

announced his intentions to reform shortly after he assumed control through the publication of his own Ten Injunctions. In this document somewhat reminiscent of Wang Kōn's earlier appeal, Ch'oe Ch'unghōn sought to curtail the excesses of Buddhist monks and civilian elites, limit the number of governmental offices, and promote only talented people.

To restore order to the kingdom, General Ch'oe built his own private military power and purged possible sources of military resistance. Gradually he augmented his own armed force and allowed the dynastic troops to atrophy into insignificance. Aware that he needed a strong administration, General Ch'oe turned to established civilian families and recruited the educated elite into his government by means of both handsome stipends and the state examinations. He consciously addressed the problems of social unrest by refreezing the social order and decisively defeating slave, peasant, and monk insurrections. To refine further his governing apparatus, he brought a number of dynastic decision-making agencies into his own house and ruled the kingdom through an *ad hoc* dynastic directorate (Kyojōng togam). He also controlled the royal family, forcing kings who opposed him to abdicate and richly rewarding those who were compliant. The Personnel Authority (Chōngbang) developed under Ch'unghōn's son and became a major agency for Ch'oe recruitment. Ch'oe leaders placed talented, learned men into this office, making it an important centre for Ch'oe policy. Institutionally, the Personnel Authority survived even the collapse of the military leaders and was an organ of civil power into the 14th century. For a number of decades, the Ch'oe House governed Koryō through this dual organization of private and dynastic institutions, with Ch'oe private agencies governing the country while dynastic offices afforded the regime a specter of legitimacy.

Initially the Ch'oe House was quite successful as power transferred to Ch'unghōn's son U (d. 1249). However, there were certain institutional contradictions that ultimately undermined this order. Ch'oe Ch'unghōn had stabilized the dynasty in part by invoking tradition. But through his manipulation of the royal family and reliance on the civilian elite and their norms, he became dependent on these institutions and their sanctions of legitimacy. When the Ch'oe House heir was assassinated in 1258, civilian leaders quickly maneuvered to restore authority to the court and commence a process that once again would isolate generals from key dynastic offices.

The greatest threat to the stability of the Ch'oe House did not come from civilian opposition or domestic unrest, but from Mongol attacks. The Mongols first confronted Koryō early in the 13th century, and by 1231 they invaded the country with a massive army. Ultimately the Mongols forced their way over the peninsula seven different times, bringing destruction and death wherever they roamed. That the Koreans chose to resist rather than submit affords insight into the determination of the Korean character. With the first Mongol attacks, the Koreans used every means available to defeat the enemy. All social groups withstood the Mongol onslaught and retaliated. When these measures failed, the Ch'oe House opted to evacuate the capital to the offshore island of Kanghwa and urged the peasantry throughout the peninsula to resist the Mongols from the islands and mountain fortresses of Koryō. As they had under the earlier Khitan siege, the Koryō people again appealed to Buddha's intervention and carved the *Triptika* in 80 000 woodblocks as a sign of their devotion. None of these measures protected the Koreans from the Mongols. The people suffered huge loss of life and destruction to their farmlands, and the culture witnessed the looting of many literary works, buildings, and cultural treasures. Shortly after civilian and military leaders toppled the Ch'oe House, they sued for peace with the Mongols and by 1270 the Koryō court returned to the mainland, marking their submission to Mongol rule.

Some Koreans chose to resist even this peace. Disgruntled military officials, unwilling to surrender to Mongol authority, rebelled. Using the Three Elite Patrols (Sambyōlch'o) and forming an anti-Mongol regime, they enthroned a royal clansman to be their king. First occupying Kanghwa island as their base, under pressure from combined Koryō and Mongol forces, they evacuated to Chin island in the southwest and then to Cheju island.

Their struggle ended in defeat in 1273.

Late Koryŏ : 1270-1392

For the next century the Mongols controlled Koryŏ. Initially their rule was harsh, but by the middle of the 14th century, as Mongol authority waned across Asia, so did their influence in Korea. No sooner had these new overlords taken Korea than they demanded that the conquered country outfit an invasion force to capture Japan. When a typhoon destroyed the first invasion, the Mongols ordered a second expedition which set out in 1281 and was also swept away by another storm. The Koreans, forced to provide many of the provisions, men, and ships, bore the costs of these two disastrous defeats.

The Mongols sent military governors to Korea and tried to rule the country through them. They also established a special office, the Eastern Field Expedition Headquarters, first to direct the Japanese invasions and then to administer Koryŏ. Through this agency the Mongols manipulated the royal family, exacted huge tribute requests that included demands for gold, falcons and women, and put some Koryŏ land directly under Mongol jurisdiction. As the people of Koryŏ helplessly watched the dismemberment of their country, they slowly grew more bold, beginning to express a sense of national consciousness through literary works, and arguing for their own sovereign interests through diplomacy.

The Mongol domination of Koryŏ brought the country into closer contact with Chinese culture. On the frequent visits of the Koryŏ embassies to the Mongol capital, Koryŏ and Chinese scholars met. For a variety of reasons, both Mongol and Koryŏ officials proposed reforms for Koryŏ society. King Kongmin (1351-1374), during whose reign Mongol authority disintegrated in China, became a strong proponent of changes to curtail the influences of the great Koryŏ clans that had prospered under the Mongols. In trying to eliminate their excessive land and slave holdings, he was assisted by the Buddhist monk Shin Ton who became a key royal adviser. The king recruited Shin Ton because of his humble origins and lack of ties to the Koryŏ elite. Together, king and subject, charted policies that attacked the entrenched central elites who had prospered by manipulating Koryŏ's contacts with the Mongols. Especially prominent at this time was the Ki lineage which had married one of its women to the Mongol emperor and then enjoyed and abused its elevated status. The reforms advocated by King Kongmin attacked the vast wealth of these aristocrats and challenged the intrusive authority of the Eastern Expedition Field Headquarters. Because of their aggressive policies and the success of their reforms, dissident forces assassinated King Kongmin and removed from power and then killed Shin Ton.

During King Kongmin's reign there lived a number of other reformers who also assisted him and through their fierce defence of Confucian norms, they placed a renewed emphasis on Confucian ideals causing Confucianism to flourish. Influenced by changes in Chinese thought that they learned of through increased contact with China, Koryŏ officials sought to resuscitate moribund Confucian traditions and press for reforms. The foundations of the Neo-Confucian state that would be embodied in the rise of Chosŏn was laid in these last decades of Koryŏ. These same reforms that caused Koryŏ officials to challenge their subordination to Mongol authority, infused them with the determination to contest both the domestic and the foreign order by establishing a new dynasty in 1392.

Tensions fractured Koryŏ history, as the court and central officialdom, central and regional authority, military and civilian power, Confucian and Buddhist impulses, rich and poor, and domestic and foreign interests vied for primacy. These divisions were both negative and positive in potential. They were negative in that they occasionally split the country and brought it to the verge of collapse. They were positive because, when controlled, they propelled Koryŏ forward toward new levels of achievement and

sophistication. The negative has been seen in the insurrections, rebellions and invasions that marred Koryŏ's 474 years of history. The positive can be enjoyed materially even today through a cultural legacy that illustrates Koryŏ's eminence.

Cultural Heritage

Koryŏ produced priceless artistic treasures. Korea's earliest extant wooden buildings date from late Koryŏ and reveal a refined simplicity and subtle beauty. Of even greater renown is the celadon that has been so closely associated with Koryŏ's greatness. Capturing a greenish hue that has been unmatched to this day, Koryŏ potters also innovated with novel designs and perfected an inlaid technique on the surface of their vessels. Although much of Koryŏ's legacy in painting has been lost, there are a few remaining Buddhist portraits that reveal a similar intricacy and sophistication.

While producing masterpieces in art and architecture, Koryŏ scholars also wrote peerless verse. Because of the terrible destruction wrought to Koryŏ by both the Khitan and Mongol invasions, few literary works remain from before the 12th century. In those native songs (*hyangga*) surviving from early Koryŏ, readers gain a sense of honesty and frankness in the portrayal of life. These same themes can be found in the literature of the mid-Koryŏ writer Yi Kyubo (1168-1241). Yi Kyubo, under the patronage of the Ch'oe House, wrote prolifically on nearly every theme imaginable. Especially noteworthy were his appeals to the Mongol court, which are reported to have brought tears to the eyes of the conquering khans. Other period writers include the poet Chŏng Chisang (d. 1135) and the prose writers Yi Illo (1152-1220) and Ch'oe Cha (1188-1260). Chŏng Chisang, an ally of Myoch'ŏng and executed for his participation in that rebellion, eloquently presented the pathos often found in Korean expression, as he lamented the inevitability of parting or separating from people and places held dear. Both Yi Illo's *Jottings to Break Up Idleness (P'ahan chip)* and Ch'oe Cha's *Supplementary Jottings in Idleness (Pohan chip)* are collections of essays on any number of topics that afford insight into the people and the literary sophistication of Koryŏ.

Two key histories have also survived from mid Koryŏ. *Samguk sagi (The History of the Three Kingdoms)*, compiled under the supervision of the Confucian scholar Kim Pushik, appeared in 1145. Adapting Chinese historiographical traditions to Koryŏ, Kim Pushik divided this history into four major parts, annals, chronology, treatises, and biographies. The Buddhist monk Iryŏn (1206-1289) wrote *Samguk yusa (The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms)* in the late 13th century, while Koryŏ was suffering under the Mongol occupation. Filled with legends and tales of early Korea, the *Samguk yusa* offered a monk's interpretation of Korea's heritage in contrast to the measured, scholarly analysis of Kim Pushik. Both works, in addition to providing a history of early Korea, reveal a clear consciousness of Korean traditions and heritage. Innovations in printing, such as the use of a moveable metallic print, facilitated the dissemination of all sorts of writings and literature.

Religious and philosophic expression was another underpinning of Koryŏ life. Shamanistic and geomantic beliefs, expressed through art, architecture, and literature, remained at the very root of much of Koryŏ's life. Buddhism played an equally significant and fundamental role. In early Koryŏ, both the Doctrinal (Kyo) and Meditation (Sŏn) Schools found broad support among the central and regional elite. In the 11th century, the royal prince Uich'ŏn (1055-1101), after traveling to China, founded a new school called Ch'ŏnt'ae which tried to fuse scholarship and meditation. At the end of the 12th century, Chinul (1158-1210), a monk who received Ch'oe House patronage, reinvigorated the Buddhist world by placing new emphasis on the Meditation school. Largely through his and his disciples' efforts, Meditation became the dominant religious force in late Koryŏ, as both the ruling elite and the farming peasant embraced it. Buddhist holidays captured the imagination of the people. The Lantern festival (Yŏndŭnghoe) in the spring and the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions (P'algwanhoe) in the eleventh month became annual

festivals to honor local spirits and represented the merging of Koryŏ's various spiritual traditions.

Confucian principles, studied and practiced throughout the dynasty, remained the ideology for good government. In the early 12th century and then in the 14th century, scholars seriously discussed its concepts and applied them to governing. In part stimulated by metaphysical speculation originating in China, late Koryŏ scholars like An Hyang (1243-1306) and Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392) epitomized this new thinking. Many of late Koryŏ's intellectuals, in an effort to forward Confucian analysis, criticized the excesses of Buddhism. They also attacked some scholars' excessive attachment to literary studies and poetry. These approaches, coupled with a rigid adherence to principle or righteousness and a call for the moral cultivation of rulers, characterized the new thinking that has been labeled Neo-Confucianism. Moreover, through their writings, late Koryŏ scholars, becoming strong advocates of reform, drew on the efforts espoused by King Kongmin. Other Neo-Confucian thinkers like Chŏng Tojŏn (d. 1398) shaped these ideas into a political platform that helped to establish the foundations leading to the rise of the Chosŏn kingdom in 1392.

Retrospect

The legacy that is Koryŏ remains to this day. Koryŏ people, concerned about power relations, adopted a system of governing that was Chinese in practice, but tempered by Korean norms. They developed an examination system based on Chinese standards and used it to attract new blood, but also continued to rely on men with lineage. Buddhism, often at the spiritual center of Koryŏ aristocratic life, became by the end of the dynasty the property of both the elite and peasant class. Contributions in literature and the fine arts have remained an important reminder of Koryŏ's heritage. It is through the expressions of these traditions that Koryŏ people demonstrated a love for their land and a sense of belonging to that land that has remained steadfast to the present. Finally, it is in Koryŏ that the western world first learned of Korea, and the word "Koryŏ" provided the name by which the country of Korea is now known to the West.

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E J Shultz

Chosŏn Dynasty (1392 -1450)

The establishment of the Chosŏn Dynasty

When the Chosŏn dynasty was founded in 1392, it brought to an end over two hundred years when the power of the kings of the Koryŏ dynasty (founded 918) had been reduced to a virtual nullity by a military coup in 1170 and Mongol overlordship in 1258. King Kongmin's attempts to rebuild royal power after 1351 were thwarted by aristocratic *yangban* families. General Yi Sŏnggye seized power in a coup in 1388 and ruled behind three puppet kings, undertaking reforms that preceded his establishment of the new Chosŏn dynasty in 1392.

Yi moved the capital from Kaesŏng to Hansŏng (Seoul) and preserved the Koryŏ bureaucratic system, but he expanded central control by appointing central bureaucrats to all local districts, making the civil service examinations the primary route to regular office, and barring members of the rural elite *hyangni* class from promotion to regular official posts.

To redress the severe shortage of central revenues, he conducted a national cadastral

survey, burned the many prebendal (i.e., tax-collection) certificates granted to favoured *yangban* families, restricted prebends only to men granted official rank, and limited the land over which prebends were granted to only part of the province around the capital. Most land was now owned privately and subject to the land tax.

The overall tax system was designed to fit an agricultural subsistence economy with underdeveloped commercial and industrial sectors. The land tax was payable in grain, the local product, tribute tax was paid in kind by peasants, and labour and military service was made compulsory and non-remunerative, levied on adult males except for slaves and *yangban* with official rank. Relatives of *yangban* were allowed to serve in elite military units or sinecures, and military service was divided between rotating duty soldiers and support taxpayers who paid a cloth tax to support duty soldiers.

Early Chosŏn society was heir to the late Koryŏ social system dominated by great hereditary families called *yangban* who relied on their slaves and commoner tenants for the cultivation of large landed estates. The *yangban* took pride in their ancestors prominent in government service, Confucian scholarship, and belles-lettres. When the new dynasty required passing the highest civil service examination to qualify for office, the *yangban* adapted readily by educating their sons, and dominating the restricted quotas, and blocking any real chance for upward mobility for commoner peasants. The clerks and technical specialists who were excluded from the ranks of regular officials soon formed an hereditary class called 'middle people' (*chung'in*).

The new dynasty was also a slave society at its inception because about one third the population consisted of chattel slaves, the legacy of hereditary slavery introduced some time in the tenth c. When the Chosŏn

state confiscated the slaves of the Buddhist monastic estates, it converted about 70 000 of them into official slaves. Private slaves were divided into household servants and outside-resident slaves who lived on the master's parcels of land and paid personal tribute equivalent to a sharecropping rent. Slaves were part of the status category of base persons, which included *kisaeng* (female entertainers), shamans, and the outcaste *paekchŏng* (hereditary butchers and willow-basket weavers).

Commoner peasants probably constituted about sixty per cent of the population and worked as smallholding subsistence proprietors, but some could be landlords, owner-tenants, pure landless tenants, or day or seasonal labourers. Only a small number engaged in commerce and handicrafts.

The Koryŏ period was a syncretic age when Buddhism provided solace, Confucianism provided ethical norms and practical knowledge for officials, and animism, shamanism, and popular Buddhism provided for the spiritual needs of the peasantry. In the late thirteenth c. the Chinese Song dynasty version of Neo-Confucianism synthesized by Zhu Xi of the twelfth c., was introduced into Korea, and it carried with it a powerful bias against Buddhism. The Neo-Confucians supported the overthrow of the Koryŏ dynasty and persuaded the Chosŏn regime to adopt Zhu Xi's commentaries on the classics as the main curriculum for the examinations that were opened to commoners but not slaves and merchants.

The Neo-Confucians reorganized family structure, ritual, and religious life according to patrilineal, patrilocal, and patriarchal principles of descent, marriage, and inheritance. They lowered the status and financial independence of women and elevated the power of the eldest legitimate son by putting him in charge of ancestral sacrifice, increasing his share of the inherited patrimony, and subordinating his younger brothers and half-brothers by concubines. Replacing Buddhist with Confucian rituals took until the late seventeenth c. to spread among the peasantry, but Confucian practice only had minimal influence over

peasant belief in animism, shamanism, geomancy, spirit worship, and prophecy. Some Neo-Confucians advocated a radical program of institutional reform including the elimination of hereditary status, the abolition of private property, and egalitarian land redistribution to peasants, but those plans were blocked by the *yangban* landlords.

The early Chosŏn economy was primarily agricultural, and the main crops were rice, barley, beans, hemp, ramie, and cotton. The techniques of rice production were not advanced because rice was seeded by the broadcast method and watered by rainfall rather than irrigation, and keeping some land fallow rather than annual manuring remained dominant.

Clothing was woven of either ramie or cotton cloth at home by peasant households. Silk was not worn by the peasants, and the finest silk brocade was imported from China for the upper class. Precious metals like gold and silver were used only for ornaments or shipped to China as tribute, but they were not minted into coins. Roof tiles and fine ceramics were fired in kilns operated by the state. Iron and bronze were used for buildings, agricultural tools, weapons, and brass for plates and vessels. Precious metals, iron, copper, and tin were mined by the state or part of the peasants' labour service during the agricultural rest season.

Bolts of cloth and bags of grain were the main media of exchange, and the attempt throughout the fifteenth c. to institute the circulation of metallic coins and paper money ended in failure. The country lacked developed markets except for the Seoul, Kaesŏng, Pusan, Ŭiju, Chŏnju, small towns were devoid of permanent shops, and rural peasants were served only by itinerant peddlers and periodic markets. The government granted monopoly licenses to a few shops in the capital to supply luxury items, and employed official artisans, mostly slaves, to produce ceramics, paper, and utensils. Foreign trade was limited to the tribute missions to China, and trade with Japan was limited to a few open ports and a small quota of Japanese ships.

Even though King T'aejo enrolled as tributary of the Ming Emperor, the latter mistrusted Koreans, demanded heavy tribute and cession of some Korean territory, refused to issue a patent of investiture to King T'aejo, and included derogatory statements about his lineage in the official Ming code. By 1398 Ming tribute demands were eased and later Ming emperors issued patents of investiture routinely, but the Ming code was not amended until 1581.

Since the Chinese did not interfere either with Korea's domestic political affairs or foreign affairs that had no bearing on Chinese security, Korea was regarded as self-governing (*chaju*). Korea was plagued by raids from the *Wako* (*Waegu*) pirates based on Tsushima Island and other places in Japan, but a raid on Tsushima in 1419 ended the pirate threat. Thereafter, Japanese ships were allowed to trade in three ports. Peace was maintained except for brief outbreaks of violence in 1510 and 1544.

Since the Chosŏn dynasty was founded by an act of usurpation, legitimacy was a problem from the outset. The Neo-Confucians supported a more powerful monarchy, but they also insisted that the king be restrained by Confucian moral norms and the royal succession be passed on to the eldest legitimate prince, but both principles were often violated. The successions of the second, third, and fourth kings were irregular, and in 1455 the king's uncle usurped the throne (King Sejo) and cast doubt on the legitimacy of his successors for the next fifty years. Kings were also restricted by their *yangban* in-laws and by *yangban* officials who used the censorate to remonstrate.

The fourth king, Sejong (r. 1418-50), was most notable for his contributions to the refinement of institutions and the flowering of culture. He sponsored the invention of an alphabet in 1444 -something never achieved in China or Japan - but the Confucian literati clung fast to Chinese ideographs and denigrated the new script to the end of the dynasty.

He patronized painting, music, medicine, and agriculture, and compiled books on Korean history. He built a new sundial, water clocks, a rain gauge, and an astronomical observatory, cast a new font of movable metal type, established a gunpowder magazine, and cast cannon. He created a more equitable system of land tax assessment in 1437, established grain loans to peasants, and made the death penalty more difficult to enforce.

Changes in early Chosŏn institutions (1450-1592)

King Yŏnsan'gun (r.1494-1506) was so infuriated by critics of King Sejo's usurpation and by censorate opposition to his decisions that he conducted two bloody purges of officials in 1498 and 1504. His attempt to rule as a despot, however, violated accepted norms of conduct and led to his deposition by his officials and the enthronement of King Chungjong in 1506.

Now that the prestige of the censorate was restored, the censor Cho Kwangjo, a leader of the self-professed Confucian moralists, persuaded the king to hold a special recommendation examination to ferret out virtuous men overlooked because of politics. Cho and the new censors then attacked and forced the dismissal of merit subjects who had supported the coup against Yŏnsan'gun, but those men then convinced the king that Cho was a threat to the throne. Chungjong agreed, executed Cho, and exiled his compatriots in 1519, a purge that wounded the censorate, but did not destroy it.

By 1530, the ambitious prime minister, Kim Allo, eliminated his major rivals and married his son to a princess, but when he tried to depose King Chungjong's second queen, the king executed him in 1537. The court then split apart in 1544 over the succession. Yun Im (Big Yun) of the P'ap'yŏng Yun supported the son of King Chungjong's second queen while Yun Wŏnhyŏng (Little Yun) from the same clan supported the son of the third queen. When the king abdicated the throne to King Injong, the Big Yun faction gained power, but Injong died only eight months later in 1545 and was succeeded by King Myŏngjong, the eleven-year-old nephew of Little Yun, who purged almost a hundred supporters of Big Yun. The pursuit of power still overwhelmed Neo-Confucian norms of civility and generational succession.

Internecine politics became worse with the emergence of hereditary factions in 1575. An official in the personnel ministry, Shim Ŭigyŏm, vetoed the appointment of the scholar Kim Hyowŏn, and when Kim later became bureau chief in that ministry, he blocked the appointment of Shim's brother. Kim's supporters became known as the Easterners (*Tongin*) and Shim's followers the Westerners (*Sŏin*) because of the geographical location of their residences in Seoul. King Sŏnjo encouraged the rivalry in 1591 when he dismissed the Westerners for opposing his choice for crown prince. Then the Easterners split into the Northerners (*Pugin*) and Southerners (*Namin*) over the demand for harsh or moderate punishment of the Westerners, and their hostility clouded the judgment of the court on the eve of the Japanese invasion of 1592.

By the late fifteenth c. population growth, the division of land among heirs, and bankruptcy among the poorer smallholders led to increases in tenancy and the size of landlord estates. Even though the state gradually took over prebendal tax collection rights, it failed to maintain efficient taxation of landlords because it kept the land tax rate too low and neglected regular cadastral surveys. The local tribute tax also proved unworkable as villages that stopped producing tribute goods were forced to pay tribute contractors to remit the goods they owed the state.

The educational system of official schools suffered erosion because of the decline in the quality of the instructors, and so many prominent families hired resident tutors or established private academies. In 1543, Chu Sejong established a private academy alongside a shrine to An Hyang of Koryŏ, and in 1550, King Myŏngjong granted it a royal

charter, land, books, and slave cultivators. These academies did not function primarily as grammar schools, but they grew in number to over 600 by the eighteenth c.

The Imjin War and the Manchu Invasions 1592-1659

The system of military service also deteriorated. Private and official slaves were exempted from military service from the outset, which eliminated a third of the adult male population. The male relatives of officials and even commoners evaded service by bribing registrars, and unit commanders accepted cloth tax support payments in lieu of service. Not only did King Sŏnjo ignore Yi I's (pen name, Yulgok) suggestion in 1574 to create a 100 000-man army, but the local garrison forces were empty of troops.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi was the supreme feudal lord in Japan, having defeated all his feudal rivals after over a century of continuous warfare. Possessed of overweening arrogance, illiterate and ignorant of the wonders of Chinese culture, and heedless of diplomatic niceties, he now decided to conquer the huge Ming empire. When King Sŏnjo refused to grant his forces free passage through Korea, he despatched an initial force of over 100 000 battle-hardened mounted warriors, archers, and infantrymen equipped with Western muskets to Korea in 1592. In a few weeks they cut their way through regular Korean forces to P'yŏngyang where they camped for the winter. Only Chŏlla Province in the southwest was spared because of the naval skill of Admiral Yi Sunsin in interdicting Japanese maritime supply lines.

Although Ming dynasty forces arrived belatedly, six months after the invasion, because they suspected Korean complicity, they drove the Japanese back to Seoul but suffered a serious defeat at Pyŏkchegwan. Thereafter they played a very cautious game and signed an armistice with Japan in 1594 that lasted until 1597. The war resumed in 1597, and the Japanese now laid waste Chŏlla Province, but after the Ming army checked the Japanese advance, Hideyoshi died in 1598 and the war came to an end.

The performance of the Korean army was a complete disgrace, but magnificent actions were rendered by leading guerrilla fighters who harrassed Japanese camps and columns. Admiral Yi Sunsin, recalled from action by hostile political forces, returned to duty to win crucial engagements at sea, but he lost his life at the end of the war, a tragic end to a great and heroic performance.

The loss of life from war and starvation was enormous, and the area of registered arable land was reduced by two-thirds. The state cancelled or lowered taxes as an inducement to the reclamation of waste land, but attempts at reconstruction were offset by a new foreign challenge, the rise of Manchu tribesmen under a heroic leader, Nurhaci.

His attacks against Ming territory placed King Kwanghaegun in an awkward position because the Ming court demanded Korean reinforcements. He could not avoid Ming demands but was fearful of a Manchu invasion, so he sent his reinforcements but told his commanders to surrender as quickly as possible. The plan worked, but it angered the Westerner faction who believed that Korea owed undying loyalty to the Ming for blocking Hideyoshi.

Since the Westerners also resented the Great Northerner faction that supported Kwanghaegun, they deposed him and placed King Injo on the throne in 1623. They immediately reversed foreign policy by declaring outright support of the Ming dynasty against the uncultured and barbaric Manchus, but the defence of the northern frontier against a Manchu attack was disrupted when Yi Kwal, a dissatisfied coup leader and commander of the north-eastern frontier, rebelled and seized the capital with his troops.

Although the rebellion failed, it decimated border defences. King Injo had to keep too many

troops around the capital for political protection, but the moralistic Westerners continued to defy the Manchus. Manchu forces naturally invaded Korea in 1627 (*Chǒngmyo horan*) and pressed right down to Seoul, but fortunately they quickly offered peace terms because they were eager to transfer their forces to the Ming frontier. King Injo readily agreed to adopt a younger brother relationship with the Manchu emperor without damaging his tributary relationship to the Ming emperor.

When Injo rejected Manchu demands to hand over royal hostages and the advocates of the anti Manchu policy for punishment, Emperor Taizong of the Qing dynasty personally led an invasion (*Pyǒngja horan*) in 1637 that forced Injo's capitulation. Later, King Hyojong (r. 1649-59), who had been a hostage in Manchuria, tried to rebuild his army to attack the Manchus, but Manchu surveillance was too pervasive, especially after the Manchus ended the Ming dynasty in 1644.

Tax and economic changes in the seventeenth century.

During the Imjin War, King Sǒnjo replaced the local product tribute tax with a grain surtax on land from 1594 to 1599, and King Kwanghaegun reinstated the method for Kyǒnggi Province in 1608 and Kangwon Province in 1623, dubbing it the *taedong* (Uniform Land Tax Law) system. Despite landlord opposition to a surtax on land, it was extended piecemeal to the rest of the country by 1708. It eliminated the costs of tribute contracting, helped to convert compulsory labour service to compensated labour, made the land tax three times greater than before, and stimulated market activity.

King Injo began minting coins in 1625, after a hiatus of over a century, and Kim Yuk brought back Chinese cash in 1650 and persuaded King Hyojong to authorize private minting in 1651. Even though Hyojong suspended minting in 1657, cash was still circulating when King Sukchong resumed minting in 1678. Unable to prevent inflation, Sukchong banned minting operations in 1697, and the fear of inflation induced other kings to sustain the ban to 1730. The severe deflation that resulted hindered the growth in market activity, but commerce was stimulated by the agricultural recovery. The abandonment of the fallow system by the application of night soil, the expansion of irrigation, and the shift from broadcast seeding to transplantation allowed landlords to reap greater surpluses and use them to buy more goods on the market, which stimulated the activities of merchants. It allowed a population expansion to around fourteen million in one estimate (over sixteen million in another) by about 1750, but population cut into consumption and put a halt to growth thereafter.

Society was subjected to severe shocks during the Imjin War because the government allowed slaves to purchase freedom and wealthy men to purchase office, but the price for manumission still remained too high to permit a large-scale reduction in the slave population. In 1623, the nothoi of *yangban* by slave concubines were finally permitted to take the examinations, but slaves were subjected to a greater hardship when the state began to recruit them permanently for military service.

Since the threat of foreign invasion was removed after 1637, the pressure for increasing the size of the army decreased and military service was converted primarily to a cloth tax system. The stigma of associating with slaves in the army stimulated even greater evasion of service by commoners, shrinking the tax base for payment of the support cloth tax. By the early eighteenth c. proposals to include *yangban* in the tax were rejected in favour of reducing quota of duty soldiers and the tax rate, but it did not alleviate the burden on commoner males.

In politics, the Westerners deposed King Kwanghaegun and drove the Great Northerners into virtual oblivion; they also won a protracted battle with the Southerners over a mourning rite dispute waged between 1659 and 1694. In 1659, Song Shiyōl of the Westerners

persuaded King Hyōnjong that a lesser degree of mourning be observed for his late father, King Hyojong, because he was the second son of King Injo, despite the Southerners' insistence on a longer degree of mourning. In 1674, however, King Sukchong reversed the decision, sent Song into exile, and installed the Southerners at court.

Factional strife now became deadly and dangerous because of Sukchong's fickleness. In 1680, he reinstated Song Shiyōl and executed two Southerner leaders. After the Westerners divided into Song's Patriarch's faction and the Disciples' faction, in 1689 King Sukchong replaced the Westerners with Southerners and executed Song because he opposed the Sukchong's deposition of his second queen from the Yōhūng Min clan. Five years later in 1694, King Sukchong unexpectedly restored the Min queen, purged the Southerner leaders, and put the Disciples in power, an act that kept the Southerners out of high office for a century.

The devastation wrought by foreign invasions stimulated the emergence of a new concern among scholars over problems of statecraft. The leading figure was the recluse scholar, Yu Hyōngwōn (pen name, Pan'gye), who wrote about the problems of his age between 1650 to 1670. Deriving inspiration from the Chinese classics and histories he opposed the examination system for failing to destroy aristocracy and demanded the nationalization and redistribution of land based on ancient Chinese systems. He condemned hereditary slavery as an abomination, yet he admitted radical abolition was not possible because the *yangban* could hardly live without slave labour. Thus, he supported the matrilineal succession law of 1669 to determine the status of offspring of mixed slave/commoner marriages and the replacement of slaves with hired labour as gradual methods for reducing the slave population. In economic policy he supported the *taedong* reform because of its rationality and the introduction of currency but it was justified by precedents in both classical and contemporary China. Even though Yu's ideas were not well known until the mid-eighteenth c., they were far more important in stimulating reformist thought in the next two centuries than learning from the West.

Western science, particularly cartography, astronomy, and mathematics, and Western inventions like a telescope, sundial, clocks, and guns were brought to Korea from China after 1631, but only Jesuit views on astronomy gained acceptance. A few shipwrecked Dutchmen like Jan Janse Weltevrete and Hendrik Hamel spent years in Korean captivity, but their influence was minimal.

The eighteenth century

In an attempt to increase the population of commoner males for military service, King Yōngjo in 1730 reinstated permanently the matrilineal succession rule, which had been adopted in 1669 and rescinded twice, the last time in 1689. In 1750, he hoped to extend the military cloth tax to *yangban* households, but in the face of strong *yangban* opposition, he refrained from a direct confrontation and cut the cloth tax rate in half. Nevertheless, the measure alleviated the tax burden on the commoner peasants and bought another half century of domestic tranquillity.

Some time around 1780, there was a sudden and rapid decline of the slave population, the outside resident private slaves in particular, because of an increase in the number of runaways. Neither the slave owners nor the government had the will to pay the costs required to recapture them because it was now much cheaper to rent land to landless commoners. Since hired commoner labour had also been replacing official slaves as well, in 1801 King Sunjo manumitted most of them in the capital.

The reduction of the slave population to less than ten per cent was not matched, however, by a corresponding rise of commoners to *yangban* status. In fact, opportunities for the examinations and government service declined even for many *yangban* lineages as a

smaller number of *yangban* lineages than before proved successful.

In commerce, the ban against minting and severe deflation eventually forced the reluctant King Yǒngjo to mint more cash in 1731, but he maintained a conservative monetary policy until his death in 1776. Regular minting ensued after that date, but cash was confined to the copper penny coin, no paper money or bills of exchange were ever printed, and banks never developed.

Despite this brake on commercial expansion, private, unlicensed merchants continued to compete illegally with the licensed monopoly merchants in the capital. In 1742 Yǒngjo permitted them to do business in certain products for the first time, and in 1791 King Chǒngjo issued a 'joint sales' edict that restricted monopoly privileges to the licensed 'six shops' in the capital over the products they traditionally sold but allowed unlicensed merchants to sell any other products. This compromise between monopoly and free trade lasted without change to the end of the dynasty.

Statecraft writing by retired scholars was continued in the early eighteenth c. by men like the Southerner, Yi Ik, and the Disciple, Yu Suwǒn, but they did not always agree with Yu Hyǒngwǒn. Yi Ik preferred limiting landed property and thought the well-field model totally impractical. He opposed hereditary slavery in principle but recommended only a ban on the purchase and sale of slaves, a limit of one hundred per family, and a restriction on the number of generations that slave status could be inherited.

In the 1730s, Yu Suwǒn deplored hereditary slavery but was more interested in converting useless *yangban* into merchants, uplifting the commoner peasants, and affirming the line between them and the slaves. Although he broke the stigma against *yangban* commercial activity, he disdained unbridled competition and favoured government-licensed oligopolies of small shopkeepers and peddlers. In the late eighteenth c. scholars like Pak Chiwǒn, Pak Chega, Hong Taeyong, and Yi Tǒngmu, known as advocates of Northern Learning, wanted Korea to emulate the more advanced commercial economy of Qing China and increase trade.

Chǒng Yagyong (pen name, Tasan), who was influenced by Christianity but was sent into exile because of it for two decades after 1801, was more interested in radical land reform, communal property, and distribution based on work points in which the privileged *yangban* would be reduced to scribes and accountants. He modified this program later on, but he was not particularly concerned about the development of commerce and industry or slavery, probably because the slave population was no longer a major problem.

The rational treatment of Western Learning, particularly Christianity, changed in 1783, when Yi Sǔnghun was converted while in Beijing. In 1791 the government banned and burned Christian books and executed two Christians for destroying their ancestral tables, but the Chinese priest Zhou Wenmu entered Korea clandestinely in 1794 and helped spread the faith to several thousand believers.

Early nineteenth century

King Chǒngjo's toleration of minority factions ended with his death in 1800. The dowager queen of King Yǒngjo, supported by the *pyǒkp'a* faction, became regent for King Sunjo for four years. When in 1801 the authorities intercepted a silk letter sent secretly by the Christian, Hwang Sayǒng, to Bishop Govéa in Beijing asking for more missionaries, the Chinese annexation of Korea, and the dispatch of European troops to protect Christians from persecution, many officials were convinced that Korean Christians were the fifth column of foreign aggression. The dowager happily seized the opportunity to purge *ship'a* and Southerner officials and execute Catholic converts.

After the Catholic persecution and purge of 1801, court politics was dominated by the consort relatives of queens for the rest of the century. Their fortunes were founded by King

Sunjo's father-in-law, Kim Chosun of the Andong Kim clan, and the crown prince's father-in-law, Cho Manyong of the P'ungyang Cho clan. The Andong Kim dominated the court to 1839, the P'ungyang Cho to 1849, the Andong Kim to 1864, the P'ungyang Cho and Andong Kim until 1882, and the Yöhŭng Min clan to 1895.

The treatment of Christians also varied with the consort clan in power. Christians had to go underground to survive after 1801. Three French priests arrived between 1836 and 1837, but all were executed by a purge directed by the P'ungyang Cho in 1839, and two more in 1846, but the number of Christian converts rose to about 20 000 by 1864.

By the nineteenth c. corruption in the land tax, military support cloth, and government grain loans to the peasantry exacerbated the hardships of the peasantry. These conditions laid the groundwork for the Hong Kyöngnae rebellion in P'yöng'an Province in 1812, but Hong was also a professional geomancer who used millenarian appeals and prophetic announcements about a change of dynasty to appeal to the peasants. The rebellion of 1862 in the southern three provinces

and Hamgyöng in the northeast was much larger in scope. Its main causes were specifically land distribution and the land tax, the military cloth tax, and the rural credit system. After it was put down, King Ch'ölchong's reform attempts were blocked by conservatives.

By mid-century Korea came face to face with Western imperialism. The British had defeated the Chinese in the Opium War in 1842, and the British and French did so again between 1856 and 1860, forcing China to pay huge indemnities and sign unequal treaties. American gunboats arrived in Japan in 1854 and forced a similar treaty on her in 1858. These unequal treaties fixed import tariffs at a low rate, allowed foreign courts to judge their own people for legal violations, and set up extra-territorial areas in the ports controlled by foreign officials. Naturally, Koreans were determined to avoid contact with the West at all costs.

The Taewön'gun's reforms and policies (1864-73)

When King Ch'ölchong died without heir in 1863, Yi Haung, a member of a minor royal branch family, conspired with the P'ungyang Cho dowager-regent to select his eleven-year-old son to be the next king, Kojong. The father, now known as the Taewon'gun (grand prince), had no legal position, but he controlled policy for the next decade and carried out a major restoration program. He built a palace to elevate the prestige and power of the throne, strengthened central political authority, appointed more minority factions to office, extended the military cloth tax to the *yangban* for the first time, and reformed the grain loan system to alleviate peasant distress. In foreign policy he adamantly rejected all foreign demands for trade, but his inflationary monetary policy and investment in palace construction drained funds from the military.

Initially sympathetic to Korean Catholics, he turned against them and launched a persecution of Catholics from 1866 to 1871 that took the lives of nine French missionaries and half the 20 000 Korean Christians. In 1864, he also executed a declassé *yangban* from Kyöngju named Ch'oe Cheu who had created a new religion called Eastern Learning (*Tonghak*) to combat Western Learning (*Söhak*). The new faith was a syncretic amalgam of the Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, and animism combined even with Christian elements like an anthropomorphic Lord of Heaven and the notion that all men were equal under Heaven. The authorities, however, condemned *Tonghak* as a heterodox abomination.

In 1866, Korea suffered its first clash with Western troops on its own shores. The French Asiatic Squadron attacked Kanghwa Island in late 1866 to avenge the execution of French missionaries, and an American trading schooner, *General Sherman*, that sailed up the Taedong River to P'yöngyang was burned and its crew killed by an angry mob angered by

their arrogant behavior. In 1868, the Prussian adventurer, Ernst Oppert, tried but failed to seize the skeletal remains of the Taewon'gun's father as leverage for a trade agreement. In 1871, the Americans, after failing to induce the Chinese to mediate a treaty with Korea, sent naval gunboats to Korea to negotiate directly. Fired on by coastal batteries on Kanghwa Island, American marines attacked the defenders and killed fifty-three of them before withdrawing to teach the Taewŏngun a lesson. He learned no lesson, however, for he declared victory and denounced all those who supported foreign treaties as traitors.

