŏwŏn were chartered. But only forty-seven of several hundred were given sign boards written by a king. In 1847, the powerful king's regent known as the Taewŏng'gun closed and destroyed all but the forty-seven that had royal charters. The tactic was a divide and conquer approach to reduce the power of the bureaucrats who were rivals to the king in the exercise of power. In the view of the throne, the sŏwŏn had gone beyond their role as schools and had become power bases of various factions. Factionalism, struggles for power on the basis of group affiliation, had become a problem in the latter part of the dynasty, whereby one faction would gain the king's confidence and sweep the other faction's members out of office. In some cases the disputes would result in accusations of treason and the losing side would lose lives.

Sŏwŏn served the same purposes as the hyanggyo, except the former was privately funded and the latter was funded by the government. The purpose was two-fold, educational and ceremonial. The educational purpose was to train for the examination system by learning, memorizing, the Confucian classics. The ceremonial purpose was to honor the departed spirits of prominent scholars from the area. Each sŏwŏn was dedicated to one or more Confucian luminaries. For example, the first sŏwŏn was dedicated to An Hyang, the late Koryŏ figure who was credited with bringing Zhu Xi's neo-Confucian commentaries into Korea. Later, Yi Hwang, who had served in that area as a magistrate and later became one of the most important scholars in the Korean Confucian tradition, was also added to the altar and received offerings on the ceremonial days at the sŏwŏn.

In recent years, descendants of those men who had been honoured in sŏwŏn that were destroyed in 1864, have begun to reconstruct many of the sŏwŏn on the site of the original buildings. Therefore, today there exists not only the sanctioned forty-seven sŏwŏn, but also many of the unofficial sŏwŏn that have been restored.

Part C. Some eminent Confucian Scholars

Yi I (1536-1584)

One of the greatest Confucian scholars in Korean history, Yi I is better known by his pen name, Yulgok. Born in Kangnung at his mother's lineage home, he was taught the basics of Confucian ideology by his mother, Shin Saimdang. His mother is honoured as the classic example of motherhood in Korea. Yi based the sama examination when he was only thirteen years old. Before he could take the mun'gwa examination, his mother died when he was sixteen, whereupon he retired to a Buddhist temple to mourn and to study Buddhism. He returned to his home a year later and resumed his study of neo-Confucianism.

In 1558, he paid a visit to Yi Hwang, who with Yi I in later years would be regarded as the two greatest interpreters of Confucianism in Korean history. Yi I was a young man, Yi Hwang, at age fifty-seven, was already established as a major figure of his time. The senior scholar was impressed with the junior, and the junior was inspired by the senior. Later that same year Yi I took first place in the mun'gwa examination. In fact, he had taken first place at all nine exams at the preparatory, regional, and national levels.
Yi served in several government offices including posts in various ministries, in provincial magistracies, and in central government as a censor and as an assistant in the office of the Chief State Council. When he served in the Board of War, he called for raising a hundred thousand additional soldiers. In a few years after Yi’s death, many wished they had listened to his prophetic advice when the devastation of the Japanese was unleashed on the Korean peninsula.

As an exemplary scholar/official of the Chosŏn period, Yi made greater contributions in the field of scholarship than he did in officialdom. His interpretations of neo-Confucian philosophy differed from Yi Hwang’s on which was primary, *i* (principle) or *ki* (material force). Their disciples carried on the debate for hundreds of years thereafter.

As a member of the Tŏksu Yi lineage, he was a distant cousin to Yi Sun-shin, the admiral who fought the Japanese during the invasion of 1592. Yi I wrote numerous essays and other writings that appear in his collected writings (*munjip*) and other books. In 1682, he was canonized as one of the eighteen Korean sages enshrined in the *Mumnyo* of the National Academy.

**Yi Hwang (1501-1570)**

Known by his pen name T'oegye, Yi Hwang was the most influential scholar in the Korean neo-Confucian tradition. A member of the Chinbo Yi lineage, he was born near Andong in North Kyŏngsang province. Since his father died when he was only seven months old, he was raised by his mother and an uncle.

Yi passed the *sama* in 1528, and was admitted to the National Academy in 1533. In 1534, he passed the *munkwa* and began his career in public service. However, he preferred the times when he was out of office, when he could return to his home in Andong and pursue his studies.

When he served as the magistrate of P'unggi, near Andong, he was instrumental in obtaining a royal signboard for the first *sōwŏn* in Korea, the Sosu Sowim. A few years later he obtained a royal signboard for his own academy, the Tosan Sowon, on the north side of Andong. Today, as a symbol of the importance of both Yi and his Sowon, they are featured on the front and back of the 1 000 won note.