Relations with Japan deteriorated in 1868 when the Japanese informed Korea that the Tokugawa feudal regime had been replaced by a new central government under the Meiji emperor, but the Taewon'gun refused to accept any changes in traditional relations or communications from any emperor but the Qing emperor. In 1873, Korea barely escaped a punitive Japanese invasion when Prime Minister Iwakura Tomomi returned from a visit to Europe to reverse a decision made by Saigō Takamori to redress Korea's insult to the Japanese emperor. Iwakura believed that Japan's main task was self-strengthening, not a costly foreign venture.

Even though the Taewŏn'gun's foreign policy was popular with conservative Confucians, his domestic policy antagonized them, particularly his taxation of the *yangban*, his ban on all but forty-seven of the chartered private academies, and his minting of the multiple-denomination 100-cash. The opposition to his domestic policies made it easy for his son to proclaim personal rule in 1874, leaving his father no choice but to withdraw.

The Kangwha Treaty to the Sino-Japanese War (1874-1895)

King Kojong's intention to revise his father's policies was stymied when at the advice of the conservatives he banned the use of Qing cash. This action only created a fiscal crisis by wiping out the monetary value of most government reserves. He then turned to a reversal of his father's foreign policy by accepting communications from the Japanese emperor on the grounds that the title of Japan's ruler was her own business, and that a profession of friendship would secure peace and permit renewal of traditional trade relations. He was unaware that the Japanese wanted to strip Korea free of Qing suzerainty and expand opportunities for trade beyond the old system.

Because the Japanese perceived that Kojong was vulnerable, they dispatched a reconnaissance vessel to the Korean coast in the hope of attracting fire from Korean coastal artillery. When a Korean shore battery obliged, Tokyo sent Kuroda Kiyotaka with a contingent of troops to Kanghwa Island in February 1876, and he intimidated King Kojong into signing the Kanghwa Treaty that opened Korea to trade and diplomacy despite the strong conservative opposition against it.

The Japanese were able to include a statement in the treaty that Korea was a self-governing country, but neither the Koreans nor the Chinese thought that it interfered with Qing suzerainty. The treaty provided for the opening of two additional ports, extraterritorial rights, and Japanese consular jurisdiction in the treaty ports, but other matters like a permanent ambassador in Seoul, a most-favoured-nation clause, or a limited import tariff, were set aside.

The two ports of Wŏnsan and Inch'ŏn were opened in 1880 and 1882, respectively, and the Japanese began trade in Pusan immediately, replaced inferior Korean with Japanese coins, and established a branch of the Daichi National Bank to finance trade. Since Japanese manufactures were not well developed, Japanese imports consisted mainly of British textiles traded for Korean rice, gold, ginseng, ox hides, dried fish, seaweed, medicines, and cotton homespun.

After 1879, Li Hongzhang, the Chinese official in charge of Qing relations with Korea, and

Huang Zunxian, the Qin minister to Japan, advised the Korean court to conclude more treaties with the United States and other European nations to block Japanese aggression, but their main goal was to preserve China's suzerainty. King Kojong sent technical trainees to the Chinese arsenal in Tianjin, and a secret mission called to Japan to inspect industrial facilities in 1881, but both missions proved dismal failures. He also hired a Japanese army lieutenant to train a new military unit in the capital, but this initial spurt of reform was checked by an abortive plot in 1881 to depose him in favour of the Taewŏn'gun's illegitimate son, and an abortive coup d'état in 1882.

King Kojong took Chinese advice to sign a treaty with the United States on 22 May 1882, the Shufeldt Convention, but he was so fearful of domestic opposition that he allowed Li Hongzhang to negotiate the terms with Commodore Shufeldt in China. Li then sent two of his deputies to Korea with Shufeldt for the signing ceremony. Shufeldt rejected Li's attempt to include a statement confirming Korea's dependence on China, but King Kojong sent a separate letter to that effect to the American president. Under the treaty the United States offered her good offices but no military support to defend Korea's independence. It included the standard terms of unequal treaties and set the import tariff at ten percent ad valorem on common items. Later that year, the British reduced the lowest import tariff rate to five percent, and that rate held for other treaties signed with Germany, France, and Russia.

The reaction to King Kojong's program broke out with a vengeance in July 1882, when soldiers of the old regiments rioted, killed officials like Min Kyŏmho and the Taewŏn'gun's brother, Yi Ch'oeŭng, and tried but failed to assassinate the queen. They then drove Japanese Ambassador Hanabusa Yoshimoto (1842-1917) and his entourage to the coast and out of the country. Kojong was forced to install the Taewŏn'gun as a formal head of state, and he immediately dismissed the queen's relatives and reversed Kojong's reforms, but the Qing government was not about to allow the Taewŏn'gun to bring on a Japanese invasion of Korea. Li Hongzhang sent troops to Korea to suppress the rebels and kidnap the Taewŏn'gun, and he kept him under confinement in China for three years. Li also pressured Kojong to pay an indemnity to Japan and allow the Japanese to station a battalion of troops in the capital. Li succeeded in preserving the political status quo by returning the king, the queen, and her relatives to power, but his interference in Korea's domestic politics looked more like Western imperialism than the tributary system. That same year Li also dictated a set of trade regulations with restraints similar to the Western unequal treaties imposed on China.

Kim Okkyun and other officials who travelled to Japan after 1881 contacted Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1910), Japan's leading proponent of Westernization, and returned to Korea inspired by Japan's self-strengthening program. But they soon found that the Min clan was suspicious of them and too uninspired an advocate of reform. Fearful of arrest and execution, they decided to launch a coup d'état with the only military support available - the Japanese legation guard.

In 1884, Ambassador Takezoe Shinichiro (1841-1917), without benefit of approval from the Tokyo government, used his guards to help Kim's group seize the palace and murder a half dozen high officials. Kim was only able to hold power for three days because the Qing military adviser, Yuan Shikai, mobilized Chinese and Korean troops and drove the junta and the Japanese out of the capital and the country. The Chinese again saved the king, queen, and her relatives, and forced Kojong to pay an indemnity even though Takezoe was guilty of assisting treason.

To prevent another such incident from inciting a full-scale war, Li Hongzhang met with Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909), a leading Japanese oligarch, in 1885 to sign the Tientsin Convention, which called for the removal of all but a small legation guard on both sides. Unfortunately, there was a loophole in the agreement that would prove fatal, because it

provided that if either party sent more troops to Korea in the future, the other party would automatically have the right to send a force of equal size.

In late 1885, Li Hongzhang appointed Yuan Shikai the Chinese resident minister to Korea, and for the next decade Yuan dominated Korean affairs and prevented any attempt at an independent policy. Li also returned the Taewŏn'gun to Korea to counter the Min clan, but the queen had already removed most of his supporters. When the British seized Komun Island off the Korean coast as a warning to Russian adventurism in 1885, Yuan persuaded the Koreans to tone down their protest. In 1886, Yuan obtained the banishment of the officials who wanted to hire Russian military instructors, and he tried but failed to persuade Li to depose the king in favour of the Taewŏn'gun's favourite grandson, Yi Chungyong.

He stymied Kojong's attempts to obtain American military instructors, investment, and loans, blocked efforts to expand American missionary education, forced the recall of the Korean ambassador to the United States in 1887, did likewise with the Korean minister to Japan and stopped the dispatch of a mission to Europe in 1890. He forced Kojong to pay an indemnity to Japanese merchants for imposing a blockade of bean exports during a famine in 1887, and he banned the use of customs revenue as collateral for foreign loans and stopped providing Chinese loans after 1885. He did, however, help Chinese merchants increase their volume of trade in Korea almost to the same level as the Japanese. The Japanese, meanwhile, kept a low posture and did not challenge Chinese hegemony.

Li Hongzhang's strategy to keep Korea in the Chinese tributary orbit came to an end in 1894. Followers of the *Tonghak* religion emerged from hiding in 1893 to campaign for toleration for their religion, and their spiritual leader, Ch'oe Shihyŏng, developed a powerful local organizational system. At the same time Chŏn Pongjun, a local Confucian *yangban* with military experience from Kobu, Cholla Province, began planning a peasant uprising. He only had marginal sympathy with *Tonghak* beliefs, but he spent two years as the Taewŏn'gun's aide and appears to have conspired with him to overthrow the Min oligarchy. Peasant poverty, unfair taxation, local government corruption, and *Tonghak* persecution provided tinder for the rebellion, and a local official's demand for a water tax in Kobu provided the spark for a full-scale rebellion that combined *Tonghak* believers with peasant malcontents. The rebellion was neither directed primarily against the landlord class nor designed to obtain an Utopian redistribution of land. Rebel manifestoes expressed admiration for the sage emperors of Chinese antiquity, loyalty to the dynasty, disdain for the breakdown of moral order, the poverty of the peasants, and the increase in foreign debt. They also complained about deficiencies in the *taedong* system, government grain loans, the military cloth tax, and the registration of taxable land - just like 1862 rebellion!

Government forces sent down to quell the rebellion eventually negotiated a settlement that tolerated the existence of the *Tonghak* religion and its local organization, but the government had panicked and foolishly requested the dispatch of troops from China. At the same time it lured Kim Okkyun from Japan to Shanghai and had him assassinated, but failed in a similar attempt against Kim's associate, Pak Yŏnghyo, in Tokyo. Japanese warhawks under Yamagata Aritomo forced a decision in July 1894 to send a large military force to Korea with orders to foment a war to remove Chinese suzerainty once and for all, and Japan declared war soon thereafter.

The Japanese surrounded the palace and asked the Taewŏn'gun to head a reform government, but he proved a reluctant ally and seemed to be acting in collusion with the *Tonghak* when they resumed their rebellion in September to resist the Japanese occupation. A contingent of 6 000 Japanese troops with modern weapons participated in the battle at Kongju that brought the rebellion to an end. Inoue Kaoru, the Japanese home minister sent to Korea to run affairs, removed the Taewŏn'gun, established a cabinet under Kim Hongjip, and recalled Pak Yŏnghyo from Japan in December to be minister of education. This cabinet passed the first of the radical *kabo* reforms (*Kabo Kyŏngjang*) in July 1894,

but most of the reforms were adopted from May to July 1895, thanks to Pak Yanghyo, the power behind the Pak Changyang cabinet.

These reforms revised local government, the police, and the army, put the cabinet in charge of finance and removed the king and queen from government affairs, abolished the civil service examination system and slavery, lifted the ban against the remarriage of widows, and ordered adult males to cut off their topknots and adopt Western-style haircuts. Pak, however, antagonized Inoue by opposing his efforts to gain control over railroad and telegraph rights. When in June 1895, his plan to use his new Military Training Unit to seize power, depose the king, and assassinate the queen leaked, he barely made good his escape to another exile in Japan and the United States.

After the Sino-Japanese War came to an end in April 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki terminated the tributary system and made Korea nominally independent. Japan won the island of Taiwan and control over the Liaodong peninsula and railroad rights in Manchuria, but a week later she was forced by Russia, France, and Germany to give up her gains in Manchuria. This Triple Intervention later forced her to withdraw her direct involvement in Korea.

In Korea, Miura Gorō as minister to Korea took over from Inoue. With the acquiescence of the Taewŏn'gun, he led a group of Japanese gangsters, police, and Korean soldiers to the palace, murdered the queen and burned her body on the palace grounds. He then forced the king to appoint a new pro-Japanese cabinet and all Korean males to cut off their traditional topknots as a symbol of modernization.

Russian hegemony to the Russo-Japanese War (1896-1905)

In 1896, King Kojong was able to escape to the Legation and dismiss his cabinet. An angry crowd bludgeoned Prime Minister Kim Hongjip and two other cabinet officials to death in the streets, and the new conservative cabinet reversed some of the *kabo* reforms, but not the abolition of slavery and the examination system. The Japanese, however, recalled most of their troops and conceded Russian hegemony in military advisers and loans to the Korean government in return for concessions. It was ironic that King Kojong chose this time, in 1897, to change the name of the country to the Great Han Empire (*Taehan cheguk*) and proclaim himself emperor.

At least the Japanese withdrawal allowed some young idealists to organize a Korean independence movement. Sŏ Chaep'il (*Philip Jaisohn*) and Yun Ch'ihŏ who had spent much time in the United States established the Independence Club in 1896. They held public meetings to demand independence, criticize current officials for selling out national resources to foreigners, and discuss the need for a participatory assembly or council. Their protest in 1898 over the Russian-Japanese negotiations for a possible division of the Korean peninsula and the arrogant demands of the Russian ambassador, Alexis de Speyer, for a coaling station, probably influenced Emperor Kojong to demand and obtain his recall, but Kojong only succeeded because the Russians had always been far more interested in Manchuria.

Kojong accepted the Club's demands for a privy council and agreed to appoint half its members from the Club, but he balked at removing conservative cabinet members and feared the Club wanted to replace the monarchy with a constitutional republic. He then ordered the arrest of the Club's leaders in November 1898, putting an end to the first attempt at independent, extra-bureaucratic political participation.

Soon thereafter, meagre attempts at reform were overwhelmed by Russian and Japanese rivalry. When the Russians rejected a Japanese proposal to acknowledge Japan's exclusive sphere of influence over Korea for one over Manchuria, Yamagata Aritomo pushed the

Japanese government to negotiate the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. By obtaining Great Britain's promise to assist Japan if any other nation assisted Russia in a future conflict, the Japanese stripped Russia of her former allies, France and Germany. Japan then attacked Russian forces in February 1904, sent its armies to occupy Korea, sank Russia's Baltic fleet, and pushed Russian forces back, but fearing defeat in a protracted war, she happily accepted Theodore Roosevelt's mediation and signed the Portsmouth Treaty in 1905 to end the war. Japan now obtained Russian recognition of paramount interests in Korea and Manchuria.

From protectorate to annexation (1905-10)

During the war Japan posted advisers to the Korean ministries of foreign affairs and finance, required approval of all Korean agreements with foreign countries, and reduced the Korean army to 8 214 men. She gained U.S. acquiescence to Japanese control in the Taft-Katsura agreement of 1895, in return for a disavowal of Japanese interest in the Philippines, and British acquiescence in the renewal of her treaty with Japan. Itō then established a Japanese protectorate over Korea against Kojong's will simply by declaring a majority cabinet vote in its favour even when no such vote had been taken. No one noticed Korean mass demonstration in the streets and the protest suicides of two high Korean officials, for all foreign ambassadors obligingly left Korea without protest.

Some Korean nationalists still sought a way to preserve Korean independence. Son Pyōnghūi, an ex-Tonghak leader, took refuge in Japan in 1901, became a convert to Westernization, and organized a Progressive Society in September 1904, that grew to over 100 000 members. Korean government persecution forced him to ally his society with the pro-Japanese Unity and Progress Society (Ilchinhoe), but his group split when the latter declared its support for the Japanese protectorate in 1905. He then gave up politics and organized the Religion of the Heavenly Way (Ch'ōndogyo) that perpetuated *Tonghak* doctrine.

The Unity and Progress Society was founded in 1905 by Song Pyōngjun, a businessman in Japan for ten years. During the war it mobilized Koreans as baggage carriers for Japanese forces and established connections with Uchida Ryōhei, an advocate of a Japanese-led, anti-Western alliance of Asian nations. Uchida got Song appointed home minister in 1907, where he was able to obstruct nationalist associations like the Great Korea Association under Yun Ch'iho and Namgung Ōk.

Itō Hirobumi, meanwhile, had returned to Korea as the first resident-general early in 1906. When he disbanded the regular Korean army in 1907, many Korean officers took to the countryside to lead a guerilla struggle of peasants that lasted for four years. The same year Emperor Kojong sent secret envoys to the meetings of the world peace conference at the Hague in 1907 to plead Korea's case for independence, but the plea fell on deaf ears. Itō responded by forcing Kojong to abdicate to his son, but he paid the price for his machinations when he was assassinated by the Korean patriot, An Chunggūn in Harbin in 1909 .

Itō's death brought to an end his plan to create a figurehead Korean regime, for Yamagata forced through the act of annexation in 1910. Those Korean officials Son Pyōngjun and Prime Minister Yi Wanyong, who aspired to leadership of a pro-Japanese Korean government, watched their political ambitions go up in smoke because the new colonial Government-general of Chōsen under General Terauchi Masatake stripped all Koreans of rights and opportunities for political participation. Korea then entered a humiliating period of thirty-five years of colonial subjugation.

J.Palais

Colonial Period, 1910-1945

Annexation and Administration

There was scant substance to the notion of Western supremacy in East Asia, but this myth nevertheless nourished Meiji Japan's ambition to offset Western power in the west Pacific and act as 'guardian' of East Asia's integrity. Accordingly, Japan became an imperial power whose chief colonial energies between 1890 and 1942 were directed to Formosa, Korea, and Manchuria. This larger and grander mission aside, a militarily restive and economically energetic Japan envisaged definite strategic and commercial benefits in so enlarging its political territory. These intended benefits largely determined the nature of Japan's colonial policies in Korea between 1910 and 1945.

The formal annexation of Korea on 22 August 1910 was almost universally hailed in Japan as a great achievement, and despite treaty clauses which Koreans believed obligated the United States of America to come to its assistance, no Western power expressed any opposition to the move. The Japanese armed forces were thus given a free hand in crushing the vigorous guerrilla resistance of the Korean 'Righteous Armies' (*ūibyōng*) and in implementing colonial rule through the Government-General of Chōsen.

To a great many Koreans, however, the annexation was a humiliation and it is often referred to as the 'national shame' (*kukch'i*). The ensuing thirty-six years up to liberation from Japan in August 1945 were fraught with tension between Japanese colonial objectives and Korean nationalist and nationalist/socialist aspirations for autonomy. At the same time, tremendous change occurred in the social, economic and cultural lives of the Korean people, change which was associated with industrial developments, the introduction of 'modern' ideas and practices, and the breakdown of the traditional institutions centred on the *yangban* (ruling class). Besides the question of nationalism, therefore, this period was a time of accelerating change that affected increasing numbers of Koreans in more and more detail. It is possible that these changes prompted Koreans to think about their culture and national position as much as the fact of Japanese colonial rule itself.

Japanese Colonial Policy

Quite apart from the guerrilla campaigns and other forms of opposition to the annexation, Japan's objectives on the Korean peninsula were greatly frustrated by the adoption of an assimilation policy, that is, by the assumptions on which the policy was based, and by the inconsistent nature of its application. In summing up the official rationale of the assimilation policy, General Terauchi Masatake, the first Governor-General, disingenuously said, "It is a natural and inevitable course of things that two peoples whose ... interests are identical, and who are bound together with brotherly feelings, should amalgamate and form one body." Dissenting voices among a few Japanese scholars and politicians over this egregious assumption were ignored, and despite the magnitude of the March First Uprising in 1919, which created a period of diplomatic embarrassment and administrative panic, assimilation remained the guiding principle throughout Japan's rule of Korea.

Logically, the assimilative principle ought to have involved the absorption of Korea into Japanese political structures and rights. This inconvenience had been circumvented in 1910 by recourse to the argument that 'when the [Meiji] Constitution was written, it did not anticipate the annexation of Korea.' In 1920, spurred by the March First demonstrations, Premier Hara Kei conceded that, "Korea and Japan proper forming equally integral parts of the same empire, *no distinction in principle* should be made between them, and it is the *ultimate purpose* of the Japanese government in due course to treat Korea as in all respects on the same footing with Japan proper." However, at no point did this principle ever threaten the actual distinction that was embodied in the separation of the Japanese Diet from the Government-General of Chōsen and the independent, almost unlimited power of the latter in Korea.

The structure of the Government-General was essentially a continuation of that of the Residency-General of 1905-1910. The Governor-General, who was also commander-in-chief of the army and navy forces in Korea, enjoyed direct authority over the Secretariat, five departments, and seventeen affiliated offices of the Government-General. In accordance with the emphasis on direct control, local administration was also highly centralised so that it was efficient as a directive organ but ineffective as a means of assimilation. Local administration was divided into 13 Provinces, 12 Prefectures, 317 District Magistracies, and 4 322 Townships, the latter being reduced to 2 504 after 1919. Provincial governors, prefect chiefs and district heads were all appointed directly by the Governor-General.

Following reconsideration of colonial practice occasioned by the 1919 uprisings, the Government-General underwent its most extensive structural modifications of the colonial period. Designed to soften Korean opposition, the chief changes were replacement of military with civilian leadership, absorption of the military police into the ordinary police force, inclusion of an Education Bureau under the Secretariat, relaxation of school regulations, and granting permission for the publishing of vernacular newspapers and journals. However, attempts to broaden Korean political participation were shallow and half-hearted. For example, a scheme by Premier Katō to involve Koreans in the central administration in June 1924 was simply abandoned upon the discovery of a Korean Communist Party in Seoul in 1925.

In local government, the limited decentralisation that occurred in 1919 and 1920 related mainly to police matters, but it also heralded the only avenue to political involvement of a representative nature the Koreans were ever to obtain under colonial rule. In November 1920, elections were held for membership in new advisory councils at provincial and municipal levels. As the electoral system was quite new to Koreans, however, elections were held only in specially-selected places, and since the governors reserved the right to appoint council members, elected candidates remained few. In 1930 and again in 1933, the franchise criteria were broadened but remained financially very restrictive, and candidates were vulnerable to Government-General veto. Hence, while legally Koreans were given a voice in some local matters such as education, they were subject to administrative exclusion by decree of the Japanese colonial apparatus. By the 1920s, Japan had installed a bureaucracy of some 17 000 administrators over a population of less than 20 million Koreans.

With political participation out of the question, the Japanese implemented educational policies that were designed to bring about cultural and social assimilation. However, education was not a universal obligation during this period, and the failure of the Japanese colonial education system to transform any significant number of Koreans into loyal citizens of the empire (perhaps 18 per cent of Koreans were fluent in Japanese by 1945) was attended by a correspondingly heavy reliance on the arms of the law. The judiciary was not independent of the Government-General. Unlike for Japanese, there was no jury system for Koreans, and the supreme and all high courts were presided over by Japanese judges throughout this period. The implementation of the law was not generally a great deal harsher than had been the case before 1910 (flogging was abolished as a form of punishment in 1920), but the military and civilian police were plentiful, intrusive, and feared. It has been observed that colonial Korea was one of the most highly policed countries in the world, with one police officer, military or civil, for every four hundred Koreans. Moreover, the percentage of convictions per case was extremely high, averaging 96.8 per cent per year between 1910 and 1923. Yet it was the discriminatory nature of the law that caused most discontent. For the Japanese, one criminal code applied, for the Koreans another, and the greater severity of the latter confirmed in the minds of Koreans conscious of legal systems elsewhere, their belief that Japan was impeding Korea's social advancement.

The rule of the Government-General was thus characterised by efficiency on the one hand and a damaging discrimination on the other. As Governors-General Saitō and Ugaki discovered to their distress, the economic and social interests of the Japanese settlers in Korea and the ambitions of the armed forces were inimical to efforts to implement any real assimilation of the Korean populace. Discouraged by the recalcitrance of the Japanese settlers and alarmed at the Kwangtung Army's fanaticism under General Minami Jirō, Ugaki in 1936 asked in vain to be permitted to resign. Yet apart from a moment of uncertainty in 1919, Japan at no time allowed its rule over Korea to be seriously threatened in any material way by sustained Korean opposition. From the mid-1930s, Japan tightened its hold over the nation even more, a hold it only relinquished when forced to do so by its defeat at the close of World War II.

Independence Activities

Quite apart from the inner contradictions of Japan's colonial theory, it was opposition from the Koreans themselves that represented the most formidable obstacles to the assimilation policy. A people possessing the intellectual, religious, artistic and historical heritage of a proud civilisation were not inclined to submit to colonial rule that was predicated on a supposed Korean cultural inferiority. Thus Japanese imperialism stimulated the growth of national consciousness among Koreans, and to a considerable degree the nature, direction and strength of Korean nationalism in the twentieth c. has been determined by its struggle to regain independence from Japan.

Opposition to Japanese encroachments on Korea's sovereignty had begun as early as the 1890s, particularly after alleged Japanese complicity in the infamous assassination of the Korean Queen Min on 8 October 1895. This opposition was expressed in a number of ways, but chiefly through the campaigns of the 1896-1898 Independence Club (Tongnip Hyōphoe) led by reformers such as Sō Chaep'il (1866-1951) and Yun Ch'ihō (1865-1945), and the armed resistance of the Righteous Armies (*ūibyōng*) under the leadership of the old guard of Korean Confucianism represented by Ch'oe Ikhyōn (1833-1906). The former became the inspiration of a number of pro-independence cultural and reformist movements that are often referred to collectively as 'independence enlightenment' movements. The latter continued a vigorous but extremely costly guerrilla resistance until this became impracticable in about 1913, after which armed resistance became focused around a number of expatriate communities across Korea's northern borders in North China, Manchuria and the Russian Maritime Provinces. Both major streams of the independence movement continued in various forms throughout the colonial period, and at times maintained reasonably close communications with each other.

The March First Movement

The greatest and most united concrete expression of the will for national independence was the 1919 March First Movement, in which more than a million Koreans participated, over a period of three months or so. This initially peaceful national uprising was conceived and organised chiefly by two religious traditions that had taken hold in Korea and had been competing with each other for the religious allegiance of the people: Ch'ōndogyo, or the Religion of the Heavenly Way, and Protestant Christianity. If their co-operation was thus conspiratorial, it was also a symbol of the unprecedented unity of the movement that cut across boundaries of age, sex, education and social status, in addition to religion.

The March First Movement grew out of a rising determination among Koreans during the first decade of harsh military rule, a decade referred to as the Dark Ages, to make a stand for their country's political and cultural independence. This determination had been reinforced among the Protestants by hostile actions against their membership by the

Government-General that began with the 1912 Case of the One Hundred Five (*paegoin sakkŏn*), in which Yun Ch'ihŏ and large numbers of leading Protestants were arrested and tried on trumped up charges of plotting to assassinate Governor-General Terauchi Masatake, and continued with close police surveillance of their churches and attempts to force closure of their schools. The indigenous Ch'ŏndogyo religion, formed by Son Pyŏnghŭi (1861-1921) in 1904, was the successor to the late nineteenth-c. Tonghak movement which had already clashed with Japanese forces during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895.

The March First Movement had its origins in the doctrine of the self-determination of nations espoused by the American President Woodrow Wilson at the conclusion of World War I. The movement was preceded, in fact, by the February Eighth Movement in Tokyo, which was organised by Korean students in Japan under the leadership of Yi Kwangsu (1892-?). These students composed a Declaration of Independence that directly appealed to the national self-determination principle and which became the forerunner of the March First Declaration of Independence written some weeks later in Korea by Ch'oe Namsŏn (1890-1957).

The date chosen for the movement was the day on which the Korean people from all over the nation had been permitted to travel to Seoul to pay their last respects to the recently deceased Korean Emperor Kojong (r. 1863-1907). The March First Movement itself commenced with a reading of the Declaration of Independence by the thirty-three signatories in the Myŏngwŏl restaurant in Seoul, followed by a reading before the large crowd that had gathered in Pagoda Park nearby. The crowd broke into chants of, "Long live Korean independence!" and crowded the streets for the beginning of one of the largest mass-movements in the twentieth c.

The movement was both planned and spontaneous. Readings of the Declaration had been scheduled for the same day in other provincial cities and the Protestant and Ch'ŏndogyo networks had been used to good effect. However the response of the public exceeded the expectations of even the most sanguine patriot. Within days the movement had spread to the entire country and was sustained for a full three months despite a chillingly brutal response by the colonial regime. After the demonstrations were finally quelled, the movement continued to inspire the creation of myriad independence organisations; the Japanese police reported up to 3 000 such organisations in 1921. Although this movement failed in its fundamental aim, the March First Movement remains at the zenith of the Korean nationalist movement.

The Korean Diaspora

The helplessness of the Koreans in the face of Japan's military and political might in spite of the proportions of the March First Movement compelled Koreans abroad to engage in comprehensive preparations for independent statehood, although nationalist activities had begun well before the 1919 movement. Korean émigré communities were centred in Shanghai, in North and West Chientao and other parts of Manchuria, and in California and Hawaii, besides Japan itself. The populations of these communities expanded from the early 1910s for a number of reasons, including economic exigency and nationalist ambitions, and the largest, reaching around 560 000 in the early 1920s, was the group of Korean settlements across the northern border in Manchuria. In the main, nationalist leaders in North China and Manchuria trained Koreans for military offensives against Japan, those in Japan turned to educational and ideological preparations, while those in North America and to some extent Shanghai concentrated on diplomatic efforts and supported 'enlightenment' movements, meaning training in the economic, educational and political foundations of independent nationhood.

(a) North America

Activities in the United States centred on An Ch'angho (1878-1938), a former member of the P'yöngyang branch of the Independence Club, who had originally travelled to California for study but by 1909 had focused his talents on organising the Koreans in the San Francisco area. He established the Hüngsadan (Society for the Fostering of Activists), which was later organised in Korea as the Tonguhoe by Yi Kwangsu in 1923. An also founded the nationalist newspaper, the *Kongnip shinbo*, that later was renamed the *Shinhan minbo*. This news outlet carried on the traditions of the *Tongnip shinmun* (The Independent), the publication of the Independence Club, and featured articles that called for patriotism and reform of lifestyles, beliefs and ethics.

Another major Korean organisation in North America was the Korean National Association, which was led by another former Independence Club activist, Syngman Rhee (Yi Süngman, 1875-1965), who had fled to America in 1912. Rhee's efforts were exerted at not the Korean residents of the United States, but instead at those in the ruling circles of the Western governments, aiming to secure support from politicians and governments in North America and Europe, and from the League of Nations, for Korea's independence. A Korean National Association was formed inside Korea, and Rhee's influence was further extended by his election to the presidency of the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai in 1919. Rhee, however, chose to remain in the United States until after liberation in 1945.

(b) China, Manchuria and Siberia

As an international trading port endowed with a number of areas reserved for European diplomatic and trading headquarters known as the 'Foreign Concessions,' Shanghai was from early on a haven for pro-independence Koreans, who benefited from both its advantages for communications and the shelter from Japanese police afforded by the concessions. The Confucian reformer and patriot Pak Ünshik (1859-1926) based himself in Shanghai from the 1910s, and there wrote his history of Korea, a counter to Japanese propaganda, and later his account of the March First Movement. After this movement, the Korean Provisional Government (*Taehan Min'guk Imshi Chöngbu*) was established in Shanghai, and for some time the city became a focal point of independence activity for Koreans at home and abroad, and a point of intersection for a number of the more important groups that arose or reorganised in its aftermath.

Leadership of the New Korea Youth Association (Shin Han Ch'öngnyön Tang), founded by Chang Töksu (1895-1947) before the March First Movement, was taken over by Kim Kyushik (1881-1950), the Korean delegate to the Paris Peace Conference at the end of World War II, after Chang returned to Korea to found the nationalist *Tonga ilbo* newspaper and spearhead the cultural movement. Upon election to the Provisional Government, An Ch'angho moved from San Francisco to Shanghai where he attempted to apply his Hüngsadan principles as a cabinet minister. An was joined by Yi Kwangsu, composer of the Declaration of Independence in Tokyo, who subsequently returned to Korea to further the Hüngsadan's work on the peninsula itself. Yi Tonghwi (1873-1935), a guerrilla leader and early socialist who had been active in Manchuria, moved his headquarters to Shanghai for a time upon being elected Premier of the Provisional Government in 1919. Kim Ku (1876-1949), a radical nationalist, Premier of the Provisional Government in 1926, member of the guerrilla Uiyöldan (Righteous Fighters' Corps), and founder of the Hanin Aegukdan (Korean Patriotic Corps) in 1931, based his many undertakings in Shanghai throughout almost the entire colonial period. Finally, Shanghai was the venue for the Kungmin Taep'yohoe (Korean Delegates' Conference) organised by An Ch'angho in concert with such major nationalist figures as Shin Ch'aeho (1830-1936), Yö Unhyöng (1885-1947), Kim Kyushik, and Shin Kyusik (1880-1922).

Because of its proximity to the northern Korean border and the large number of rural

Koreans who migrated there in search of land and a living, Manchuria, and particularly North and West Jiandao, became natural havens for guerrilla activities. It was not until after 1919, however, that attempts were made to co-ordinate the various guerrilla forces for large offensives against the Japanese, and even then the enterprise was fraught with difficulties in sustaining communications, supply systems, and unity among the diverse bands scattered over the rugged terrain. However a few co-ordinated raids that cost the Japanese significant casualties in 1920 incurred fierce Japanese reprisals and a 'mopping-up' operation late in 1920 known as the Hunch'un Incident. The Provisional Government claimed that some 3 500 Koreans were killed, and over 3 000 homes, 36 schools and 14 Christian churches laid waste during this operation.

The Hunch'un Incident also marked the onset of Chinese-Japanese co-operation against Korean guerrillas. The Mitsuya Agreement signed by Zhang Zuolin for China in June 1925 severely restricted the freedom of Korean groups in West Jiandao who for geographical reasons had escaped the brunt of the Japanese counter-offensive. As Japan established itself in Manchuria from 1929, some Korean guerrilla leaders capitulated to the lure of Japan's 'Kyōwa Kai' (Harmony Society). Sabotage and assassination activities by Kim Ku's Korean Patriotic Corps in the early 1930s reinvigorated the guerrilla movement for a time and even attracted financial support from Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang in 1934. However, increasing communist influence split the movement and worried the Chinese nationalists, and in 1935 the Ho-Umetzu Agreement was signed to terminate Guomindang support of Korean revolutionaries. Upon the outbreak of war between Japan and China in July 1937, Korean guerrilla forces linked themselves more positively to Chinese nationalist and communist forces, and to the Soviet Far Eastern forces based in Siberia.

(c) Japan

Tokyo, from the last decades of the nineteenth through the early decades of the twentieth centuries, attracted nationalist and reformist leaders from around Asia and particularly from China and Korea. As such it served as a meeting ground for young activists from the East Asian nations and a source of 'progressive' ideas. Korean students who sailed to Japan from the 1880s to 1920s were mostly from the cream of Korean society and intelligentsia, but at least from 1908 included members of the newly rising group, such as Cho Manshik (1882-?) and Chang Tōksu, who had gained access to 'new' education through the Protestant missionary schools. In October 1912, the first Korean student association was founded in Tokyo, and in a comparatively short period these groups became widespread. Enjoying relative freedom of speech in Japan, Koreans debated the issue of Korea's independence quite openly, and the venue for the debates was usually the Korean YMCA building in each locality.

The latter 1910s and the 1920s were the period of 'Taishō democracy' in Japan, and Korean students drew theoretical and moral support from a number of influential Japanese intellectuals during this time. But the chief inspiration for the young Koreans in Japan up to 1919 came from the pen of the brilliant Yi Kwangsu, who advocated a thorough revitalisation of Korean culture. It was mainly through the efforts of Yi and his colleagues that a line of communications was set up between Korean nationalists in North America, Japan, Korea, and Shanghai at the end of World War I to plan and co-ordinate a response to Woodrow Wilson's principle of national self-determination. Yi himself travelled extensively between Japan, North China, Manchuria, and Korea before and after the February Eighth Tokyo and March First Declarations of Independence.

From 1922, many Koreans in Japan turned to socialist and communist ideologies, which they disseminated in Korea upon their return from their studies. Among the left-wing organisations operated by Koreans in Japan were the North Wind Society (Pukp'ung Hoe) and the January Society (Ilwöl Hoe). As the number of Koreans migrating to the Osaka, Nagoya and elsewhere in Japan to work for Japanese enterprises as low-wage labourers

exceeded 300 000 by the early 1930s, left-wing activities among Koreans increased. The impact on Korea of the Korean communist movement in Japan during the colonial period was at least as great as that of its counterpart in Manchuria and North China, and with a greater ideological content.

The Cultural Movement

It is common, but not altogether accurate, to contrast the culturalist movement inside Korea with the military movements across the northern border. Many of the leaders of the two streams, such as Chang Töksu in Seoul (after 1919) and Yi Tonghwi in Shanghai and Manchuria, maintained cordial relations and viewed their respective activities as complementary means to the same end of Korean independence. To some degree the difference in method was a matter of practicality, that is, a matter of what was feasible or productive inside Korea under the Government-General and what was possible abroad. The limited reforms introduced by the Government-General in response to the March First Movement offered greater freedoms in press and education and to some extent in economic ventures as well.

A central tenet of the culturalist movement was that under the circumstances then prevailing overt political opposition to the Government-General would be counter-productive. Therefore, the most practical action Koreans could take at that point was to equip themselves with the qualities and skills necessary for independence, so that when a genuine opportunity presented itself they could both gain freedom and retain it securely thereafter. The prime foci of their campaigns in the 1920s and 1930s were education, in both Western knowledge and Korea's literary and historical heritage, and economic self-strengthening. A notable feature of this movement was the prominence and energy of women, led by Kim Hwallan (1899-1970), Esther Hwang, Im Songshin, Pak Indök and others, who strove to improve women's education, health, and economic and social status.

There were five main agents of the culturalist movement in Korea. First was the *Tonga ilbo* newspaper edited by Chang Töksu from 1920, which published works of Korean literature, articles informing the people of new economic methods, and news of cultural, economic and even political activities in Korea and abroad. The second was the movement to establish a national university, which was somewhat successful with the establishment of Keijo (Seoul) Imperial University in the mid-1920s. Third was Cho Manshik's Korean Products Promotion Campaign (Chosön Mulsan Changnyöhoe) of 1923-1924, and the fourth was the Tonguhoe, the Korean branch of An Ch'angho's Hüngsadan that Yi Kwangsu founded in Seoul in 1923. Finally, there was the Hüngöp Kurapu, or Society for Industrial Development, led by Yun Ch'ihö. Although these actions were severely hampered by the Government-General and all forced to cease activities by 1938, they contributed to the level of literacy and knowledge among Koreans, increased their experience in practical economics and administration, and promoted development and awareness of Korea's literary and other cultural heritages.

The Socialist and Communist Movements

Various forms of left-wing ideology, from democratic and ethical socialism to Marxist-Leninism, swept the Korean peninsula in the early 1920s. Interest in socialism developed partly from the failure of the democratic nations and the League of Nations to consider Korea's case in the Paris Peace Conference and later, from Washington and Pacific conferences. Whereas the culturalists advocated waiting for the right opportunity, the socialists and communists urged a creating of opportunity and thus favoured direct political methods. But whatever particular form of leftist thought was adhered to, Korean socialists and communists were motivated primarily by the nationalistic objective of ridding Korea of Japanese rule.

The first socialist party, the Korean Socialist Party (Chosŏn Sahoe Tang), was founded by Yi Tonghwi in Khabarovsk in June 1918. In April 1919 he moved its headquarters to Valdivostok and reorganised it as the Koryŏ Communist Party (Koryŏ Kongsan Tang). In May the Party was based in Shanghai, at which point Yŏ Unhyŏng completed his Korean translation of the Communist Manifesto. However in September 1919, the Korean section of the Irkutsk Communist Party was promoted by Moscow as the All-Russia Korean Communist Party, causing a division in the Korean movement between 'Soviet' and 'Korean nationalist' communists. This division came to a head in June 1921 in a horrific armed clash, known as the 'Free City Incident', which claimed the lives of some 600 Koreans. When a third Korean communist group surfaced in Chita, the Russians in February 1923 impatiently, but vainly, ordered all factions to dissolve and form a united body. These different factions maintained links with counterparts inside Korea, but by the late 1930s merged into the Chinese and Russian communist parties and armies, thus forming what later were termed the Yen-an and Soviet factions.

Meanwhile in Japan, Koreans formed the North Star (Puksŏng Hoe), North Wind, and January societies along with the Tokyo Korean Proletarian Youth League between 1922 and 1925. Whereas the focus of the groups to the north of Korea was on guerrilla warfare, these organisations were directed by students who devoted more energy to the study of socialism and to organisation and education of labourers. Many of these students, such as Chu Chonggŏn and Paek Namun, returned to Korea and formed clandestine reading societies where Marxist thought was studied and revolutionary action was planned. The Korean and Japanese communists merged as early as 1929, and by 1930 the combined movement boasted over 4 000 Korean members.

The first communist group inside Korea was the Seoul Youth League, formed in 1921 with connections to Yi Tonghwi, from which later split the M-L (Marxist-Leninist) faction. By 1924 three more groups had established offices in Seoul: the North Wind Society from Japan, the Tuesday Society (Hwayo Hoe) sponsored by the Irkutsk faction, and the Women's League (Yŏsŏng Tonguhoe) affiliated with the Seoul Youth League. From 1922, Lenin indicated that Korean communists would not be recognised fully by the Comintern unless a Korean Communist Party was established inside Korea. The first such party was established on 17 April 1925 by the Tuesday and North Wind societies, and this was succeeded by three more parties in February 1926, February 1927, and March 1928. Troubled by factional struggles and Japanese suppression, none of these parties survived longer than nine months. They did, however, keep debate alive and directly or indirectly promoted worker consciousness, development of rural co-operatives, and concern among nationalists and others for the economic conditions of the mass of the people. The party members formed the core of the 'domestic' faction by 1945.

The United Front Movement

Cognisant of the need to combine all Korean groups who were committed to the task of liberating Korea from Japan, whatever their respective ideological positions, Yi Tonghwi had attempted to form a united front between left-wing and right-wing or centre nationalists during his term as Prime Minister of the Shanghai Provisional Government from August 1919 to January 1921. His efforts were seconded by a number of leaders at different times, but it was not until February 1927 that a united front movement was effectively organised, with its headquarters in Seoul. Called the Shin'ganhoe (New Korea Society), this united front established branches throughout the peninsula and achieved a membership of some 30 000 by 1930. The Shin'ganhoe published a manifesto and a policy platform, which indicated three main objectives: opposition to colonial policies harmful to the people; amelioration of the economic conditions of the people and promotion of co-operative societies; and continued efforts to increase the general level of education. Leadership of the united front was shared between national figures from the left and centre, but with lesser representation from the culturalist stream.

A sister body, the Kūnuhoe (Korean Women's League), was founded in June 1929 with its own manifesto and platform, to promote the national, social, and economic interests of women. Although its leadership swung between Christian liberals such as Kim Hwallan and Marxists such as Ho Chōngsuk, the Kūnuhoe did succeed, unlike the Shin'ganhoe, in publishing a journal. It also organised education for women, undertook surveys of factory conditions for female labourers, and campaigned for minimum standards of employment for women, including maternity leave.

On 3 November 1929, an altercation between Korean and Japanese students in the city of Kwangju in South Chōlla Province led to a street demonstration by the Koreans against the colonial education system. A number of leftist reading groups had been formed among the Kwangju students by Koreans returning from studies in Japan, and the tinder was dry for such a spark. Seizing their opportunity, the Shin'ganhoe leadership organised rallies in Seoul and sponsored the Kwangju demonstrations into a nationwide movement that involved thousands by March 1930. No repeat of the March First Movement eventuated as the Japanese police moved quickly to arrest Shin'ganhoe members around the nation. In addition to the arrests, the left-wing membership of the Shin'ganhoe were concerned at the extent to which the non-communist leaders were able to influence the course of the Kwangju uprising. Moscow also sent directives to the Korean communists to take over the united front. Thereupon, the communists mounted a campaign for the dissolution of the Shin'ganhoe with the intention of reconstituting it under a leftist charter, and in May 1931 the united front was dissolved. At this point the Japanese Government-General stepped in to prevent a reorganisation, and thereafter the left and right wings of the nationalist movement went their separate ways.

Economic Developments

The first half of the twentieth c. witnessed further development of a Korean capitalist class that had its origins in the previous c.. The period from the opening of Korea in 1876 through the industrial developments of the 1930s, resulted in profound economic and social changes that provided a more egalitarian atmosphere for business. Japanese intervention and regulation, however, tempered these new opportunities. Along with this new class, another new group, an industrial labour-force, became more obvious in the 1930s, although it had begun by 1910. The economic modernisation of the colonial period was certainly under way prior to the Japanese annexation of Korea and would no doubt have continued its momentum in any case. However, while it is important to acknowledge that capitalism was not simply an imposition on Korea by Japan, it is also necessary to recognise that in fact capitalism grew in Korea under colonial conditions, something which deeply affected the nature of capital formation and social change in Korea.

(a) Land Management

The land acquired by the Oriental Development Company on behalf of Japan from 1908 on was predominately former crown land and reclaimed or idle land. The small proportion of other land that fell into the company's hands through the new registration laws came principally from poor peasant holdings, not from large estates. The original expectation that Japanese would migrate to Korea to buy or otherwise acquire and settle on Korean farmland never materialised. Consequently, land use during the colonial period proved the exception to the general practice of Japanese directly owning or managing the economy. The status of traditional land ownership was reinforced by the new registration laws, resulting in this period being a relatively good time for Korea's landowning class, so long as they made good their opportunities and did not embark on open opposition to the colonial regime. Small-scale holdings declined, however, and with this decrease the rate of tenancy over the colonial period climbed from less than 40 per cent to nearly 60 per cent. At the same time, the numbers of Koreans immigrating to Manchuria in search of arable

land rose significantly.

(b) Industry, Trade, and Commerce

Agriculture remained the most important industry in Korea throughout the colonial period, although a structural shift towards secondary and heavy industries began in the mid-1930s. The proportion of the population engaged in agriculture in 1920 was around 80 per cent, but by the late 1930s this had dropped to just over 75 per cent. The structural shift is more apparent, however, if one compares the figures for non-agricultural production, which increased from 11 per cent of total output value at the beginning of the colonial period to 38 per cent at the end. Although some genuine development of Korea's economic and even social infrastructure did occur, the guiding principle for industrial policy was the demands of the empire as a whole and of Japan in particular.

The chief agricultural interest of the Japanese was rice production. The removal in 1913 of the foreign rice import tariff from rice grown in Korea indicated the Japanese intention of integrating Korean rice production into the home economy. In the 1920s, a number of plans were pursued to increase the rice output of Korean farms in order to achieve imperial self-sufficiency in rice and provide a cheap supply of rice to Japan's growing urban workforce. As a result, net imports of rice from Korea by Japan increased over the period of 1915 to 1935 from approximately 170 000 to 1.2 million metric tons. It should be noted, however, that the per capita rice consumption of Koreans declined during this period. Japan's military involvement in China from 1937 especially ensured that the empire's pressure on Korea's rice continued through to 1945.

The strengthening of the land ownership system and a plentiful supply of agricultural labour gave landlords a relatively free hand in keeping land rent and taxes as high as the market would bear. This situation is reflected in the very high number of farmers' strikes and protests through the 1920s and 1930s. No longer busy seeking political posts, some landlords invested their proceeds in non-agricultural industries such as textile manufacture or in banking establishments. But the landowners' traditional exclusive access to wealth was challenged by initiatives taken by mostly non-elites in the commercial arena. Thus, there are numerous examples of those from the lower classes rising to positions of prominence such as the tenant farmer Pak Hungshik who founded the Hwashin Department Store. It was also this situation that lay behind the 'self-help' rationale of Cho Manshik's Korean Products Promotion Campaign.

Koreans also took advantage of the abolition of the official monopoly of trade from the end of the nineteenth c., which gave rise to a new merchant class, the *kaekchu*. These middlemen also embraced the opportunities afforded by the colonial use of Korea as a source of Japan's rice, which they traded in return for goods manufactured by the Japanese *zaibatsu* firms. A cluster of enterprises formed around their activities: construction of large warehouses, building and operating inns for commercial travellers, supply of packaging and transport of goods, and banking institutions which held funds in safekeeping for their merchant clients. Since the bulk of Korea's trade was with Japan--around 95 per cent of exports and 80 per cent of imports in 1931--the Japanese relied heavily on the services of the *kaekchu*, who formed their own co-operative societies and rose from poverty to relative wealth.

Another development during the colonial period was the joint-venture system involving Japanese and Korean enterprises: most of the corporate capital of consequence in which Korean businessmen were involved was held in joint Korean-Japanese companies. Some Korean businessmen succeeded in operating independent companies. The most well-known of these are the Koch'ang Kim brothers, Kim Yönsu and Kim Söngsu, who took advantage of their fertile landholdings, the rice export market, and the more relaxed company laws after 1920 to develop an independent textile industry, the Seoul Textile

Company (Kyöngsöng Pangjik Hoesa), into a prototype of the modern Korean family-centred *chaeböl* conglomerates. These activities, however, were quite exceptional and depended upon judicious give and take with the colonial authorities.

From 1931, in conjunction with Japan's creation of Manchukuo and its subsequent designs on North China, the Government-General pursued rapid industrialisation of northern Korea and greater exploitation of the area's mineral resources. The proportion of Korean engineers and technical personnel to Japanese remained low, never exceeding 1 : 5 -- and Korean workers in these new industries were paid roughly 40 per cent less than the Japanese workers in Korea. An attempt by Governor-General Ugaki to redress this discrimination in 1933 was abandoned in the face of strong Japanese opposition. The industrialisation policy caused internal migration, from farm to factory, and, as mentioned earlier, effected the first noticeable shift from an agricultural towards a secondary industrial economy. A notable feature of this industrialisation was the incorporation into the urban labour force of large numbers of young women.

Cultural Developments

The cultural developments of this period can largely be attributed to the influx of foreign culture to Korea, mostly through Japan. It would be erroneous, however, to see the progress and innovations in education, literature and culture as being the result of Japanese intent, and should instead be viewed as continuations of the processes that were already underway during the late nineteenth c.. Thus, the developments in Korean literature such as the genre of the 'new' novel (*shin sosöl*), free-style poetry and the essay were not due to the Japanese presence in Korea, but instead the result of Koreans exploring new areas of literature. The same can be applied to the developments in education during this period with the Japanese actually restricting growth in this area by Koreans. The focus of the Korean educational system during the colonial period was to produce Koreans with the minimum educational level required for performing the menial tasks that their colonial masters required of them. Culturally, the goal of Japan was to assimilate Koreans into the greater Japanese Empire, and this task was to be accomplished by obliterating Korean culture in totality. Hence, the Japanese presence in Korea was detrimental to the preservation of traditional Korean culture, and moreover injurious to the realisation of new Korean culture.

Forced Assimilation and War

By the late 1930s the Japanese objectives for Korea underwent a dramatic change as the focus of Japan shifted to her expansionist plans for Asia. To better facilitate the use of Korean human and natural resources, the Japanese embarked on a program of forced assimilation of Koreans into Japanese culture and lifestyle. To this end the use of the Korean language was prohibited at schools, and all students and teachers were required to memorise an oath of allegiance to the Japanese emperor. Other measures designed to obliterate Korean national consciousness include the forced adoption of Japanese-style names by all Koreans who had dealings with the government in 1939, the closing of all Korean language newspapers except the Japanese propaganda organ (*Maeil shinbo*), and the founding of pro-Japanese social organisations to ensure compliance on the part of Koreans and their social organisations. Thus Japan had established her presence in every aspect of Korean society in an attempt to destroy all traces of Korea's traditions.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Japan began a full-scale mobilisation of Korean human resources for her war effort. In actuality, this mobilisation had already begun in 1940 with the formation of Neighbourhood Patriotic Associations (*Aikoku-han*) throughout Korea, and numerous groups of these associations helped the colonial government institute rationing, the collection of 'voluntary' donations, and compliance with government edicts. Moreover, this period witnessed educational policies

aimed at supporting the war and students were required to contribute labour services to the government in addition to undergoing military training.

The large-scale mobilisation of Koreans during the war years contributed to the massive drain of Koreans from their country during the final years of the colonial period. Korean men were subject to conscription into the Japanese army while others were recruited to work as labourers in either mines in the north of Korea or factories in Japan. This resulted not only in the displacement of Koreans from Korea, but also from the southern provinces to the northern ones. In addition to the conscription of Korean men, the Japanese also conscripted women for the so-called 'Comfort Corps' that provided for the sexual needs of the Japanese army. In all some four million Koreans, nearly 16 per cent of the Korean population, were living outside of Korea by the time of liberation in 1945.

Conclusion

The colonial period in Korea came to an abrupt conclusion with the Japanese defeat by the Allied forces in August 1945. The day that the Japanese surrender was announced to the Korean people was one of unrestrained joy, as the Koreans now seemingly controlled their own destiny for the first time in almost forty years. This period witnessed some of the most momentous changes in Korea's historical experience: the 500-year-old Chosŏn dynasty ended, and with it the monarchical system as a whole; the nation lost its political and economic independence and became a Japanese colony, a development that has had a profound psychological effect on the Korean people; debate and division over liberal democracy versus communism commenced; the economy began its move in earnest from an agrarian to a secondary industrial economy, accompanied by an increase in the demographic, political and cultural importance of urban over rural areas; education changed in form and in content and began to spread more widely among the population, aided by a vigorous publishing industry; women participated in the public arena, in education, politics and economic ventures; and new religious movements arose and involved themselves in all the major issues of the times. This short period of thirty-six years is thus a pivotal one in the experience of Koreans in the modern era. Change was both rapid and dense. Although the fact of colonial rule has rendered the legacies of this period ambiguous, there is very little in the subsequent history of Korea, north and south, that does not relate back to phenomena that were initiated or developed in the previous four decades.

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K Wells

Contemporary Period

The Liberation and Partition of Korea (1945-1948)

As much as any one country can, post-war Korea has become a symbol of contemporary times. Humanity's tensions and conflicts as well as its expectations, successes and frustrations all have found themselves mirrored in its experiences.

The liberation of Korea came about through the defeat of Japan by the Allied Powers, and, as in Germany, the country's partition also emerged from this event. With the surrender of Japan on 15 August 1945, the Korean peninsula thus entered a new era of opportunities,

challenges and tragedies and they were all inextricably entwined with the tentacles of certain decisions made much before the Pacific War ended.

At the Cairo Conference of December 1943 the United States, Great Britain and China had pledged to dispossess Japan, after its defeat, of its colonial territories, and had agreed that Korea should 'in due course' attain full freedom and independence. Later, in its declaration of war against Japan the Soviet Union had also echoed this intention.

The initial Korean euphoria over their nation's liberation against the backdrop of these announcements soon dissipated, however, as the United States and the Soviet Union fell out with each other over their global and Asian ideological and strategic ends. This mutual gulf and antagonism between the two postwar superpowers, dubbed as the Cold War, quickly spilled over into the Korean peninsula. It was not helped by the fact that the Korean people themselves, whose loyalties and preferences were scattered among scores of political groups on the left, right and centre of the ideological spectrum, could not develop anything remotely akin to a national consensus on the future shape of Korea. The fact that the United States and the Soviet Union had jointly decided to divide the peninsula temporarily at the 38th parallel for the purely military convenience of accepting the surrender of Japanese forces in Korea - in the southern zone by the American troops, in the northern zone by the Soviet military - complicated the situation further. This arrangement tended to be frozen into an enduring separation as the American - Soviet rivalry later intensified amid the civil war developments in China, which ominously seemed to indicate a future victory for Mao Zedong's Communist Party over Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist Party. All this, however, came at the end of a fitful process of diplomatic negotiations between the two superpowers to resolve the Korean problem.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union had initially wanted to establish a five-year trusteeship over Korea involving them, Great Britain and China as the trustees. Ostensibly, the Korean people needed to be trained, under a provisional government, for their future role as a sovereign and independent nation. The proposal, first broached at the Yalta Conference of February 1945 and later confirmed at the 7 December Conference of Allied foreign ministers in Moscow, drew vehement opposition from almost all Korean groups at the beginning as insulting to their dignity, although the communists among them subsequently came to support the concept. A United States - Soviet Union Joint Commission held several meetings between March 1946 and October 1947 to hammer out a design of the trusteeship structure, but foundered on sharp disagreement over which Korean organisations were entitled to participate in the provisional government.

In the Southern Zone, the United States Army Military Government (USAMGIK) under General John R. Hodge tried to maintain a semblance of order and, though handicapped by a severe lack of knowledgeable American specialists in Korean language, history and culture and hampered by unclear policy directives from Washington, endeavoured to deal with various Korean social and political organisations.

Hostile to the revived Korean Communist Party and to the 'Korean People's Republic' -- a self-styled left-oriented government formed after Japan's surrender -- the U.S. military authorities attempted to form a coalition regime of Koreans from the moderate left represented by Yŏ Unhyŏng (Lyuh Woon Hyung), and the moderate right led by Kim Kyushik, a returned vice-chief of the Korean Provisional Government based in Shanghai. Amid much tension and violent clashes between these groups and between them and the communists, General Hodge created a South Korean Interim Legislative Assembly to help govern the Southern Zone.

Ignored, however, by both the extreme left and the extreme right, the assembly remained a non-actor on the political stage. Meanwhile, the artificial division of the country was daily compounding its social and economic problems. Physical movement between the two zones was tightly controlled, and the light industries and farmlands of the South were woefully

dependent on the mercy of the northern zone for many raw materials, heavy-industry products and hydroelectric power. Koreans returning from Japan and its former Chinese possessions aggravated the unemployment problem and labour unrest became endemic. Frustrated over its inability to resolve the Korean issue, the United States turned over the matter to the United Nations (UN).

The UN, through a temporary commission on Korea (UNTCOK) headed by India's K.P.S. Menon, decided to hold elections in Korea as a preparatory step toward forming an independent Korean government. Denied access to the Soviet Zone, the UNTCOK could hold elections only in the south. Many south Korean groups opposed such a move, fearing that it would sow the seeds of a permanent division. Amid this resistance, some further futile moves to reconcile the differences between the two zones, and the assassination or 'disappearance' of several leading political figures including Yŏ Unhyŏng, the elections were nevertheless held in May 1948. Dr Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman), a freedom fighter in exile now back in Seoul, emerged as the chief victor and became head, first, of the new national assembly and then as president of the new Republic of Korea (ROK), which was officially inaugurated on 15 August 1948. This led the northern zone to sever all vital ties with the south, including the electricity supply, and to establish its own independent regime on 9 September, called the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), based in P'yŏngyang. The leader of this northern government was Kim Il Sung (Kim IIsŏng), a former guerrilla leader who is said to have conducted campaigns from Russian and Manchurian redoubts against Japan before liberation. The governing party of the north, forged earlier from the merger of all existing leftist groups, was called the Korean Workers' Party. American and Soviet occupation forces left the Korean peninsula upon the transfer of power in each zone.

The First Republic: From the Syngman Rhee Era to the April Nineteen Revolution (1948-1960)

While the North came to be ruled by a Stalinist regime with close military and economic ties to both the Soviet Union and, after 1950, the new People's Republic of China (PRC), Syngman Rhee's South Korea from the outset acted out all the patterns of a typical anti-communist, right-wing, authoritarian government tied to and dependent upon the West, especially the United States. These measures included the repression of political opponents; severe press controls; politicisation of the educational system, the military, police and judiciary; frequent recourse to national-security legislation; together with the intimidation of ideologically unacceptable elements by paramilitary thugs through midnight phone calls and violent acts, including assassinations. The unrestrained use of forced constitutional amendments and martial-law decrees strengthened and maintained the regime's hold over the citizenry. North Korea's 25 June 1950 attack on South Korea (The Korean War), leading to the most destructive and fruitless armed conflict on the Korean peninsula since the late 16th c., only heightened and accentuated the South's fears, weakened its already limited democratic potential and reinforced its tendency toward police-state methods of governance.

When Syngman Rhee was not crusading for reunification with the North on his own terms, he was trying to eradicate all ideas of accommodation with Kim Il Sung, who, it must be stressed, was the shaper of an even more recalcitrant system on his side. In accordance with U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' vision of the world as a stage for an epic struggle between the forces of good, represented by the West, and the forces of evil, represented by the Soviet Union's alleged goal to communise the world, Syngman Rhee rejected any official dealings with communist regimes anywhere (including that of Yugoslavia), was suspicious of the non-aligned countries, built up close ties with Chiang Jieshi's Nationalist regime on Taiwan and helped shape an even closer military and economic relationship with the United States and most of its 'Free World' allies. The centrepiece of the new configuration was the US-ROK Mutual Security Treaty of 1953

under which American ground, air and naval forces and American strategic and tactical weapons came to be an integral part of South Korea's defence structure. However, from within this circle of Korean allies, the pro-U.S. Japan remained excluded due to its harsh colonial record on the peninsula.

With the use of martial law in 1952, two railroaded constitutional amendments in 1952 and 1954, election rigging and similar fraudulent means, Rhee managed to stay in power without interruption until the spring of 1960 under the banner of the Liberal Party, which was tightly controlled by him and a coterie of his loyal supporters in the National Assembly, the army, the police, and the civilian populace. In the March 1960 presidential election, however, the Liberal Party's misuse of power sank to an all-time low. While Rhee was easily reelected due to the sudden death of his chief rival Cho Pyŏngŏk in the United States -- in 1956 Rhee had 'benefited' from a similar circumstance when his main opponent, Shin Ikhŭi, died of a heart attack ten days before the election - his vice-presidential candidate Yi Kibung, a lacklustre henchman, garnered an extra-ordinary margin of 8.3 million votes against the 1.8 million votes of his popular opponent, Chang Myŏn (Dr. John M. Chang) of the Democratic Party. Suspecting blatant fraud, college and high school students in both Seoul and several other cities held massive protest demonstrations. On 19 April some thirty thousand youths marched to the Blue House -- the presidential office-cum-residence. Fearing an attack on the president the police fired on the demonstrators to stop the march, causing at least one-hundred and forty-two deaths and one-thousand other casualties. On 25 April, three-hundred university professors expressed their solidarity with the students by holding a rally in front of the National Assembly and demanding Rhee's resignation. Meanwhile, the United States officially condemned the response of the police, and Martial Law Commander General Song Yŏch'an refused to fire on the new protesters. Driven into a corner, Rhee resigned on 26 April, and two days later, Yi Kibung, his wife and their two sons committed group suicide, apparently as an act of atonement for Yi's role in causing the tragedy. At any rate, the First Republic had come to an end. The entire series of events soon acquired a legend-like aura as the April Nineteen Revolution.

The deeper reasons for this upheaval were, however, more complex than its immediate causes, i.e. Rhee's corruption and his deceitful governing style. They were economic, political and cultural.

Despite the Korean War and its devastating toll, South Korea's economic development under Syngman Rhee was quite respectable. The G.N.P. was, for example, 5.5 per cent from 1954 through 1958, and a Seven-Year Economic Development Plan adopted in January 1960, if allowed to be put into effect, would surely have made further growth possible, given the expected inflow of an average \$200 million in annual aid from the U.S. and additional hard-currency assistance from other foreign sources. In addition, a land reform program had been enacted in 1949 and fully implemented after the Korean War, reducing tenancy and increasing peasant proprietors. Yet the overall resources of South Korea could not keep pace with other occurrences. There was, for example, a much faster rate of educational expansion. By 1960, over seventy per cent of the populace was functionally literate and there was an explosive growth in the number of universities and colleges. By 1960, again, enrolments in these institutions had increased twelve times from the figures in 1945. The freedom and dissent-oriented print media, led by such major newspapers as the *Dong-A (Tonga) Ilbo* and the *Chosŏn Ilbo* - the former's circulation rose from 20 000 at the end of World War II to 400 000 in the mid-1950's - and the equally democratic content of higher education under the influence of South Korea's new Western nexus had steadily created serious pockets of alienation in the society over the years. Combined with rising unemployment and under-employment of the educated youth, this mix became a seething cauldron of discontent and anger in the urban centres of South Korea throughout the 1950s. The events of April 1960 were just the last straw.

Finally, cherishing the traditional Confucian self-image that as part of the educated elite of

the nation they should bear the burden of rectifying misgovernment, the students naturally fell into their role as idealistic guardians of moral purity against moral decay in high quarters. They were, of course, thoroughly outraged at the Liberal Party's and Syngman Rhee's misuse of the National Security Law, meant for national defence, as a political tool against the government's domestic political foes. This heroic and successful challenge to a despised regime created much exhilaration, but it could scarcely solve the many systemic problems festering in the body politic. At any rate, from the ashes of the First Republic took shape the Second Republic.

The Second Republic: 1960-1961:

Under the acting presidency of Hŏ Chŏng, the foreign minister until Rhee's resignation, the National Assembly revised the constitution to create a bicameral parliamentary system of government headed by a prime minister responsible to the legislature. To control future abuses of executive power this was considered essential by the law-makers. Rhee was also persuaded to go into voluntary exile in Hawaii, taking himself out as a potential rallying point for those still wedded to his leadership despite his advanced age (85). Under the new dispensation the Democratic Party emerged with a decisive majority in the July 1960 elections for the National Assembly. However, due to squabbles between the two leading factions of the new Prime Minister Chang Myŏn and the nominal President Yun Posŏn, the party could not govern the nation effectively. Cabinet reshuffles became the order of the day. Raucous demonstrations and work disruptions by students for often unrealistic clean-ups and reforms in the economic and political systems and for the opening of an immediate dialogue with North Korean leaders became a tiresome routine. A self-styled reformist faction within the military also wanted the Chang government to purge those from the armed forces perceived by this faction as corrupt. The attitude of the government over these issues, when expressed in rare actions of decisiveness, sometimes led to yet more Rhee-like laws to suppress dissent.

Both the supporters of democracy and those opposed to it thus found the Chang government wanting - the former for its not being democratic enough, the latter for its not being tough enough, soon enough. Amid all this turmoil, Yun Posŏn's faction broke away from the Democratic Party to form its own New Democratic Party in November, making the ruling party still weaker and totally bereft of its original unity, purposiveness and promise. Taking advantage of its vulnerability a small group of determined young army officers led by Major General Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏnghŭi) and his nephew Colonel Kim Chongp'il decided to seize power through a *coup d'état*. On 16 May 1961 they struck in a bloodless uprising, removed Prime Minister Chang from power but kept President Yun in place as the figure-head president over a junta-led Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR), a move clearly designed to put the stamp of legitimacy on an otherwise illegal and insubordinate action. Thus ended South Korea's first experiment in what at the beginning was seen as authentic democracy; and thus also began a long period of military overlordship of South Korea, first in uniform, then in civilian clothing, that did not yield to genuine civilian rule until late 1992.

The Third and Fourth Republics: The Era of Park Chung Hee (1961-79)

The SCNR's avowed goals were to restore and keep order, protect the nation from external threats, cleanse the government of corrupt elements, install morally upright leaders and rejuvenate the economy. The Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), a new creation of Colonel Kim Chongp'il, became the self-styled watch-dog of national security and well-being under the SCNR, but soon itself came to be dreaded for its ruthless pursuit of the junta's political opponents, both at home and abroad, in the manner of many secret-police organs in earlier Korean periods and in other contemporary authoritarian states. Abductions and illegal detentions as well as fraudulent trials, tortures, convictions and punishments of Park's political rivals and critics were soon being widely reported abroad as the methods by

which the KCIA kept the lid tightly closed on dissent.

Park's seizure of power was severely criticised in the United States. Recognising his country's heavy dependence on American military and economic aid Park and his cohorts decided to doff their uniforms and don civilian clothing. In part, of course, this was also done to obtain a fig leaf of legitimacy at home -- where the Confucianism-derived regard for men of culture (*mun*) remained high and for men of arms (*mu*) low.

Using a newly-drafted constitution approved by a popular referendum in December 1962, Park decided to hold a new presidential election in October 1963, with himself as the candidate of the Democratic Republican Party (DRP) -- another handiwork of Kim Chongp'il. He won the election against Yun Posŏn, the New Democratic Party candidate, by a margin of just 0.5 per cent, testifying to Park's new, yet by no means enduring sensitivity to the procedures of a democratic election. In the subsequent National Assembly elections, however, due to large-scale government-enforced purges of unacceptable politicians, his party won an overwhelming 110 seats out of the total 175. Park and the DRP also won the 1967 and 1972 presidential and National Assembly elections, but to ensure his continued command of power and leadership in the future Park soon resorted to another *coup*, this time without excessive show of military muscle, but nevertheless illustrating the base of his strength clearly by yet another proclamation of martial law. This took place in October 1972.

He also abolished the National Assembly, closed down all higher educational institutions, tightened controls on free political activity even further and gagged the press more categorically than before. A new charter called the *Yusin* ('Revitalisation') Constitution was put into effect after yet another national referendum, under which the president was to be elected by a rubber-stamp body called the National Conference for Reunification. Park also reserved the right to issue wide-ranging emergency decrees. Within the next three months many such decrees were issued, the most infamous of which was Emergency Decree No. 9. It made it a criminal offence to attack the new political order or even to cover such criticism in the press. Park defended these draconian orders as necessary to protect the country from North Korean threats. Former President Yun, many vocal dissidents, and eminent opposition leader Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung), who had contested the 1971 presidential election, soon found themselves in gaol for not heeding Park's stern commands. The most chilling incident of Park's new regime was the 1973 abduction from a Tokyo hotel of the outspoken Kim Dae Jung by agents of the KCIA. They had planned to kill him on their way back to South Korea, but according to official reports circulating much later (in 1993), were prevented from doing so by the timely intervention of U.S. Ambassador Philip Habib who had been alerted by U.S. surveillance agencies.

Park's repressive regime made him a much hated figure both at home and abroad. In 1974 a South Korean resident of Japan on a visit to Seoul tried to shoot him at a public function but ended up killing his wife, Yuk Yŏngsu. The DRP's standing in the National Assembly suffered much decline in 1978 as new opposition leaders like Kim Young Sam (Kim Yŏngsam) began to speak up with renewed boldness again. On 13 October 1979, all opposition members of the assembly resigned to protest Kim's forced ouster from it for having assailed Park's authoritarian methods. Student groups once again followed with massive demonstrations in Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, Masan and other cities, only to be met with yet another series of local martial-law orders and arrests. Park's style now alienated even the KCIA Chief, Kim Chaekyu (Kim Chaegyū). On 26 October 1979 at a dinner he shot and killed Park and several other officials, claiming that this was all done for the sake of making democracy safe in South Korea. Park's self-appointed role as South Korea's political steward thus came to an end as horrible as its beginning and course throughout.

While Park's political style is noted for its anti-democratic and anti-human rights features, most analysts, including many of his detractors, acknowledge his contributions, some even

calling them sterling contributions, to South Korea's economic development and his role in fostering a strong nationalistic consciousness among his people. Paradoxically, this latter role was played out at a time when South Korea was increasingly drawn into the economic embrace of both the U.S. and Japan.

Through a planned development model borrowed substantially from Japan, which involved close governmental guidance and direction of private enterprise to implement nationally determined economic priorities, Park goaded the South Korean economy toward great leaps in production, construction and exports. With massive investments, through successive five-year development plans, in infrastructure such as the Seoul-Pusan Expressway and other major arteries, favourable treatment through tax breaks, subsidies, loans, foreign-exchange allocations and access to raw materials, to carefully chosen private conglomerates (pejoratively called *chaeböl*, or 'financial cliques', as in Japan, where they are known as *zaibatsu*), suppression of labour unrest, forced maintenance of low wages, expansion of existing industries and the building of new ones such as steel, petrochemicals and shipping, Park helped set the country on a course that in the 1980s came to be widely admired by observers as the 'Miracle on the Han [River]'. (It is, of course, a rhetorical flourish that obscures rather than illuminates the hard work of both the government and the people in achieving the goals). While the 1973 Oil Shock and inflation certainly took their toll, the GNP still registered a stunning average growth rate of over nine per cent per annum during the Park era. After 1972, the rural sector got special attention under Park's *Saemaül undong* ('New Community' Movement). Better credit, new agricultural technology, extension services, farm price supports, improved rural education, product diversification, better health facilities, and electrification transformed the rural scene dramatically. By the late 1970s many of the thirty-six thousand rural settlements of South Korea began to take on the appearance of prosperity, with tiled-roof dwellings, television sets, farm machinery, and private as well as cooperative commercial operations dotting the landscape.

Through the building and maintenance of patriotic symbols such as statues of heroic historical figures like Admiral Yi Sunshin of the 16th c. or freedom fighters of the 20th c., historical parks, battlegrounds, museums and similar other commemorative projects, Park sought to create a widely-shared national pride in Korea's past in order to stimulate a strong competitive urge for success in the international economic arena and for general nation-building mobilisation.

For vital financial aid and scientific and technological assistance Park first relied heavily on western sources, especially American, and on earnings from remittances of three-hundred thousand Korean soldiers, businesses and employees serving in combat, logistical or civilian duties or activities in Vietnam under contract with the United States, during 1965-1973. He also normalised relations with Japan which led to the inflow of one billion dollars in Japanese governmental and commercial aid between 1965-1975. Large construction projects overseas, especially in the Middle East, and increasing domestic savings proved to be equally vital. While the decision to send soldiers to Vietnam and normalise relations with Japan were highly controversial, Park did not, as usual, allow any opposition to come in the way, and from the strictly economic point of view they paid off handsomely in the long run. In diversifying and expanding the Korean economy, Japan's direct and indirect role later came to be as important as that of the United States and was much greater than that of all other western countries combined.

Park also opened South Korean foreign relations wider by setting up diplomatic or consular ties with many non-aligned countries, notably India, Egypt and Indonesia. He was determined to make South Korea strong enough to negotiate with North Korea from a position of strength when the time was ripe according to his own perceptions.

Reemergence of the Military and The Fifth Republic: The Kwangju

Uprising and the Chun Doo Hwan Regime, (1980-88):

With Park's assassination, the vacuum at the top was temporarily filled by Choi (Ch'oe) Kyuha, a long-time Park loyalist and premier who had no significant political following of his own in the DRP, the military, the bureaucracy, or the general public. He functioned effectively as president only until the end of 1979, when through a series of military actions the generals started to come back into power. Choi relaxed the political system by abolishing the hated Emergency Decree Number 9, freeing many political prisoners, including Kim Dae Jung, and restoring their civil liberties. He also promised to help enact a new, more democratic constitution. By May 1980, however, many college student groups were once again marching in the streets, demanding the lifting of martial law in force since Park's assassination, labour rights, university and college autonomy, protective treatment of farmers, and full press freedoms.

In early December 1979, Lieutenant General Chun Doo Hwan (Chŏn Tuhwan), head of the Defence Security Command and a group of his cohorts including Major General Roh Tae-woo (No T'aeu), had already, through a number of politico-military manoeuvres, taken over leadership of the army and the KCIA. Strengthened by such power and emboldened by other 'in-house' purges, General Chun struck for full-scale seizure of power when the student troubles broke out again. On 17 May 1980 Chun ordered the closing down of all colleges and universities, arrested Kim Dae Jung and even some Park loyalists such as Kim Chong'pil, imposed fresh censorship, and decreed new restrictions on all political activity, designed to retract the concessions granted earlier by Choi.

Such a hard-line stance led to a gruesome massacre in the city of Kwangju, South Chŏlla Province, between 18 and 27 May 1980. Kwangju was the political base of Kim Dae Jung, the city's most celebrated son and political dissident. Angry demonstrations starting with 200 Chŏnnam University students, quickly expanded to include more students and, eventually, many citizens. Unable to control the demonstrators, the city police sought central government help. A Special Forces detachment sent by the Martial Law Command headed by Chun crushed the demonstrations by assault-type action, killing many in the crowd. Rumours soon gained currency to the effect that the special forces had been sent by Chun and his chief aides, most of whom were of Kyŏngsang Province background, in a diabolical attempt to wipe out all potential sources of political trouble from the traditionally despised and maltreated South Chŏlla Province.

The political cauldron in Kwangju now boiled to new heights. On 25 May a crowd of 50 000 people took to the streets demanding an end to martial law and the freedom of Kim Dae Jung. After some confused and abortive citizen attempts at defusing the situation, the army once again intervened through yet more attacks on the demonstrators. In the predawn hours of 27 May, a full division launched the attack, killing more people. The total death toll as a result of more than one week of turmoil was conservatively put at 200 by the army's own later investigation, but some disinterested observers put the figure as high as 1 000.

This bloodbath widened South Korea's civil-military chasm further, poisoned the already delicate relationship between two major provinces and created a more festering brand of antagonism in some social sectors, especially among left-inclined student leaders, toward the United States. The last consequence was in part due to the fact that the chief American military official in South Korea, General John A. Wickham, Jr., had freed South Korean troops under General Chun from the United States-South Korean Combined Forces Command, thus indirectly signalling support for the crackdown. (Later, President Reagan was to give this action more explicit support, lending apparent 'credence' to the theory that the American government was part of a 'conspiracy' to suppress South Korean democratic aspirations). Meanwhile, the increasingly hapless President Choi resigned under pressure. On 5 August, Chun retired from the military and then had himself elected as the president by the well-emasculated electoral college called the National Conference for Unification.

It rubber-stamped him with 2 524 of the total 2 525 votes, the lone dissenting voice being declared invalid.

Like the first military ruler Park, Chun promised a clean government, vigorous economic development and, once again, a new constitution. The draft of this constitution was approved by a national referendum vote of 91.6 per cent on 22 October 1980. While on the surface it offered some democratic freedoms such as an absolute guarantee of civil liberties, including the right to privacy, prohibition of torture and invalidation of trials based on forced confessions, it gave the new one-term, seven-year president the extraordinary power of dissolving the National Assembly at will. In addition, the Assembly could not hold the president accountable for his actions. Until the election of a new Assembly, the wholly appointive Legislative Council for National Security, yet another variation on South Korea's rubber-stamp legislatures, was to make laws unencumbered by political parties, all of which were dissolved. Coupled with the enforcement of yet new purges, designed to weed out several thousand 'corrupt and unclean' elements from central and local government bodies, private and public corporations, universities and the press, all this set the stage for Chun's unchecked control of South Korea until the summer of 1987. A sham trial of Kim Dae Jung, convicting him of treason and sentencing him to death was the most chilling evidence of Chun's constitutional despotism.

In foreign policy and economy Chun kept the tested Park policies essentially untouched. Relations with the United States were solidified further as the conservative Reagan administration took charge in Washington. It welcomed Chun into the White House and later used this connection to win commutation of the death sentence, and eventually freedom, for Kim Dae Jung. Japan's role in Korean economic development also continued to grow. The construction-production-exports orientation of the economy achieved even higher levels of performance, except in 1980. Growth rates between 1981-1988 regularly ranged above 7.0 per cent and sometimes exceeded 12.0 per cent. Consumer industries and labour wages also received much support and by the mid-1980s South Korea was showing all the signs of a prosperous middle-class steadily gaining ground, with private cars, apartments, fine clothing, modern furnishings and vacations becoming a part of the normal life style of an increasing number of people. Multi-billion-dollar conglomerates such as Hyundai, Daewoo, Samsung and Lucky-Goldstar became household names, not only in South Korea, but in many overseas markets on all continents.