Yi developed a large class of disciples and became known throughout the country for his interpretations of neo-Confucian doctrine. In 1558, a much younger scholar, Yi I, visited him and their letters, as well as letters exchanged with other scholars of the time became an important forum in the development of neo-Confucian ideology of the time. Yi I became the founder of one school, and Yi Hwang became the founder of the other school, both of which retained disciples throughout the dynasty. Neither master intended for the schools to develop into the rival factions that came to disrupt the tranquility of the recruitment process for the all-powerful government service positions.

In 1610, Yi Hwang was inducted into the Hall of Worthies (*Munmyo*), the shrine of the National Academy. He left numerous written works on Confucian thought and ritual. Unquestionably the most important scholar of traditional times, his influence spread to Japan, and today, there are institutes for the study of 'T'oegye's philosophy' across Korea and in foreign countries.

**Sol Ch'ong (late Shilla)**

Born to the famous Buddhist monk, Wŏnhyo, and princess Yosŏk, Sol Ch’ong was a member of the Shilla aristocracy. He became interested in Confucianism early in his life.
and devoted his efforts to bring Confucian doctrine to Korea.

He helped to codify a system of writing whereby Chinese characters were used in a creative way to express Korean sounds and grammatical particles. That method of writing came to be known as idu, literally meaning clerical writing. In many texts Sŏl Ch'ŏng is credited with inventing idu, but clearly that style of writing was extant before Sŏl Ch'ŏng's time, but nonetheless Sŏl Ch'ŏng role as the one who standardized the system cannot be over emphasized.

Using idu Sŏl Ch'ŏng helped bring Confucianism into Korea and spread its doctrine to all who would study. For his efforts, he is known as the father of Korean Confucianism. Indeed, he was the first sage inducted into the Confucian Hall of Worthies at the National Academy.

Ch'o'e Ch'iwŏn (857-?)

A late Silla scholar, Ch'o'e Ch'i'-wŏn went to T'ang China at an early age and passed the Chinese civil service exam at age 17. After serving in the Tang court for a time, he returned to Korea in 884. He was only asked to serve in minor positions in the Shilla court, apparently because he was either over qualified or too Chinese. He thus left government service and retired to Haein Temple northwest of the Shilla capital of Kyŏngju.

In retirement he actively taught a growing crew of disciples who became the well-trained backbone of government service in the new Koryŏ court. It is believed that Wang Kŏn, the founder of the Koryo dynasty, corresponded with Ch'o'e; but by that time he was aged and refused to serve the court himself, but many of those he trained brought Confucian oriented ideas into the new administration.

Ch'o'e was the second man enshrined in the Confucian Hall of Worthies at the National Academy. He is also considered the founder of the Kyŏngju Ch'oe lineage with nearly innumerable descendants, almost everyone named Ch'o'e, in Korea today. His pen name was Haeun, the famous beach on the edge of Pusan was said to be his favourite place and was named after him, Haeundae.

An Hyang (1243-1306)

Credited with bringing Neo-Confucianism into Korea, An Hyang travelled to the Yuan dynasty and brought back texts of the Song dynasty scholar Zhu Xi and a portrait of the master as well. Twelve years after his death, in 1318, the king ordered a portrait of An to be painted by Yuan dynasty artist, in commemoration of the great scholars accomplishments. That portrait is still preserved in the academy dedicated to him, the Sosu Sŏwŏn near Andong in northern Kyŏngsang province. And is one of the oldest paintings in Korea.

The oldest sŏwŏn in Korea, the Sosu Sŏwŏn, is dedicated to hosting ceremonies to An Hyang. It was founded in 1542 by Chu Sebung.

An Hyang is also known as An Yu. His name was changed during the reign of King Munjong (1451-1452) because Hyang was the personal given name of the king, and thus, out of respect, had to be avoided by others. An is considered the founder of the Sunhŭng An lineage, which includes most of those in Korea today who have the surname An. He was the third man inducted into the Confucian Hall of Worthies at the National Academy.

Bibliography
Neo-Confucianism and Chosŏn Society

When Neo-Confucianism was introduced to Korea during the last century of the Koryŏ period, it was initially embraced by Korean scholars less for its scholarly and philosophical contents than for its practical propensities. Neo-Confucianism, it was believed, could be state and society which had fallen into disorder and decay because of the Buddhists' inability to rule the country. In contrast to Buddhism, Neo-Confucianism was perceived as "concrete learning" (shirhak) relevant to the problems of the time. Confucian learning, then, was adopted by the founders of the Chosŏn dynasty as an effective ideology of change.

Above all, Neo-Confucianism opened to the Koreans a whole new world of social organization by providing access to the Chinese Classics—a vast body of literature that described the ideal world as created by the sage-rulers of Chinese antiquity. In particular, books like the Liji (Book of Rites), the Yili (Book of Etiquette and Ceremonies), and the Zhou-li (Rites of Zhou) were regarded as handbooks containing blueprints for a program of social change and rejuvenation. This literature had, of course, been known in Korea before, but it was Zhu Xi's (1130-1200) commentaries that unlocked its true meaning and made it useful for socio-political reform.