Despite this record of economic accomplishment Chun remained perhaps the most despised president in all of South Korean history. The comparison was often drawn with Park Chung-hee, and Chun always seemed to come out worse. He had neither Park's charisma nor his patriotism and personal legitimacy. Park ruled at a time when economic development was the nation's top priority and the general public's political sophistication was low. Park's dedication to the nation and his apparent non-interest in amassing a personal fortune through misuse of power were widely acknowledged. Chun struck most people by contrast as a gangster-style usurper and his declarations of creating a clean government struck a ludicrous note when his family was discovered as being involved in unlawful land speculation, bribery, kickbacks and extortion schemes. His vindictiveness against those business groups that refused to support his subservient new Democratic Justice Party (DJP) was a frequent topic of conversation in Seoul, and the swelling number of political prisoners under his regime all made him a thoroughly distasteful political figure to most thoughtful people.

Student protests continued to erupt throughout the 1980s, but came to a new explosion during the spring and summer of 1987 when the torture and death of a college student at the hands of the police engulfed the capital and many other cities in month-long disturbances. Chun had picked his cohort Roh Taewoo as the DJP's presidential candidate in the next election, but the opposition groups would not subdue their chorus of protest until 29 June, when Roh pledged to implement most of their demands, which essentially boiled down to

enacting a genuinely democratic constitution before the next election.

Meanwhile, the more traditional opposition leaders had aligned and realigned under new political banners. Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam, two leading voices of the NDP, fell out with each other on both personal and policy grounds, and by the time a new constitution installing the direct popular election of the president was enacted in late October both had declared themselves candidates for the office -- the former under his own party called the Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD) and the latter under a revamped former NDP faction renamed as the Reunification Democratic Party . (It had earlier been called the New Korea Democratic Party (NKPD)).

In the three-way contest that took place on 16 December, Roh won by only thirty-seven per cent of the votes while the two Kims scored considerably under thirty per cent each. On 25 February 1988, Chun transferred the presidency to Roh and the Sixth Republic was formally inaugurated. With the entry of South Korea into the Sixth Republic, presided over by Roh until February 1993 under the single, five-year term stipulated by the new constitution, the country saw much relaxation of central controls, starting a flowering of intellectual and political pluralism at home and dramatic diplomatic breakthroughs abroad, such as full-fledged relations with the Soviet Union (now CIS) and the People's Republic of China and many other (now former) communist regimes. With the election of Kim Young Sam as president, the first civilian head after thirty-one years, in the winter of 1992, South Korea appeared, for the first time, headed securely in the direction of authentic democracy. .

The Sixth Republic: The Era of Roh Tae Woo and Kim Young Sam

Roh rode into office with several major expectations from the public trailing him: continued high economic growth, environmental improvement, rapid progress towards a democratic polity and society, a more respectable international profile for South Korea, a speedy resolution of the dangerous tensions with North Korea leading to steps towards eventual reunification, rectification of governmental corruption, solution of the critical housing shortage, and the like. During his non-renewable five-year tenure, despite his persistent image amongst his critics as the *mul* ('watery', i.e. spineless) president, Roh delivered substantially if not wholly on most of these expectations. Although of military background, Roh moved rapidly to restore virtually full democratic rights albeit within the National Security law, which was now less draconian than before. By 1990 the South Korean urban scene represented an intellectually and politically free society with all manner of ideas from the entire ideological spectrum vying for public attention without excessive fear of harsh censorship or punitive retaliation from the government. Newspapers, books, magazines, and the electronic media, as well as higher- educational institutions, were beginning to examine all ideas with the freedom associated with mature democracies.

The National Assembly became a more representative and vocal participant in policymaking, although manipulation of individual members by the executive branch remained a notable feature of this process. On the other hand, significant steps were taken to loosen the control of the central government over the nation by restoring local autonomy to provincial and municipal governments. By 1991 elected councils had been installed in the provinces, counties, and cities, and plans were being negotiated for the introduction of elected executive officials for these units and special cities, including Seoul by 1995.

The March 1992 National Assembly elections were a lively event, with existing political parties being joined by many independents and a new party, named the Unification Peoples Party (UPP), headed by Chung Ju-yung (Chŏng Chuyŏng), South Korea's 'Ross Perot', who was the irrepressible honorary chairman of the Hyundai *chaebŏl*. The authentic multi-party makeup of the new National Assembly made it a vigorous forum for debate and discussion on national issues including the hitherto secretive conduct of the top military and

political officials, and the espionage organs, especially the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, now renamed Agency for National Security Planning (ANSP).

On the economic front, Roh's performance was the subject of mixed reviews domestically, although by international standards South Korean economic growth rate and other indices of development remained more than respectable. Accustomed to spectacularly sustained high growth rates during the previous regimes, most South Koreans expressed disappointment at the slower rates of 6.8, 8.4, and 4.8 per cent for the years 1989, 1991, and 1992, although no one could legitimately point to 12.4 and 9.3 per cent for 1988 and 1990 as evidence of poor productivity.

The most vociferous complaints were in regard to consumer goods prices, the housing shortage, and environmental pollution due to urban industrialism and an explosive automobile culture. While strong environmental protection laws were enacted and many government and private watchdog agencies emerged, the enforcement of controls remained ineffective due to alleged 'influence peddling' by powerful polluters. Grumblings about high prices, however, were partly contained due to continued growth in per capita income, which rose close to \$US6 700 by the end of 1992. Exports, likewise, continued to rise, reaching \$US72 billion by 1991. In addition, the society's dream to join the middle class was given a new boost by government-supported construction of two million new housing units by the end of 1992.

Roh's most celebrated accomplishments were in the arena of foreign affairs. While he was not the architect of *Nordpolitik* ('Northern Policy') - it having been initiated under the Chun presidency - he expanded, refined, and finessed it to give South Korea a more diverse, active, and respectable international profile both politically and economically. Its chief new focus was on enlarging and improving the small openings toward the Soviet Union and Eastern European states to boost South Korean exports, diversify sources of raw materials and project Seoul as a truly viable representative of all Koreans, versus P'yongyang which was an isolationist and paranoid political entity and an economic 'basket case'. The magnificent 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul, which were partially staged as a national 'coming-out party' precisely for this purpose, played a major role in accelerating *Nordpolitik*. By the time Roh handed over power on 25 February 1993 to president-elect Kim Young Sam, South Korea had established diplomatic or consular ties with all countries that belonged to the erstwhile Communist bloc except North Korea and Cuba. (The People's Republic of China also formally joined the group later). No doubt, the breakup of the Soviet Union and the domino-like fall of other communist regimes in Europe in the wake of the 1989 demolition of the Berlin Wall and the resultant reunification of Germany, made Roh's *Nordpolitik* a much smoother process than during Chun's time. The cumulative result of these events was to make South Korea a truly global player, particularly economically, with the U.S.A., Japan, Western Europe, much of Asia, Oceania, Africa, and Latin America being already familiar territory to South Korean diplomats and businessmen. By the time Kim Young Sam took over as president, the only truly credible strikes that his opponents could make against Roh were the continued intractability of political and administrative corruption and the slow, fitful process in resolving tensions with North Korea. Defence modernisation projects and real estate speculation seemed particularly rife with charges of sleaze. Many government officials, both at the central level and local levels, as well as some lawmakers and judges were alleged to have unaccountably become multi-millionaires while in office.

In January 1990, in a clever strategic move Kim Young Sam had merged his party with the ruling party and helped create the new governing party called the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP -- in 1996 it was renamed the New Korea Party). Kim seemed confident that this way he stood a better chance at winning the ruling party's nomination for the presidency and the forthcoming December 1992 election, when he could count on a combination of his personal reputation as a relatively clean fighter for democratic rights and the legacy of stability with

growth expected to be left by the Roh Administration. This calculation paid off as Kim later won the DLP's nomination handily and the election by forty-two per cent against the charismatic Kim Dae Jung of a newly organised Democratic Party and Chung Ju-yung of the renamed United People's Party.

Kim's focus in the first year of his office was on keeping the economy steadily moving forward in a period of global recession, combating corruption and making new approaches toward North Korea. Overall, he seemed to be achieving more visible results on the corruption issue, reasonable success on the economic front, and appeared unsure of how to deal with North Korea. He launched a frontal assault on corruption, calling it 'the Korean disease' soon after his inauguration, required several thousand high officials to disclose their personal assets and fired or forced to resign a number of top-ranking civil and military officials, lawmakers, and judges if they were suspected of having amassed wealth through illegal or unethical means. Among these were the speaker of the National Assembly, the chief justice and a senior member of the Board of Audit. In August 1993 he began a larger crackdown on corruption in the society at large by decreeing that all 'false name' financial transactions be converted to 'real name' transactions. This was mainly designed to eradicate widespread use of 'black money' and tax evasion. While it caused considerable dislocation in the economy as the 'curb market' in private loans headed toward collapse, many hard working honest Koreans cheered Kim for his bold action. Partly as a result of Kim's reformist zeal and partly due to expanded import liberalisation, increased foreign competitiveness and unchecked inflation, the GNP remained sluggish and grew only by 4.9 per cent in 1993.

Politically, Kim projected an image of stability and progress both. He released two-thousand political prisoners and ordinary convicts upon his inauguration, employed a number of ex-dissidents in positions of responsibility, and generally seemed a champion of full-fledged democracy, as befit the first civilian president in thirty-two years and one with strong dissident credentials himself. Colleges and streets soon returned to normalcy. The occasional demonstrations now marking the South Korean political scene had more to do with bread and butter issues, such as import liberalisation, especially the emotionally-charged matter of allowing the import of a small amount of foreign rice by the late 1990s. The old radical left was now an irrelevant and spent force in South Korean politics. At the end of 1993, South Korean body politik was intellectually pluralistic, economically at least steady, and culturally open. The new democratic trends were now stimulating much spirited debates on many hitherto little-discussed social subjects including male-female equality. Media discussion seemed filled with new ideas about marriage, family, housework, inheritance and gender relations in general. President Kim stood as an authentic symbol of this new Korea. Abroad, he continued the policy of retaining solid ties with the West, especially the U.S., and steadily-improving relations with Japan.

The Korean Reunification Question

Both North and South Korea have since the beginning claimed that they were wedded to achieving the reunification of their divided land. Until the early 1970s, however, neither side ever seriously considered direct mutual negotiations as a possible means toward this end, each claiming to be the sole legitimate voice for all Koreans and holding the other side in utter contempt as a lackey of one or another superpower. While the rhetoric of mutual hostility continued, having been particularly intensified as a result of the Korean War, it was left to President Park Chung-hee, a staunch anti-communist, to take the initiative toward a limited dialogue with North Korea. In employing both the KCIA and the South Korean Red Cross he started talks with North Korea toward a step-by-step process of opening up relations for such non-political purposes as gradual reunification of divided families, sports and cultural exchanges, and exchange of controlled telephone and postal communications. After several rounds of slow negotiations between officials of the two sides, the process was brought to a screeching halt by the alleged North Korean-instigated

attempts to assassinate Park in 1974 and 1979, the second being successful, as noted above.

Later, President Chun Doo Hwan picked up the broken dialogue but he too was the target of an alleged North Korean-directed assassination plot. In 1983 he escaped a bomb explosion in Yangon (Rangoon), Myanmar (Burma) which was aimed at him but killed and injured several high officials in his entourage. Some progress was made in 1985 when a few divided families were reunited, but in September 1987 another terrorist act attributed to North Korean agents destroyed a South Korean civilian plane with 95 passengers and 20 crew members in mid-air when it was on its way from the Middle East to Seoul. With this incident all hopes of a resumption of dialogue with P'yöngyang were dashed. North Korea seemed bent on preventing any trust-inspiring links from taking shape.

The severed thread was picked up again under the presidency of Roh Tae-woo, whose *Nordpolitik*, the collapse of Eastern European and Soviet communism between 1989 - 1991, the growing economic prosperity of South Korea, the isolation of P'yöngyang and the rapid decline of the North Korean economy all combined to make Kim Il Sung a bit more responsive to Seoul's new overtures. The warming up of relations between Seoul and Moscow culminating in a visit by President Mikhail Gorbachev to Cheju-do in April 1991 and the subsequent opening of full diplomatic relations between South Korea and Russia made P'yöngyang feel abandoned, alone, and vulnerable. Even the People's Republic of China was cozying up to South Korea, being much interested in its investment capital and technology. (Subsequently, this too led to full-fledged diplomatic ties between Seoul and Beijing.) Amid these developments, North Korea abandoned its longstanding demand for reunification on its own terms. Within South Korea also the earlier emotional desire for reunification was tempered by the huge financial and social burdens of such unity as the sobering effects of German reunification's economic costs began to sink into South Korean consciousness. In September 1991, both sides therefore decided to accept a temporary coexistence through separate memberships in the U.N., and they continued negotiations aimed at assuring mutual security and resuming economic, cultural and athletic exchanges. One product of these talks was a six-point 'denuclearisation' and mutual cooperation accord between the two regimes on 31 December 1991. It was expected that this would soon be followed by mutual verification procedures.

Meanwhile, economic and cultural exchanges would be pursued to reduce the climate of tension. The most remarkable thing about the process was that several rounds of talks were held at prime-ministerial level in both P'yöngyang and Seoul. Some sports and cultural events involving both friendly competition and cooperative presentations both accompanied and followed this process, and a limited degree of trade also took place. There was much talk of developing South Korean tourism in North Korea, modernising its harbours and undertaking other industrial projects with South Korean capital and know-how.

Into this hopeful climate, however, a monkey-wrench was thrown as suspicions surfaced in the West and South Korea that North Korea was developing nuclear weapons and advanced missile-based delivery systems. The North denied the charge about nuclear weapons and countered by alleging, among other things, continued South Korean-U.S. aggressive intent behind the annual South Korean-American military exercises called 'Team Spirit'. Inspection teams sent by the International Atomic Energy (IAEA) to North Korean nuclear reactors in Yöngbyön near P'yöngyang seemed to confirm South Korean and American misgivings, once more throwing North Korean protestations of peacefulness into serious doubt. Angry recriminations marked the entire period from late 1992 through the summer of 1993. P'yöngyang, a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), even announced that it would withdraw from the treaty in June 1993. Negotiations in Vienna, however, soon led to a 'temporary suspension' of this intention.

A hectic round of further talks was held between the summer and winter of 1993 in

Vienna, Beijing, Washington and New York, involving mainly the US., North Korea, and the IAEA. Washington let it be known that if North Korea could prove by allowing the IAEA access to all its nuclear sites, including nuclear storage sites for inspection, that it did not have and was not developing nuclear weapons, substantial technological help, trading privileges and even American diplomatic recognition would be forthcoming to it as a result. While these events produced no formal accord, at the end of 1993 once again there were reports of a favourable response from North Korea and there was mild optimism that the crisis might be defused soon.

These events appeared to take all dramatic initiative on the reunification issue away from the Kim Young Sam government. It was now reduced to a reactive stance from an earlier proactive stance. Meanwhile, North Korea seemed caught on the horns of a dilemma. By opening itself widely to cooperative international behaviour, it stood to benefit in economic and technological terms, but this could also jeopardise its rigid ideological foundations drawn from Marxism-Leninism and Kim Il-Sungism. In early 1994, due to the zig-zag course of the preceding events there was no indication as to how the future would unfold on this issue.

Postscript : Further Democratisation, Economic Setbacks and Transition to Kim Dae Jung (1994-1998)

Since the completion of the foregoing survey in late 1993, developments on the Korean peninsula have taken many new turns, some positive in nature, others quite unsettling for Koreans, at least in the short run.

President Kim Young Sam was enjoying popular support until 1996, when partly as a result of his own drive towards a cleaner, more transparent and more accountable administration, former presidents Chun and Roh, several other army officers and civilian bureaucrats and more than twenty *chaeböl* heads and other leading business executives were indicted on charges of involvement in bribery, kickbacks and illegal slush funds amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars. Chun was also accused of gross insubordination to and unlawful overthrow of duly-constituted state authority and seizure of power through his *coup d'état* in 1980. In addition, his violent suppression of student protesters in that year came back to haunt him during the highly publicised court trials. In a singular triumph of South Korea's new yet confident democracy organised public opinion and independent judiciary, both Chun and Roh were convicted of the charges. The former initially received the death sentence and the latter twenty-two years in gaol, though eventually Chun's punishment was commuted to life imprisonment and Roh's gaol term was also reduced. The two were also fined \$276 million and \$350 million respectively, for their bribery convictions. Kim's association with Roh, suspicions that he had himself benefited from the latter's slush fund, and the discovery that one of his own sons had misused his connection to the Blue House to line his pockets, all thereafter made Kim rapidly lose his high public standing. The sight of the highest former officials of the country convicted by due process was, however, a breath of fresh air that South Korea had never breathed before. It was a major triumph for the institutions of democracy in Korea.

This trend was reinforced by nation-wide local elections in June 1995 and another round of National Assembly elections in 1996 which broadened and deepened the experience of political participation. (A further round of such local elections in June 1998 appear to have made such participation as routine as in any mature democracy.) Although President Kim could take legitimate credit for having speeded up these changes and he might have recovered his lost popularity to some extent, his failure to devise a coherent and effective policy toward North Korea, his bewilderingly frequent cabinet reshuffles, his inability to reach an acceptable settlement of the festering 'comfort women' issue with Japan, and the dark clouds of a developing economic crisis in the autumn of 1997, all overwhelmed him and he found himself unequal to the challenges. At one point late in his term his public

approval rating sank as low as ten per cent, and most South Koreans began to look forward with eagerness to the 1997 presidential election, at the end of which his term was to expire and a successor was to take charge.

The nature of the economic crisis was complex but it showed that the much heralded 'Miracle of the Han' had been built on a rather shaky foundation. Japan's deepening recession, with which South Korea's economic destiny was inextricably linked, the ripple effects of a serious economic collapse in much of the rest of Asia, a heavy dependence on exports, currency devaluation, cronyism between banks and enterprises leading to massive amounts of bad loans, excessive private business indebtedness to foreign creditors, continued incidence of corruption and deceitful book-keeping among the *chaebol*, corporate and small enterprise bankruptcies due to loss of profitability, and stock market declines were some of the major problems that South Korea faced during late 1997. The prospect of a large number of Korean businesses not being able to meet their domestic and international debt obligations ultimately forced the South Korean government to seek, among other measures, help from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF rescue package put together finally amounted to over \$57 billion. That a country that had prided itself on its legendary economic development during the previous three decades had suddenly been thrown back to the status of a supplicant for foreign aid under Kim Young Sam's leadership became a label of shame for his presidency, and the sight of citizens donating cash and personal jewellery to help the government meet its own debt obligations vividly reinforced the image of a nation on its financial knees.

For Kim's reputation there were also adverse consequences flowing from North Korea's own worsening economic crisis, caused by both government policies and such natural disasters as flood and drought during 1995-97. P'yöngyang's mood swings on inter-Korean relations, its nuclear weapons potential, and its continued recourse to occasional provocations across the Demilitarised Zone (DMZ) also caused much headache for Kim. His inability to develop a sustained and workable approach toward the unpredictable P'yöngyang regime unfairly added to his image as an incompetent leader, although his administration was not without its moments of thoughtfulness and imagination towards the North.

The death of Kim Il Sung in July 1994 had created a new window of opportunity for the United States, Japan, and South Korea to resume negotiations with P'yöngyang toward a lessening of tensions on the peninsula. The North Korean nuclear weapons potential and related technology with presumed 'terrorist' states, such as Iran, served as a special impetus to the U.S. in seeking this dialogue with P'yöngyang. North Korea's increasingly vulnerable economy, its balance of payments crisis and the inclination of its new leaders under Kim Chongil -- Kim Il Sung's son and defacto heir -- to explore new options, made a new series of parleys possible. With full support from South Korea and Japan, the United States and North Korea finally reached an agreement whereby North Korea would freeze its nuclear weapons capabilities in return for the construction of two light-water nuclear power reactors and the interim supply of heavy fuel oil to be financed largely by the U.S., South Korea and Japan. A Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation (KEDO) was to be created as the international body in charge of implementing this agreement. By the beginning of 1995 all this arrangement had been well worked out.

While work on this hopeful front proceeded and further talks with North Korea on related matters continued in P'yöngyang, New York and Geneva, a series of crop failures caused by the natural calamities mentioned above focused a different kind of spotlight on P'yöngyang. Reports of widespread malnutrition, disease and death in the North during 1995-1997 indicated a growing famine of rare gravity. After some reluctance, P'yöngyang admitted as much and appealed for and welcomed international relief. The United States, South Korean and Japanese governments, the UN and many other governmental and non-governmental agencies from around the world pledged or rushed shipments of grain,

medicine and the like. While accepting the aid, the North criticised what it perceived as the niggardly attitude of the South Korean government. Its animus against Kim was particularly pronounced. P'yöngyang's press and radio attacks on Kim continued unabated throughout this period.

The North's schizophrenic stance also showed a more dangerous side in 1996 as it tried to infiltrate submarine-based armed commandos into the South. The attempt, though abortive and followed by a rare North Korean apology, strengthened the hands of hard-liners in the South and President Kim himself took an increasingly harsher stand against the North in response to this and several other instances of provocation. The February 1997 defection to South Korea of Hwang Jang-yop (Hwang Changyöp), a senior secretary of the North Korean Workers Party and allegedly the intellectual father of the North's Juch'e (*chuch'e*) ideology, further intensified the air of hostility between P'yöngyang and Seoul as Hwang disclosed alarming details of P'yönyang's warlike intentions. Kim now made it clear that any further South Korean aid to the North would depend on a guaranteed change in its behaviour. Seoul's financial commitment to the KEDO projects also became jeopardised by the south's domestic economic catastrophe. All this in turn made the North's attacks on Kim even more venomous.

Parallel to this imbroglio was the seemingly intractable problem of getting a forthright and unqualified *official* apology and *official* compensation from the Japanese government on the emotionally-charged issue of 'comfort women'. The World War II-era forcible sexual enslavement of scores of thousands of Korean women by the Japanese army remained the thorniest matter between Tokyo and Seoul, and despite the on-going discussions with Tokyo, Kim's government was no closer to resolving it at the end of his term than at the beginning.

In sum, by late 1997, President Kim Young Sam's achievements had become greatly overshadowed by his perceived failures, and when he handed over the presidency to his successor on 25 February 1998, there was little exuberant expression of public gratitude for his leadership, rather an audible sigh of relief at his ignominious exit. To make the sting sharper to him, just about that time south Korea was in the midst of a nostalgia boomlet centred on the assassinated dictator Park. He was seen by many as a patriot, a visionary, a decisive leader and a nation builder, whereas Kim, the former dissident, political prisoner, and nurturer of democracy, stood weighted down by a heavy political cangue around his neck.

As for Kim Young Sam's successor, the story had all the elements of high drama. The winner of the December 1997 election was Kim Dae Jung, candidate of the National Congress for New Politics, largely a party of his own creation, a one-time exile from his country, a passionate fighter for democracy, a former political dissident who survived torture and both an assassination plot and a death sentence, a native of the underdeveloped and frequently despised Chölla area, a devout Catholic in a land dominated by Buddhists and Protestants, and a life-long and persistent candidate for his country's highest office, Kim Dae Jung was anything but a run-of-the-mill candidate. Though by any standards a man of towering character amid a Korean 'leadership' crowd of moral dwarfs -- he was often compared with Nelson Mandela, Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa -- Kim was not above a certain Machiavellian craftiness in enlisting the politics of strange bed-fellows with former enemies and adversaries in order to win power.

Running on a platform of economic recovery, reconciliation with the North through peaceful means, and abiding respect for democratic processes and human rights, Kim did not offer any radically new ideas but struck many as more authentic in his promises than his closest rival Lee Hoi-chang (Yi Hoech'ang) of the ruling New Korea Party, now renamed Grand National Party. While conscious of his assets in this multi-party contest, Kim was equally aware of his weak support base in the Kyöngsang and Ch'ungch'öng areas -- the

former under the long domination of the associates of Park, Chun and Roh, and the latter under the sway of Kim Chongp'il -- a nephew of Park, the architect of the notorious Park-era organ, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, and a perpetual politician. Kim Chongp'il had also formed his own party, called the United Liberal Democrats, as a vehicle for furthering his own designs for a high-profit role in national politics. Realising that by joining their forces they could both advance their ambitions with mutual support, their parties created a strategic alliance that proved not only effective during the election campaign but has also lasted into the present. (Kim Chongp'il, for example, became President Kim's new prime minister.)

Upon election, Kim Dae Jung showed yet another master stroke -- an example of his skill in fusing compassion and forgiveness with political savvy. He and outgoing President Kim Young Sam agreed to confer upon Chun and Roh an unconditional pardon for their crimes. Kim Dae Jung knew that he would need the cooperation of all Koreans, including the powerful supporters of Chun and Roh, to meet the challenges before him, and so this gesture was an essential stepping-stone toward projecting his image as a national, as opposed to a sectarian and regional leader. While not popular with all segments of the populace, this act of magnanimity naturally drew expressions of gratitude from both Chun and Roh. They also made a stunning presence at Kim Dae Jung's inauguration as honoured guests!

President Kim Dae Jung was now saddled with the task of addressing the major problems inherited from the past. He took another significant stride toward establishing a full-fledged democracy when he amnestied scores of political prisoners, including several who refused to renounce their pro-North Korean leanings, and promised to reexamine and reform the National Security Law and the intelligence organs to prevent them from being misused in the future. His speeches also reflected a genuinely conciliatory and generous attitude toward North Korea. During a June state visit to America, where he received a hero's welcome in the Congress, he publicly urged the U.S.A. to be more accommodating toward P'yöngyang. In addition, he encouraged freer contacts between overseas South Koreans and North Koreans and called for expansion of South Korea's limited economic and cultural ties with the North. He dubbed this new approach to the North 'Sunshine Policy.'

The North's response toward Kim personally was friendlier, but its general attitude toward the South continued to reflect its split personality. On the positive side, new exploratory meetings between delegates of Seoul and P'yöngyang took place in Beijing. In June, a flamboyant convoy of trucks conveying the first batch of a thousand cows, personally donated and led by the North Korea-born Hyundai chief Jung Ju-young, drove across the DMZ toward the welcoming arms of P'yöngyang officials and added a touch of civilian diplomacy, colour and entertainment to the usually sombre contacts between the two sides.

At the same time, the North was suspected of sending another group of armed agents into the South in July, making many wonder again what exactly was going on in the minds of P'yöngyang's leaders. Spokesmen of the normally dovish Kim Dae Jung strongly condemned the incident amid familiar countercharges from the North of yet another Southern fabrication. The decibel level of confrontation between the two sides rose high again.

Kim Dae Jung was, however, much more occupied by the pressing economic issues facing the country. The IMF 'bail-out' terms led to demands for greater transparency and rationalisation in government-business relations, more deregulation, liquidations or mergers involving weak enterprises and banks, greater economic globalisation, acceptance of the painful pills of a short-term rise in unemployment and a disturbing reversal in GNP and per capita income trends. The last two conditions were clearly alarming to numerous individuals as well as the country. South Koreans were being told, for example, that unemployment in 1988 was likely to be about 70 per cent, vastly above the customary 2.5

per cent, and that the country must for the first time in more than three decades confront the prospect of a precipitous drop in both national and per capita incomes -- something that only North Korea had hitherto experienced. The grim statistics about suicide rates related to job losses and business failures were now disturbingly on the rise.

As of this writing (mid-July 1998), discussions on these matters within the South Korean government and among Seoul, Washington and the IMF were still going on and policies and actions were still being hammered out. President Kim's daily schedules were likely to remain filled with this kind of agenda in the early years of his administration. It was agreed by most experts, however, that South Korea had both the essential infrastructure, other potential assets and the will for a full economic recovery in the long range. Of course, what this 'long range' means, no one can ever precisely define. The atmosphere in Seoul therefore seemed to mirror both apprehension and hope stemming from this ambiguity. At this time, thus, it was premature for anyone to issue a verdict on President Kim but fitting to wish him success in his reconstructive endeavours.

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V Chandra

Korean War, 1950-1953

The Korean War was by far the bloodiest military conflict in modern Korean history. War commenced partly as a result of internal political tensions but, as has so often been the case in Korean history, these tensions were greatly magnified by foreign influences and rivalry among great powers.

In August 1945, the Korean peninsula was liberated from Japanese colonial rule by the Soviet and United States armies. The 38th parallel, which divides the country's territory into more or less equal halves had been agreed upon as a temporary demarcation line between the North (to be occupied by the Soviets) and the South (to be occupied by the Americans).

It is likely that initially this division was considered to be temporary. In December 1945 the 'Three-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow had accepted an American proposal for a five-year 'international trusteeship' which was to prepare Korea for a unified national government. However, the very logic of rivalry between the capitalist West and the communist East prevented the process of unification.. The Soviet military authorities and their American counter-parts were determined to promote 'friendly' elements in their respective zones of occupation. The Americans lent their support to the Nationalist Right and helped to outlaw the Communists and other radical leftists while the Soviets were busy creating a Communist government and purging real and potential opposition. Half-hearted attempts to promote the decisions of the Moscow Conference were fruitless : for all

practical purposes as early as 1946 both zones already had governments of their own. These governments depended on their foreign patrons and each was very hostile to the other. Each considered the other an illegitimate puppet regime which had to be overthrown.

The official inauguration of the Republic of Korea (ROK) in the South (15 August 1948) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the North (9 September 1948) provided these rival groups with some semi-legal ground to justify their pretensions. Each government claimed itself to be the only legitimate authority on the Korean peninsula. Consequently, military tension between North and South mounted.

In spite of its bellicosity, the South's Rhee Syngman's government was not in a position to launch a full-scale war. It was corrupt, ineffective and unpopular, and the Americans refused to provide it with the heavy military equipment necessary for modern warfare. Meanwhile, the Soviet-backed North was determined to construct an effective military machine. The degree of cohesion in the North was remarkably high: partly due to ruthless extermination of 'hostile elements' and intensive indoctrination, partly due to real economic and cultural success of the new regime.

The first North Korean military units (initially disguised as police detachments) were organized in 1946 and in February 1948 the Korean People's Army (KPA) officially came into being. Though reliable data is unavailable, according to reasoned estimations, in June 1950, the KPA numbered about 130 000 men. It consisted of 10 infantry divisions and an armoured brigade. It had about 700 pieces of field and 550 pieces of anti-tank artillery, with about 240 tanks and 200 aircraft. Though the Soviet Army left Korea in December 1948, a comprehensive network of Soviet military advisors was instrumental in forming the new army and educating its commanders in the conduct of modern warfare. The ROK Army then numbered about 100.000 men (plus 48 000 paramilitary in its police forces). In comparison with the KPA, it had by far the lower morale and training and it also lacked heavy weapons. When the war began it possessed only 22 planes and very few tanks and minimal artillery pieces.

The North Korean leaders were more or less enthusiastic about the military liberation of the South. There were signs a-plenty that the South was to be an easy prey: to civilian riots; the communist guerilla movement (supplied from the North, but not without strong local support); an ineffective administration and a weak army. Some South Korean communist leaders insisted that a mass uprising would follow an outbreak of war, but even those less optimistic were of the opinion that the resistance would be short and weak.

The USSR and mainland China (communist from 1949) were more sceptical about the idea of military unification. Both powers wished to improve their strategic situation by destruction of a hostile pro-American regime near their borders, but the Soviets did not want to risk a major confrontation with the USA because of an adventure of their North Korean clients. But Kim Il Sung and other North Korean leaders, during their visits to Moscow in 1948-1950, made great efforts to persuade Stalin that victory would be swift and the Americans would have neither time nor will for a military intervention. In spring 1950, a somewhat reluctant Stalin gave his permission. The initial plans of attack were redrawn by experienced Soviet advisers, and the scale of Soviet military assistance was increased. However, Moscow was not going to take any direct part in the coming conflict which was to be a Korean civil war.

The war began at dawn on 25 June 1950 with a sudden attack of the KPA across the 38th parallel. The strategy of the KPA's Soviet advisors reflected their experience during World War II. A massive deployment of armour at strategic points and concentration of all forces against Seoul, the main target of the assault, were distinctive features of the North Korean plan. A huge numerical superiority, better equipment and the patently higher morale of the KPA determined the outcome of the first battles fought.

In spite of the brave resistance of some units, in a few days the South Korean Army had collapsed. Dusk on 27 June saw the first invading units in Seoul, and on the next day the capital was firmly in North Korean hands. Rhee Syngman's government fled to Taegu and later to Pusan, while the remnants of its army withdrew in disarray.

On 25 June, an emergency meeting of the United Nations (UN) Security Council was summoned. The Soviet member was boycotting in protest against UN refusal to replace the Nationalist China delegation with the Communists. In his absence, the Security Council unanimously passed a resolution condemning the North Korean aggression. On 27 June the Council adopted a new resolution which asked UN members to 'furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel an armed attack'. Thus the way was paved for military intervention. On 7 July the Security Council requested that all troops sent to Korea by member countries be put under a unified command headed by the USA.

On 8 July, General Douglas MacArthur, America's most experienced general, was appointed commander-in-chief of the UN forces. Eventually, 16 countries sent their troops to Korea, but with few exceptions (United Kingdom, Turkey and Canada) these were token units up to battalion strength. Since it took much time for the South Korean Army to recover and reorganize after the initial onslaught, the main fighting was done almost entirely by the UN force, which was predominantly American.

By the beginning of August the KPA controlled the whole Korean Peninsula, except for a small pocket around Pusan, which the remaining South Korea units and some American reinforcements (which were organized as the 8th Army) held under siege conditions, the so-called 'Pusan perimeter'. During August and early September, the KPA formations were making unsuccessful attempts to penetrate the UN defences, but overstretched lines of supply, serious losses during the offensive to the South and American command of the air considerably reduced the military might of the KPA.

In the occupied territory the DPRK authorities tried to establish the same political and social system which existed in the North. People's committees were organized and agrarian reform began. However, these measures generally did not win the support of the South Korean population due to extreme political oppression launched by the North Korean administration. All right-wing parties and groups were banned; their supporters persecuted. Atrocities perpetrated by the new authorities averted even those who had pro-left sympathies before the war. The ruthless DPRK policy in the occupied territory greatly damaged the prestige of the political left there.

In August, MacArthur drew up a plan to land a huge force at Inch'ön, the port city for Seoul, and then cut-off the KPA from its supplies. This was a tactic made possible by the fact that the main KPA force was now engaged in a determined attempt to break through the Pusan defences, far to the South. The Inch'ön landing took place on 15-16 September, and is recorded as one of the biggest amphibious operations in world military history. In spite of difficult tidal conditions about 70,000 men of X Corps (independent from the 8th Army) landed there, in close proximity to Seoul. The KPA command lacked resources in this vital region and on 25 September the first UN units entered the Korean capital, which was only secured by 29 September after hard fighting. Meanwhile, the 8th Army launched a highly successful counter-offensive from the beleaguered Pusan perimeter. By the end of September the KPA had collapsed. Most of its units were destroyed or entirely demoralised. It had to discard all its heavy weapons. By late September, the UN/ROK formations had reached the 38th parallel.

Although the fall of Seoul had effectively signified the end of the invasion, both MacArthur and the South Korean government thought it would not be enough to simply restore the status quo ante-bellum but wanted to unify Korea under Rhee Syngman's tutelage. On 1

October, a ROK force crossed the 38th Parallel, and soon was followed by the Americans. The shattered KPA withdrew, followed by the fall of Pyöngyang on 19 October, just a few days after Kim Il Sung and his government had fled to the Chinese border. On 25 October ROK troops reached the Amnok (Yalu) River; the Korea - China border.

However, the UN approach to the Yalu River raised serious concern in Beijing. The new Chinese Communist government considered the appearance of an openly hostile regime on its borders, close to the main Chinese industrial base in Manchuria, a grave threat. The Chinese leaders gave diplomatic warnings about possible intervention if the UN formations continued their offensive to the north, but these signals were ignored by the American and South Korean leaders who were sure the war was over. In this respect they had greatly underestimated the Chinese politicians and their military machine.

In early October the Chinese government decided to send its army into Korea to preserve the North Korean regime and to expel the threatening military formations far from the Chinese border. Marshal Peng De-huai was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese forces in Korea, which were called the Chinese People's Volunteers (CPV, which in western publications were often called CCF - Chinese Communist Forces) to formally avoid direct involvement in the war. It was the same fiction as labeling the joint American-South Korean Army 'the UN forces'. The Chinese forces initially (in mid-October) consisted of the XIII Army Group which comprised four armies (3 infantry divisions each) and some other units.

The first Chinese units crossed the border on 19 October. During October and early November Peng De-huai concentrated up to 150 000 troops in North Korea. All troop and supply movements were done by night, with men and machines heavily camouflaged. As a result, the Chinese presence was not discovered by American intelligence until late October, when the first Chinese counter-attacks halted the UN offensive. On 25 November, the Chinese armies began a large-scale counter-offensive. In a few days many UN/ROK formations were annihilated or routed. In spite of enormous losses the CP pushed south. P'yöngyang fell on 5 December. By the end of December, Chinese formations had reached the the 38th parallel.

On 31 December Peng De-huai launched a new attack against Seoul. The Korean capital was in Chinese hands by 4 January, but the CPV's offensive soon lost its momentum. By the end of January the UN command had stabilized the situation and a new UN offensive began on 7 March. This overcame all resistance and during the night of 14 March the CPV abandoned Seoul. A new frontline approximated the demarcation line along the 38th parallel from which the war had been launched.

In the spring and early summer of 1951 intensive fighting, local offensives and counter-offensives continued, but the territorial gains were indecisive and it was becoming clearer that both sides were deadlocked. The DPRK/Chinese had lost the opportunity to establish their control of the Korean Peninsula, but the ROK/UN also could not hope to repeat its success and unify Korea under Rhee Syngman's government. On the frontline, both sides eventually constructed formidable fortifications against which any attack meant heavy losses with little or no gains.

It was in this situation that cease-fire talks began on 10 July 1951 in Kaesöng (from 25 October the negotiations continued in P'anmunjöng). In the first few months negotiations hinged on territorial problems, but by 1952 a provisional truce line (based on military positions) was agreed. Then the exchange of prisoners-of-war became the main object of discussion. The UN command insisted that captured soldiers could make a choice of whether to stay with their captors or return to their former homes. This proposal was unacceptable to the DPRK/Chinese mainly for propaganda reasons, because they knew that many of their soldiers would opt to stay in the south. The Communists were sure that

time was on their side and that the war-weary-public opinion of the West would sooner or later compel Western governments to conclude a peace settlement on less favourable terms. There is room for conjecture that Stalin himself wanted to extend hostilities, since the war had bled both the USA (the USSR's main enemy) and China (a potentially untrustworthy ally).

The Soviet Union itself was determined to avoid a direct confrontation with the West. During the war the Soviets had provided logistics and advisors, as well as some air cover. They did not, however, commit their ground forces to Korea and imposed restrictions on the actions of their pilots. The same self-restrained position was adopted by the Americans. MacArthur's persistent proposals to attack the Chinese mainland and escalate the war into a full-scale confrontation resulted in his dismissal, in April 1951, by President Harry Truman. Thus, the land, air and sea battle operations were restricted to the Korean peninsula.

After the summer of 1951 there were no drastic changes to the frontline positions. The ground forces were engaged in positional warfare, but the rare offensives and counter-offensives were of limited scale. The main fighting was done by the Chinese and Americans, with the South and North Korean armies gradually recovering after near-annihilation.

Trying to inflict heavy losses on the enemy, in 1951 the UN air forces launched a bombing campaign against the North. The main targets were military positions, roads, bridges and powerstations. Since throughout the war air superiority was maintained by the UN (though sometimes challenged by the Chinese and Russian pilots), the bombing itself was not a difficult task. It did, however, result in the devastation of towns and cities, the destruction of industrial plant and severe damage to North Korea's infrastructure. However, the bombing campaign failed to achieve its definitive purpose, since the CPV the KPA and the civilian authorities had constructed numerous underground (bomb-proof) installations.

After many months of fruitless talks, in March, 1953 the situation in P'anmunjŏm improved considerably. The Communists gave up their demands and agreed that every prisoner had a right of choice whether to return home or stay in the north. After some final deliberations the armistice agreement was concluded on 27 July 1953 at Panmunjŏm. However, the ROK government refused to sign the truce agreement, which it considered a perpetuation of national division. Thus it was signed only by the Chinese, the DPRK and the UN forces. According to the terms, the truce line was to be similar to the existing front-line and had only minor differences to the pre-war demarcation line. The truce was to be supervised by a commission of four neutral nations.

For Korea, the war was an economic and human disaster of unprecedented scale. Due to lack of reliable data, estimations of human losses vary greatly. Estimates for the ROK forces are 150 000 killed and dead from wounds; 200 000 missing in action and 250 000 seriously injured, while 100 000 - 150 000 civilians were abducted or went voluntarily to North Korea. The United Nations force suffered heavily too. The United States had 33 000 casualties and the United Kingdom 3 800, with the losses of the smaller contingents correspondingly heavy. The data about losses of the DPRK/Chinese forces and civilians is highly disputable. According to South Korean estimations, probably 500 000 North Korean soldiers and more than 200,000 civilians were killed during the conflict. The Chinese insist that their losses were 360,000 (killed and seriously wounded), but in all probability, the figures are much higher. According to some estimations, they number about one million. The economies of both North and South were devastated. In the south, almost half of the country's factories and plant, coal mining and electricity generation were destroyed or severely damaged. About one-third of all houses were lost and substantial amounts of the infrastructure destroyed. Politically, the war strengthened the positions of both Rhee Syngman and Kim Il Sung's regimes. The supporters of oppositional groups

were either killed during mass repressions or escaped to another zone. Large amounts of foreign aid permitted both regimes to create military and police machines which were effective enough to provide necessary cohesion.

Internationally, the Korean War was of great consequence. It was the first limited war of the nuclear age, the first conflict between superpowers (the term was not coined yet) and/or their allies in which both sides imposed some self-restraint to prevent the conflict from escalating into full-scale nuclear war. The Korean War set a precedent for later conflicts (notably, Vietnam and Afghanistan). It increased the tensions between West and East, provoked the re-armament of the West and strengthening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). At the same time, the disinclination of the USSR to give all-out support undermined Soviet credibility, both in Beijing and P'yöngyang.

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A Lankov

North Korea, History of

The formation of an independent Korean State (1945-1948)

On 9 August 1945, the Soviet Government declared itself at war with Japan. On 11 August the units of the 25th Army (the 1st Far Eastern Front) crossed the Korean border. In the following week Soviet troops advanced into the country and marines were landed in major Korean ports. On 15 August the Japanese surrender was announced. Some Japanese units held out, but fighting lasted for only a few days.

Consultations between Soviet and American governments about drawing a demarcation line (in one form or another) had taken place ever since the Potsdam conference, and by 15 August, it had been decided that after the Japanese surrender the USSR would occupy the Korean Peninsula north of the 38th parallel and the USA to the south of this line.

By the end of August, the Soviet military assumed the control of the northern half of the Korean Peninsula, with Soviet troops stationed in major cities and taking responsibility for governing the country. However, the Soviet generals were hardly prepared for this governmental task, in contrast to Russia's role in the control of those European countries occupied by the Soviet Army after WWII, Moscow too, was unfamiliar with the Korean political situation. Although numerous Koreans resided in the USSR, none of them enjoyed any kind of popularity inside Korea and even a Communist Party - a recognized manipulatory tool of Soviet policy - was non-existent. A majority of prominent Korean leftists who fled to the Soviet Union before WWII and worked in the *Komintern*, fell victims to Stalin's purges, while Soviet-Koreans (with very few exceptions), being mostly second or third-generation immigrants, had no contact with Korea.

The 25th Army Commander, I.I. Chistiakov (Member of the Military Council); N.G. Lebedev and other senior officers were responsible for the practical implementation (and, to a certain degree interpretation) of Moscow's policy in Korea. Korean affairs were supervised by T.F. Shtykov (Member of the Military Council of the 1st Far Eastern Front). The main task of the Soviet authorities was to establish in Korea or, at least in its Northern part, a friendly (desirably communist) regime.

North Korea. However, the decision was not yet final, and Kim Il-sŏng (together with Cho Manshik, Pak Honyong and, probably a few more) was only one of several likely candidates.

The division of Korea was officially considered to be only temporary. The future of Korea was discussed during the Conference of foreign ministers of the USA, USSR, UK and China which took place in Moscow (16-26 December). The Conference adopted a proposition (initially American) to establish over Korea an International Trusteeship for a transitional period. These plans brought sharp protests by nationalists who considered it an insult to national dignity and an attempt to establish a new form of colonial regime in the country.

On 5 January 1946, at the session of the People's committee of the province of South P'yŏngan, Cho Manshik not only protested against the Trusteeship plan, but also refused to cooperate with the occupying authorities and resigned. Other nationalist members of the committee did the same. It was an open challenge to Soviet authority and could not, therefore, be tolerated. A repressive campaign against nationalists was then launched. Cho Manshik was arrested in early January 1946, spent five years in prison and was executed in October 1950. Cho Manshik's supporters were purged also from the Democratic Party which soon was transformed into a puppet organization led by government agents posing as nationalists. The Right answered by the organization of anti-Soviet, anti-communist revolts (the biggest one took place in Hamhung) and terrorist actions (including an attempt on the life of Kim Il Song and some other leaders in spring, 1946). The result was the severance of all links between the nationalists and the Soviets and the latter had to deal entirely with the communists.

The Korean communists have never been a monolithic identity. In 1946 there were four communist factions, differing greatly in their background and experience. The *kungnaep'a* (domestic faction, led by Pak Hŏnyŏng) consisted of the former underground communists. Most of them worked in the South, but the growing anti-communism of the Americans and the Seoul authorities encouraged them to escape to the North and in 1946-1950 their number increased greatly. The *ppalchisanp'a* (guerrilla faction) led by Kim Il Sung, consisted of former guerrillas who fought the Japanese in Manchuria and after 1940 escaped to the USSR to serve in the 88th Brigade. The *yonanp'a* (Yanan faction, leader Kim Tubong) was composed of the Korean left-wing intellectuals who emigrated to China in the 1920-30s and were closely associated with the Chinese Communist Party (most of them spent their exile in the communist headquarters in Yanan) as well as a number of the Koreans who had served in the Chinese Red Army. The *soryonp'a* (Soviet faction) led by Hŏ Kai, was formed by the Soviet-Koreans, mostly former school teachers and medium-level officials. They were sent to Korea in 1945-1948 by the Soviet government to work in North Korean party and government institutions. Members of all four groups had very different education levels and had had very limited contacts with each other before 1945, therefore tension was inevitable (especially taking into consideration the strong tradition of factionalism, so endemic to Korean culture).

The Communist Party of North Korea initially was under the control of the 'guerrilla' and 'Soviet' factions while 'Yanan' faction members decided to establish a party of their own. The 'Yanan' faction led New People's Party (*Shinmindang*) came into being on 16 February 1946.

The practical management of the country's everyday life was vested in the Soviet Civil Administration which replaced the direct rule of the 25th Army on and from 3 October 1945. However, the Soviet authorities needed an organ of self-government in North Korea, which could form a proto-government, and thereby a nucleus of a pro-Soviet regime. The first attempt took place as early as in October 1945, when the 'Administrative Bureau of Five Provinces' was established in P'yŏngyang. The break with

Their conceptual political framework was viewed through the eyes of a 'people's democracy' which had been developed by the Soviet ideologists during and after World War II. According to this concept, every would-be socialist country had to pass through a transition period. This was a period of 'people's-democratic reforms' which were to eliminate the old order - land reform, partial nationalization, etc. - and thus create conditions for future 'socialist development' (practically- the establishment of a Stalinist mono-party regime). As such, it played a very important role in the North Korean politics of the 1940s and 1950s. As soon as the Soviets entered the North, they began to search for a force to fill the political vacuum and their first choice was Cho Manshik, a prominent right-wing nationalist politician. Just before the arrival of the Soviet troops to P'yŏngyang, the biggest North Korean city which was chosen as 25th Army Headquarters, Cho Manshik formed there a cell of self-government, the Preparatory Committee for National Construction (*Kŏn'guk Chunbi Wiwŏnhoe*). In August-September 1945, a number of these self-government bodies appeared everywhere in Korea. In the North they were sometimes ordered by or under the supervision of Soviet military authorities, but more often than not they were just a product of the local initiative and nationalist enthusiasm. These institutions initially had various names, but from September 1945 they were usually called 'people's committees'. Even though at that time nationalists were much more numerous than communists as members of the 'people's committees', the Soviet military authorities decided to support the committees as the nucleus of a future 'people's democracy' and began to enhance the communist influence in them. Under Soviet pressure many communists were co-opted to the 'people's committees' (including Cho Manshik's Committee in South P'yŏngyan province) and obtained important posts.

Cho Manshik was probably the most influential politician of the North and the Soviet authorities did their best to establish a dialogue with him. It seemed as if they would make him a leader of the pro-Soviet administration. However, Cho Manshik's rigid opposition to communism as well as his deep distrust of any foreign power made him a very unsuitable partner and led to a number of minor clashes between him and the occupation authorities. On a lower level, cooperation between the Soviet Army (and Soviet-supported communists) and nationalists also was far from being smooth, as was well demonstrated during a riot of nationalist students in Sinuiju (November 1945). In this month Cho Manshik founded the right-wing Democratic party (*Minjudang*) which proved to be a very popular and influential rival. Reacting to this move, the Soviet authorities began their search for other possible leaders among Korean communists who previously had not been considered seriously due to their lack of influence. Since the most prominent communist leaders were in the South, the Soviets were interested in Kim Il Sung (Kim Il-sŏng), a former Manchuria guerrilla who in 1940 fled to the USSR to become a captain in the Red Army. Kim had arrived in Korea towards the end of September 1945. However, prior to the autumn of 1945 neither the Soviet authorities or Kim Il Sŏng himself had any plans concerning his participation in politics. This decision to transform a Red Army officer into a leader of local authorities of the Soviet-controlled North was a rather impulsive move.

On 13 October the Soviet authorities gathered a meeting of local communists to establish the North Korean bureau of the Korean Communist Party (*Chosŏn kongsandang Puk Chosŏn pun'guk*). Then the bureau recognized the supreme authority of the Central Committee in Seoul. Kim Yong-bom, a former underground communist, was elected its chairman, but in December he was replaced by Kim Il Sung. In winter 1945-46 the bureau ceased to be a local organ and, with the blessing of the Soviet authorities, gradually transformed itself into the Communist Party of North Korea, independent from Pak Honyong's leadership in Seoul.

On 14 October Kim Il Sung appeared in public for the first time. He addressed a mass rally held in P'yŏngyang to welcome the Soviet Army. Since that time the Soviet authorities, without abandoning their efforts to establish a dialogue with Cho Manshik and his nationalists, began to stake on Kim Il Sung as a future leader of 'people's democracy' in

the nationalists undermined this body, but on 8 February 1946 a new organ of local self-government, the 'Provisional People's Committee of North Korea' (*Puk Chosŏn imshi inmin wiwŏnhoe*), was inaugurated in P'yŏngyang. Kim Il Sung whose position as the main Soviet protege by that time had been firmly established, was appointed its chairman.

During the spring and summer of 1946 the Soviet Administration realised many social reforms subscribed by the 'people's democracy' concept. The most important was probably in land reform. It was proclaimed by way of a special Decree which was issued by the Provisional People's committee, but in fact written by Soviet officials and approved in Moscow. The maximum size of landholdings was limited to 5 *chŏngbo* (slightly less than 5 hectares). The outright ownership of land ceased to exist and the peasants' support of a future communist government was thus won overnight. Large-scale nationalisation of industry was launched in August, only twelve months after the North was occupied by the Soviet Army (much earlier than in the 'people's democracies' of Eastern Europe, where this process took a few years longer).

In that relatively short period, full control over the country was exercised by the Soviet Civil Administration. However, by the end of 1946, the North Korean embryonic government also had a small, but ever-increasing share of power. The influence of this government was strengthened by the merger of two Marxist parties - the Communist Party of North Korea (Guerrilla and Soviet factions) and New People's Party (Yanan faction) - into the North Korean Workers' Party (NKWP). The unification was decided during Kim Il Sung's and Pak Hŏnyŏn's secret visit to Moscow and their consultations with Stalin and other Soviet leaders in July 1946. The 1st Congress of the NKWP took place in August. Kim Tubong, leader of the Yanan faction, became Chairman of the Party while Kim Il Sung was elected his Deputy. Since Kim Tubong, an aged scholar, usually avoided practical politics, real power in the Party eventually passed into Kim Il Sung's hands. However, he did not hold supreme power, as this was still being curbed by rival factions (of which Kim Il Sung's own Guerrilla faction was the least significant) as well as by the paramount presence of the Soviet military.

In July 1946, the United Democratic National Front, a North Korean version of the United Front, was proclaimed in P'yŏngyang. Its existence was considered to be necessary to the 'people's democracy' concept and it was very useful for propaganda reasons. But in North Korea it was only a formal, bogus coalition, since one of the two non-communist parties (the Democratic Party) had lost its independence and the other, a party with religious affiliation, called *Ch'ondogyo-ch'ŏngu dang* (Young Friends' Party), lacked both strength and opportunity to challenge the Communist hegemony.

Initially, Moscow was uncertain about the desirable future of divided Korea, but as it was becoming clear that only a right-wing nationalist government would be permitted by the Americans in Seoul, the Soviet authorities began to lose interest in plans for a united Korean state and concentrated their efforts on the formation of a separate communist regime in the North. The Joint Soviet-American Commission was established in March, 1946 to supervise the realisation of Moscow Conference decisions, but it operated in a very uneasy atmosphere because of endless altercation between the Soviet and American delegations. The Soviet side realised, taking into consideration the greater population of the South (where under the American occupation the communists were persecuted and nationalist parties thrived) that the free elections throughout Korea would result in the establishment in Seoul of a nationalist, right-wing and more or less anti-Soviet government. Therefore, the Soviet side insisted on granting some privileges for the leftists, which the Americans saw as unfit to adopt. After months of quarrels, the Commission failed to achieve any results and was abolished in October 1947.

Meanwhile, the construction of an independent state in the North continued. On 3

November 1946 the local elections legitimated the system of the people's committees, which had hitherto been largely self-proclaimed institutions. On 21 February 1947, the 1st Congress of People's Committees elected a North Korean provisional government. This government, led by Kim Il Sung, completed the nationalisation of all big and medium-sized businesses (small merchants were tolerated, albeit restricted, until the late 1950s) and quickly re-shaped the North Korean economy according to standards common for all other 'People's Democracies'. Education, mass-media, cultural activities, also were drastically changed: the Japanese traditions were rooted out and replaced with new approaches, often based upon Soviet patterns.

As early as 1946, the North (just like the South) began to develop its own armed forces. Initially its army was disguised as a field police and border guard force, but on 28 February 1948 it was officially established as the Korean People's Army (KPA). The training of this force was organized by numerous Soviet advisers. Substantial support, both in well-trained personnel and logistics also was provided by the Chinese communists, among whom there was a number of Koreans.

By the summer of 1948 it was evident that ruling elites in both Koreas - the Soviet-backed communists in the North and American-backed nationalists in the South - were not going to fuse their zones of control at the risk of losing power, preferring instead to establish in the Peninsula two independent and hostile states. In the 1948 summer, the North Korean Constitution was drafted and on 25 August, ten days after the declaration of the Republic of Korea in Seoul, separate elections took place in the North. Certainly, they were strictly controlled and opposition of any kind was not tolerated. On 9 September, the first session of the People's Supreme Assembly was held and proclaimed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).

The Korean War and its consequences : the DPRK as a country of the Soviet Bloc (1948-1960).

Just like its southern counterpart, the DPRK government insisted on being the only legitimate authority on the Korean peninsula and did not recognize officially the rival government. By the late 1940s, it was apparent there was no way of unifying the divided country, except by military force. The military decision then was favoured by all factions in P'yŏngyang as well as by the DPRK's main allies, though their reasons (apart from the idealistic, which are not to be neglected or under-estimated) were different. Moscow and Beijing hoped not only to strengthen the influence of communism, but also curb American expansion in Asia and crush an unfriendly regime near their borders. The Guerrilla faction hoped to increase the role of the military, where they were very influential, while the Domestic faction (consisting mainly of southerners) also hoped to have a bigger share of power after the 'liberation' of their native South, which was much more populous than the North.

An intensive military build-up began. The Soviet units had been completely withdrawn by December 1948, leaving behind numerous military advisers. The KPA General Staff designed a war plan against the South as early as in 1947, even before the official establishment of the Army, but all plans were drastically revised in spring 1950 by a group Soviet military advisers. At the same time, the North supported active guerrilla movement in the South which was to weaken Rhee Syngman's regime prior to the attack.

The decision to unify the country by a sudden stroke against the South was confirmed by Stalin during his private talks with Kim Il Sung in Moscow (March 1950) and, in all probability, was approved by Beijing also. Kim Il Sung and Pak Hŏnyŏng then insisted that it would be an easy task, since Rhee Syngman's regime was very unpopular and the war would be won just in a few days or weeks.

The invasion began at dawn on 25 June 1950. In spite of all Rhee Syngman's bellicosity, his army was no match for the North. On 28 June the KPA tanks were in Seoul and by mid-September firm control of nearly all the Southern provinces had been secured by the communists. A system of people's committees was introduced there, with the new authorities starting land reform and the partial nationalisation of industry. However, American intervention turned the tables.

On 16 September the United Nations began their amphibious operation in Inch'ön cutting the supply lines of the KPA troops concentrated on the southern tip of the peninsula. The North Korean units, though they were usually victorious over the lesser-trained and often demoralized army of the South, were overcome by the sophisticated American weaponry and had to retire in total disarray. On 19 October 1950 P'yöngyang was occupied by the Americans. The North Korean government fled to Shinūiju and then to Kanggye, a small city in a mountainous region near the Chinese border. By the end of October the South and the United Nations were convinced they were close to victory, just like their adversaries were only weeks before.

The United Nations high command had discounted the idea of Chinese entry into the conflict. However, Chinese intervention started at the end of November. Numerous battle-hardened Chinese units drove the United Nations and ROK Armies back to the 38th parallel and succeeded in capturing Seoul, for a short time (January - March 1951). From spring 1951, the conflict began to stalemate and both sides conducted positional warfare until 27 July 1953 when an Armistice was signed in P'anmunjöm. However, since the winter of 1950/51 the North Korean units had served largely as auxiliaries while the main work was done by the Chinese. On the other hand, the Chinese commander-in-chief, Peng De-huai and his subordinates, refrained from intervention in questions of North Korean domestic politics.

The war had contradictory consequences for the domestic development of the North. The P'yöngyang regime emerged from the war greatly weakened economically, but immensely strengthened politically. In spite of all the terrible devastation of war, ever since the DPRK authorities could rely on a strong army and police force. But they were considerably less dependent on direct foreign political support (though economic aid was vital still) and could disregard even the slightest possibility of internal opposition, since most former dissenters either left the country, were dead or, at least, silenced. The direct participation of the Chinese (not the Soviet) armies in the war inevitably led to a shift of the sphere of influence from the Soviet Union to China. Until the war, the Soviet position was a decisive factor, now it could be counterbalanced by Beijing.

Economic and social development of the DPRK during its early years was very like that of other 'people's democracies'. Small artisan-type private enterprise and trade were abolished and private agricultural firms were united under government supervision into cooperatives. In economic development the emphasis was on heavy industry. Such a scheme was in keeping with Stalinist tradition and well-matched the North Korean situation (deposits of ores and coal, and the existence of many plants constructed during the colonial period). Though reliable statistics are not accessible or even may not exist, the 1950s witnessed remarkable economic achievements. By 1960, the North Korea economy not only had recovered from huge war-time losses, but also had made substantial progress. Per capita GNP was higher than in the South, and there was a very considerable rise in industrial production of 10-25% annually, according to official data, between 1953-1960. The great role in this economic advancement was played by foreign, mostly Soviet, aid, both direct and indirect, through credits (which have never been repaid), artificially low prices on oil, raw materials and so forth.

All principal political decisions were made by party committees, which were considered

to be elected, but which in practical terms were partly appointed from above and partly co-opted. The legislative bodies and organs of self-government lost even the small degree of independence they had held before the war and were reduced to rubber-stamping activities. The ultimate power was now in the hands of the Party Central Committee and its Politburo.

After 1953, North Korea abandoned for a while her attempts at destabilising the South Korean regime and its policy towards the South calmed. Foreign policy was mainly confined to China, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, since throughout the 1950s the DPRK remained in diplomatic isolation and was recognized only by socialist countries.

In North Korean domestic politics the 1950s saw the eventual destruction of all factions other than Kim Il Sung's Guerrilla faction, as well as the gradual decline of foreign control over political life. In June 1949, the Workers' parties of South and North Korea had merged, with Kim Il Sung appointed Chairman of the new Korean Workers' Party (KWP). Both Kim Tubong, a leader of the Yanan faction and former Chairman of the North Korean Workers' Party and Pak Hŏnyŏng, a leader of the Domestic faction and former Chairman of the South Korean Workers' Party, became Kim Il Sung's lieutenant. During the war, Hŏ Kai, an influential leader of the Soviet faction was purged and later died in uncertain circumstances. Pak Ilu, another remarkable leader of the Yanan faction, also fell victim to the purge. Each of these events resulted in the considerable strengthening of Kim Il Sung, who now sought unrestricted power for himself and who, due to endemic Korean factionalism, could rely only on his old comrades-in-arms from the Guerrilla faction. He used changes in the domestic and international situation to begin a campaign against party leaders from other groupings, his first target being the Domestic faction which was especially vulnerable since it had no foreign patron. In spring 1953, some leaders of the Domestic faction were arrested. Between 3-6 August 1953, during the biggest political show trial in North Korean history, prominent Domestic faction leaders, who had been outstanding members of the communist movement since the 1920/30s, were accused of spying for the USA and South Korea, or else of secret collaboration with the Japanese political police, and were executed. The Domestic faction leader, Pak Hŏnyŏng, was arrested in August 1953, tried (on 15 December 1955) and subsequently executed as an American spy. After the liquidation of their leaders most of the remaining Domestic communists were purged and the faction dissolved.

The destruction of the Yanan and Soviet factions was, however, a much more formidable task because both had a deal of external support. Of the two, the Soviet faction was probably the more dangerous because it could conduct de-Stalinisation ideas, thereby threatening Kim Il Sung's power, which was modelled on the Stalinist pattern. It seemed that at first Kim Il Sung planned to concentrate on the Soviet faction - a campaign he started in the autumn of 1955, but events took a different course. In August 1956, Kim came under direct attack at the plenum of the KWP Central Committee. Some members of the Yanan factions severely criticised his methods and the leader personally. They hoped they could convince Central Committee members to condemn the Kim Il Sung's personality cult and hopefully, to replace him, but it was a fatal blunder. Kim Il Sung and his faction had secured firm support among the high and middle-level party officials and only few (mostly members of the Yanan faction) supported the opposition. In true Kim Il Sung tradition, large-scale purges of the Yanan supporters began just after the plenum.

In a vain attempt to stop such a development Beijing proposed that Moscow send to Korea a joint Soviet-Chinese delegation to study the situation in North Korea and persuade Kim Il Sung to stop the purges. This was the delegation of A. Mikoyan and Peng Dehuai, in September 1956. Bowing to pressure from these powerful neighbours, Kim Il Sung's faction had to make some concessions, but these proved to be short-lived. In 1957, large-scale purges against the Yanan faction recommenced. However, an

unrealized Chinese-Soviet intervention attempt reassured Kim Il Sung that to become an omnipotent master of his domestic policy he would have to disengage from all foreign control.

Since both Yanan and Soviet factions were considered to be the tools of such external control, they were purged *ipso facto* between 1957-1960. Some officials, belonging to both fractions, were either executed, imprisoned or banished, but most preferred to leave North Korea in haste. However, Chinese or Soviet intervention, which was considered inevitable only few years before did not occur, due to many factors. Among these were a degree of political instability both in China and the Soviet Union; the growing rivalry between these powers; Khrushchev's policy of relaxed control over other communist regimes; as well as Kim Il Sung's tactical skills.

The rise of Juche (*Chuch'e*) : the DPRK in the period of political independence and radical experiments (1960-1985)

The failure of the so-called August Group had resulted in a noticeable transformation of the North Korean internal policy, which became increasingly totalitarian. The former standards of political and social life which imitated Stalin's models, appeared to be too liberal. There was, too, the great influence of China, where Maoist radicalism was at its height.

The early 1960s were marked by a radicalization of North Korean domestic and foreign politics. Such a development was influenced by Maoist China and met with enthusiastic support from some members of the DPRK ruling elite. However, by the 1970s, radical experiments had proved to be too costly and dangerous, or ineffective, and were gradually replaced by more moderate and traditionalistic approaches.

In economics, the beginning of the 1960s was a time of numerous experiments, mostly influenced by ideas of Maoist China. The *Ch'öllima* Campaign (Flying Horse Campaign) imitated the Chinese Great Leap Forward, and the agricultural cooperatives were remodelled to be more like the Chinese people's communes than the Soviet *kolhoz*. The self-sufficiency movement which was to become one of the main propaganda topics for decades, was also modelled upon Chinese patterns and even had the name written in the same characters, *charyök kaengsaeng*. As in Maoist China, the emphasis was now on ideological leadership of the party, political control, the omnipresence of government institutions, centralization and discipline, as well as on revolutionary enthusiasm rather than economic incentives. In the 'Taeon system', introduced in industry in the early 1960s, at every plant or company the party secretary was placed above the director to stress the role of party and the inferiority of economics to politics. Even the slightest traces of economical independence were abrogated: the small individual kitchen gardens which peasants had been permitted to hold were withdrawn, as were the market-places. The control was eased slightly in the early 1980s, but, nevertheless, remained more rigid than in other socialist states.

The years 1960-1985 were not overly successful for North Korea in its dealings with the Soviet Union and China. The biggest challenge was the nagging quarrel between the two Powers, which began in the late 1950s and continued for several decades. P'yöngyang, after some wavering, preferred to remain neutral and in July 1961, almost identical Treaties of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Help were concluded with both China and the Soviet Union. After 1961, however, North Korea aligned itself briefly with China in the conflict, but from 1965 firmly established itself as a neutral actor. The fierce rivalry between North Korea's two principal allies made possible some very delicate manoeuvring in order to gain more independence. But this split, as well as the serious internal chaos in China during the cultural revolution, also created an atmosphere of instability and severely affected the flow of vital economic aid.

The economic situation deteriorated during 1960-1985, and did not recover. The rapid-

paced development of the 1950s slowed, and then, after 1980, stagnated. The command economy proved to be ineffective; foreign aid ceased to be as generous as before (critical of the DPRK's earlier economic record); the burden of massive military expenditure; world-wide ambitions and expensive propaganda, all had their effect. The reckless experiments of the 1960s, though much more cautious than in China, were nevertheless destructive enough to slow down economic development. Since the beginning of the 1970s, the South (where the so-called economic miracle was taking place) began to outstrip the North. However, the North Korean authorities managed to provide the people with minimum subsistence and thereby avoided famine. Living standards were at best moderate, but nevertheless stable.

The general radical trends of the 1960s also greatly influenced North Korean policy toward Seoul, and become even more violent and ambitious than in the 1953-1960 period. In the 1960s, the North Korean leaders (probably swayed by the impressive success of left-wing guerrillas in Vietnam) attempted to destabilize the South Korean government by starting a clandestine movement there. Meanwhile, the pace of military build-up in the North increased. In 1968-1969, North Korean troops used as guerrillas launched several attacks against military installations, as well as civilian targets in the South, including the president's residence. Concurrently, North Korean secret services supported some illegal communist groups in a vain attempt to create a wide left-wing movement in the South. Some direct actions against United States planes and ships also took place (such as the seizure of the US ship *Pueblo* on 23 January 1968, and the shooting down of an EC-121 aircraft on 15 April 1969). However, these operations achieved little.

This failure resulted in a more realistic approach toward the South, reinforced in 1970 when South Korea's president Park Chung Hee made his Liberation Day (August 15) Declaration, from which flowed (in November 1972) the formation of the South-North Coordinating Committee (SNCC). After 1972, however, the relations of the North to its rival remained very hostile, even dotted with some quasi-military actions, and both Korean states continued the policy of mutual non-recognition. But notwithstanding, a 'start and stop' arrangement continued the direct dialogue intermittently between P'yŏngyang and Seoul. This dialogue continued, though with very few practical results, throughout the 1970/ 80s.

The 1960s and early 1970s were a period of diplomatic activity worldwide. The diplomatic isolation of the 1950s was broken and North Korea was recognized by many countries, especially in the developing countries. The number of countries which had diplomatic relations with North Korea increased from 15 in 1960, to 35 in 1970, and to 90 in 1975. Apart from efforts to gain recognition from left-wing and/or nationalist regimes, North Korea in the 1960s began to support a range of left-wing guerrilla groups, providing them with training, arms and money. Huge resources were dedicated to the overseas propagation of Kim Il Sung ideology. This policy continued, but after 1970 when the radical trends were exhausted, North Korea attempted to establish better relations with hitherto hostile Western countries in a search for alternative sources of loans and technology. However, since P'yŏngyang could not manage its foreign-sourced loans well and ceased virtually all interests payment after 1975, these attempts were mostly in vain.

The domestic politics of the 1960s were more stable than in previous periods since all possible opposition inside and outside the party had been eliminated and Kim Il Sung could enjoy absolute control over the country. Some purges among party elite still took place at the lower levels, and the early 1960s saw massive repressions directed against those who were considered to be potential dissenters due to their lineage and biography. Tens of thousands were sent to concentration camps, while numerous others were executed (often in public) as counter-revolutionaries. After 1970, the scale of this campaign gradually decreased. To establish better control over the populace, the authorities relied on

measures unusually rigid even for many totalitarian states. Unauthorized domestic travel was forbidden and the whole population was separated into *inminbans* - small groups of a few dozen families - where the mutual responsibility for correct political behaviour encouraged mutual surveillance.

After 1970 the stability of the ruling strata remained, but the years were marked by growing nepotism. An ever-increasing number of Kim Il Sung's relatives appeared in both government and in party leadership positions. The most significant was the rise of his eldest son, Kim Jong Il (Kim Chŏngil b.1941?-) who was elevated to the KWP Central Committee and then to its Politburo with special responsibility for culture and ideology. It soon became clear that he was to succeed his father to the highest office. In fact, he was officially acknowledged as heir apparent in October 1980, on the occasion of the 6th Congress of the KWP.

The cultural policy of the period was marked by nationalistic tendencies as well as the tightening of controls over culture and arts. In the mid-1960s, the publication of foreign and non-political fiction was suspended for two decades and all art-forms were used only to glorify the Great Leader (as Kim Il Sung was known). The Soviet-modelled institutions and structures which had been widely introduced after 1945, were partly replaced by new ones which were considered to be pure Korean.

After 1960, the secretivity of the state greatly increased. The mass-media ceased to publish reliable statistics, almost all unofficial contacts with foreign countries were suspended, and the population was absolutely deprived of any unauthorized information about the foreign situation as well as all contact outside North Korea. Even the private ownership of radio receivers with a tuning facility was forbidden and established as a crime. Such isolation was becoming increasingly important for political stability, since it kept the population in the dark on the rapid economic development of the South. Kim Il Sung's Juche ideology (*Chuch'e sasang*) was officially proclaimed a new step in the development of progressive thought, and held superior to both Marxist and Leninist principles. A new Constitution (1972) proclaimed that the transitional period of people's democracy was over and that North Korea was now a socialist country.

Probably, the most striking feature of North Korea's political situation was Kim Il Sung's personality cult, which equated or exceeded that of some other notorious figures in modern world history. Thousands of Kim Il Sung's monuments were erected throughout the country, his portrait hung in every living room, every office and even in every railway carriage. Enormous resources were used for this propaganda. After 1972, all North Koreans over sixteen were obliged to wear a badge with the portrait of the Great Leader, and the song about General Kim Il Sung had almost replaced the national anthem. After 1980, Kim Il Sung's son and heir Kim Jong Il received similar adulation.

The last years of Kim Il Sung's rule : the DPRK during the crisis of state socialism (1985-1994)

Though the accelerating disintegration of state socialism in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe after 1985 had no immediate consequences for North Korea, and the political system remained untouched until the death of Kim Il Sung in 1994, the general environment changed dramatically and it had very serious influence on North Korea.

By the end of the 1980s the economical crisis had greatly deepened. In economic terms, the South was now far ahead of its northern neighbour. Though correct estimations are hardly possible, per capita GNP in the North by 1990 was not more than \$US1 000 (probably even as low as \$US500), or , about 6-10 times less than in South Korea. After 1990, the scale of the crisis was so great that North Korean authorities had to officially recognize the decline in industrial output.

After 1985, it soon became clear that the self-sufficiency of the North Korean economy was largely a myth and in fact its dependence on Soviet and Chinese economical support a matter of great concern. In spite of the deep crisis, North Korean authorities did not instigate serious reform - such being considered too dangerous for political stability. In the early 1980s, however, North Korea tried to improve its relations with the West. The most remarkable of all these attempts was a Joint Venture Law (1984), but results were disappointing as few foreign companies showed interest in investment in North Korea. The project of establishing a Chinese model free economic zone in the lower Tuman River region also failed, by and large, to gain international support.

An attempt to obtain more aid by improving relations with the U.S.S.R. was launched and some progress was indeed achieved after Kim Il Sung's 1984 and 1986 trips to Moscow. However, *perestroika* in the Soviet Union dramatically changed the entire situation. The DPRK and the U.S.S.R. grew apart, as the new Soviet leadership was more interested in establishing cooperation with the developed South than in supporting the impoverished North. In September 1991 Moscow and Seoul established diplomatic relations. In the late 1980s Soviet aid to North Korea diminished, and after the fall of the U.S.S.R. in 1991, it ceased. Conversely, relations with China improved (despite recognition of South Korea by Beijing in August 1992) indicating the ideological alliance of the two countries. But Chinese aid, which always had been less than that of the U.S.S.R., was insufficient to stem the decline of North Korean industrial and agricultural output.

The last years of Kim Il Sung rule were marked also by an intensive development of a nuclear program which led to a flare-up of confrontation with the USA between 1992/1994. The practical resolution of this problem acted, however, to soften to a slight extent, inter-Korean relations. The scheduled summit meeting between Kim Il Sung and South Korean president Kim Young-sam did not take place because of the North Korean leader's sudden death from a heart attack on 8 July 1994. He was succeeded as a leader by his son Kim Jong Il.

Literature on North Korea

A host of publications on North Korea exist in many languages, but they share some common defects. First, due to the esoteric nature of North Korea, and the systematical distortion of history by official North Korean publications, it is extremely difficult to get reliable information. Secondly, since North Korea was enmeshed in longstanding conflict with South Korea - which in turn was a small part of the global conflict between capitalist and state socialist systems - all too often scholarly studies were influenced by propaganda or the personal political bias of the author. Here mention is made of only a few English-language works, published outside of North Korea.

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A Lankov

Hồ Chông (1621-?)

Hồ Chông was a civil official of the late Chosŏn period. His family's ancestral home is in Yangch'ŏn, his courtesy name was Chungok and his pen name Songho. His father was a vice-minister (*ch'amp'an*) of the Board of Rites (Yejo). In 1651 Hồ passed the Special Civil Service Examination (*Pyŏlshi mun'gwa*) and began his official career. He was appointed in succession as magistrate (*pusa*) of Sŏngch'ŏn, royal secretary (*sŭngji*), and a city governor (*puyun*). Of Hồ's literary works, three of his *shijo* have been transmitted to the present time in *Haedong kayo* (Songs of Korea) and *Ch'ŏnggu Yŏngŏn* (Enduring Poetry of Green Hills).

Hồ Chun

[Medicine; Science & Techn.]

Hồ Hŏn

[Communism, Korea.]

Hồ Kai

[History of Korea.]

Hồ Kyun (1569-1618)

Hồ Kyun (styled Kyosan) was born into a celebrated *yangban* family of distinguished lineage, Hồ of Yangch'ŏn. His father Hồ Yŏp was the governor of Kyŏngsang Province and commander of the military and naval force. Like his father, Hồ Kyun was a noted Confucian scholar-official, and also a poet, prose writer and literary critic.

Well educated and talented, he had an insatiable appetite to study Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism and Catholicism. However, his career in government fluctuated, mainly because of his non-conformity. He was dismissed many times, but his resiliency just as often saw his return and he eventually attained high office, having passed the civil service examinations with distinction. But with rising social injustice and unrest he was increasingly attracted to Buddhism and religious Daoism, as a means of escape from the overpowering Confucian rigidity.

Hồ Kyun was deeply influenced by *Sŏn* Daoism (neo-Daoism) which contributed substantially to his work. His father died when he was still young and a lack of parental discipline is said to be the cause of the unconventional life style he led. He was a dissenter; yet highly idealistic and forward-thinking in his own social reform policy. His aim was to create a progressive and liberal society by eliminating existing prejudicial and ultra-conservative elements. Yet, for all his self-discipline in his devotion to studies, a regulated life was not what he sought. His continuing association with *thesŏl* and his secret involvement in the movement which opposed the deposition of queen-mother Inmok, eventually brought him much ill-will and misfortune. Finally, he was arrested on a charge of treason and executed in 1618.

The man who played a large part in Hồ Kyun's life was his tutor Yi Tal. Of illegitimate birth and with an associated social stigma, Yi Tal seems to have influenced Hồ Kyun throughout the latter's adult life. He too had a long-standing association with *Sŏn* Daoism and strongly supported the struggle of the *sŏl* against discrimination. Hồ Kyun's *Sŏngso pyŏkpugo* contains several fictional biographies of the Daoist recluse, written in Chinese, such as *Chang Saninjŏn*, *Namgung sŏnsaeng chŏn* and *Changsaeng chŏn*. Hồ wrote similar Daoist fiction including his famous *Hong Kiltong chŏn* (The Tale of Hong Kiltong), the first novel written in *han'gŭl* in the history of Korean literature. It was penned sometime during the reign of Prince Kwanghae (1608-1623), when Korea was experiencing a mixture of political division, recurring wars, and widespread confusion. Instability and insecurity gave writers grounds for turning to Daoism as a salve. *Hong Kiltong chŏn* is an invaluable

forerunner of the pre-modern Korean novel, one which opened the doors of literature to the common people, and paved the way for popular fiction.

Ho's *Söngsu sihwa* and *Haksan ch'odam* are two most valuable and vital sources for the study of Chosön poetry. He also compiled *Kukcho shisan*, a collection of verse written by thirty-five early to middle Chosön poets, which has a superb commentary on poets and poetic tradition.