Besides the literature of Chinese antiquity, Zhu Xi's Chu Tzu chia-li (The House Rules of Master Chu) provided the Korean scholar-officials with the ritual details they needed for their reform program. This slim booklet outlined the four major rituals (sarye); capping, wedding, funeral, and ancestral service. These rites formed the foundation of ritual behavior. In the Confucian view, rites were not merely guides to correct behavior; rather, they had a crucial impact on the inner disposition of the one who performed them. They, moreover, were effective beyond the individual performer and created a harmonious relationship among all the participants. In short, rituals were regarded as fundamental instruments for introducing change and reform into the decayed society of Koryŏ.

At the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, the eminent scholar-official, Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409), was ordered to establish the details of the four rites. He relied heavily on Zhu Xi's Jiali. The perhaps most important ritual of change was ancestor worship. Like no other ritual action, Confucian-style ancestor worship accentuated the agnatic structure of a descent group and focused it on a common ancestor. A place in this ritual hierarchy determined an individual's rights and duties within the descent group. By building agnatically related worship- ping groups, ancestor worship, thus, became a most effective instrument for
introducing into Korean society a patrilineal paradigm. Koryŏsociety had rested on a bilateral organization, and a person's descent was consequently traced through paternal as well as maternal links. The new Confucian scheme narrowed such descent reckoning and constructed clearly defined patrilineal lineages. Ancestor worship, practiced in front of the ancestral shrine (sadang), was the most useful mechanism for creating an agnatic consciousness and translating it into socially meaningful action.

Subsidiary to ancestor worship were the changes on the mourning chart (obok). The assignment of mourning grades to the members of a kin group indicated their respective importance vis-à-vis the mourner. By shortening the mourning periods for matrilateral kin, so revered during Koryŏ, emphasis shifted to the mourner's agnatic relatives. The longest mourning period of three years was observed by a son for his parents. The length of mourning for other kin depended on their genealogical distance from the mourner and varied in time between one year and three months.

Ritual status determined a person's share of inheritance. In Koryŏ, sons and daughters had received equal portions of the patrimony. With the Confucian emphasis on the patriline, the sons became the principal heirs, and the daughters, who married out, were gradually disinherited. Eventually, however, the introduction of primo-geniture meant that even the sons' shares were graded, with the largest share given to the eldest son. This shift was rationalized with the argument that his genealogical standing made him the eldest son alone acceptable as his line's main heir. As the representative of his generation he took charge of the ancestral services and therefore needed more economic support. His younger brothers, thus, had to be satisfied with smaller portions, and toward the end of the dynasty it was not uncommon that they were bypassed altogether.

The patrilineal restructuring of Korean society had especially grave consequences for women. In Koryŏ, women maintained a certain degree of independence and freedom through the fact that they received the same share of the patrimonial inheritance as their brothers. The sibling bond was, therefore, often stronger than the marital bond, as women did not depend on their husbands for economic sustenance. For men, marriage to an endowed woman was frequently advantageous to their careers, and husbands thus often took up residence in their wives' house. Such uxorilocal arrangements resulted in children growing up surrounded by maternal relatives to whom they felt special affection.

In the eyes of the Confucian reformers such a family situation was "unnatural" and needed their particular scrutiny. Assigning women their proper place in the patrilineal structure, they realized, was instrumental to their reform program. It was for them a particularly disturbing fact that Koryŏmen could have several wives who were not ranked. One of the first measures to disentangle such complex family relationships, legalized in 1413, therefore was the ranking of wives into primary wife (ch'ŏ) and secondary or minor wives (ch'ŏp). Naturally, this piece of legislation was not popular and caused tension and even strife among wives and their respective sons. In a patrilineal structure, however, only one wife—the primary wife—could become the mother of her husband's rightful heirs. The additional wives and their respective offspring her husband may have had had to be clearly subordinated to her and her sons. The law of 1413, thus, was one of the most momentous pieces of reform legislation as it introduced inequality and conflict into the domestic sphere.

The differentiation of wives was instrumental not only for creating clear lineage features, but also for clarifying social status. The offspring of the primary wife alone were recognized as full members of their father's descent group and thus could claim upper class title. Status reproduction continued to be determined by bilateral considerations. Consequently, only women who themselves were born into elite families could henceforth become primary wives. Secondary-wife status, therefore, carried with it the odium of lower class pedigree, and commoner and slave women entered an elite household as secondary wives. Their sons, called secondary sons (ch'ŏpcha), did not become full members of their
father's descent group. They were excluded from ritual heirship (except at the beginning of the dynasty), were disadvantaged as heirs, and were equally barred from sitting for the civil service examinations (munkkwa). They consequently led an unsatisfactory half-way existence throughout the dynasty.