Hö Nansörhön, a prominent Daoist poet, was Hö Kyun's sister. (see **Hö Nansörhön**.) His half-brother was Hö Söng, a respected scholar-official who held government posts as minister of three boards, and who, in 1590, accompanied the Royal Envoy to Japan. On his return, Hö Söng correctly predicted the Japanese invasion of Korea by forces under Toyotomi Hideyoshe

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Hö Nansörhön (1563-1589)

Hö Ch'ohüi (styled Nansörhön) was born in 1563 in Kangnüng, Kangwön Province, into a Yangch'ön family of distinguished lineage. As a girl, aided by both an eminent family tutor, Yi Tal (styled Son'gok, 1561-1618) and by brothers who were to become renowned writers themselves, she showed aptitude for learning the Chinese classics. It was largely due to this encouragement, that notwithstanding the neo-Confucian restraint, she became a foremost poet and a master calligrapher and painter. Some information exists about her family, as well as writings by her family in which she is mentioned. The biographies of Nansörhön's father and brothers are included in *Chosön wangjo shillok* (The Veritable Record of the Chosön Dynasty). The most comprehensive and reliable biography of Nansörhön's family is considered to be the epitaph of her father, Hö Yöp (1517-1580).

The years between Nansörhön's marriage at the age of fifteen and her death are little recorded. Considerable difficulty in reconstructing Nasörhön's biography arises because the material in her collected works, *Hö Nansörhön shijip* (Collected poems of Hö Nansörhön) which could have provided some information about her life, is largely Sön Daoist or neo-Daoist poems - 214 in all. She wrote occasional poems marking momentous events in her life such as parting from a brother or her husband and, in a time of deepest grief, the death of her children. Regretfully, these are the only works of Nansörhön which provide valid biographical information.

At the age of eight she was considered a prodigy after composing *Kwanghanjön Paegongnu sangnangmun* (Inscriptions on the Ridge Pole of the White Jade Pavilion in the Kwanghan Palace). Her brother Hö Pong (styled Hagok) was fully aware of his sister's talent and arranged for Son'gok, the foremost poet of the Tang style to teach her Tang poetry, an

opportunity that both guided her to a new literary genre and contributed to her development as an outstanding poet.

Nansŏrhŏn is believed to have been married to the son of a civil official, Kim Sŏngnip (1562-1592) of the Andong Kim lineage, a distinguished family. Kim Sŏngnip studied constantly from the time of his marriage and passed the Civil Service Examination in the year of Nansŏrhŏn's death. Nevertheless, he was unable to match his wife either in scholarly achievement or literary talent. It is said that he was an unimposing man, and a philanderer, often frustrated by his wife's superiority. His studies at the Reading Hall were often mere excuses for absence from home. Many of Nansŏrhŏn's poems exemplify her heart-felt sorrow, in their depictions of the loneliness of a neglected wife.

With so much unhappiness in her marriage, it is hardly surprising that melancholy and despair are so deeply reflected in her verse. To compound her misery and frustration, she never found favour with her mother-in-law, as revealed by her younger brother Hŏ Kyun (styled Kyosan) in his *Sŏngso pokpugo*. Nansŏrhŏn was influenced more by Daoism than by either Confucianism or Buddhism. She was, nevertheless, like all other women of her time, confined to the inner quarters of the house. With this in mind, it is not difficult to understand why a substantial part of her poetry, more than half in fact, attempts to capture her dream-world and the visionary land of the immortals.

Several tragic happenings hit Nansŏrhŏn in a relatively short space of time. Her two children, a girl and a boy, died in consecutive years. From the time of these tragedies, until her own untimely death, she had to contend with increasing disappointment in her husband; resentment from her mother-in-law; the exile and eventual death of her dearest brother, Hagok, and her own indifferent health. After Nansŏrhŏn's death, Kim Sŏngnip remarried, but died during the Japanese Invasions of Korea, 1592-98, while leading the *Chŏngŭi kun* (Righteous Army).

The compilation and the preservation of Nansŏrhŏn's works is attributed to her brother, Kyosan. Nansŏrhŏn's official biography as recorded in the epilogue of *Nansŏrhŏn chip* (Collected Works of Nansŏrhŏn) is written by Kyosan, and is one of the few reliable sources on her life:

'The author's name was Miss Hŏ, styled Nansŏrhŏn. She was my third elder sister and was married to an Eighth Counsellor of the Office of the Special Counsellors (*Hongmun'gwan chŏjak*), Kim Sŏngnip (1562-1592), but she died very young. Being childless, she could afford to spend much of her time writing, and consequently accumulated a great deal of literary work. However, according to her wishes, her works were burned and only a small portion, my own transcriptions, has survived. I have kept them for a long time, but have now engraved them on wood, as I fear losing them, and because I wish to introduce Nansŏrhŏn's works to a wider circle of readers.'

Ho-am Gallery

Situated in the Joong-ang Ilbo Building in Seoul's Chung Ward, the two-storey Ho-am Gallery (Hoam Gaellori) is one of the most popular art centres in Seoul, testimony to its many high-quality exhibits. Part of the 924-sq-m. ground-floor area has an 8.7 m.-high ceiling which allows for larger exhibits. The exhibition area on the second floor is 396 sq-m. There is also a 330-sq-m. outdoor display area for sculptures

Hodge, General John R.

[History of Korea]

Hoengsŏng County

Hoengsŏng County, situated in southwestern Kangwŏn Province, is surrounded by

Hongch'ŏn County to the north, P'yŏngch'ang County to the east, Yangp'yŏng County to the west, and Yŏngwŏl County and Wŏnju City to the south. The county is comprised of the town of Hoengsŏng and the townships of Kapch'ŏn, Kangnim, Konggŭn, Tunne, Sŏwŏn, Anhŭng, Uch'ŏn and Ch'ŏngil. All but the southwestern approach to the county is surrounded by the Ch'aryŏng Mountain Range and its branches. Run-off from these mountains flows down into the Han River. As part of a high inland basin, the area's climate is characterised by cool weather and short growing seasons.

The majority of residents earn their living through farming. Although some rice is cultivated, most of the agriculture is centred around dry-field crops such as corn, red peppers and potatoes. Hops, used to make beer, are also grown here. The region is also a major producer of ginseng and silkworm larvae.

Taking advantage of the area's good access to Seoul and Ch'unch'ŏn, cattle breeding operations and dairy farming have also become important parts of the local economy. In addition, there are several mining operations in the area, including an iron mine in Konggŭn Township and a gold mine in Ch'ŏngil Township.

There are a number of historical artefacts in the area. Relics from the late Neolithic period have been excavated in Tunne Township indicating that people were living in this area from 20 000 to 30 000 years ago. Other artefacts, discovered in 1983, indicate that a village existed here about 2 000 years ago. Near Mt. T'aegi, there is the Tŏkko Fortress which is said to have been built during the first to third century C.E.

There are also a number of ancient Buddhist artefacts, including a seated stone Buddha statue and a three-storey pagoda (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Assets No. 22 and No. 23 respectively) in Hoengsŏng's Ŭpha Village, a three-storey pagoda and seated Buddha statue in Konggŭn Township's Sangdong Village (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 19 and 20 respectively) and a three-storey pagoda (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 60) in Ch'ŏngil Township's Shindae Village. There are also a number of active Buddhist monasteries in the area, including Pongpok and Songdŏk temples near Mt. T'aegi, Tohwa Hermitage south of Mt. Pyŏngmu and Pogwang Temple southeast of Hoesŏng Town.

Several old historical buildings can be seen in the area. Hoengsŏng Hyanggyo (Confucian school) was founded during the reign of King T'aejo (r. 1392-1398). Rebuilt after being destroyed in the Korean War, the Hyanggyo can now be seen in Hoesŏng's Ŭpsang Village. In Sŏwŏn Township, there is the P'ungsuwŏn Catholic Church (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 69). Catholics began to gather here in 1866 to avoid increasing prosecution by the Chosŏn government. The religious community thus formed practised slash-and-burn agriculture and manufactured storage pots.

With Mt. T'aegi (1 261 metres) on its eastern border and Mt. Ch'iak (1 288 metres) to the south, the county attracts visitors throughout the year. As a further attraction, the T'aep'ung Cultural Festival has been held in the area since 1981. The festivities held at this time include traditional music, mask dancing, wrestling, drama etc. In addition, the Kangwŏn Province Folk Village was recently set up on highway 441. With a number of dwellings reconstructed in the traditional style, the village offers visitors a glimpse into the unique customs and heritage of Kangwŏn Province.

Hogyŏng

[Mythology]

Hŏjil (Tiger's Rebuke, A)

[Literature]

Hollym Publishing Company

Situated in Kwanch'öl-dong in Seoul's Chongno Ward, Hollym Publishing Company (Hallim Chulp'ansa) was founded on 18 January 1963. With Ham Kiman as editor, the company specialises in books related to technology, art, foreign languages, literature and children's literature. It also publishes English translations of Korean works, particularly those that deal with traditional Korean culture.

Holt, Vyvyan

[United Kingdom and Korea]

Honam (Goldstar Group)

[Industry]

Hong Ik University

Hong Ik University (*Hongik taehakkyo*) is a private university located in Sangsu-dong in Seoul. Established as Hongmun College (*Hongmun taehakkwan*) in April 1946, the school was officially associated with Hŭngguk Temple in Yongsan Ward. In August 1948, the college's name was changed and it became Hong-Ik College (*Hongik taehakkwan*). By 1950, the college had expanded to include the Departments of Law; Liberal Arts; Political Science; and Science. During the Korean War, the college was forced to move to a temporary location in Pusan, with a consequent reduction in programs. Returning to Seoul in 1953, the college continued its growth, with the establishment of the Departments of Business and Economics; Education; Engineering; and Fine Arts and Handicrafts, as well as the Graduate School. The Hong-Ik School Foundation also established Hong Ik Junior Technical College; Hong Ik Junior and Senior High Schools; Hong Ik Girls' Junior and Senior High Schools; and Hong Ik Primary School.

In 1971, Hong Ik College merged with Soo-Do Engineering College to form Hong Ik University. At this time, the university consisted of twenty departments in the Colleges of Business and Economics; Engineering, and Fine Arts. The Graduate School of Industrial Arts opened in 1971, while a night school and the College of Education were added in 1972 and 1973 respectively. In 1973, doctoral programs were initiated and in 1978, the law college opened.

In 1981, the Ministry of Education authorised the establishment of the College of Liberal Arts and the Graduate School of Environmental Studies, and these were closely followed by the Graduate School of Education (1982). To keep pace with the growth in its educational programs, the university's buildings and facilities were expanded in the 1980s. In the late 1980s, there was further expansion in academic programs with the opening of the Graduate School of International Business Administration and the College of Law and Economics, as well as the Departments of Art Science; Print Making; and Visual Design in the College of Fine Arts.

In 1989, a second campus opened in Choch'iwŏn in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. The new site includes the College of Industrial Sciences, which contains eleven departments. In the 1990s, academic programs were increased at both locations. 1996 statistics show that Hong-Ik University had 14 067 students in its nine colleges, the graduate school and six professional graduate schools. Future plans for the university emphasise the expansion of the Choch'iwŏn campus.

Hong Island

Situated 113.5 kilometres west of Mokp'o, Hong (Red) Island is part of Hŭksan Township in South Chŏlla Province's Shinan County. The island has a total area of 6.47 kilometres and as of 1985, had a population of 819. To meet the educational needs of local residents, two elementary schools have been built on the island. The island's average temperature in January is 2c. and in August 25c. The island has an average annual rainfall of 1 126mm and

an annual snow fall to the order of 8.8mm.

With virtually no arable land, most of the population is employed in fishing operations. Several abalone farms have been established. Ferries to the island land at Il-gu, the largest village. Here, and at I-gu Village to the north, are small coves for fishing boats. The two villages are linked by a trail that takes about an hour to walk.

Rising precipitously out of the sea and protected by high cliffs, this six-kilometre-long island is acknowledged for its breath-taking beauty. The highest peaks are Kittae Peak (386m) to the north and Yangsan Peak (231m) to the south. On the southwestern part of the island lies Hwangdo Beach. The island gets its name from the red glow that bathes the island at sunset.

Hong Kiltong chŏn (Tale of Hong Kiltong)

Hong kiltong chŏn is a novel of the middle Chosŏn period which has been transmitted to the present time as a work of the scholar-official Hŏ Kyun (1569-1618), and consists of one book. There are both woodblock-print and calligraphed *han'gŭl* versions, and this work is considered to be the oldest *han'gŭl* novel. The protagonist of this novel is thought to be based upon a real Hong Kiltong, a bandit with purported supernatural powers, who lived during the reign of Prince Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506) and whose deeds are recorded in the *Chosŏn wangjo shillok* (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty). Hŏ's skill as a writer is revealed in the fact that he could take this historical figure and embellish his actions to create the protagonist for this. It is also notable in the fact that it displays a highly critical viewpoint of Chosŏn society.

This novel is surrounded by two questions that are the subject of much controversy. First, there is some question as to who the writer of *Hong kiltong chŏn* is. Generally, Hŏ Kyun is accepted as the writer of this work, but since there is no clarification of who the writer is in the original work, some consider this as a work of an unknown writer. However, Yi Shik, who was a contemporary of Hŏ's, states in his *T'aedong chapchŏ* that Hŏ was the writer of *Hong kiltong chŏn*. Given this fact, it seems highly improbable that the writer of this work could be anyone other than Hŏ. The second topic that gives rise to much debate is whether or not it was originally written in *han'gŭl* or Chinese characters. The common opinion is that *Hong kiltong chŏn* was the first novel written in *han'gŭl*, but the basis for these assertions is not certain. Given the fluidity of the work and skill used in its descriptions, there is a school of thought that insists it was first written in Chinese characters and then translated into Korean script.

The content of this novel is as follows: Hong Kiltong was born the son of a chambermaid, Ch'unsŏm, in the house of Minister Hong in the capital of Chosŏn during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450). Before the conception of his son, Minister Hong had an auspicious dream of a dragon that foretold he would sire a noble son. He therefore sought to have relations with his wife but was rejected by her and instead slept with her chambermaid and fathered Kiltong. From an early age Kiltong displayed unusual talents and became well versed in Daoist magic. Moreover, his frame of mind and personality were righteous and of great integrity and he grew into an excellent individual. However, due to his illegitimate birth (*sŏŏl* status) he could not call his father 'father', nor call his brothers 'brother' and thereby came to harbour a seething resentment. His family feared the rancour of their son and thought that his animosity would spell the ruin of the family and therefore hired an assassin to kill him. Kiltong escaped this threat by using his Daoist magic, *tungappŏp* (the power to shrink distances) and left his father's home and wandered the countryside. He eventually became the chief of the thieves by outwitting these men. Through the use of Daoist magic, Kiltong organized the thieves and led them in a raid on Haein Temple where they looted the temple of its treasures. This became the calling card of Kiltong and his band of thieves as they roamed the countryside and repeatedly captured the unjust fortunes of

village chiefs through the use of Kiltong's sharp wit and his Daoist magic. They then distributed the bounty they had captured to the poor, from whom they never took property. The band became known as the Righteous Band and their fame spread throughout the country. They even raided government facilities, and after stealing the military equipment and provisions in the town of Kamyŏng in North Hamgyŏng Province, Kiltong left a note behind that read: "The one who stole the grain and arms here was none other than the leader of the Righteous Band, Hong Kiltong", ensuring that the common people would not be accused for the crime. Kiltong used *ch'ukchipŏp* (a Daoist magic that transforms straw figures into humans) to create seven straw effigies, invoking them with spirits and sending them out to the eight provinces. Now there was a Kiltong in each of the provinces who took from the wealthy exploiting class and redistributed this ill gotten wealth to the poor. There were none that could stop the actions of Kiltong. All of the Provinces reported to the capital that Kiltong had committed these crimes, on the same day and time. The King dispatched his Chief Constable to capture Kiltong; however, he was instead seized by Kiltong and ridiculed before being sent back to the capital. Eventually, Kiltong's father appealed to him to surrender to the King and Kiltong did so. The King then appointed him as Minister of Military Affairs. After his appointment Kiltong left the country and went to the south where he discovered Yuldo Island. He slew the evil gnome that controlled the land, rescued a beautiful maiden and then became king of the land. When he heard that his father had died he returned to Chosŏn where he mourned for three years. He then returned to Yuldo where he reigned over the land in a benevolent fashion.

Hong kiltong chŏn utilizes an unrealistic biographical method to create the protagonist of this work, Hong Kiltong. However, the protagonist is confronted with the harsh realities of Chosŏn, which reveals that this work is not a biographical romance. It must fundamentally be viewed as a social commentary novel that reveals a deep-seated opposition to the social state that was predominant in Chosŏn during this period. The inclusion of such elements as religious Daoism into the story reveals a desire on the part of the author to change the current situation through the use of supernatural means. Moreover, the Daoist elements in this work point at the strong beliefs of the author in religious Daoism, and it is the use of Daoist magic that allows the protagonist to accomplish many of his desires. The Daoist ideological underpinnings of the protagonist provide a righteous contrast to the corrupt Buddhist monks and Confucian officials. Another notable feature of this work is in the criticism of the social systems of Chosŏn. Hŏ Kyun is known to have opposed the systematic discrimination against illegitimate sons (*sŏŏl*), and felt that this methodical neglect created a dangerously discontented underclass. Moreover, given the chaotic state of the Chosŏn in which Hŏ lived in the aftermath of the 1592 Japanese Invasion, this work reveals the plight of the common people who were forced to live in abject poverty while the ruling class of the kingdom was engaged in factional political struggles. Therefore, it can be seen as an extension of the author's convictions to create a society that is just to all, provides for its people and governs in a compassionate manner.

This work, however, has been criticized for providing a fantasy-like solution to the problems of the people. The protagonist is initially motivated by a desire to overturn the oppressive social system that discriminates against those not born of a first wife. In addition, the actions of the protagonist to redistribute wealth among the poor exhibit a desire to create a more equitable social system in which the peasantry is not unfairly exploited by the ruling classes. However, once the protagonist achieves a high-ranking position, he no longer has an interest in assisting the poor. Moreover, through the action of pledging loyalty to Chosŏn at the end of the work, Kiltong approved and accepted the realities of the Chosŏn government. This was done by the protagonist despite the fact that he had yet to reform the social system and inequalities that he had risen up against in rebellion, and therefore reveals that Kiltong accepted the situation of the kingdom once he had gained personal comfort. The fact that once Kiltong had gained a position of power he no longer showed an interest in the social problems of the kingdom, is the major flaw of this work, and reveals that the protagonist was no more than a discontented individualist.

Hong kiltong chŏn was a very popular work in the Chosŏn period due mainly to the anti-social, yet noble actions of its protagonist in the first half of the novel. However, the work reveals the limitations of the writer's conceptions of reform, as he cannot see beyond the limits of his Confucian philosophy and ideology and in the end accepts the status quo. Nonetheless, this work can be highly praised for revealing the flaws in the social fabric of Chosŏn, such as the corruption of the ruling class and the mercenary behavior of Buddhist monks. It is for this reason that the work remains popular until the present time.

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Hong Kyŏngnae (1771-1812)

Hong Kyŏngnae was the leader of a late Chosŏn period peasant uprising named the Honggyŏngnae Rebellion (1811). His family's ancestral home was Namyang and he was born in Yonggam. He learned Chinese characters from his maternal uncle, Yu Hakkwŏn, and mastered many of the classical writings and military documents, in particular the *Chŏnggam rok* (*Chŏng's Prophecies*), but still failed in passing the civil service examination (*kwagŏ*) in 1798. Hong abandoned his hopes of entering Chosŏn officialdom, left home and lived a life of poverty wandering about the countryside. At the time the civil service examination system had become corrupted, the Andong Kim family was conducting their so-called in-law government (*sedo chŏngch'i*) and the *samjŏng* tax administration was in disarray. All of this led to lives of poverty and hardship for the common people and their contempt and dissatisfaction with the corrupt government seethed.

During his wanderings Hong met U Kunch'ik and they conspired together to rise up in rebellion against the government. Hong and his followers demanded that the discrimination against those from the northern provinces should cease and their ranks were swelled by the addition of *yangban* farmers, merchants and private tradesmen. At that time the conditions in P'yŏngan Province were quite bad due to severe famine and large bands of wandering peasants, and this mix created an unstable atmosphere. Soon Hong's forces began an open rebellion against the government troops and swept through the northern regions. In a very short span of time, nearly the entire area north of the Ch'ŏngch'ŏn River was under the control of the rebel army. However, the rebel forces were soon defeated in the battle of Songnim in Paekch'ŏn and all the rebels could do was fall back to the fortress town of Chŏngju where they held out for four months. However, in the end the government forces overran the fortress, and the life of Hong, along with his rebellion, was ended.

Hong Kyŏngnae is remembered in many ways. From a historical standpoint he was a rebel who was discontented with the status quo of late Chosŏn and chose to combat this by an armed insurgence. However, his rebellion against the corruption and factional politics of late Chosŏn was only the beginning of many and therefore, he can be seen as one of the first who saw that the only way to change Chosŏn into a more equitable society was by revolution. Therefore, Hong can be viewed as a patriot who advocated the establishment of a fair and just society.

Hong Manjong (1643-1725)

Hong Manjong was a scholar, critic and literary man of the middle Chosŏn period. His family's ancestral home was in P'ungsan, his courtesy name was Uhae and his pen names

were Hyönmukcha, Monghön and Changju. Hong's father was the county magistrate (*kunsu*) of Yöngch'ön and his mother was the daughter of the *ch'amp'an* (a Board vice-minister, 2B rank) Chöng Kwanggyöng. Hong was a pupil of Chöng Tugyöng and his associates included Kim Tükshin and Hong Sökki. In 1675 Hong passed the *chinsa kwa* (Literary Licentiate Examination) and was appointed to positions including magistrate (*pusa*) and assistant curator (*ch'ambong*). In 1680, however, he was exiled due to being implicated in the affair surrounding Hō Kyön and the Sambok Incident. He was reinstated from exile in 1682 and served in other posts in the government after this time.

Hong wrote many works during his life of which *Sunoj chi* (*Fortnight's Record*), a collection of essays, is perhaps the best known. He also wrote *Haedong ijök* (Korean Miracle), *Sohwa ship'yöng* (Commentary of Gossip) and *Tongguk akpo* (Scores of Korean Music) among a total of ten works.

Hong Nanp'a (1897-1941)

Hong Nanp'a was a composer, violinist and conductor. His given name was Yöngho. He was the composer of *Pongsönhwa* (Touch-me-not balsom) a favourite song during the Japanese occupation. Hong is further remembered for the large impact that he had in the cultural movements during the Japanese occupation.

Hong was born in Hwalch'o Village of Hwasöng County in Kyönggi Province. At fourteen he entered the YMCA Middle School and this began his interest in music. In 1913 Hong attended the Chosön Chön'gak chönsüpsö, the first specialised music institution in the modern period in Korea, and spent a year studying the violin under Kim Inshik in the Western Music Department. After graduating, Hong became an instructor at the same institution. In 1917 Hong entered the Tokyo School of Music and concentrated his efforts on a magazine that encompassed literature, music and art. He also became involved in the anti-Japanese movement among the Korean students in Japan and for this was forced to return to Korea. Back in Korea, Hong worked for the *Taehan maeil shinbo* (Korean Daily News) and also wrote music. Notably, in 1920 his song *Pongsönhwa* became quite famous among Koreans. In 1925 Hong's *Ümakkye* (The World of Music) was launched and this represented the first music magazine in Korean history. Hong continued to teach, write music and play the violin until 1931 when he travelled to America to study at the Sherwood Music School in Chicago. Upon returning to Korea, Hong taught at Ihwa Yöja Chönmun Hakkyo (present Ewha Woman's University) and in 1936 he founded the Kyöngsang Orchestra.

Hong Nanp'a is remembered for his many contributions to the propagation of Western music and theory in Korea. His writings served to introduce a wide variety of Western music to Koreans. Most notable is the legacy that Hong left behind in his music, which continues to be enjoyed by Koreans. Hong was also a patriot who resisted the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea. It was this patriotic spirit that contributed to his untimely death in 1941 from an illness that resulted from his incarceration by the Japanese.

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Hong of Hyegyöng Palace, Lady (1735-1815)

Lady Hong of Hyegyöng Palace was the wife of Crown Prince Sado (1735-1762), the mother of King Chöngjo (r. 1776-1800) and the grandmother of King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834). Her family's ancestral home is in P'ungsan and she was the daughter of the Chief

State Councillor (*yŏngŭijŏng*), Hong Ponghan.

In 1762 her husband Crown Prince Sado met a cruel death at the hand of his father, King Yŏngjo (r.1724-1776). Lady Hong raised their son and two daughters. The son later succeeded to the throne as King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1880), and Lady Hong outlived him. When Chŏngjo became king, her palace was elevated to the status of Hyegyŏng in honour of being the Queen Mother. Likewise, when her grandson King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834) took the throne in 1800, she was given the title of Queen Kyŏngŭi.

Lady Hong is best remembered through her memoirs, *Hanjung nok*, which provides a vivid account of her life at the royal palace. This work provides a glimpse of court life during Chosŏn and moreover, details the tragic circumstances that led to her husband's death at the hands of his father, King Yŏngjo.

Hong Taeyong (1731-1783)

Hong Taeyong was a *shirhak* (practical learning) scholar of the late Chosŏn period. His family's ancestral home was Namyang, his courtesy name was Tŏkpo and his pen names were Hongji and Tamhŏn. Hong is particularly well known for his heliocentric views of the universe and for acting as a patron for Western science. Hong was a close friend with another renowned scholar of the day, Pak Chiwŏn (1737-1805).

Hong failed in several attempts to take the *kwago* (government service examination), but he was nonetheless rewarded with an official position due to the merit of his ancestors (the *ŭmbo* system) and appointed to the official post of *kamyŏk* (Supervisor) at the Sŏn'gonggam (Office of Public Works) in 1774. He was later appointed as an inspector (*kamch'al*) at the Sahŏnbu (Office of The Inspector General) in 1777, and then as first the county magistrate (*hyŏn'gam*) in T'aein and then as the prefect (*kunsu*) of Yŏngch'ŏn.

However, Hong devoted more energy to his pursuit of Western science than he had been introduced to during his trip to Beijing in 1766, than he did towards his official duties. Hong wrote *Tamhŏnsŏ* (Writings of Tamhŏn), a collection of poetry, analysis of the Confucian classics and his experiences while in Beijing, over a ten-year period after returning from China. Hong's experiences in Beijing over a sixty-day period would prove to have the most profound impact on his ideological views. During this period Hong was introduced to Western scientific thought in areas such as mathematics, astronomy and even social systems. Of his writings in *Tamhŏnsŏ*, 'Ŭisan mundap' ('Dialogue at Ŭisan') is notable in that it presents his vision of a heliocentric universe in the form of a debate between two scholars of the day. One is Hŏja who represented the conservative Confucian scholar of the day, and the other, Shirung, embodied the writer's ideology. The two scholars debate matters concerning the formation of the cosmos, in which Shirung rejects the orthodox view of the universe and presents a heliocentric view that is heavily influenced by Western scientific thought.

Hong is chiefly remembered for his ideological slant that was strongly shaped by Western thought. His writings also include *Chuhae suyong* (Mathematical texts) among several other treatises that present his ideological views, but he is best remembered for *Tamhŏnsŏ*. Hong's introduction and advocating of Western science had a profound impact on later generations of Korean *shirhak* scholars.

Hong Yonghu (see Hong Namp'a)

Hongch'ŏn County

Hongch'ŏn County, situated in western Kangwŏn Province, is comprised of the town of Hongch'ŏn and the townships of Nam, Nae, Naech'on, Tong, Tuch'on, Pukpang, Sŏ,

Sösök and Hwach'on. The entire county is extremely mountainous with numerous peaks over 1 000 metres high in its eastern sector. As an inland highland, the region's weather is characterised by sharp variations between summer and winter.

The majority of the population is employed in the agricultural sector. Due to the area's rugged terrain, chiefly dry field crops such as corn, hops and ginseng are cultivated. There are also a number of stock breeding operations which raise cattle, pigs and deer. Mines, excavating iron, alluvial gold, silver and asbestos, also make a significant contribution to the local economy. In addition, there are some manufacturing operations situated in the western part of the county.

With rugged mountains and picturesque valleys, the county has numerous tourist attractions. Tuch'on Township's Yongso Valley is particularly famous for its serene beauty. Mt. P'albong (Eight Peaks) is a popular destination for hikers. Rising up from the plains surrounding the Hongch'ön River, the mountain's steep slopes and rugged granite spires belie its low elevation (only 302 metres).

As an additional attraction to tourists, Hongch'ön County contains a large number of ancient historical sites. At the foot of Tong Township's Mt. Kongjak, one finds Sut'a Temple. This ancient monastery houses a three-storey stone pagoda and a number of ancient stone stupas. Other Buddhist relics can be seen in Taesüng Temple in Naech'on Township and around Mt. Nam in the town of Hongch'ön. As for Confucian sites, there is Hongch'ön Hyanggyo in the town of Hongch'ön. The school's founding date has been disputed, some claiming that it was first built during the reign of King Ch'ongjo (r. 1776-1800), others claiming that it was founded in 1531. During the Korean War, the complex was completely burnt down, but was gradually rebuilt in the decades that followed. In Pukpang Township next to the Hongch'ön River, is Nodong Söwön (private school), which houses the memorial portrait of the Koryö scholar Ch'oe Ch'ung (984-1068).

Hongsöng County

Located on the west coast in South Ch'ungch'öng Province, Hongsöng County consists of the towns of Kwangch'ön and Hongsöng; and the townships of Kalsan; Kyölsöng; Kuhang; Kümma; Söbu; Ünha; Changgok; Hongbuk; and Hongdong. Formed in 1914 when the counties of Hongju and Kyölsöng were amalgamated, the county covers an area of 421.6 sq. kms. and according to 1989 statistics, had a population of 111 933. There are mountains on the county's northern, eastern and southern borders, with mountain streams feeding the Kongni, Hongyang, Hongdong and Kwangch'ön reservoirs. With the county's location along the Yellow Sea, the climate is affected by cold winter winds from the northwest. The area has an average annual temperature of 11.7 deg. C. and an average January temperature of minus 3.6 deg. C. The county receives an average rainfall of 1 167mm.

About 16 000 hectares of the county are arable. Of this, over 9 000 hectares grow rice and almost 7 000 hectares cultivate dry-field crops such as grains, sweet potato, tobacco and hemp. Although the county has direct access to the Yellow Sea, the fishing and marine products industry is fairly dormant. Local fishermen bring in catches of yellow corbina, shrimp, clam, etc. In addition, there are laver farms and salt flats. Mineral deposits found in the area include asbestos and small amounts of gold, silver and tungsten.

Most of the county's historical sites and relics are centred around the town of Hongsöng. One of the most important is Hongsöng Fortress just south of Hongsöng High School. Of about 800 metres in circumference, this fortress is thought to be Churyu Fortress, a fortification known to have existed in Paekche. The first written mention of the structure is in the Chosön work *Sejong shillok* (Annals of King Sejong). In 1451, the fortification was rebuilt to conform to local administrative boundary revisions. It was repaired during the

reign of King Hyönjong (r. 1659-1674) and also in 1824. Several gates and other structures were added in 1870. Choyang Gate was completely rebuilt in 1975. In modern history, the fortress is famous for the 19 May 1906 battle in which Min Chongshik, Yi Seyöng, Ch'ae Kwangmok and An Pyöngch'an led a force of more than 1 100 guerilla soldiers in an attack against the Japanese army units based at the fort. The guerillas seized the fortress and forced the Japanese to retreat to nearby Mt. Tök.

Buddhist sites in the area include a rock carving of a Buddha (Treasure No. 355) in Hongbuk's Shin'gyöng Village; Kosan Temple's Main Buddha Hall (Treasure No. 399) in Kyölsöng's Muryang Village; stone banner-pole supports (Treasure No. 538) in Hongsöng Ogwan Village; a three-storey pagoda and a seated Buddha figure at the old site of Kwanggyöng Temple in Sohyang Village; a standing Buddha figure in Taegyo Village; a Maitreya figure in Hongbuk's Sangha Village; a grinding stone, mortar and stone basin at the old site of Yongbong Temple in Shin'gyöng Village; and a stupa and rock carving of a Buddha at Yongpong Temple.

Old county public schools include Kyölsöng Hyanggyo to the north of Mt. Söktang (146m) and Hongju Hyanggyo in Taegyo Village. The former was founded in 1010 and the latter in 1871. As for old private schools, there are Noün Söwön (founded in 1676), Hye hak Söwön (founded in 1706) and Yonggye Söwön (founded in 1724). Promoting cultural awareness and patriotism, the Hongju Cultural Festival is held each year on 30 September and 1 October. The first day of the festival includes a parade, traditional dancing, games and various contests and exhibitions, while the second day is taken up with athletic events.

Hönhwa ka (Flower presentation song) [Literature]

Hop'ae [Taxes; Society]

Horim Museum

Horim Museum is located in Taech'i-dong in Seoul. The museum was established in 1982 by the Söngbo Cultural Foundation, under Yun Changsöp. He first set-up the museum with eight-hundred and thirty-five cultural treasures from his personal collection. Today, items in the collection include over two-thousand pieces of pottery and over three-hundred pieces of metalware, together with numerous paintings and calligraphic pieces. The museum is especially noted for its collection of ceramics and Buddhist art works. Key treasures in the collection include a *punch'öng* flask with lotus and fish designs (National Treasure No. 179); a blue-inlay white porcelain vase with plum and bamboo design (National Treasure No. 222) and a seven-volume edition of the Buddhist Saddharmapundarika-sutra (Lotus Sutra) written with ink on white paper (National Treasure No. 211).

Hösaeng chön (Story of Master Hö , The) [Literature]

Housing

History of Housing

Prehistoric Era

In the Paleolithic Era it is thought that the Korean people lived in caves or other natural structures. There are no vestiges of any man-made housing from this period. However, with the key development of pottery in which early man was able to store and preserve food, man began to settle into an agrarian lifestyle on the Korean peninsula. Instead of living in caves or other natural shelters for protection, by the Neolithic Era the first man-made housing appeared in Korea. Since man had begun to farm he had become accustomed

to using various wood and stone implements, which allowed him to build shelters. He could now easily dig into the ground, drive in support posts, and cover the crude frame he had erected with a thatch of twigs and straw, or animal hides. These first homes are called *umjip*, or dugout huts, and traces of them have been found at several sites throughout Korea. As the name implies, holes were dug to a depth of about one metre. Then posts were erected to form a conical shape. The huts were generally about 7 metres in diameter. In the centre was a fireplace that was used for both cooking and warmth. As time moved on, primitive man began to develop better tools such as stone axes, stone chisels and the like which enabled him to build even better designed huts.

The shape of the dugout huts underwent a gradual transformation by the end of the Neolithic Era and in the subsequent Bronze and Iron Ages there were tremendous changes brought about by great improvements in the tools that ancient man used. The iron axe allowed him to easily cut timber into various lengths, and the iron chisels that he made could easily fashion stone to exact sizes. The dugout huts changed from their original cone-shape, and huts began to be built in a rectangular form. Walls were also added to provide more height to the structure and comfort for the inhabitants. The size of the dugout huts also increased markedly, with sizes ranging to over 50 sq.m. In the Neolithic Era, the ends of the eaves of the dugout huts still reached to the ground, but gradually there was a change in this construction and the roof came to be supported entirely by the structure itself. It is known through ancient documents that by the early Iron Age, most structures had elevated wooden floors.

Three Kingdoms Period Through the Koryŏ Kingdom

The major changes in housing construction during the Three Kingdoms Period (B.C.E. 1st - C.E. 7th c.) came through contact with the advanced Chinese civilization and the importation of this into the Korean peninsula. The Koguryŏ Kingdom was the first to adopt the Chinese civilization, followed by Paekche and then much later, the Shilla Kingdom.

The changes in housing were gradual, and much of what is transmitted to the present time is through either written documents compiled at a later time, or in the case of Koguryŏ, through tomb paintings that reveal much about the lives of the people. Of the Koguryŏ tomb paintings that show the houses of the people, the most prominent structure is that of the kitchen, followed by barns and storehouses. The paintings do reveal that the most common construction material for homes was wood, although some had stone walls. The roofs were thatched and the homes were heated by an underfloor heating system known as *kudŭl*, which was the predecessor to the modern *ondol* heating system. Generally, the homes of Koguryŏ were surrounded by a stone wall. Of the early period countries in Korea, there is the most information available on the housing of Koguryŏ due to the tomb paintings. However, through recent excavations it is known that *kudŭl* was also used to heat the homes of Paekche. Moreover, it is thought that the construction styles of Shilla were influenced by Koguryŏ, and that the construction styles must have been quite similar.

The period of Greater Shilla (668-936 C.E.) was an extension of the Three Kingdoms Period in regards to the gradual development of more complex houses. Wood construction with thatched roofs is thought to have been the predominant style, but stone construction in this period also is thought to have increased. There is much extant stone work of the Shilla craftsmen, and the high quality of this work is still evident. Another development in this period is the increased use of roof tiles. There are various types of both clay and stone tiles that were used in houses of the ruling classes. Also, during the Shilla period distinctions in one's social status became clear in housing as there were royal edicts that dictated the size of houses permitted for commoners and the various ranks of the ruling classes.

The construction styles of the Koryŏ period (918-1392) were mostly transmitted from the Shilla Kingdom. Along with the influence from Shilla was the new culture that was

imported from Sung China. However, since most of the structures from the Koryŏ period are no longer extant, this can only be surmised. It is thought that the primary construction material for the homes of the common people was wood, and this was topped by a thatched roof. Stone construction and the use of tile for roofs was most likely reserved for the homes of the ruling classes.

Chosŏn Period

Depending upon the region that they were located in, homes in the Chosŏn period (1392-1910) were either chiefly constructed of wood or stone, according to what material was readily available. Most often this was wood, but in the case of Cheju Island where basalt was abundant, this was the main material used in the construction of houses. Moreover, the size of a house and the materials used in its construction also hinged upon the social and economic status of the owner. Region, too, was a factor in the size and disposition of houses and their sites, with the areas of the homes in the northern regions being somewhat smaller due to the mountainous terrain, and the homes in the southern plains being built on a larger scale. The houses of the common people were generally built under a single beam with the rooms in a single line. A more prosperous home would have rooms extending from both sides of the beam. A wealthy farmer's house was commonly designed in either a L or U shape. The home of an upper-class person would utilize a double L construction so that the courtyard in the centre of the housing compound was entirely surrounded by rooms. Roof composition was most often thatch for commoners and tile for the ruling classes.

Chosŏn period homes can generally be divided into two spheres, an inner zone that was the domain of the mistress of the house, and an outer portion where the master conducted his affairs. The inner sphere centred around the innermost room called the *anbang*. This was the women's quarters and served as a sleeping chamber at night and the place where the mistress of the house conducted her household in the daytime. All other rooms of the house would radiate from this centre. The man's quarters were called the *sarangbang*, and this is where the master would entertain his male guests and conduct his studies. The presence of these two rooms in the ruling class homes of the Chosŏn period reveals the strict Confucian social code that stressed the separation of men and women.

The homes featured rooms that were heated by an underfloor *ondol* heating system, and *maru* rooms that were open, wood-floored rooms designed to circulate the air and so keep family members cool during the oppressive summer months. The kitchen and storerooms of the house generally had earthen floors. The courtyard usually included a well and items necessary for everyday life such as a condiment stand where crocks of soy sauce, bean paste and various other seasonings were stored. In an area separated from the rest of the house by a fence, was the building which housed the ancestral tablets and where sacrificial rituals were performed. Houses were generally surrounded by a wall, and within its confines were front and rear gardens. Often the gardens in the homes of the ruling classes would contain ponds and pavilions from which the residents could view their gardens. The homes of the Chosŏn period are considered to be the so-called traditional housing of Korea. There are still many examples of these homes, called *hanok*, throughout the country in folk villages and historical sites. Rural homes often still retain many of the characteristics of *hanok*, except that nowadays it is not common to see a home with a thatched roof.

Furnishings in traditional homes reflected both function and beauty. Since Korean homes were heated from the floor, furnishings were built low to the floor, and most rooms consisted of several chests, small tables for writing or eating at, and cushions for the occupants to sit on. Of note is that the rooms were used for many activities in the course of the day, and their furnishings reflected this flexible nature. The *anbang* was the most elegant of the rooms, often having paintings, decorated wooden chests and elegantly embroidered cushions among its decor. The *sarangbang* was much more stern in its outlook than the *anbang*. The chief focus of this room was scholarly materials such as ink

brushes, ink stones, a water dropper, paper, books, along with a few chests and small tables. Often the walls would be graced by the calligraphy of the occupant with the whole focus of the room directed towards scholarship.

Modern Period

With the 1876 Kanhwa Treaty and the resultant opening of Korea to foreigners and their cultures, came the inevitable dismantling of the traditional systems that had guarded the social hierarchy in traditional Korea. In housing these changes could be seen in the adaptation of certain elements contained in the housing of the upper classes into the homes of the common people. Moreover, after the advent of the colonial period, the prices of dwellings in the city began to rise, which increased the importance of the appearance of one's home. Therefore, the location of a dwelling and the view therefrom gained a new significance.

In the 1930s, major changes in housing saw the traditional-style homes of Korea beginning to incorporate features that heretofore were reserved for the upper classes, which gave the homes a more affluent appearance. Some examples of these changes include the shortening of roof eaves and the addition of rain-water gutters. Materials that had not been readily available to commoners in the past, such as granite, were now used in housing construction. Exposed wood parts of the house were varnished and rain-water gutters and pipes were painted in order to preserve the material from the elements. By the 1940s, Korean traditional housing had become much more Westernized, with an increase in the number of houses built with red brick, and in the construction of multi-story apartments. The continued adoption and adaptation of Western elements into Korean housing that had started at the end of the Chosŏn period would continue for several decades.

By the early 1970s, housing in Korea had begun a dramatic change. Up until this time, single family dwellings had been the predominant domestic housing form in Korea. However, with the rapid industrialization and the accompanying urbanization of South Korea, the supply of single-family homes could not keep pace. Moreover, based on the fact that the country has a paucity of land for housing development, government policies dictated that the majority of housing would have to be in the form of multi-storied apartment complexes.

The apartment complexes that dominated the landscape of Korea from the early 1980s marked a dramatic departure from the traditional style of Korean house. Instead of a construction style centred around a single room that served many purposes, apartments designated rooms for a single purpose such as bedrooms, dining areas and living rooms. Moreover, instead of the open design of the traditional house in which rooms all face towards a courtyard, apartments of this period were located in large buildings with very small communal open spaces. In addition, the apartment complexes to the end of the 1980s were of very monotonous design which provided little visual relief for those living in and around these buildings.

In recent years the architectural style of the apartment buildings has dramatically changed. The buildings are now of individual design, with each structure presenting a different visual experience. Also, the buildings now feature large open areas in which playgrounds, parks and other common areas are maintained for the residents. This has resulted in the apartment complexes becoming less like a 'new town' development and more like the traditional neighbourhoods of past times when residents gathered and relaxed together in the common areas.

Housing and Lifestyles

With the rapid urbanization that accompanied industrialization, South Korea suffered from

housing shortages resulting from the mass migration of workers from rural areas to the cities in the 1960s and forward. The solution to this problem was to build apartments which were designated as housing for the working classes. Although the first apartments in Korea were built in 1932, it was not until the late-1960s that they became widespread. The South's Second Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1967-1971) called for an increased number of apartments to be built, and by 1985 Korea boasted 821 606 units that accounted for 13 per cent of total housing. This number has continued to rise as apartments are now not only found in large urban centres, but also in smaller rural towns.

Ownership of housing in the major urban areas of South Korea is becoming increasingly difficult to attain for the average citizen. Housing prices have soared due to a shortage in quantity and land speculation. There have been attempts to address the housing shortage such as the election campaign promise by the then presidential candidate Roh Tae-woo in 1987 to build 400 000 units for low-income citizens in Seoul by 1992, but even this number fell considerably short of the average annual increase of 100 000 households in Seoul. The government is now underway with projects to construct massive satellite cities around Seoul and the other major population centres in an attempt to provide more housing for its citizens.

As in many other countries, the affordability of housing is of real concern in South Korea. In recent years, a system of mortgage finance has been gradually introduced, and the government has supported this by introducing a guarantee program that protects the housing loan. However, it is still common practice to complete the purchase with a lump sum of cash, as many Koreans disdain the idea of a mortgage. With the price of real estate continuing to skyrocket in Seoul and elsewhere, buying a home is becoming an impossibility for many wage earners. For example, in 1987 a thirty-five *pyöng* (one *pyöng* equals 3.3 square metres) apartment cost about 50 to 60 million *wön* (about US \$71 500 - 85 700). But over the next three years the price increased four or five fold. The same apartment in 1990 cost 200 to 250 million *wön* (US \$ 285 000 - 360 000), which is far out of the range of possibility for most wage earners. Real estate prices have continued to soar throughout the 1990s.

The supply rate of housing in South Korea has been on a steadily rising plane for the past three decades. The housing supply rate which was below 70 per cent in 1988, climbed to 84.2 per cent by 1995. This increase in housing supply helped to ease the housing shortages which are still a problem in urban areas. Rural areas recorded a 96.1 per cent housing supply rate in 1995 compared to just 77.7 per cent for the cities. The average size of the home built in the early 1990s is larger than in the past measuring 84.3 square metres, which is an increase from 68.4 just ten years earlier. The types of housing being built are still predominantly multi-family structures such as apartments and multi-residence housing units. Of the 619 000 units built in 1995, 80.3 percent (497 057) were apartments, 10.7 per cent (66 233) multi-residence units and 9 per cent (55 710) single family homes. Allowing for land scarcity, this shows the continued preference of Koreans for apartment-style living accommodation over single family homes.

Another theme that is of the utmost concern to South Korean consumers in the 1990s, is that of quality in the construction of their homes. The last decade in Korea has brought about a series of disasters caused by shoddy construction practices that aimed only to generate greater profits for builders without concern for the safety of consumers. This crisis was brought to a head in 1995 with the collapse of the Sampoong (Samp'ung) Department Store that killed 501 and injured 930 people. Investigation revealed that the collapse was brought on by the use of substandard materials and that government officials had taken bribes to overlook the flaws. The result of this tragedy is a new awareness of construction quality and its consequences among Korean consumers.

In contrast, housing in North Korea is completely regulated by the state. Based on the established housing standards, the central government constructs two to four-bedroomed

apartments and allocates each unit to a family according to its specific needs. It has been noted that the central government further provides essential necessities such as a desk, tables, cabinets, bookshelves, a refrigerator, a washing machine, and a television set for each newly-built urban apartment unit.

As each family progresses through its family cycle stage, including split-off family situations such as the marriage of children and other routine changes, the central government of North Korea also faces increasing shortages of housing. Since the ownership of housing belongs to the state and rents charged to residents are too nominal to be seriously considered in the nation's total housing budget, the maintenance of the existing buildings has persisted as a serious problem. Unless the central government distributes a significant amount of resources from the GNP for the construction and rehabilitation of housing, many socialist countries like North Korea and China will continue to face their own unique housing problems.

Urban Planning

Urban planning in Korea began in the modern sense during the colonial period in the 1930s. During this period both short and long-term plans were put forth for many cities including Seoul in 1936, and Pusan, Taegu and Inch'ŏn in 1937. In all, by the time of liberation in 1945, there were master plans drawn up for a total of thirty-eight cities in Korea. In addition to the short range plans for the cities, there were also long-range plans established for periods of twenty-five to thirty years.

After liberation, urban planning did not come to the fore of government action until the 1960s. Then, in 1962, the Urban Planning Act was passed and for the first time urban planning was directed by Koreans. Following this, various other laws were enacted relating to urban construction and planning. Some of the important stipulations in the urban planning amendments included provisions that required public participation in the planning process through public forums, twenty-year long term plans, and many other provisions designed to ensure an open and all-encompassing planning method. Urban planning in South Korea exceeds just the institution of physical facilities, but also covers matters such as population, societal issues, the economy, industry, finances and the like, and is designed to achieve a betterment of all of these factors.

Some of the notable events in the history of urban planning in Korea include the establishment of the Special Regional Development Plan for the Seoul and Inch'ŏn region in 1965, and a like plan for the development of Ulsan in 1966. These plans were designed to maximize the utilization of manpower, technology, resources and other items in these specific regions. Urban planning in the 1960s was characterized by the construction of highways which marked a major turning point of the nation's transportation which up until then had focussed on railroads. The 1970s is characterized by focus on problems that were the result of traffic congestion and other improvements in transportation systems.

Urban planning also addresses issues in the redevelopment of areas within the cities. Three types of basic redevelopment can be done : the first is demolition redevelopment, the second reclamation redevelopment and the third is preservation redevelopment. In Seoul, for example, the central sections of the city have been undergoing demolition redevelopment since the late 1960s. This period has seen the demolition of many old residential neighbourhoods, which once were the dominant structures in central Seoul, and their replacement with modern office buildings and business complexes. The central feature of redevelopment in Korea has been one of modernization, basically translated into the destruction of old neighbourhoods and structures and their replacement with modern-design buildings.

In the past few years, however, there has been a movement to preserve some of the

traditional neighbourhoods that once dominated the large cities. This has been influenced by the steady increase in the awareness of Korean culture and its historical traditions. Notably, the City of Seoul has designated special preservation districts to keep intact the traditional style homes located in these areas. Moreover, there have been guidelines enacted for any new construction in these areas so as to preserve the traditional neighbourhood ambience. This preservation redevelopment has been well received by Koreans and the further expansion of the areas that it effects will help and maintain the traditional flavour of Seoul and other cities throughout Korea.

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J C Kim

Hulbert, Homer Bezaleel (1863-1949)

Homer Bezaleel Hulbert was a missionary, teacher and scholar who arrived in Korea in 1886 and would continue to be involved in that country's affairs for the remainder of his life. He was the son of Calvin Butler Hulbert, a Dartmouth College graduate, Congregational minister and president of Middlebury College, and Mary Woodward, a descendant of the founder of Dartmouth College and the daughter of American missionaries to India. Hulbert graduated from Hanover College in 1884, and then upon the request of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) for young Americans to teach English, travelled to Seoul, along with Mr. and Mrs. George Gilmore and Dalzell Adelbert in 1886. For five years, from 1886, Hulbert taught English at the Royal English School (Yugyöng Kong'wön). During this period he gained a keen insight into the political situation that was gripping Chosön, as well as becoming interested in propagating the knowledge of the West in Korea. He also published *Sa'min p'ilchi* (Knowledge Necessary for All) in 1889, a *han'gül* text that imparted what he deemed to be fundamental knowledge of the West. He became convinced that the future of education in Korea was in the study of *han'gül*, and as a result advocated that Korean students concentrate on their own language, rather than learn the Chinese characters that had heretofore been the focus of Korean education.

Hulbert left Korea in 1891 and took a teaching position at the Putman Military Academy in Ohio, USA, but returned to Korea in 1893 at the bequest of Henry Appenzeller to serve as manager of the Trilingual Press, the publishing house of the Methodist Mission in Seoul. Hulbert's work for the Trilingual Press was highly successful and in a two-year span had made the enterprise highly profitable. By 1895, however, Hulbert had become deeply involved in the political turmoil that surrounded the Chosön court as foreign powers vied for hegemony over Korea. He worked closely with many reform-minded Koreans such as Sö Chaep'il (1866-1951) and Yun Ch'ihö (1865-1945), who shared his understanding of the importance of education to the future of Korea, and also served as a confidant of King Kojong.

After the establishment of the Great Han Empire (1897-1910), Hulbert focused his energies on educational activities as principal of the Imperial Normal School, which became the Imperial Middle School in 1900. There, he was able to continue his research into Korean history and the result of this was the publication of *The Passing of Korea* (1906), one of the first Western-authored histories of Korea. He also played a vital role in the struggle to maintain the sovereignty of Korea, serving as an envoy to the United States on behalf of

Korea in an effort to secure assistance to resist the 1905 Protectorate Treaty (Ülsa Poho Choyak), then being forced upon Korea by Japan. Hulbert also was part of the Korean mission to The Hague in 1907 in a final effort to preserve the national independence of Korea. He made the plight of Korea known to the world through his articles in the magazine *Review* and the aforementioned *The Passing of Korea*. These attempts for maintaining Korea's independence having failed, Hulbert was soon forced to leave Korea by Japanese suspicion of his involvement in the independence movements then being formed.

Hulbert remained in the United States until 1949, and participated in activities designed to help Korea regain her independence, along with men such as Sö Chaep'il and Syngman Rhee (Yi Süngman). Hulbert had known Rhee since the latter was a student at Paeje Academy in the late 1890s, and when Rhee took office as the first president of the Republic of Korea in 1948, he formally invited Hulbert to visit Korea. Thus, in 1949 Hulbert began the long rail and sea journey to Korea alone. The journey proved too trying for him, however, at the age of eighty-six, and by the time he arrived in Seoul on 29 July, he was exhausted and had to be hospitalised. He died within a short time of his arrival and was given a state funeral by the Republic of Korea as a national hero. His early works, such as *The Passing of Korea*, provide an insight into Korea at the turn of the nineteenth c., and his work *Hulbert's History of Korea* (published in 1962) served as the basic Korean history for Western readers for many years. He is remembered as not only a devoted educator and historian, but also as a tireless advocate for Korea's independence.

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Hüngbu chön (The Story of Hüngbu)

Hüngbu chön is a novel of the Chosön period of which neither the writer nor the date of composition is known. This work is in the *p'ansori* (one-man dramatic song) group which has been transmitted from long ago and became a song as the lyrics for *p'ansori* in the Chosön period. It has also been recorded as a novel in its process of settlement. The titles of this work are various and include *Pakhüngbu ka*, *Pakt'aryöng* and *Hüngbu ka* insofar as *p'ansori* works are concerned. In the genre of novels, it is known by titles such as *Hüngbu chön*, *Yönüi kak* and *Changhüngbu chön*. At present there have been thirty-seven different versions researched.

The story is as follows: At the intersection of the three Provinces of Ch'ungch'öng, Chölla and Kyöngsang, there lived two brothers. The elder brother, Nolbu, was evil and violent, while the younger brother, Hüngbu was kind-hearted. After their parents had died, Nolbu took sole possession of all their property and drove his younger brother off. Hüngbu, with his wife and children, built a small hut on a hillside and tried to eke out a living, but the family was always near starvation. One day, Hüngbu went to his elder brother's house and begged him for some rice, but he was beaten by his brother and returned home empty handed. Although Hüngbu and his wife tried various types of work for wages, there was no way for them to earn enough money to live. Hüngbu even tried the work of being beaten, but that too, was unsuccessful. One day in the spring Hüngbu found a young swallow which had fallen to the ground and broken its leg. He nursed it back to health and eventually the bird could fly away. The following year the bird returned with the seed from a gourd in its beak. Hüngbu planted this seed and watched as it rapidly grew and yielded many large gourds in the fall. Inside of the gourds were gold, silver and other treasures, which resulted in Hüngbu becoming very wealthy. Nolbu heard of his younger brother's windfall and intentionally broke the leg of a swallow and then nursed it back to health. This swallow also returned in the spring of the following year with a gourd seed in its beak. Nolbu planted this seed and watched with anticipation as the plant grew rapidly. However

in the fall, out of the gourds came a myriad of evil creatures that brought ruin to Nolbu's house. Hŭngbu heard of this calamity and then shared half of his property with his elder brother. After this, Nolbu saw the error in his ways and lived from this point forward in harmony with his younger sibling.

The structure of *Hŭngbu chŏn* is threefold. First there is the motif of an evil elder brother and a gentle younger brother, second the theme of animal gratitude, and third the motif of unlimited treasures. The first motif is realized in the characters of the two brothers and is a tale of imitation in which the elder brother seeks to accomplish what his younger brother has done but fails to do so. This motif is seen in other Korean tales such as *Kŭm tokki, ūn tokki* (Gold Hatchet, Silver Hatchet) and *Malhanŭn yŏmso* (The Talking Goat). The inclusion of this motif indicates the social realities present from the time of the 1592 Japanese Invasion onward in the Chosŏn period, these being a country in dire poverty in which harmony was not possible even among siblings. Therefore the eldest would take from his younger siblings to ensure his own well being. The motif of animal gratitude reveals that even animals return favor if they are indebted to others. There are many traditional Korean tales with this theme including *Sae poŭn sŏlhwa* (The Tale of the Bird's Gratitude) and *Sasŭm poŭn sŏlhwa* (The Tale of the Deer's Gratitude). The inclusion of the theme of animal gratitude is also reflective of the social situation at the time of the formation of this work. This theme reveals the desires of the people to live in a society that is so just, that even animals return kindness with like actions. This indicates the actualities of this period in which the quest for survival did not allow charitable acts to be prevalent. As for the motif of receiving boundless wealth, this inclusion reveals the wish of the people for their desires to be fulfilled with no limit. One such tale with this theme is *Isanghan nambi* (The Strange Pot). In a time of such desperate poverty, it is only natural for the people to wish for wealth from supernatural sources. This reveals that the consciousness of the composer group of *Hŭngbu chŏn* was cognizant of the fact that the only hope for the alleviation of their destitution was in supernatural powers. The awareness of the composer group of their social situation is revealed in the presence of these thematic concerns. As a result, *Hŭngbu chŏn* can be seen as an agglomeration of three separate tales with motifs as outlined above.

In addition to the influence of folk culture and its beliefs on the formation of *Hŭngbu chŏn*, there is also Buddhist input. In 'Sŏn'gu akku sŏlhwa' ('The Tale of Seeking Good and Seeking Evil') in *Hyŏnu kyŏng* and 'P'agak toin sŏlhwa' ('The Tale of the Crippled Taoist') in *Chappiyu kyŏng* there are very similar themes as in *Hŭngbu chŏn*. This reveals Buddhist influence in the formation of this work, and explains its Buddhist characteristics.

Hŭngbu chŏn is generally understood as a novel that is based on Confucian morals emphasizing harmony among brothers that dominated the society in which this work was formed. This theme of the promotion of virtue and the admonishment of vice based upon retribution has been the general view of this work in past times. However *Hŭngbu chŏn*, as a work that was based on the behaviour of those in the common classes of Chosŏn, also reveals the prevailing social realities of its time, and the characters reflect realistic models of this class. Accordingly, the intent of the composer group and the subject of the content of *Hŭngbu chŏn* can be viewed as a critical consciousness among the common people concerning the morals of the middle Chosŏn period, in addition to the Confucian concepts of rewarding good and rebuking evil. In these aspects *Hŭngbu chŏn* is a mirror of its times, and the characters of the two brothers represent the two faces of the farmers of this period. Specifically, Nolbu represents a wealthy and self-serving farmer who is skilled at accumulating wealth, while Hŭngbu is a model of the typical farmer who has lost his land and thereby has no means to earn a living. As for the subject of this work, there are two differing opinions as to its origin. One view is that it represents the mood of agitation and discord caused by the changes in society, thereby raising the social consciousness of the common class. The other view reveals a contradiction of social realities in which an evil person leads a comfortable life of abundance while a good person, regardless of his efforts,

is resigned to a life of poverty and hardships. This latter view reveals the social phenomena that were manifested at the end of the Chosŏn period.

Hŭngbu ka

[Literature]

Hŭngdŏk, King (r. 826-836)

King Hŭngdŏk (? -836) was the forty-second king of Shilla and reigned from 826 to 836. His family name was Kim, his given name Sujong, and also had names of Kyŏnghwi and Susŭng. He was the brother of King Hŏndŏk (r. 809-826), his father was King Wŏngsŏng (r. 785-798), his eldest son was Crown Prince Hyech'ung and his mother was Queen Dowager Sŏngmok. Hŭngdŏk's queen, Changhwa, was the daughter of King Sosŏng (r. 798-800). Upon the death of his brother in 826, Hŭngdŏk was granted the throne by Queen Dowager Chŏngmok.

The political situation in which Hŭngdŏk was confronted with when he ascended to the throne was essentially the same that his brother Hŏndŏk had. The two brothers schemed to carry out political reforms during the reign of King Aejang (r. 800-809), and by 809 had driven the monarch from the throne, allowing Hŏndŏk to take power. Even during the reign of his brother, Hŭngdŏk participated greatly in the political affairs of the nation, thus solidifying his position as rightful successor to the throne. After taking the throne in 826, Hŭngdŏk, like his brother had before him, sought to limit the power of the *chingol* (true bone) aristocrats and simultaneously strengthen the monarchy. One measure he took was to increase the authority of the Chancellery Office (Chipsabu) and he also attempted to enact various measures to impede the tremendous wealth that the aristocracy had been accumulating. During the decline of Shilla, ambitious members of the aristocracy sought to increase their power, and perhaps vie for the throne, through the accumulation of vast personal fortunes and private armies. The insurrection led by Kim Hŏnch'ang (? -822), which was successful for a number of years, was merely one of several that occurred in the final years of Shilla. Hŭngdŏk recognised the growing power of the aristocrats, but was unable to halt its expansion during his short reign. The turmoil that ensued after Hŭngdŏk's death for the throne would become the pattern for the remainder of the Shilla period as personal power among the aristocrats became the sole determiner for the occupation of the throne.

Hŭngdŏk is further noted for being the monarch under whose reign tea was brought from Tang China and established as a crop in Korea. In 828, his envoy, Kim Taeryŏm, returned from Tang with tea and Hŭngdŏk had this cultivated at the base of Mt. Chiri, where it is recorded to have grown luxuriantly dense. Additionally, there is a legend in the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) concerning Hŭngdŏk, entitled *Hŭngdŏk wang kwa aengmu sae solhwa* (The Legend of King Hŭngdŏk and the Parrots), which recounts a song that the monarch wrote about his prized parrots.

Hŭngnam

Located on the central coast of South Hamgyŏng Province, Hŭngnam covers a total area of 130 sq. kms. The city consists of Chakto-dong; Ch'ŏn'gi-dong; Hadŏk-dong; Honam-dong; Hunong-dong; Naeho-dong; Sŏho-dong 1 and 2; P'unghŭng-dong; Songsang-dong; Tŏk-dong; Ŭngbong-dong 1 and 2; Yujŏng-dong 1, 2 and 3; Majŏn Village; and Nŭngdong Village;.

Ch'ŏnju Peak (562m) rises on the city's northeast border while the Tongsŏngch'ŏn and Sŏngch'ŏn rivers flow along the western border into Hamhŭng Bay. While the warm coastal currents influence the city's climate, the January average is minus 5.3 deg. C., and the average August temperature is 24 deg. C. Rainfall averages 900 mm annually.

There are several important historical sites in the city. In Kungsŏ Village, next to the Hamgyŏng railway line, is the reconstruction of the palace where Yi Sŏnggye lived before becoming King T'aejo (r. 1392-1398). Rebuilt after the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598), the palace was again destroyed during the Korean War. Within the complex lie the tombs of Yi Sŏnggye's paternal grandfather and grandmother. Two steles commemorating the royal tours of Shilla's King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576) are kept in a museum at the site.

During the Japanese occupation of Korea, Hŭngnam's industrial development was spurred by the construction of railways -- the Kyŏngwŏn line in 1914; the Hamgyŏng line in 1928; the Hamnam line in 1933; and the P'yŏngwŏn line in 1936. These railways linked the city with Wŏnsan; Seoul; P'yŏngyang; and North Hamgyŏng Province. As well as its railheads, Hŭngnam had a port with facilities able to load and unload large cargo ships. In 1927, a large nitrogen fertiliser factory opened, and in 1929 the Pujŏn River Hydro-electric Plant was completed, providing the basis for further industrial development. To service local industry, workers were attracted to the city and the population almost tripled between 1927 and 1943 : by the latter date it was over 165 000. Hŭngnam was granted city status in 1945.

Hŭngsadān (Society for the Fostering of Activists)

[History of Korea]

Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun (see **Yi Haŭng**)

Hŭnguk Temple

[Architecture]

Hunmin chŏngŭm (Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People, 1446)

The Korean alphabet (*han'gŭl*) is regarded as the crowning achievement of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450). Its completion was officially announced in 1443. The dynastic record states: 'His Highness has personally created the twenty-eight letters of the Vernacular Script. Although King Sejong had surrounded himself with able young scholars from the Academy of Worthies (*Chiphyŏn chŏn*), their role in Sejong's script project seemed to be an advisory one.

Three years later in 1446, the new script was promulgated. The promulgation document was given as its simple title the name of the script, *Hunmin chŏngŭm* (The Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People). It was a kind of handbook for learning the alphabet. The text of the document contains a short preface, a list of the symbols used in the alphabet, and brief descriptions of the sounds associated with the symbols.

The main text contains the Preface by King Sejong and *Yeŭi*, a section in which the sound value of twenty-eight phonetic symbols used in the Korean alphabet, in comparison with Chinese characters, as well as the six spelling rules, are briefly explained. This basic text of the *Hunmin chŏngŭm* was supplemented by a second and much longer text, a scholarly commentary called *Hunmin chŏngŭm haerye* (Explanations and Examples of the Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People).

Unlike the *Hunmin chŏngŭm* itself, this commentary was not authored by King Sejong but by a group of scholars, commissioned by him. Eight scholars, Chŏng Inji, Ch'oe Hang, Pak P'aengnyŏn, Shin Sukchu, Sŏng Sammun, Kang Hŭian, Yi Kae and Yi Sŏnno undertook the task of writing a new detailed exposition and completed in 1447. It is an invaluable source of information about Sejong's alphabet and the Korean language. The *Hunmin chŏngŭm* sketches the outline, the *Hunmin chŏngŭm haerye* fills in detail and gives examples of usage.

With the passage of time, copies of the *Hunmin chŏngŭm* have disappeared and only one

copy is extant. This is now held in the Kansong Art Gallery as National Treasure No. 70. Discovered in Andong in 1940, it comprises one volume of thirty-three leaves (two of which are not original) and measures 23.3cm by 16.8cm.

The '*Haerye*' or second part of the work consists of six chapters. It is in the first chapter, '*Chejahae*', that the origins of the Korean phonetic symbols and the principles on which they are based, are explained. The five basic consonant symbols are schematic drawings of the speech organs articulating the sound. Other consonant symbols are made by adding strokes to the basic five shapes.

King Sejong also created a separate symbol for each vowel phoneme. Three vowel symbols, rationalized along the lines of Neo-Confucian philosophy, were considered basic: the roundness of 'a' is a depiction of Heaven; the flatness of 'ŭ' is a depiction of Earth; the uprightness of 'i' is a depiction of Man.

The symbols for the other vowels in the system were formed by combining these three basic shapes. The *Hunmin chŏngŭm haerye* then classifies all the vowels into two groups called *yin* and *yang*, the members of which interact phonologically with one another in ways that modern linguists term 'vowel harmony.' Thus linguistic analysis was merged with philosophy.

Prior to the discovery of the one extant copy of the original *Hunmin chŏngŭm*, many theories, usually devised by Western scholars, had existed as to the origins of the script. It was said they were based on Sanscrit, Tibetan or even Balinese letters. The hypotheses of Korean scholars that they were based on an original Korean system were confirmed by the original manuscript found in 1940.

Hunmong chahoe (Collection of Elementary Chinese Characters)

Hunmong chahoe was written by Ch'oe Sejin in 1527 in order to teach Chinese characters to children. Before the publication of this work, basic education in Chinese characters was accomplished with either *Ch'ŏnjamun* (One Thousand Characters) or *Yuhap*. These works, however, were criticised as containing many abstract characters that were too difficult for children to understand. Ch'oe therefore arranged this work with those characters that represented concrete objects, such as the names of animals, birds, trees and the like, first, and then proceeded with the characters for more difficult concepts. This work is comprised of three volumes of beginning, intermediate and upper levels. Each volume contains 1,120 characters for a total of 3,360.

The work lists the Chinese characters with the *han'gŭl* pronunciation alongside with an explanation of the meaning of the character. This enabled the book to be used by learners without a teacher. Since it contains explanatory notes on how to use *han'gŭl*, it is a valuable document for research into the history of the Korean script. In the light of research into *han'gŭl*, the main features of this work can be summarized as follows: first, in providing the sounds for the Chinese characters, Ch'oe used but twenty-seven *han'gŭl* letters instead of the twenty-eight that had been present in *Hunmin chŏngŭm* (Proper Sounds to Instruct the People); second, the author divided the *han'gŭl* alphabet into eight sounds that could be used in initial or final positions, eleven middle sounds and eight sounds that could be used as only initial sounds; and third, the author provided a fixed pronunciation for the *han'gŭl* letters.

There are several different editions of this work presently extant as it was published many times during the Chosŏn period. There are slight differences in content among these editions. This work is considered a valuable document for research into the changes and settlement of *han'gŭl*.

Hwaak Mountain

Situated north-west of Ch'unch'ŏn on the border of Kyŏnggi and Kangwŏn Province, Mt. Hwaak (1,468 metres) is the highest mountain in Kyŏnggi Province. Along with Kungmang Peak (1,168 metres) and ũng Peak, the mountain is part of the Kwangju Mountain Range which branches off from the T'aebaek Mountain Range. As a high peak just south of the 38th parallel, the mountain was the scene of many pitched battles during the Korean War. In one particular battle, a large division of communist Chinese troops suffered defeat. A war memorial in Sach'ŏng Village has been set up in memory of those who fought in the battle.

Hwach'ŏn County

Situated in Kangwŏn Province to the north of Ch'unch'ŏn, Hwach'ŏn County is comprised of the town of Hwach'ŏn and the townships of Kandong, Sanae, Sangsŏ and Hanam. The northern branch of the Han River flows down the eastern end of the county. Near Tongch'on Village, the Hwach'ŏn Dam blocks the river, creating P'aro Lake. The entire county is extremely mountainous. Mt. Samyŏng (1 198 metres), Mt. Obong (779 metres) and picturesque Mt. Yonghwa (878 metres) mark the county's southeastern border, Mt. Kwangdŏk (1 046 metres), Mt. Paegun (904 metres) and the Mt. Hwaak (1 468 metres) mark the southwestern border, while Mt. Chaeon (1 071 metres) and Mt. Il (1 190 metres) rise up in the northeast.

Although the western part of the county is linked to Ch'unch'ŏn via Highway 5 and Highway 56, much of the area is not readily accessible. To the north lies Ch'ŏrwŏn County and the DMZ. These factors, coupled with the rugged terrain, have hindered the county's economic development. Many of the small towns in the county's northern areas consists mainly of service industries catering to the needs of soldiers and their families. Only a small portion of the county's area is under cultivation, and most of this is devoted to dry field crops such as corn, potatoes and beans. Specialty crops such as pine seeds, chestnuts, mushrooms and medicinal herbs are also grown here. In addition, many farmers supplement their income with sericulture and bee-keeping. Increasingly, cattle and pigs are being raised in the area. Due to the area's poor infra-structure and strict pollution controls along the county's rivers, there has been little industrial development in the region. However, a hydro-electric power plant has been set up at the Hwach'ŏn Dam.

With numerous lakes and rivers and unspoilt mountain scenery, the area offers a wide range of activities for visitors. On weekends during the summer, tourists from Seoul and nearby Ch'unch'ŏn come to picnic along the county's numerous streams and rivers. With over seventy varieties of freshwater fish, P'aro Lake is particularly popular with sports fishermen. For those who love mountains, there is the scenic Mt. Yonghwa. The mountain's hiking trails take one along huge rock cliffs and granite spires. Northeast of the peak, there is an old stone fortress which is said to have been built by the ancient Maek people during the period of tribal states.

The county boasts a number of scenic attractions, including Mirŭk Rock, P'allang Waterfall and Chiyŏn Waterfall. There are also numerous medicinal springs. The spring water at T'ongyŏng Temple is particularly famous for its medicinal qualities. Even during the summer, the water from the spring is cold, and it does not dry up even in times of drought.

There are several Buddhist artefacts in the area. In Hanam Township's Wira Village, there is a seven-storey stone pagoda (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 30) from the Koryŏ period, and in Hanam Township's Kyesŏng Village, there is the old site of Kyesŏng Temple. The stone lantern at the site has been designated Treasure No. 496.

As for Confucian artefacts, there is the Hwach'ŏn Hyanggyo (Confucian school) in

Hwach'ŏn Town. Founded during the Chosŏn period, the school was burnt down in 1950 at the start of the Korean War. Gradually reconstructed during the decades that followed, the present building has been designated Kangwŏn Province Cultural Site No. 102.

Hwadu

[Buddhism]

Hwang Chini

Hwang Chini was a famous *kisaeng* (female entertainer) of the Chosŏn period whose dates of birth and death are not known. Her given name was Chin, her *kisaeng* name was Myŏngwŏl, and she was also known as Chillang. She was from the city of Kaesŏng, and although her exact dates are unknown, there is evidence that she lived during the reign of King Chungjong (r.1506-1544). Since there are no specific biographies of her, information must be derived from indirect historical sources such as unofficial histories, which contain abundant references to her. However, it is difficult to verify the accuracy of the many stories about her found in these sources.

There are two common stories regarding the birth of Hwang. The first records that she was the illegitimate daughter of Hwang *Chinsa* (Esquire), while the second states that she was the daughter of a blind man. Although there are far more stories that name her as a daughter of Hwang *Chinsa* the theory that she was in fact the daughter of a blind man is rather convincing when one takes into account her social position as a *kisaeng*. As to the reason for her becoming a *kisaeng*, it is said that when a neighbour boy whom she loved died of disease, she rushed away and joined the world of the *kisaeng* at an age of fifteen. However, this can not be verified.

Hwang was described as beautiful, brilliant and talented, and she was also skilled at poetry and song composition. It is said that she loved the erudite scholar of that time, Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk (1486-1546), and often visited his retreat with her *kŏmungo* (six-stringed zither), wine and refreshments, and composed eloquent Tang-style poetry there. One of the many stories that surround Hwang details that she seduced the Monk Chijok, who had been practising an ascetic lifestyle for over ten years and was called a Buddha incarnate, and caused him violate his Buddhist vows. There is also the tale that she tried, but failed, to seduce Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk and therefore became his pupil.

Hwang Chini, along with Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk and Pagyŏn p'okp'o (Pagyŏn Waterfall) have been called the three famous treasures of Kaesŏng. Hwang composed *hanshi* (Sino-Korean poems) such as *Pagyŏn*, *Yŏng panwŏl*, *Tŭng manwŏl tae hoego* and *Yŏ soyanggok* among others that have been transmitted to the present. She also composed *shijo* such as *Ch'ŏngsalli pyŏkkyesu ya*, *Tongjital kinagin pamŭl* and *Ojyŏ naeiri yŏ* and three others which are extant. Since her works were mainly composed for banquets or elegant gatherings and were also the product of a *kisaeng*, it is thought that many have not been transmitted to the present time. However, her *hanshi* and *shijo* are highly praised for their literary quality and the depth of feeling that they express. They also reveal much about the luxurious lifestyle of the writer.

Hwang Chipchung

[Painting]

Hwang Sayŏng

[History of Korea]

Hwangbyŏng Mountain

Situated in P'yŏngch'ang County in Kangwŏn Province, Mt. Hwangbyŏng (1,407 metres) is part of the coastal range which includes Noin Peak (1,338 metres), Mt. Tongdae (1,434

metres), Ch'ŏnma Peak (999 metres) and Mae Peak (1,173 metres). This range is, in turn, part of the long T'aebaek Mountain Range. The north side of the mountain is characterised by spectacular crags and picturesque gorges. Known as Sogŭngang (The Lesser Diamond Mountains), the area gets its name from the Chosŏn Confucian scholar Yi I, styled Yulgok (1536-1584). In his travelogue *Ch'ŏnghak san'gi*, Yulgok described the area as a miniature (so) version of the Diamond (*kŭmgang*) Mountains. This scenic valley contains many famous sites, including Shipcha Pool, Shiktang Rock and the gorgeous Kuryong (Nine Dragons) Waterfall. Easily accessible from the highway connecting Seoul and Kangnŭng, the area is a favourite tourist destination. In 1975, in order to preserve the area's pristine natural environment, the area, along with Mt. Odae to the west, was designated Odae-san National Park.

Hwangnyong Temple Site

The Hwangnyong Temple Site (Historical Site No. 6) is situated in Kyŭngju in North Kyŭngsang Province. During its heyday, the monastic complex that stood here was perhaps the largest in East Asia. According to records, the monastery was founded during the reign of King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576). The King had ordered the construction of a new palace east of Panwŭl (Half-moon) Fortress. However, a dragon was seen at the site, prompting the king to change his plans and order the construction of a monastery, to be called Hwangnyong (Imperial Dragon) Temple. According to another legend, the temple was constructed on the ancient site of a temple from the time of Kasyapa, the Buddha who preceded Sakyamuni.

The temple's construction began in 553 and was completed sometime between 566 to 569. Around 575, the temple's statue, an image of Sakyamuni Buddha, was cast. According to legend, the bronze and gold used to make the image was found on an abandoned ship seen floating in Korean waters. An inscription is said to have revealed that the ship was sent by India's King Asoka. In 584, the Main Buddha Hall (*Kŭm-dang*) was completed, and the nine-storey pagoda was finished in 645. Notably, a construction expert by the name of Abaji was sent from the Paekche Kingdom to Shilla to help with the construction. When completed, the approximately eighty-metre high pagoda was probably East Asia's largest wooden structure. In 754, the temple's enormous bronze bell, approximately three times the size of the famous Emillie Bell, was cast.

From the beginning, the temple was associated with Shilla's 'state-protection Buddhism' (*hoguk pulgyo*). When Buddhism was first accepted by the Shilla elite, it was seen as a force providing spiritual protection to the country. This idea was reflected in the large ceremonies that were held at this time, such as the Assembly for Sutra Recitation by One-hundred Monks (Paekchwa Kanghoe) during which the *Benevolent King Sutra* (*Renwang jing*) was recited. This ceremony was performed in response to specific situations; but in general, it served to insure the well-being of the king and the prosperity of the nation. It was also held in conjunction with military campaigns to quell rebellions or expand Shilla's territory.

Wŭn'gwang and Chajang are two of the most famous monks to have resided at the temple. Wŭn'gwang (?-630), one of the earliest Shilla monks known to have studied in China, created the Five Secular Injunctions - a code of conduct for Shilla's young *hwarang* warriors. Vinaya Master Chajang also stayed at the temple. After his return from study in China, Chajang urged Queen Sŭndŭk to construct the nine-storey wooden pagoda in order to protect the nation from invasion.

From the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, there was a major excavation of the site. Through detailed research, scholars were able to piece together the extensive layout of the original monastery. Over the years, approximately forty-thousand artefacts have been found. In addition to numerous foundation stones, archaeologists have found stone statues, banner-

pole support pillars, tiles, gilt-bronze figurines and various other metalwork objects, as well as pottery - including pieces imported from Tang China.