In the course of time, primary wives became gradually more integrated into their husbands' descent group. Confucian ritual excluded a daughter from functions in her natal ancestral shrine as she was married out into a different descent group and thus was no longer useful to her natal family. Although until roughly the middle of the dynasty daughters continued to receive some parts of their families' patrimony, it is clear that their natal families were increasingly reluctant to endow out-marrying daughters. Female shares of the patrimony consequently grew smaller, and eventually disappeared entirely.

While the Confucian-style ancestral cult became the mainstay of the patrilineal descent group, the wedding rite defied Confucianization. Although absorbing some ritual elements of the Chia-li, the sequence and, even more importantly, the locus of the wedding ceremony preserved native tradition. Contrary to Confucian etiquette, the bridegroom met his bride in the bride's natal home, and the nuptial rite was performed there. The tenacity of this Koryo custom was upheld by the importance which continued to be placed on the wife's status in determining her children's social status. The wedding rite was a clear manifestation of status towards the outside world, and only a bride endowed with a demonstrated elite ancestral background could enter her groom's house as a primary wife.

Confucianism emphasized social virtues, and during the Choson dynasty virtuous behaviour was highly praised. Books like the Samgang haengsilto (Illustrated Guide to the Three Relationships) extolled in text and pictures the virtues of loyalty towards the ruler, filial piety, and womanly chastity. Only a son who exhibited filial devotion towards his parents could be trusted as a loyal subject, and a widowed woman who did not choose to remarry and continued to serve her parents-in-law was publicly acclaimed for her wifely virtue. It was the women's task as mothers to inculcate such virtues into their sons and to educate them to serve their ruler well.

The Confucian transformation affected the elite layer of society most profoundly. By narrowing the criteria of descent, group membership became more exclusive, and only proper genealogical credentials opened the way to political office. Such calculations excluded secondary sons from political participation. The extraordinarily close link between domestic sphere and public realm determined much of the political tenor of the period. Political power was wielded by a relatively small group of elite lineages throughout the dynasty. Descent and high social standing were carefully recorded in detailed genealogical records (chokpo) which proliferated from the seventeenth century. Skillfully tied marital relations were an additional method for maintaining and strengthening socio-political eminence.

The impact of Neo-Confucianism on Korean society, thus, was deep and lasting. The agnatic paradigm as outlined in the Chinese classical literature and reactivated by Zhu Xi transformed Korean society from a bilateral into a patrilineal society—a unique feat of social engineering that has no parallel elsewhere in East Asia. This transformation was not accomplished overnight. Rather, it took roughly two centuries of indoctrination and legislation before the patrilineal structure reached with the emergence of ritual and economic primogeniture its fullest elaboration.

Bibliography:

Constitution of the Republic of Korea

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea was promulgated on 12 July 1948 and today is a document of about 9,000 words, containing a Preamble, 10 Chapters with a total of 130 Articles, and 6 Articles of Supplementary Provisions. The Constitution has been amended 8 times, with the latest version being put into force as of 25 February 1988. The President or a majority of the National Assembly members may initiate an amendment to the Constitution, but in turn this has to be submitted to a national referendum (Articles 128-130). The Constitution is wide-ranging on all aspects of the basic rights, dignities and freedoms of the Korean people and in setting limits on the exercise of government powers, such as freedom from arbitrary arrest, and equality before the law regardless of sex, religion and social status. However, while it gives every Korean an equal right to personal liberty and the pursuit of happiness, it also imposes responsibilities, such as the duty to defend the nation; fulfillment of the obligation of military service; to pay taxes; and to be denied some of the basic rights in times of national emergencies.

The provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea are as follows:

Preamble

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 unification of our homeland and having determined to consolidate national unity with justice, humanitarianism and brotherly love, and

To destroy all social vices and injustice, and

To afford equal opportunities to every person and provide for the fullest development of individual capabilities in all fields, including political, economic, civic and cultural life by further strengthening the basic free and democratic order conducive to private initiative and public harmony, and

To help each person discharge those duties and responsibilities concomitant to freedoms and rights, and

To elevate the quality of life for all citizens and contribute to lasting world peace and the common prosperity of mankind and thereby to ensure security, liberty and happiness of ourselves and our posterity forever,

Do hereby amend, through national referendum following a resolution by the National Assembly, the Constitution, ordained and established on the Twelfth Day of July Anno Domini Nineteen hundred and forty-eight, and amended eight times subsequently.

29 October 1987

Chapter 1 - General Provisions

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

(2) The sovereignty of the Republic of Korea shall reside in the people, and all state authority shall emanate from the people.