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Hwanin

[Mythology]

Hwanjae chip (Collected Works of Hwanjae)

Hwanjae chip is an anthology by literary man Pak Kyusu (1807-1876), and the title is taken from the pen name of the author, Hwanjae. This work of eleven volumes in five fascicles was printed with moveable type and published in 1911. At the beginning of the first volume there is a preface written by Kim Yushik. The first three volumes contain 201 poems written by Pak. Volume four holds various miscellaneous writings and the fifth volume records various memorial addresses and epitaphs. The sixth includes official letters of the author and several memorials he presented to the throne, and the seventh volume carries a speech for the king that Pak wrote, epilogues and letters that the Korean court sent to Qing China with regard to the American intrusion on the Taedong River. Volumes eight to eleven contain 163 letters that Pak wrote and other miscellaneous works.

This work is a valuable source for study of the late Chosŏn period and many of the documents provide useful insights into the working of the Korean government during this turbulent period. Particularly notable is the role of Pak, who was governor of P'yŏngyang at the time, in the burning down of the U.S.S General Sherman when it sailed up the Taedong River in 1866. This work is now stored at the Kyujanggak and National Central Libraries among other places.

Hwaŏm Sect

[Buddhism]

Hwaŏm Temple

[Architecture]

Hwarang (Shilla warrior youth corps)

[History of Korea; Society]

Hwasŏng County

Situated in southwest Kyŏnggi Province, Hwasŏng County is comprised of the town of T'aeon and the townships of Namyang, Tongt'an, Mado, Maesong, Panwŏl, Pongdam, Pibong, Sŏshin, Songsan, Yanggam, Ujŏng, Changan, Chŏngnam, P'alt'an and Hyangnam. The area's terrain is characterised by low hills in the north and east, and plains in the west.

Agriculture is the largest sector of the economy. With relatively flat terrain and good irrigation, roughly 41 per cent of the county is arable. Stock breeding and dairy farming are another important source of income. Many farmers supplement their income by fishing for oysters, clams, shrimp, yellow corbina and various small fish varieties in the Yellow Sea. Taking advantage of the county's close proximity to Inch'ŏn and Seoul, numerous factories have been established in the area. These factories manufacture a wide array of goods, including communications equipment, electronics and clothing.

The county's tourist industry is primarily centred around its lakes and coastline. In particular, Chebu Island, located in Söshin Township, is popular for its beach and beautiful pine forest. Visitors also come to see the area's historical sites and relics. Founded in 854, Yongju Temple in particular contains a great number of artefacts, including a large bronze bell (National Treasure No. 120) from the Koryŏ period, a gilt-bronze incense burner, a bronze incense burner, a folding screen given to the temple by the royal family in 1796, an altar painting made in 1791 and printing blocks for the *Pulsöl pumoŭn chung kyŏng*. Pongnim Temple also contains several important Buddhist artefacts.

Confucian sites include Namyang Hyanggyo (county public school) which was founded in 1397 and An'gok Sŏwŏn (private school) founded in 1667. As for modern schools of higher learning, in Pongdam there is Hyupsung University, Suwon Catholic University and University of Suwon.

In Namyang Township's Puyang Village, one finds the Ch'ungjölbi (Loyalty Stele). Legend has it that when Qing China forced Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun (1820-1898) to go to China as a hostage, an old man blocked the king's procession and admonished him, 'If you desert the people, what will become of this country?' Sympathising with the old man, Taewŏn'gun shed tears of sorrow. When he eventually returned from China, Taewŏn'gun searched for the old man only to discover that he had passed away. In memory of the old man's loyalty to his country, Taewŏn'gun had a stele erected at the site.

Hwasun County

Situated in South Chŏlla Province, Hwasun County is comprised of the town of Hwasun, and the townships of Nam, Nŭngju, Togok, Toam, Tong, Tongbuk, Isŏ, Iyang, Ch'ŏngp'ung, Ch'unyang and Hanch'ŏn. Except for the western area, the county is characterised by mountainous terrain with peaks from 400 to 900 metres. Mt. Mudŭng (1 187m), rising in the north, is the county's highest peak. Due to the area's high elevation, the county tends to be relatively cool in summer and is often foggy.

Although the county has little arable land, most of the residents are employed in the agricultural sector. Due to the rugged terrain and cool temperatures, rice cultivation is limited. Dry field crops such as barley, sweet potatoes, potatoes, beans, corn, hot peppers and peaches are common. Isŏ Township's Tongbuk Lake, Hanch'ŏn Township's Kŭmjŏn Reservoir and Ch'unyang Township's Kadong Reservoir provide irrigation water to the area's farms. Mining also makes a significant contribution to the local economy. Coal is extracted from mines in the townships of Ch'unyang, Tong, and Tongbuk. In addition, silica is mined in Nam Township, lime in Ch'unyang Township and pagodite in Iyang Township. Primarily based in the town of Hwasun, the county's factories produce processed farm products, liquor, textiles and other manufactured goods.

Tourism is another important source of income for local residents. Situated just southeast of Kwangju, the county attracts large number of visitors who come to enjoy the area's natural beauty and ancient temples. In Toam Township, there is Unju Temple, famous for its reclining Buddha and other artefacts, and Ssangbong Temple, located in Iyang Township, is also well-known for its large number of ancient relics. Mt. Mudŭng and nearby Mt. Manyŏn are popular areas for hiking and picnics. In the lush valley at the foot of Mt. Manyŏn lie Manyŏn Temple and Manyŏn Waterfall. Legend has it that the waterfall's name comes from the names of two lovers in the Paekche Kingdom. When the Koguryŏ Kingdom attacked Paekche, Mansŏk was crippled in the battle. Mansŏk and his girlfriend Yŏnsun, aware that their love could never be realised, committed suicide at the falls. From this time on, local people named the falls after the first syllables of the couples names.

Confucian sites in the area include Nŭngju Hyanggyo (county public school) which is said

to have been founded in 1392, Hwasun Hyanggyo founded in 1434, Tongbuk Hyanggyo, founded in 1445, Chuksu Sŏwŏn (private school) built to commemorate Cho Kwangjo (1482-1519) and Yang P'aengson, Towŏn Sŏwŏn which was built to commemorate Ch'oe Sandu, and Haemang Sŏwŏn which was built in memory of Kim Chongjik, Chŏng Yŏhae, etc.

Hwayo Hoe (Tuesday Society)	[History of Korea]
<i>Hyangak</i>	[Music]
<i>Hyangch'al</i>	[Language]
<i>Hyangga</i>	[History of Korea, Literature]
<i>Hyanggyo</i> (county public school)	[Architecture; Education; Society]
<i>Hyangyak</i>	[Agriculture]

Hyangyak chipsŏng pang (Compilation of Native Korean Prescriptions, 1433)

Hyangyak chipsŏng pang is a comprehensive reference work of 85 volumes on Korean medicine. It is a synthesis of native medicine used since the time of the Koryŏ Dynasty.

The work has its antecedents in earlier studies of Korean medicine. A medical prescription book based on Korean herbs (*Hyangyak hyemin kyŏnghŏm pang*) was compiled during the Koryŏ Dynasty and later adopted as a textbook for students. Another early medical work was a collection of prescriptions for emergency cases (*Hyangyak kugŭp pang*), an edition of which is to be found in the Bureau of Mausolea and Books of the Imperial Household Agency in Japan and is the oldest extant Korean medical book. These and other works were the basis for a large compilation of thirty volumes in the reign of King T'aejo (r. 1392-98) called the *Hyangyak chesaeng chipsŏng pang* (Collection of Native Prescriptions to Save Life) which had the purpose of popularizing folk medicine and extending medical care. Unfortunately, this work is no longer extant, and we know of its existence only from the preface of *Hyangyak chipsŏng pang* which was subsequently compiled from it.

While, therefore, by the beginning of Chosŏn, there were compilations of Korean herbal medicines and treatments, there was a lack of standardization regarding terms and prescriptions, particularly with the Chinese equivalents. When forced to substitute local medicines for the Chinese ones, the medical profession faced many difficulties. In consideration of this situation, King Sejong (r.1418-50) frequently dispatched medical officials to Beijing to collect prescription books and to correct erroneous medicine names used in Korea.

In 1413, King Sejong instructed Yu Hyot'ong, No Chungrye and Pak Yundŏk to compile various books in the field into a single prescription book, while adding 'folk medicine' to prescriptions in *Chesaeng chipsŏng pang*. As a result, the number of diseases covered increased from 338 in the *Chesaeng chipsŏng pang* to 959 in the *Hyangyak chipsŏng pang*, and the number of prescriptions from 2 803 to 10 706. With appendices which deal with the 1 476 methods of acupuncture and moxibustion, local herbs and methods of parching, the book consisted of 85 volumes. The compilation was completed in 1433 and publication commenced straight away .

The main text of each volume begins by describing the various kinds of diseases, explaining them within the theoretical framework of Eastern medicine. Diseases are classified into 959

kinds, with most of the diseases known to modern medicine included. Next, the work introduces methods of treatment and various prescriptions, indicating the sources from which the treatments originated. Traditional Oriental medicine relies on the theory of the five elements, namely wood, metal, soil, fire and water, and diseases such as paralysis and frostbite are treated differently from the way modern Western medicine treats them. Other diseases are classified into intestinal medicine, ear, nose and throat, ophthalmology, dermatology, etc.. There are also prescriptions for a number of antidotes, as well as sections on gynecology, pediatrics, infant nursing and treatments for fainting and drowning.

Volumes 76 to 85 deal with 630 medicinal plants, animals and minerals produced on the Korean peninsula, describing where they are to be found, their taste, their qualities and effects, and in the case of plants, at what time of the year they should be harvested. In short, it is a comprehensive work based on Chinese sources as well as original Korean works handed down from the Koryŏ dynasty.

Hyangyak chipsŏng pang was used as a textbook by medical students and as a handbook for selecting worthy new students. It lost some of its popularity after the introduction of Chinese medicine during the Ming Dynasty, only to be revived after the Qing invasion of Korea, to be reprinted in 1633.

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Hyech'ŏ (704-787)

Hyech'ŏ is famous as a specialist in esoteric Buddhism. Around 723, he went to Kuangzhou in Tang China. While there, he became the disciple of Vajrabodhi (671-741), the founder of the Vajradhatu branch of esoteric Buddhism. Following his teacher's advice, Hyech'ŏ went on a pilgrimage to the Buddhist sacred sites. Travelling by sea to the Nicobar Islands in the Bengal Gulf and then on to India, he visited Magadha, Kusinagara and Bodhgaya and then travelled extensively in both central and south India. From there, he passed through northern India to Samarkand, Eastern Turkestan and Kucha, reaching China in 727. He wrote a four-volume account of his travels to India, known as the *Wang Och'ŏnch'ukkuk chŏn* (*Memoirs of the Pilgrimages to the Five Regions of India*). The text was discovered by the Frenchman Pelliot in the Dunhuang Caves in 1910.

After his return to China, Hyech'ŏ studied with Vajrabodhi in Changan. In 733, he participated in the translation of the *Dasheng yushu jingang xinghai manxu xili qianbi qianbo daqiaowang jing* (Treatise on Anuttarasamyaksambodhi Thought in the Amoghavajrayoga). He was regarded, along with Huiguo, as one of the master's six major disciples. He later studied with Amoghavajra (705-774). He spent the last years of his life living in a temple on China's Mt. Wutai. Although he never returned to Shilla, he was part of a circle of famous thinkers who were to have a profound impact on the Buddhism of East Asia. His fellow student, Huiguo, later taught Kukai, who founded the Shingon Sect in Japan.

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Hyegong, King (758-780)

King Hyejong was the thirty-sixth king of Shilla and reigned from 765 to 780. Hyejong's surname was Kim and his given name Kônun. He was the son of King Kyôngdok (r. 742-765) and a direct descendent of King T'aejong Muyôl (r. 654-661), the architect of the Shilla conquest of the peninsula, and the last of the mid-Shilla kings. His mother was also of the Kim family. Hyejong. was designated crown prince in 760 and he ascended to the throne at eight years of age under the regency of the Queen Mother. .

The period surrounding the reign of Hyejong is notable in that it marked the height of the power struggle between the *chingol* (true-bone) aristocracy and the king for control of Shilla. The middle period of Shilla is considered to be the high-point of the kingdom, yet even by the reign of King Kyôngdôk (r. 742-765) the balance of power between the *chingol* aristocracy and the monarchy had begun to alter. Hyejong sought to increase the authority of the monarchy through the Chancellery Office (Chipsabu), and this was the focus in the early years of his reign. Naturally, the attempts to strengthen the monarchy came at the expense of the power of the aristocracy and thus were vehemently opposed by the *chingol* aristocrats. Hence, the sixteen year reign of Hyejong is marked by a number of political uprisings in the struggle for supremacy between the throne and the *chingol* aristocrats.

An uprising began in 768 with a plot against Hyejong, led by Kim Taegong. This incident, which lasted three years and was ultimately unsuccessful, grew in magnitude and is said to have involved up to ninety-six members of the aristocracy who held the highest official rank of *kakkan*. In 774, however, a member of the *chingol* aristocracy, Kim Yangsang, was able to seize power and reduce the young king Hyejong to little more than a figurehead. There were repeated attempts by supporters of the throne, most notably Kim Ūngô, to restore the authority of Hyejong, but each of these failed. It was at this time that the balance of power in Shilla shifted decidedly to the *chingol* aristocracy, and so marked the end of the prosperous middle Shilla period. There were various attempts by the factions surrounding Hyejong to restore his power, with the most visible of these aimed at implementing reforms based upon the Tang China systems. Kim Yangsang effectively thwarted these attempts and in 780, Hyejong and his queen were assassinated. Kim Yangsang then declared himself king (King Sôndôk, r. 780-785), an event which effectively ended the line of King T'aejong Muyôl and thereby the mid-Shilla period of Korean history. .

Hyeja (?-624)

Hyeja was a Koguryô monk who crossed over to Japan in 595. Hyeja, along with Hyech'ong, who went to Japan at the same time, resided at Hôkô Temple. There, they taught Prince Shôtoku, the eldest son of King Yômei. Their instruction covered a wide range of Buddhist thought, including works from the Three Treatise (Sanlun) School, as well as basic works such as the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Vimalakirti Sutra*. Through their missionary efforts, the two monks helped lay the groundwork for the Japanese acceptance of Buddhism. In 615, after having spent over twenty years in Japan, Hyeja returned to Koguryô.

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Hyp'yôn

Hyp'yôn, a Koguryô monk, is best known for his missionary activities in Japan. In 584, Paekche had sent an envoy to Japan with a Maitreya statue. Soga no Ūmako built a temple

near Ishikawa's residence and enshrined the statue. At the time, there were no monks available to reside at the temple. After searching far and wide, Hyep'yŏn was discovered living in Bansho. Soga put him up in the temple as his teacher. In this way, Hyep'yŏn became the teacher of Soga, an important Japanese convert to Buddhism. In the same year, Hyep'yŏn ordained three Japanese women: Zenshin, Zenzo and Keizen. These three women became the first Buddhist nuns in Japan.

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Hyobong

Hyobong was a general of the Later Paekche Kingdom. Neither his date of birth nor death are known. He along with three other Paekche generals, Tŏksul, Aesul and Myŏnggil, surrendered to King T'aejo (r. 918-943) at Ilsŏn (present day Sŏnsan) in the ninth month of 936. Then the newly founded Koryŏ Kingdom crushed the remaining military forces of later Paekche in the last of the unification wars of the period.

Hyojong, King (r. 1649-1659)

King Hyojong (1619-1659) was the seventeenth king of Chosŏn and reigned from 1649 to 1659. His name was Ho, his courtesy name Chŏngyŏn and his pen name Chugo. He was the second son of King Injo (r. 1623-1649), his mother was Queen Inyŏl and his queen, Insŏn, was the daughter of the Third State Councillor (Uŭijŏng), Chang Yu. Hyojong was born in Seoul and married at the age of twelve. With the 1636 Manchu Invasion, Hyojong together with his brother Grand Prince Inp'yŏng, the queen, royal consorts and various officials, were ordered to take refuge on Kanghwa Island by King Injo. However, after Injo capitulated to the Manchu in the following year Hyojong and his brother Crown Prince Sohyŏn were taken as hostages to ensure the compliance of Chosŏn. Hyojong and Sohyŏn remained in the Manchurian court for eight years, with the Crown Prince returning to Chosŏn in the second month of 1645. In the fourth month of the same year, however, Sohyŏn died suddenly, and as a result Hyojong returned to Korea one month later and was named crown prince. Four years later when Injo died, Hyojong took the throne.

Since the high officials and court of Chosŏn regarded the Manchu as little more than barbarians, the forced submission to their suzerainty gave rise to hostility towards their conquerors. Hyojong, who held clear memories of eight years spent as hostage in various locations of the Manchu domain, shared these feelings and with like-minded government officials began to plan a northern expedition to restore the Ming dynasty. However, the plans of Hyojong and the pro-Ming faction of the Chosŏn court were revealed to the Manchu by members of the pro-Qing faction in Chosŏn led by Kim Chajŏm (? — 1651). As a result, the planned expedition came to nothing. The pro-Qing faction was purged in 1651 and other plans were formulated for an invasion of the northern regions, but these also did not materialise. Perhaps the most notable military achievements of this period were the strengthening of the border defences in the north, and the development of new and more powerful weapons. In particular, the new artillery pieces and muskets which were developed with the assistance of Hendrik Hamel, a Dutchman who had been shipwrecked in Korea. This new weaponry aided the strengthening of the Chosŏn army.

Aside from his plans to retaliate against the Qing, Hyojong also implemented various economic reforms so designed to help Chosŏn recover from the calamitous Japanese invasions that had begun in 1592. In a move aimed at lessening the tax burden on farmers, the amount of tax per *kyŏl* of land was reduced. Insofar as scholarly achievements during

the reign of Hyojong are concerned, the official history *Kukcho pogam* (Precious Mirror for Succeeding Reigns) was published in 1654, and *Nongga chipsŏng* (Compilation for Farmers), a collection of previously written works on farming, was published and distributed. However, matters concerning a military action against the Qing continued to dominate Hyojong's life and reign, and these remained unfulfilled when he died at age forty-one in 1659.

Hyŏl ūi nu (Tears of Blood)

[Literature]

Hyŏn Chemyŏng (1902-1960)

Hyŏn Chemyŏng was a composer and an educator. His family's ancestral home is in Yŏnju, his pen name was Hyŏnsŏk and he was born in Taegu. He studied at Kyesŏng School and then at Sungshil College in P'yŏngyang (Sungshil Chŏnmun Hakkyo). It was at this time that Hyŏn showed an interest in music, particularly in vocal music and the piano. He graduated in 1923 and then became a music teacher at Shinhŭng School in Chŏnju. In 1925 he travelled to the United States and studied at both the Moody Bible School and Gunn Music School. Upon his return to Korea in 1929 he took a position teaching at Yŏnhŭi College (present Yonsei University) in Seoul. The following year he began his professional recording career and made records with the Victor and Columbia recording companies. In 1933 along with Hong Nanp'a (1897-1941) he founded the first music publication company in Korea and concentrated on this business until liberation in 1945. In 1950 he composed the first opera in Korea entitled *Ch'unhyang chŏn* (The Story of Ch'unhyang) and went on to compose others such as *Wangja hodong* (1958). Hyŏn is also known for leading Korea's first full-scale symphony orchestra from 1945-1948. In 1945 he founded the Kyŏngsang Music School (Kyŏngsang Ŭmak Hakkyo) and in subsequent years he was active in music organisations in both Korea and on the international stage.

Hyŏn is remembered for his impact on the propagation of Western music in Korea and for his educational activities which enabled him to train a new generation of musicians in Korea. Hyŏn is also praised for his compositions such as *Kohyang saenggak* (Hometown Reminiscing), *Kŭ chip ap* (In Front of that House) and *Sandŭl param* (Gentle Breeze).

Hyŏn, Rody (see Hyŏn Chemyŏng)

Hyŏnak yŏngsang hoesang

[Music]

Hyŏndae kŭk

[Film and film making]

Hyŏndae munhak

[Magazines]

Hyŏn'gwang

Hyŏn'gwang was born during the reign of King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576). He is famous as the first monk to introduce Tiantai (Kor. Ch'ŏnt'ai) thought to Shilla. Having been ordained as a boy, Hyŏn'gwang later journeyed to China's Chen Kingdom (557-588) where he achieved realisation under the guidance of Nanyue Huisi. After receiving formal recognition from his master, he returned to Shilla where he founded the Pŏphwa Sect, based at a temple on Mt. Ong in Ungju. In China, he was considered to be one of the patriarchs of the Tiantai sect. Likewise, during the Koryŏ Period when National Msect at Chuch'ŏng Temple in Kaesŏng, Hyŏn'gwang's picture was kept in the temple's Chosa-dang (Hall of the Patriarchs).

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Hyŏngpŏp taejŏn

[Legal system]

Hyujŏng (1520-1604)

Hyujŏng, styled Ch'ŏnghŏ, was born in Anju, P'yŏngan Province. His father, Ch'oe Sech'ang, worked as a government official. His parents were both forty-six years old when Hyujŏng was born. Around the age of eight, he lost his mother, followed by his father a year later. Hyujŏng, a highly prodigious boy, caught the eye of Yi Sajung, a county magistrate. Yi, seeing much promise in the orphaned boy, adopted him and brought him to Seoul. When Hyujŏng turned eleven, Yi enrolled him in the famous Sŏnggyungwan Confucian academy. At this time, Hyujŏng also started studying with the official No, an old friend of his father's. Around the age of fourteen, he took the civil service examination but failed.

Disappointed with life in the capital, Hyujŏng travelled through the country until he came to Mt. Chiri. There, he stayed at various temples, receiving instruction from famous teachers such as Grand Master Yŏnggwang. One morning while hauling water, Hyujŏng looked into the distance at the cloud-covered mountains and suddenly achieved awakening. The second morning after this happened, he entered the order under the direction of the elder Sungin. In 1540, he received his higher ordination. Eventually, he received formal recognition (*in'ga*) of his enlightenment from Grand Master Yŏnggwang.

In 1549, Hyujŏng passed the monk examination and was selected to be head of both the Kyo (Doctrinal) and Sŏn (Meditation) sect. However, in 1556, feeling that such a position was not the proper role for a monk, he resigned. In the years that followed, he travelled through Mt. Kŭmgang, Mt. Turyu, Mt. T'aebaek, Mt. Odae and Mt. Myohyang, studying and engaging in spiritual practices. At this time, the band of disciples that gathered around him grew to number over a thousand.

In 1589, when Chŏng Yŏrip's (?-1589) rebellious plot came to light, the monk Muŏp fabricated charges leading to Hyujŏng's arrest. King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608), however, soon proclaimed the charges erroneous and had him released. The king went so far as to write a poem in Hyujŏng's honour. Hyujŏng retired to Mt. Myohyang, also known as Sŏsan (Western Mountain), in order to practice more intensely. Around this time, he became known as Grand Master Sŏsan.

In 1592 when the Hideyoshi Invasion broke out, Sŏnjo, who had fled north to P'yŏngyang and then to Ŭiju, sent for Hyujŏng by means of an envoy. When Hyujŏng arrived, the king asked for his advice. Hyujŏng recommended that all able-bodied monks be called on to fight, and that the older monks, who were too old to go into battle, look after the temples and pray for the welfare of the nation. After the king consented, Hyujŏng sent a call to arms to monks throughout the nation. He gathered together a monks' army over 1 000 strong, which then headed for P'yŏngyang under the leadership of Kwŏnyul. He then mobilised a militia of 1 500 disciples at Pŏphŭng Temple in Sunan. These troops, under his personal direction, fought alongside Ming troops to recapture P'yŏngyang. In return for his services, Sŏnjo awarded Hyujŏng with the position of commander of monk armies of the eight provinces. Due to his advancing age, Hyujŏng passed on the position to his disciple Yujŏng.

Hyujŏng wrote a number of works, including the *Samga kwigam* (Mirror of the Three Teachings), *Sŏn'gyo sŏk* (Explanations of Sŏn and Kyo), *Sŏn'gyo gyŏl* (*Secrets of Sŏn*)

and Kyo), *Unsu tan kasa* (Cloud River Platform Verses), *Chõnghõ tanjip* (Collection of Ch'õnghõ's Works), *Shimbõp yo* (Essentials of the Mind Dharma). In the *Samga kwigam*, Hyujõng attempted to show that Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism ultimately transmitted the same truth. This eclectic approach is also seen in Hyujõng's attitude toward Sõn (meditation) and Kyo (doctrine). Hyujõng, like Chinul before him, felt that Sõn and Kyo were mutually compatible aspects of the teachings. One section of the *Samga kwigam* was also published separately as the *Sõn'ga kwigam* (Mirror of the Sõn School). This work is one of the most widely read Sõn texts in Korea.

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Hyundai (Hyõndae) Group

[Industry]

Hyungbae

[Clothing]

Ibam Mountain

Mt. Ibam (1,107 metres) is situated on the border of Hwanghae and Kangwõn Province, about 10 kilometres east of Koksan. The name 'Ibam' (Standing Boulders) probably comes from the mountain's steep cliffs and exposed granite faces. Numerous streams flow down the mountain, creating picturesque gorges and valleys. Posal Temple lies at the southern base of the mountain.

Ich'adon (506-527)

Ich'adon, Korea's most well-known Buddhist martyr, is also named Kõch'adon, Ch'õdo and Yõmch'ok, and is said to have been of the Pak clan. The oldest references to Ich'adon come from the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), *Samguk sagi* (The History of the Three Kingdoms) and *Haedong kosüng chõn*. (Lives of Eminent Korean Monks). Also, there is a hexagonal, inscribed pillar in the collection of the Kyongju National Museum, which is thought to have been carved in 817, and which depicts Ich'adon's martyrdom, along with an explanation of the event. Because of severe erosion of the pillar has, however, erased almost half of the text, but it seems to generally agree with the *Samguk yusa* and *Samguk sagi* accounts. In particular, it confirms the story of milk flowing out of Ich'adon's severed neck.

The three accounts vary in matters of detail. According to the *Samguk yusa*, Ich'adon was a minor court official of the rank of *sain*, but was descended from Süppo Kammunwang, the father of King Chijüng (r. 500-514). This work also suggests, at one point, that Ich'adon was a monk, but this would appear to be an added opinion. The three sources generally agree that both Ich'adon and King Põphüng (r. 514-540) planned the martyrdom as a means to overcome the opposition of the aristocratic Hwabaek council to the official acceptance of Buddhism.

According to the *Haedong kosüng chõn*, an order for the erection of a monastery in the Shilla kingdom was given, thereby inviting the opposition of court officials. When King Põphüng pretended not to have issued the order, Ich'adon (as previously planned) claimed responsibility. The council of ministers demanded Ich'adon's execution, and the king

concurred, noting that Ich'adon was at odds with majority opinion. Ich'adon's martyrdom is said to have occurred in 527 (*Samguk yusa*), 528 (*Samguk sagi*) or 529 (*Haedong kosŭng chŏn*). As Ich'adon predicted, when he was beheaded, his blood ran white like milk and his severed head flew to the peak of Mt. Kŭmgang.

According to legend, this miracle, along with other strange portents, induced the council members to immediately allow Shilla's formal acceptance of Buddhism. However, the postponement to 534 of the construction of Hŭngnyun Temple, Shilla's first monastery suggests that the official acceptance of Buddhism may have actually occurred a little later, in 534 or 535. It is generally agreed, though, that Ich'adon's martyrdom marks the beginning of Buddhism's flowering in Shilla. In the following years, King Pŏphŭng and his queen both entered the Buddhist monastic order. Ich'adon became a symbol of Buddhist piety, with Buddhist devotees regularly gathering at Hŭngnyun Temple in commemoration of his martyrdom. In 544, when the temple's Kŭmdang (Gold Hall) was completed, he became one of the ten sages worshipped there, and he was further honoured with the construction of Chach'u Temple on Mt. Kŭmgang.

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Ich'ŏn

Situated in southeast Kyŏnggi Province, Ich'ŏn is comprised of the townships of Pubal, Ich'ŏn and Changhowŏn, and the townships of Taewŏl, Majang, Moga, Paeksa, Sŏlsŏng, Shindun, Yul and Hobŏp. Except for the mountainous terrain along the northern and eastern borders, the city's area (462.59 square kilometres) is relatively flat. Both the Chungbu and Yŏngdong Expressway pass through the city, providing ready access to Korea's large cities.

The soil of the area is particularly fertile and, unlike many places in the Korean peninsula, is not rocky. As a result, farming plays a key role in the local economy. Although fruits and vegetables are grown here, rice remains the main crop. In fact, the rice grown here, known as *chach'ae* (purple hue) rice, was previously sent in tribute to the king. The *kegŏlmu*, a variety of radish, is also grown exclusively in this area. In addition to agriculture, numerous industries have set up factories here in order to take advantage of the region's excellent transportation networks.

Located within an hour's drive from Seoul, the area has a number of tourist sites. The Ich'ŏn Hot Spring is famous for its curative powers. Discovered over 100 years ago, this spring produces 6 500 litres of 30 degrees Centigrade water per day. The hiking course past Sŏlbong Lake and Yŏngwŏl Hermitage to Mt. Sŏlbong (394 metres) is another popular tourist destination. At the numerous pottery kilns in Ich'ŏn's Saŭm Village and Shindun Township's Sugwang Village, visitors can witness Korea's pottery tradition.

Scattered throughout the city, there are numerous relics and historical sites. In addition to artefacts from the prehistoric era, there are what appear to be stone fortress remains from the Three Kingdoms period on Mt. Sŏlbong, Mt. Sŏlsŏng, Mt. Wŏnjŏk, and Mt. Hyoyang, and at the villages of Chin'ga and Chŭngil. There is also a relatively intact stone fortress on Mt. Mai (472 metres) at the southern edge of the city.

There are a large number of Buddhist artefacts, including a standing stone Buddha in

Changhowŏn Township's Ŏsŏk Village (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 107), a standing stone Buddha in Sŏlsŏng Township's Chisŏk Village, a three-storey pagoda (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 106) from the Koryŏ period in Ich'ŏn's Chung Village and a Buddha in relief (Treasure No. 822) at Yŏngwŏl Hermitage. Carved during the Koryŏ period, the 9.6-metre high figure at Yŏngwŏl Hermitage, unlike most works of its kind, occupies the entire surface of the rock. In Moga Township at the foot of Mt. Maok, there is another Buddha in relief (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 119) which is believed to date from the early Koryŏ period. Confucian artefacts in the area include the shrines Hyosan-sa and Ch'ungjang-sa and the Ich'ŏn Hyanggyo (County public school).

Idiophones

[Musical instruments]

Idu (see **Language, Korean**)

Iksan

Situated in North Chŏlla Province, Iksan is comprised of the townships of Kŭmma, Nangsan, Mangsŏng, Samgi, Sŏngdang, Sŏngna, Yŏsan, Osan, Wanggung, Yongdong, Yongan, Ungp'o, Ch'unp'o, Hamna and Hwangdŭng. The city was created by combining Iksan County with Iri City. Except for a few mountains and hills along the eastern border, the area's terrain consists of flat plains. The Kŭm River flows past the northwest border of the county on its way to the Yellow Sea, while the Man'gyŏng River flows along the southern border.

Most of the area's agriculture is devoted to rice cultivation. In the townships of Nangsan, Yŏsan and Kŭmma, grapes and other fruit crops are grown, and there are a number of stock breeding operations in the townships of Nangsan and Wanggung. Located just off the Honam expressway, Iksan is easily accessible from Taejŏn. In addition, several major highways link the city with Chŏnju to the southeast and Kunsan to the east. Taking advantage of the area's excellent transportation networks and its proximity to the Yellow Sea, there has been extensive development here beginning with the construction of a large industrial complex in 1969. At present, factories in the city produce a wide array of goods including textiles, metalwork and chemicals.

With extensive industrial development and flat terrain, the area does not attract large numbers of tourists. Yet a limited number of visitors come to the city to see the local historical sites. In addition to the large number of prehistoric artefacts found throughout the area, there are many ancient fortresses, including the Mirŭk Fortress in Kŭmma Township's Shinyong Village and the Nangsan Fortress in Nangsan Township's Nangsan Village. Many of the region's relics are from the Paekche kingdom. In Kŭmma Township's Shinyong Village and Wanggung Township's Wanggung Village, there are remains of ancient Paekche kilns.

There are a large number of Buddhist sites in the area. Outside of Iri Girls High School, there is a five-storey pagoda, and another five-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 44) can be seen in Wanggung Village. Ancient stone Buddha statues are located in Samgi Township's Yŏndong Village and Kŭmma Township's Tonggodo Village (Treasures No. 45 and No. 46 respectively). At T'aebong Temple, there is a stone Buddha with attendant Bodhisattvas (North Chŏlla Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 12). In addition, a gold Buddha figurine was found in excavations near Yŏsan Township's Tosŭng Temple.

Perhaps the most interesting Buddhist site in the area is the stone pagoda (National Treasure No. 11) at the Mirŭk Temple site. Located in Kŭmma Township's Kiyang Village, this 14.24-metre high structure was built in imitation of a wooden pagoda. Much of the front

section has deteriorated and only six-storeys are extant. In 1910, cement was applied to the pagoda in an urgent effort to prevent further damage. The original structure is believed to have been approximately 20 metres high and to have consisted of nine storeys. Thought to date from the reign of Paekche's King Mu (r. 600-641), this is both the oldest and largest stone pagoda in Korea. Near the site, there is also a pair of banner-pole supports (Treasure No. 236).

Confucian sites in the area include Usanjöngsa, which was used by Song Yönggu as a ceremonial hall during the reign of Prince Kwanghae (r. 1608-1623). The hall now houses various paraphernalia associated with Song. There are a number of old Confucian schools in the area including the Iksan Hyanggyo (founded in 1398) in Tonggodo Village, the Yösan Hyanggyo in Yösan Township, the Yongan Hyanggyo in Yongan Township and the Hamyöl Hyanggyo in Hamna Township. Shrines in the area include Mohyön-dong's Maegoksa founded in 1927 in commemoration of Kim Künbae who committed suicide in protest over the Japanese occupation of Korea.

As for modern educational institutions, there is Wonkwang University north of central Iksan. Founded by the Won Buddhist Order, the university contains a number of colleges including a College of Won Buddhism and a College of Oriental Medicine. The university also runs a museum, gallery and the Wonkwang Medical Center.

Ilchin Hoe (see Advancement Society)

Ilchogak Publishers

Situated in Seoul's Chongno Ward, Ilchogak Publishers was established on 3 September 1953. The company specialises in works related to the social sciences, technology, history and foreign languages.

Ilsöngnok (Record of Daily Reflection)

The *Ilsöngnok* is a monumental record, in diary form, promulgated by King Chöngjo (r. 1776-1800), which exceeds two-thousand three-hundred volumes, and spans one-hundred and fifty years, from 1760 to the end of Chosön (1910). It embraces the regnant period of six Korean kings, as follows : 1760-75 - pre-accession of King Chöngjo, 30 vols : King Chöngjo, 646 vols., and 2 supplementary vols. : King Sunjo, (1800-34) 637 vols. : King Hönjong (1834-49), 199 vols.: King Ch'ölchong (1849-63), 200 vols.: King Kojong (1863-1907), 562 vols. : King Sunjong (1907-10), 33 vols.

The *Ilsöngnok*, like the earlier *Öje chasöngp'yon*, was compiled as a vehicle for the self-examination of kings. In its earliest stages the manuscript was edited personally by King Chöngjo, but this task was later performed by librarians of the Royal Kyujanggak Library. The manuscripts were written by the Ipchik Kömsö (compiler on duty) who placed the daily entries before the king every fifth day. Each entry was arranged according to the importance of the subject or person therein, in eleven descending classifications, and a brief synopsis was kept separate from the main article. However, commands of the king were entered unabridged. Each month's writing was bound into book form, and submitted for the king's approval, with any lacuna inserted in the first month of each year.

There are eleven classifications of the contents of the *Ilsöngnok*, as follows :

- (i) On astronomy; (ii) On memorial rites to the king's ancestors; (iii) On the king; (iv) On the grace of the king; (v) On the appointment and dismissal of officials; (vi) Memorials to the throne; (vii) The letters of prosecution; (viii) Stenographs and reports; (ix) Long reports; (x) On the government service examinations; (xi) On penal administration.

The *Ilŏngnok* contains many diverse accounts which are unrecorded elsewhere, rendering it an extremely valuable source of historical material. Some other accounts of late Chosŏn, such as the *Veritable Records of King Sunjong* and the *Veritable Records of King Kojong* (posthumous records of the monarchs) were scrutinised and edited by the Japanese administration. They are, therefore, a less reliable collection than the *Ilŏngnok*. A considerable number of the 2307 vols. of the *Ilŏngnok* has not survived, but the last 33 vols. (during Sunjo's reign) are extant.

Il tong changyu ka

[Tourism]

Ilwŏlo Hoe (January Society)

[History of Korea]

Im Kkŏkchŏng

Im Kkŏkchŏng (?-1562), also known as Im Kŏjŏng and Im Kŏjiljŏng, was a Robin Hood-like figure from the middle Chosŏn period during the reign of King Myŏngjong (r. 1545-1567). Im was a man of low birth (*ch'ŏnmin*) in a highly stratified society where *ch'ŏnmin* had no choice but to accept social discrimination and resign themselves to poverty.

Cunning and resourceful, Im vented his dissatisfaction with his low social position by organizing a small band of thieves which robbed wealthy private estates. As soon as his influence had increased sufficiently, Im moved into Hwanghae Province and set up his lair in the Kuwŏl Mountains and pillaged surrounding villages. In Hwanghae and neighboring Kyŏnggi Provinces, Im's band attacked officials, raided granaries, and distributed the spoils to the common people. Such actions contributed to his popularity with the lower classes and with lower officials, who helped Im elude capture.

In 1559, Im moved south to Kaesŏng where he was seen frequently. The governor of Kaesŏng, Yi Ōkkŭn, dispatched a force of about twenty to attack Im's lair, but they were all killed. In response, the king ordered Im's arrest. After a month of unsuccessful attempts, the king threatened the regional governors with serious punishment for failure to catch Im, and offered a reward for his capture. Nevertheless, they were able to catch only a few of Im's band.

In August of 1560, Im and his band were seen as far south as Seoul where a magistrate was killed by an arrow when he attempted to apprehend Im. A number of Im's band were arrested, and his wife was captured and imprisoned. In October of that year, the road running into Seoul through the Kŭmgyo Post Station was blockaded and heavily defended against the robbers, but Im had already moved his central lair and plundering activities to the north. In December of the same year, a chief member of Im's band, Sŏrim, was captured and interrogated. Sŏrim disclosed Im's location, as well as plans to destroy the prison, rescue Im's wife, and kill munitions officer Yi Hŭmnye in Pongsan, who had previously captured members of Im's band.

The king promptly sent an army of five hundred to Pongsan, but an attack from the mountains by the robbers drove them back. The commander was killed and many of the army's horses were stolen. In response, the king personally charged the magistrates from Hwanghae, P'yŏngan, Hamgyŏng, Kangwŏn, and Kyŏnggi Provinces to capture the robbers. The deputy of Sŏhŭng, Shin Sangbo, arrested and imprisoned the wives and children of a few of the robbers, but they were rescued by members of Im's band from Paekchu. Also in December of 1560, Yi Sajŭng, who was newly dispatched to Hwanghae, reported to the king that he had captured Im Kkŏkchŏng. Further interrogation by the king's officials showed the prisoner to be not Im, but Im's older brother, Ka Toch'i. Yi Sajŭng was relieved of his duties.